Post-event analysis of the hybrid threat security environment: assessment of influence communication operations
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Besides the attribution challenges posed by covert influence actions, there is a need to develop effective frameworks for assessing and evaluating the effectiveness of overt and covert persuasive communications employed in the hybrid threat security environment, writes Rubén Arcos, lecturer in communication sciences at Rey Juan Carlos University in Madrid.

A key question for hybrid threat post-event assessment is who said what on behalf of whom, and why. In this context, the information in the hands of social networking companies might become indispensable for traceability and attribution. Besides the attribution challenges posed by covert influence actions, there is a need to develop effective frameworks for assessing and evaluating the effectiveness of overt and covert persuasive communications employed in the hybrid threat security environment; in other words, for analysing the cognitive, affective, and behavioural effects produced in targeted audiences and societies through the dissemination of disinformation content.

As Zimbardo and Leippe have pointed out, advertisers and agencies know full well that when they put their messages out there, it does not necessarily follow that the general public, and specifically their target audience, will see their ads. The more people watch a TV programme or follow a specific Twitter account, the more likely they are to be exposed to persuasive messages. However, the exposure of target audiences to persuasive communications does not guarantee an effective influence on attitudes and behaviour.

According to McGuire, from a processual perspective, in order to be influenced, the recipients of persuasive communications “must make the preliminary responses of paying attention to the message, comprehending its contents, accepting the conclusions advocated, and rehearsing this acceptance sufficiently to permit later expression of the induced change”. Target audience segmentation and preliminary research and analysis for developing insights into targeted publics is a prerequisite for key message design and effective persuasion in influence campaigns.
Existing research on alleged external interference tends to highlight the issue of whether such interference has occurred, but there is also a need for more research focused on the effects produced.

**We need more evaluative research through the use of social research techniques to be able to provide findings on the cognitive/informational aspects (message exposure, understanding, and retention), attitude objectives (attitude creation, modification, and reinforcement), and behavioural effects (creation, change, and reinforcement) of overt and covert disinformation and propaganda campaigns.** It is one thing to attempt to influence, but quite another to achieve such an outcome in practice. Effective influencing requires understanding the deeper characteristics of a country or region.\(^1\) Moreover, if we better understand the effects, we might obtain a more nuanced picture of hostile actors’ motives for their actions.

**External meddling and the illegal Catalan referendum**

The illegal Catalan referendum of 1 October 2017 is a case in point where the focus of the analysis has largely been to prove that there was outside interference. In this case, the allegations of external meddling point to Russia. According to the ‘EU versus Disinformation’ portal, run by the European External Action Service East StratCom Task Force, “Pro-Kremlin accounts promoted Catalan independence on social media, but on a smaller scale than was the case in the US”.\(^2\)

An unclassified May 2018 report by the Spanish National Cryptologic Centre (CCN) asserted that “the presence of activists sponsored by Russian institutions seems to be proven in the media coverage of the conflict ... in Catalonia during 2017”.\(^3\) On 14 May 2018, the Spanish news agency EFE reported that Hans-Georg Maassen, president of the BfV (the domestic intelligence service of the Federal Republic of Germany), asserted during a speech at a symposium organized in Berlin to address the issue of hybrid threats that “the Russian government supported Catalan separatism with a disinformation campaign in the days leading up to the referendum”.\(^4\) According to the newspaper El País, Maassen later clarified that they do not have “first-hand information; however, based on the sources we have examined it sounds very plausible and convincing and we are concerned”.\(^5\) Earlier, on 23 September 2017, during the days leading up to the illegal Catalan referendum, El País published a piece under the headline “La propaganda rusa sacude el ‘procés’”, later

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1. José-Miguel Palacios, former Head of the Analysis Division in the EU INTCEN. Email interview with the author, 13 March 2018.
translated into English as “Russian meddling machine sets sights on Catalonia”, stating that “The network of fake-news producers that Russia has employed to weaken the United States and the European Union is now operating at full speed on Catalonia, according to detailed analyses of pro-Kremlin websites and social media profiles by this newspaper”.

Nor does the list of allegations implying that there was meddling in the information space prior to the referendum end there. **In some cases a clear and direct link to the Russian state is made.** For example, the July 2018 Interim Report of the UK House of Commons Committee on Disinformation and ‘fake news’ concluded that “Russia had a special interest in discrediting the Spanish democratic system, through Russian state-affiliated TV organizations spreading propaganda that benefitted those wanting independence in Catalonia”.

**In other cases, bot armies that work to further the interests of the highest bidder for profit, basically mercenaries working for whoever is willing to contract their services,** be they companies engaged in digital marketing or governments, have been mentioned. **By using proxies – groups separated from state governments but empowered to act on their behalf – it is possible to conceal the identity of the sponsor, obscure the nature of the threat, and permit plausible deniability.** As Penn-Hall claims, sometimes proxies can be “little more than thinly veiled organs of a state’s security apparatus, while others are completely separate and autonomous organizations that function almost like contractors”.

**The stories that are fed into the information space also use social media networks like Twitter to escalate existing tensions.** Maldita.es, a Spanish portal member of the International Fact Checking Network, has collected cases of fake news related to Catalonia, including a tweet by the Catalan online newspaper El nacional.cat, “L’exèrcit de espanyol mou blindats a Catalunya bit.ly/2w2Vshm” (The Spanish Army moves armoured vehicles in Catalonia). In the days leading up to 1 October, Twitter accounts disseminated fake stories about bogus statements by European leaders, such as the Prime Minister of Estonia, on the recognition of Catalonia’s right to decide its own future. The amplification of these kinds of stories through the use of fake accounts and social network bots may have the effect of giving them an aura of credibility in the eyes of uncritical users.

