Hidden Persuasion: Detecting Manipulative Narratives on Social Media During the 2022 Russian Invasion of Ukraine

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Abstract

This paper presents one of the top-performing solutions to the UNLP 2025 Shared Task on Detecting Manipulation in Social Media. The task focuses on detecting and classifying rhetorical and stylistic manipulation techniques used to influence Ukrainian Telegram users. For the classification subtask, we fine-tuned the Gemma 2 language model with LoRA adapters and applied a second-level classifier leveraging metafeatures and threshold optimization. For span detection, we employed an XLM-RoBERTa model trained for multi-target, including token binary classification. Our approach achieved 2nd place in classification and 3rd place in span detection.

1 Introduction

In times of war, information can have the same power as weaponry. During the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, Telegram emerged not only as a battlefield communication tool but also as the primary source of information for 44% of Ukrainians. Its speed, reach, and anonymity became an important tool for civilians and military actors. However, these features — particularly minimal content moderation and user anonymity — have also made Telegram a favorable environment for influence operations (Vorobiov, 2024).

Manipulation on social media is a complex and nuanced phenomenon. It includes not just factual distortions (i.e., disinformation) but also rhetorical strategies, emotional appeals, and narrative framing that are designed to influence perception or behavior subtly. In this paper, we present the solution¹ to the UNLP 2025 Shared Task,² focused on manipulative narratives detection, which is defined as the intentional use of language and messaging

tactics aimed at influencing beliefs, emotions, or attitudes, without providing clear factual support.

The task includes several challenges that make it particularly complex. First, it focuses exclusively on the textual content of social media posts without incorporating metadata such as user history or engagement metrics. Second, the dataset presents multiple layers of complexity: it is imbalanced across manipulation types, multilingual (primarily Ukrainian and Russian), and multi-label, meaning that a single post can include several manipulation techniques simultaneously. Finally, the span detection subtask requires identifying the exact textual fragments responsible for the manipulation, often implicit, rhetorical, or emotionally charged language that is difficult to isolate.

Given these challenges, we developed a system that achieved second place in manipulation techniques classification and third place in span detection subtasks (see Figure 1). For classification, we fine-tuned the Gemma 2 language model using LoRA adapters and introduced a second-level classifier that leveraged meta-features and custom threshold optimization. For span detection, we trained an XLM-RoBERTa model capable of multitarget, token-level binary classification to locate manipulative spans within posts.

2 Related Work

Our research is based on a growing body of work in detecting propaganda and misinformation analysis. Numerous studies have focused on identifying propaganda techniques in news articles, particularly in the context of SemEval-2020 Task 11. Da San Martino et al. (2020) explored detecting propaganda techniques in news articles through span identification and technique classification tasks.

Similarly to previous research, the UNLP 2025 Shared Task includes two subtasks: manipulation technique classification (a multi-label classifica-

https://github.com/akhynkokateryna/
manipulative-narrative-detection

²https://github.com/unlp-workshop/ unlp-2025-shared-task

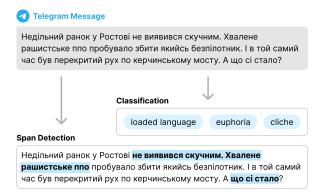


Figure 1: Sketch of manipulation techniques classification and span detection problems

tion) and span detection (a token classification). Within this framework, research from SemEval-2020 Task 11 demonstrated BERT's remarkable capabilities for propaganda technique identification (Altiti et al., 2020). Further advancing this line of inquiry, Da San Martino et al. (2020) showcased RoBERTa's performance in addressing both tasks simultaneously.

At the same time, the nature of propaganda on social media evolves continuously, adapting to specific circumstances to remain undetected. Solopova et al. (2023) explored this process by combining machine learning and linguistic analysis to reveal how pro-Kremlin propaganda evolved in the context of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine. In this context, it is important to note that while our work has a similar goal, we focus specifically on detecting manipulative narratives regardless of the factual support of the claim. This distinguishes our approach from fact-checking or knowledge manipulation detection methods (Trokhymovych and Saez-Trumper, 2021; Trokhymovych et al., 2025).

