

Election Media Monitoring

1-18 June, 2012

TV media monitoring involves qualitative and quantitative components. Quantitative monitoring includes the allocated time, direct and indirect speech and the tone of coverage. Components of qualitative monitoring are: balance, accuracy, facts-based coverage, manipulation by shots and music.

Quantitative data is visualized through diagrams attached to the report. The time allocated to subjects is expressed in percent. 100 percent is made of the total time allocated to all subjects, as indicated in the diagram headline, during the monitoring period on a particular channel. If any political party or any monitoring subject is not presented on a diagram, it means that no time was allocated to that political party during the monitoring period. The parties, which have been covered for even a couple of seconds, are reflected (frequently with 0%) on the diagrams. The subjects (other than the political parties), which were assigned 1% or even less, fall under the category "Other" on each channel.

Direct and indirect speech is differentiated by whether the subject speaks or the subject is spoken about by journalists or other respondents. On the diagrams direct and indirect speech is visualized in percent. 100 per cent indicates the total time devoted to each subject on a particular channel and is provided along the subjects. The subjects with 1 per cent of time allocation have not been shown on the diagrams with the purpose of avoiding any misunderstanding.

The tone of coverage is assigned to a subject only when the subject is spoken about. The diagrams show three categories of tones: positive (green), neutral (yellow) and negative (red). Calculation of the time allocated to the subjects as well as description of tone is performed simultaneously. Focus is made on the text of a journalist and respondents, as well as on the overall context of the coverage.

There are two ways of calculating the tone of the time allocated to the subjects: the tone of a journalist and that of a respondent. 100 percent indicates time allocated to journalists and respondents separately on a particular channel. The subjects with less than 1 per cent of coverage have not been included into the diagrams in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

The qualitative analysis is focused on balance, i.e. how diverse the coverage of a particular issue is. Accuracy - how relevant a journalist's conclusion is to the facts provided in the coverage (stories, comments by respondents), whether there are any flaws in headlines, figures, identity of respondents. We observe how the coverage relates to the story and whether the facts are supported by frames/comments.

During the monitoring, attention is paid to cases of manipulation with music and frames/images. Manipulation takes place when footage, frames, and music are used in a way that creates certain impression and provokes clear positive and negative associations.

Based on these components a media monitoring report of 1-18 June news releases is presented per channels in the following sequence.

The First Channel

During the monitoring period (1-18 June) the following innovation was observed in "Moambe": the invited guest was interviewed by a journalist for 7-10 minutes. During the monitoring period the representatives of following political parties were invited as guests: the Coalition Georgian Dream, National-Democratic Party, Free Georgia, New Rights. Their presence had an affect on the findings of quantitative media monitoring.

On the First Channel the most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream (26%). It is worth mentioning that less than 13% was allocated to all other subjects. However, the political parties: New Rights (8%), National-Democratic Movement (5%) dominates among other subjects (See the Diagram - 1).

In terms of direct and indirect speech there were no important tendencies observed during monitoring of the First Channel news-service (See the Diagram - 2).

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to journalist's tone, it should be mentioned that a negative tone was used towards only 2 subjects: Democratic Movement - for United Georgia (24%) and United National Movement (5%), and 6% of positive tone towards the government. Journalist used mostly neutral tone towards other subjects (See the Diagram - 3).

Due to the fact that "Moambe" hosts leaders of opposition political parties three times a week, tone evaluation based on the other respondent's talking is very diverse. The most positive tone (51%) goes to the Free Georgia party, which is caused by Kakha Kukava

speaking positively about his party and its program. The most negative tone was observed towards the United National Movement (49%) justification to which can be the same. High share of negative tone also goes to the President (28%) and Chamber of Control (43%) (See the Diagram - 4).

The monitoring is focused on the news items in general and pins down overall attitude towards a specific subject. It should be mentioned that frequently the coverage is done in a neutral tone. However, in some cases, the coverage of government, president and authorities is prone to be positive. For instance, the President in a crowd hugging local people creates positive impression (12 June, President in Kakheti). Also, in the news item of June 11 the only one respondent, James Appathurai, responds positively about the observers' mission in Georgia saying: "I think that the government has already made a great statement by inviting international observers". A journalist translates and repeats his words several times, and though the journalist's tone is neutral, the overall impression from the story is positive.

As for the respondents, news items are balanced on the First Channel. However, mention should be given to the stories, where there is such a feeling that the comments from government authorities are needed to get a full picture on the issue, but there are not any. For example, in the story of June 6th a journalist gives platform to NGOs and some political parties, but not to the government authorities, to share their views on minorities' problems regarding the elections. The coverage of June 9 can also serve as an example where only opposition parties were given an opportunity to talk about a "demographic policy".