Furthermore, historian Jordi Canal has highlighted the key role played in the procés by “parainstitutional” organizations like the Catalan National Assembly (ANC) and Òmnium Cultural.

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7 ‘No son bots rusos, es Capitalismo 3.0 reventando el debate politico online’ . El Diario.es, 20 November 2017. Available at: https://www.eldiario.es/politica/bots-rusos-cyborgs-mercenarios_0_708680008.html

8 https://twitter.com/AexualidaRT/status/92410856935547900


10 For example, as documented at Maldita.es, on 15 September 2017 the Twitter account @ElinaStig disseminated the following tweet, attracting more than a thousand retweets and a similar number of likes: “ARA MATEIX, 1er min. Estònia: @ratasjuri: “Catalunya té dret a decidir el seu futur, mosaltres ho vegem un dia, perquè s’ho hem de negar?” (RIGHT NOW, 1st Minister Estonia: @ratasjuri: Catalonia has the right to decide its future; we did it once, so why should we deny it?) See: https://maldita.es/bulo/no-el-gobierno-de-estonia-no-ha-apoyado-la-autodeterminacion-de-cataluna/. According to Maldito Bulo, the account is owned by a person from Gavá (Barcelona): https://maldita.es/bulo/no-el-gobierno-de-estonia-no-ha-apoyado-la-autodeterminacion-de-cataluna/
For some experts, the secessionist communicative strategy was effective and counted with the media broadcasters of the Catalan Broadcasting Corporation, particularly TV3 and Catalunya Radio, while the communication strategy of the Government of Spain was poor and reactive, if not non-existent. It seems clear that the independentist narrative and its strategic communication activities were targeting international publics to weaken the Spanish position before the European Union.

It is unlikely that the effects of external information influencing have been decisive in the case of Catalonia. Rather, the evolution of events has responded to pre-existing internal logics in which the dissemination of inaccurate, biased, purposely deceitful, or partial information, either by external or internal actors, has had the effect of reinforcing pre-existing biased beliefs and attitudes, igniting existing tensions, causing confusion in international audiences, and obstructing the development of a prudent democratic debate. It is worth noting that external actors have paved the way for hybrid influencing operations by seeking out those inciting tensions and testing the waters, so that they can use the target societies’ weak spots to disrupt, incapacitate, and exert harmful effects on the targeted actor when needed for the benefit of the agent’s interests and goals.

A model for post-event analysis and assessment of information campaigns as a part of hybrid threat influence operations

Developing indicators and metrics for impact evaluation is key to understanding and assessing overt and covert communication activities in the hybrid threat security environment. Lasswell’s construct (and its variations) remains a relevant conceptual tool for describing the act of communication. The most famous version of this model is, “Who says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect?” A modified version of Lasswell’s construct, in one of his variations, provides a structured framework for addressing the post-event analysis and assessment of information campaigns as a part of hybrid threat influence operations:

Who says what?  
On behalf of whom (or on its own behalf)?  
With what intentions?  
In what situations?  
Using what strategies (key messages and channels)?  
To which audiences?  
Producing what kind of effects?

The model captures the structure of the communication process and considers the information (or disinformation) and opinion source, its capabilities and intentions, and effects produced (cognitive, affective, and behavioural impacts, as well as outcomes) by disseminating specific communication content (key messages) to targeted audiences. A systematic examination of the communication process by answering the key questions posed by the model drives critical thinking in the consumption of information, provides exposure to the elements involved, and unveils the patterns and dynamics of persuasion through the use of communication (symbolic and behavioural). This is key for providing an understanding of the influencing attempts, and for developing strategies and tactics for counteracting the effects of influence operations.
Psychological research on resistance to persuasive communication has shown that by being forewarned about an imminent persuasive attack, the receiver of the message will develop resistance to the attack once it has taken place and, as a consequence, will be less persuaded if the topic has direct personal relevance insomuch as the targeted audience will generate counter-arguments. However, as pointed out by Sagarin and Wood, “before the attack takes place, forewarning causes resistance for personally involving issues, but anticipatory agreement for less involving issues”. This is why instilling critical thinking in the consumption of information, and awareness campaigns about hybrid threats have become so important.

The importance of separating persuasion from hybrid influencing

Social influence is all-pervasive; as individuals we engage in social interaction processes with family, friends, and professional peers, and play a dual role as (1) targets of influence attempts by others, and (2) agents attempting to influence our target’s thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours. Bearing this in mind, it is important to underline that persuasion and influence are not inherently toxic, and do not constitute a threat per se.

When we talk about impeding threats in the context of influence operations, we are referring to operations that are not open or have not been attributed. Both aspects challenge the traditional countermeasures and hinder alliance building. Active measures (aktivnyye meropriyatiya) and covert action operations, seen as a part of the Kremlin’s playbook with their origin in Soviet KGB strategic thinking, have traditionally involved disinformation, covert propaganda, front organizations, or the use of paramilitary organizations for political influence purposes. Traditional state-sponsored covert influence operations aim to influence the events, developments, people, and decisions of targeted foreign entities in support of the foreign policy goals and objectives of the covert sponsor. They are by definition difficult to attribute, and finding direct tangible evidence (operation planning documents, for example) might be an extremely difficult task.

States that are surreptitiously involved in covert action operations seek to plausibly deny sponsorship in ongoing events and past events. However, as argued by Cormac and Aldrich, the act in itself might be clearly visible or leave trails, and sometimes a deliberately calculated degree of exposure by the perpetrator can serve to put pressure on the target. What this implies is that if a careful post-event analysis and assessment is not conducted, we might end up doing the adversary’s work ourselves if our counter-actions are based on too hastily drawn conclusions about the effects.
Author

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Literature:


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