In our case, we are dealing with multilingual Telegram data containing Ukrainian and Russian texts. In this scenario, fine-tuning a multilingual model, such as XLM-RoBERTa, appears to be a more productive approach, as demonstrated in research on hostility identification for low-resource Indian languages (Sai et al., 2021). Moreover, XLM-RoBERTa-based models have demonstrated cross-lingual strengths in other downstream tasks, including those involving Ukrainian and Russian languages (Mehta and Varma, 2023; Trokhymovych et al., 2024).

While Sprenkamp et al. (2023) discovered that fine-tuned RoBERTa outperformed zero and fewshot learning approaches with LLMs for propaganda detection, newer advances in large language

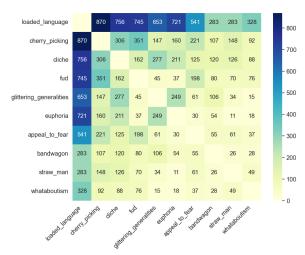


Figure 2: Co-occurrence of manipulation techniques in the combined training and testing sets

models show considerable promise. Recent innovations have developed methods to transform decoderonly LLMs into effective text encoders suitable for classification tasks (BehnamGhader et al., 2024). Models such as Gemma offer particularly interesting customization potential for classification challenges (Team et al., 2024).

Notably, Gemma-family models enable fine-tuning with LoRA adapters and support quantization techniques, making them viable options even with limited computational resources. Building on this foundation, (Kiulian et al., 2024) ventured into fine-tuning both Gemma and Mistral specifically to enhance Ukrainian language representation, providing valuable insights that directly inform our approach to detecting manipulative narratives within Telegram content from the region.

3 Data

The UNLP shared task dataset contains more than 9,500 text samples collected from Telegram channels, with 68% of these collected samples containing manipulative narratives. This dataset forms the basis for a dual-task challenge: classifying manipulation techniques and identifying corresponding text spans.

The data is divided into training and testing sets, with 3,822 samples allocated for training and 5,735 for testing. Among the 3,822 training samples, 2,147 (56%) are in Ukrainian and 1,675 (44%) are in Russian. At the same time, the testing set does not include language labels. Notably, the testing set is further split into public and private sets for leaderboard evaluation.

Each post is annotated for both classification and span detection tasks. Specifically, every sample is labeled with one or more of ten predefined manipulation techniques, detailed in Appendix A. Manipulative text segments are also defined, irrespective of the specific technique involved.

Figure 2 illustrates manipulation techniques' cooccurrence patterns across training and testing sets. As the distribution of labels is similar in both subsets, we present them together for clarity.

4 Methodology

In this section, we present our approaches for solving the technique classification and span identification subtasks.

4.1 Technique Classification

The manipulation technique detection task is formulated as a multi-label text classification problem, where each input text may contain multiple manipulation strategies. Each sample is annotated with any number of 10 predefined manipulation techniques.

Our best-performing solution involves multistage fine-tuning of the instruction-tuned Gemma 2 2B IT model.³ The complete fine-tuning pipeline schema is presented in Figure 3.

Firstly, we fine-tune the model using a causal language modeling (CLM) objective, where the model learns to predict the next token given a left-to-right context. Specifically, we employed the AutoModelForCausalLM class from HuggingFace Transformers.

The model was trained to autoregressively generate a comma-separated list of manipulation techniques based on a task-specific prompt. We constructed a dataset of prompt inputs for each training data point, which included:

- an instruction to identify manipulative techniques in a text;
- descriptions of all ten manipulation techniques;
- four few-shot examples, selected from the training set: two were chosen based on cosine similarity between the target text and other texts in the training set, and the other two based on cosine similarity between the target text and the trigger phrases (i.e., manipulative spans in texts) found in other training samples.

To control input length, we select the few-shot examples from the subset limited by texts shorter than 500 characters. To get a vector representation of the texts, we encode them using SentenceTransformers, employing *mGTE* model (Reimers and Gurevych, 2019; Zhang et al., 2024). Later, these vectors are used for few-shot candidates selection and text clustering.

As for this stage of model tuning, we used almost the whole training dataset, as our main goal was to expose the model to as much relevant data as possible rather than tuning to a specific downstream task. Due to the high computational cost of full model fine-tuning, we instead trained LoRA adapter using a CLM objective. The adapter was configured with causal LM task type via the PEFT library to ensure compatibility with the CLM setup. Finally, we got the fine-tuned adapter for the text generation in the form of a list of manipulation techniques.

In the second stage, we merged the LoRA adapter from the first stage with the base model, set the model to a multi-label classification mode, and trained an additional LoRA adapter. The input for this stage consisted of text samples and their corresponding technique labels.

In the third stage, we combined the probability outputs from the previous stage with a set of engineered meta-features to train a CatBoost model for multi-label classification on the same training set. The additional features include:

- 1. distances from each text to the centroids of clusters formed by triggered phrases from the training set using K-means;
- 2. frequency of each manipulation technique among the most similar examples from the training set selected based on cosine similarity with their text and trigger phrases;
- 3. additional meta-features such as word count, number of question marks, presence of URLs, etc.

To construct the clustering-based features, we applied the K-means clustering algorithm to the set of triggered phrases extracted from the training set. Firstly, we encode the text with SentenceTransformers as mentioned earlier. We set the number of clusters (K) to be K=10, equal to the number of unique manipulation techniques. Finally, for each sample text, we calculate the cosine distance to the

³https://huggingface.co/google/gemma-2-2b-it

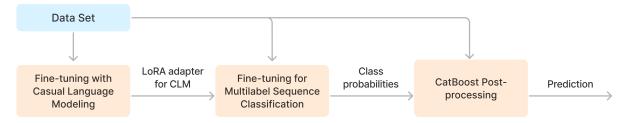


Figure 3: Pipeline of technique classification solution

centroid of each cluster. This approach allows the model to capture how semantically close a text is to common manipulation patterns identified in the training data.

For the similarity-based frequency features, we computed pairwise cosine similarity between the embedded texts. For each text, we selected two sets of 10 most similar examples from the training set: (1) based on overall similarity to other full texts, and (2) based on similarity to trigger phrases from other texts. We calculated the frequency distribution of manipulation techniques among the nearest neighbors in both cases. These techniques and meta-linguistic features (e.g., word count, presence of punctuation) were combined with model probabilities to train the final CatBoost classifier.

Finally, since the dataset is highly imbalanced, we optimized class-wise thresholds by performing k-fold cross-validation and choosing the median of the best thresholds within folds for each class separately. This approach avoids the pitfalls of using a single global threshold, especially for rare classes, and improves overall performance on the macro F1 score, which treats all classes equally. So, we used this method to construct the final prediction using the probability scores from the CatBoost model.

4.2 Span Identification

Span identification for manipulative content is defined as a binary token classification task, where each token is labeled as either manipulative or non-manipulative, independent of the specific manipulation technique. Identified manipulative tokens are then mapped to character indices and grouped into spans, allowing for precise extraction of manipulative text.

For this task, we employ a multi-headed architecture based on the XLM-RoBERTa-Large⁴ (see Figure 4). Two custom classification heads are introduced: one dedicated to classifying manipula-

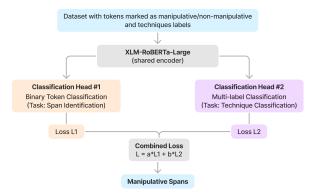


Figure 4: Pipeline of span identification solution

tive techniques (multi-label classification) and the other to token classification. Both heads share a common encoder, allowing the model to benefit from shared representations across tasks.

The span identification head consists of a single linear layer applied to the contextualized token representations, predicting the likelihood of each token being part of a manipulative span.

The technique classification head operates on a pooled representation formed by concatenating the *[CLS]* token embedding, mean-pooled, and maxpooled token embeddings. This concatenated vector is passed through a linear layer that projects it to a lower-dimensional space of size 256, followed by a GELU activation. The intermediate representation is then regularized through layer normalization and dropout before being passed to a final linear layer that projects it to the space of manipulation technique labels.

To balance the influence of both tasks during training, we apply a reduced weighting coefficient to the classification head's loss when computing the overall objective. This ensures that span detection remains the primary focus, while the model still benefits from auxiliary guidance.

Consistent with Technique Classification Subtask, we determine optimal prediction thresholds through k-fold cross-validation, ensuring robust calibration and generalization across splits.

⁴https://huggingface.co/FacebookAI/
xlm-roberta-large

5 Evaluation

5.1 Technique Classification

The manipulation techniques classification subtask, as defined in the shared task, uses a macro-averaged F1 score as its primary evaluation metric. This metric treats all classes equally, regardless of their frequency in the dataset. Appendix B.1 provides a detailed explanation of the metric.

Our main results are summarized in Table 2, where F1 scores were recalculated on the full testing set. As a baseline, we used a multi-label Cat-Boost model with threshold optimization. For baseline training, we use a dataset that consists only of meta-features used in the final step, as explained in Section 4.1.

Although the baseline appeared to be an effective solution regarding resource efficiency and performance, it was insufficient to remain competitive in the challenge. This motivated integrating the Gemma 2-based solution, as introduced in Section 4.1. In our final comparison, we present two configurations of this model—with and without final post-processing using CatBoost and metafeatures. The results demonstrate that Gemma-based solutions significantly outperform the baseline. Although the post-processing step results in only a minor improvement, it is essential to achieve a competitive advantage in the competition.

We also conducted a performance analysis for each class (see Table 1), revealing considerable variation in the model's effectiveness across different techniques. Notably, the model performs significantly worse on underrepresented classes such as whataboutism, straw_man, and bandwagon. In contrast, it achieves the highest performance on the loaded_language class, which has over ten times more samples than the mentioned underrepresented ones.

5.2 Span Identification

Like the previous subtask, span identification relies on the evaluation metrics defined in the shared task. Specifically, we use the span-level F1-score, quantifying the overlap between predicted and defined character spans. Appendix B.2 provides a detailed explanation of this metric.

Our span detection pipeline also incorporates post-processing and a threshold selection step, as described in Section 4.2. As a strong baseline, we employed the XLM-RoBERTa model configured for token classification. Building on top of it, we ex-

Technique	F1 score	Support
appeal_to_fear	0.450	449
bandwagon	0.215	236
cherry_picking	0.467	768
cliche	0.328	695
euphoria	0.550	695
fud	0.525	576
glittering_generalities	0.644	723
loaded_language	0.782	2959
straw_man	0.287	207
whataboutism	0.296	235

Table 1: Classification report for technique prediction

Solution	F1 macro
Baseline (CatBoost)	0.40801
Gemma	0.45007
Gemma with post-processing	0.45447

Table 2: Comparison of our solutions for technique classification during the competition

plored the hypothesis that a two-head transformer, combined to address both subtasks simultaneously, could enhance generalization and improve results. Although, as shown in Table 4, the performance gain was not large. This approach ultimately secured us third place in the competition, as reported in Table 5. These findings suggest that, for practical applications, a simpler baseline approach may be more robust and justified.

6 Conclusion

To sum up, this paper presents a competitive solution to the UNLP 2025 Shared Task on detecting manipulative narratives in Ukrainian Telegram news. By leveraging a multi-stage fine-tuned Gemma 2 language model with LoRA adapters for technique classification and a two-headed XLM-RoBERTa architecture for span detection, our approach secured second and third place in the respective subtasks.

Key achievements include a two-phase fine-

Team	Public	Private
GA	0.47369	0.49439
MolodiAmbitni	0.46203	0.46952
CVisBetter_SEU	0.43669	0.45519

Table 3: Comparison of metrics for top-3 solutions from competition leaderboard for manipulation classification

Solution	Span-level F1
Baseline	0.58588
Two-head transformer	0.59888

Table 4: Comparison of our solutions for span detection during the competition

Solution	Public	Private
GA	0.64598	0.64058
CVisBetter_SEU	0.59873	0.60456
MolodiAmbitni	0.59662	0.60001

Table 5: Comparison of metrics for top-3 solutions from competition leaderboard for span detection subtask

tuning of a decoder-only model (Gemma) for classification, first via causal language modeling, then supervised multi-label learning. We further enhanced performance with a post-processing step using a CatBoost classifier that combined meta-features with previously predicted class probabilities. Perclass threshold optimization addressed label imbalance and improved macro-F1 performance. For span detection, we introduced a dual-head architecture that jointly learned classification and token-level labeling, encouraging better generalization through shared representations.

Results show that each enhancement added measurable value. Post-processing raised the classification macro-F1 from 0.45007 to 0.45447, while span detection improved from 0.58588 to 0.59888 with the dual-head setup. However, performance varied notably across manipulation types: while frequent classes like *loaded_language* were predicted with high accuracy, rarer classes such as *whataboutism* and *straw_man* remained challenging.

Limitations

We are working with a dataset that includes texts only in Ukrainian and Russian. While LLMs are improving multilingual support, existing open-source models have limited support for those languages. Also, Telegram posts often contain informal language, slang, neologisms, emojis, and irregular formatting. It may reduce the effectiveness of pre-trained models, which are typically trained on more formal text.

While the dataset was annotated by experienced professionals, the manipulation signal is subjective and context-dependent. This can lead to ambiguous labels, especially in span identification, where the boundaries of manipulative content are not always

clearly defined.

Moreover, the dominance of certain manipulation techniques (e.g., loaded language) makes the classification task imbalanced. Although steps can be taken to mitigate this (e.g., resampling, class weighting, or threshold selection in our case), performance on rare techniques remains a challenge.

The dataset presented for the competition appears to be divided into training and test sets without considering the chronological order of posts. As a result, the evaluation may not reflect the real-world scenario of predicting new, emerging manipulation patterns.

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A Manipulation Techniques

Table 6 contains each class explanation that was provided by the organisers.⁵

B Metrics

B.1 Techniques Classification

To evaluate the classification of manipulation techniques, we use the macro-averaged F1 score, which ensures balanced assessment across all techniques. Given a set of texts V and manipulation techniques T, each text is labeled with a binary vector indicating the presence of techniques. The model predicts a vector of the same size, and for each technique $t \in T$, we compute the F1 score:

$$F1_t = \frac{2 \cdot P_t \cdot R_t}{P_t + R_t}$$

where precision P_t measures correct predictions among all predicted instances, and recall R_t measures correct predictions among actual instances. The final macro-F1 score is obtained as:

$$F1_{\text{macro}} = \frac{1}{|T|} \sum_{t \in T} F1_t$$

This approach is particularly useful for handling class imbalances as it prevents frequently occurring techniques, which are typically detected with greater accuracy, from dominating the overall performance score.

B.2 Span Identification

To evaluate the accuracy of detected spans, we use the span-level F1 score, which measures the overlap between predicted and actual spans. Let V be the set of all texts in the dataset. Each text $v \in V$ has a set of ground truth spans S_v and predicted spans \hat{S}_v . The set of manipulated tokens in text v is defined as the collection of all characters whose index falls in at least one manipulation span:

$$T_v = \bigcup_{(s,e) \in S_v} \{s, s+1, \dots, e-1\}$$

$$\hat{T}_v = \bigcup_{(s,e)\in \hat{S}_v} \{s, s+1, \dots, e-1\}$$

Precision and recall are computed as:

$$P = \frac{\sum_{v \in V} |T_v \cap \hat{T}_v|}{\sum_{v \in V} |\hat{T}_v|}$$
$$R = \frac{\sum_{v \in V} |T_v \cap \hat{T}_v|}{\sum_{v \in V} |T_v|}$$

$$\sum_{v \in V} |T_v|$$
The final span-level F1 score is given by:

$$F1 = \frac{2PR}{P+R}$$

⁵https://github.com/unlp-workshop/ unlp-2025-shared-task/blob/main/data/ techniques-en.md

Name	Description
Loaded Language	The use of words and phrases with a strong emotional connotation (positive or negative) to influence the audience.
Glittering Generalities	Exploitation of people's positive attitude towards abstract concepts such as "justice," "freedom," "democracy," "patriotism," "peace," "happiness," "love," "truth," "order," etc. These words and phrases are intended to provoke strong emotional reactions and feelings of solidarity without providing specific information or arguments.
Euphoria	Using an event that causes euphoria or a feeling of happiness, or a positive event to boost morale. This manipulation is often used to mobilize the population.
Appeal to Fear	The misuse of fear (often based on stereotypes or prejudices) to support a particular proposal.
FUD (Fear, Uncertainty,	Presenting information in a way that sows uncertainty and doubt, causing fear.
Doubt)	This technique is a subtype of the appeal to fear.
Bandwagon/Appeal to People	An attempt to persuade the audience to join and take action because "others are doing the same thing."
Thought-Terminating Cliché	Commonly used phrases that mitigate cognitive dissonance and block critical thinking.
Whataboutism	Discrediting the opponent's position by accusing them of hypocrisy without directly refuting their arguments.
Cherry Picking	Selective use of data or facts that support a hypothesis while ignoring counter-arguments.
Straw Man	Distorting the opponent's position by replacing it with a weaker or outwardly similar one and refuting it instead.

Table 6: Explanation of Manipulation Techniques provided by UNLP Shared Task