Number of discrepancies between the journalists' conclusions and respondents' comments has been observed on the First Channel. For instance, on June 8th a journalist talks about the decision made by the Chamber of Control, and says that as stated by the Chamber of Control, there were number of cases of vote-buying by Ivanishvili and that the Chamber of Control disseminated materials proving that 239 vehicles used during electoral campaign were on the balance of Ltd "Elita Burji" at a symbolic (lowest possible) price; however the comment of the representative of the Chamber of Control does not back up the above-stated and does not present any supporting material.

Another example of discrepancy is a story on the decision about voting at prisons aired on 14 June. In the beginning a journalist says that all parties claimed and agreed that that was a step taken forward and all of them agreed that it was necessary to have international observers. Yet, coming from the story itself it is not quite true. Only David Gamkrelidze talks about the observers and about fairness of the decision, while Guram

Chakhvadze highlights the importance of the decision and never mentions any observers. The other respondents are Levan Vepkhvadze, Zakaria Kutsnashvili and Sozar Subari. None of them talks either about the importance of the decision and its strength or need for observers. Contrary to this, Vepkhvadze talks about the possible risks and pressure, while Sozar Subari negatively describes the United National Movement. Therefore, the very first sentence of a journalist is misleading and causes wrong prejudice.

Rustavi 2

During the period of June 1-18, the most time (35%) was allocated to the President. By time allocation the second and third places were shared between the government (19%) and the Coalition Georgian Dream (18%). All other subjects were given 5 % (only Christian-Democratic party) or even less (See the Diagram - 5).

With regards to the direct and indirect speech, the President, who is dominating the list, talks $\frac{3}{4}$ (73%) of the time. This tendency was marked during the qualitative monitoring as well. For instance, on 6 June, the news item lasted for 6 min 46 sec out of which the President talked for 6 min and 37 sec during his visit to Varketili population. The story "Agro-tours in Villages" on 15 June lasted approximately 10 minutes where he talked for 5 minutes, and for the remaining 5 minutes he was seen on the background.

The share of direct speech is distributed as follows: Christian-Democratic Movement (70%), local self-governance (74%), New Rights (65%), United National Movement (81%), National-Democratic party (67%). The Coalition Georgian Dream (33%) and Labor Party (37%) both have the lowest share of direct speech (See the Diagram - 6).

On Rustavi 2 the journalists use neutral tone when talking about subjects: the most positive tone was used when talking about the President (7%) and the most negative tone (7%) - for the Coalition Georgian Dream (See the Diagram - 7).

On 13 June the whole news item about the Farmers Service Centers is structured on the President and journalist's discussion about activities and benefits of the centers to the public. This reflects the efforts of the President and the government and presents them in a positive way.

News item of June 11 about the majoritarian candidates of the Georgian Dream negatively portrays the Coalition Georgian Dream, specifically, the list of majoritarian

was voiced, and the negative facts from the “political history” were presented in ironic context.

Among the reports, where respondents are talking about subjects, the most positive tone was marked towards the President (22%). Comparatively big is the share of positive tone towards the government and the Christian-Democratic Movement, 16% to each, and only 3% - to the Coalition Georgian Dream. The latter got the highest negative tone (18%). It shall be noted that the subject “government” based on the respondents’ tone is balanced (See the Diagram - 8).

Very often it happens on Rustavi 2 that only one respondent is interviewed regardless of what the topic of coverage is or which political party is covered.

There are many stories where the discrepancies among journalists’ narrative, respondents’ comments and visual material are vivid. For example, in the story on “Dream Boxes” on 9 June the journalist says that “according to the rules of the Georgian Dream, those wishes, which are about the equipment, will be made come true only in exchange to attending the rally”. This thesis is not supported by any interview of any subject or any visual material.

In the news item of June 9 about “Twinning Cities” the journalist says: “Latvian investors got interested in Anaklia”. However, the journalist’s words were not supported by any fact and no comment of Latvian investor followed.

Number of cases of manipulation with frames/stories and editing were monitored on Rustavi2. For instance, in the story on “Dream Boxes” on 9 June the journalist says: “Vote buying is a same kind of crime, like giving false promises to voters or misleading them”. On the background one could see the activists and logos of the Georgian Dream, which, in overall, provokes negative associations.

Imedi

During the period of 1-18 June the most time (35% - 2 hrs. 9 min.) was allocated to the President. The top three most spoken subjects after the President were the Coalition Georgian Dream and the government (15% each). The Christian-Democratic Movement was allocated 6% of the total time. The other subjects got less time (See the Diagram - 9).

Interesting is the way the time is distributed between the President and the Coalition Georgian Dream. Though the time between these two subjects is not evenly distributed: 2 hours were allocated to the President and almost an hour to the Coalition Georgian

Dream, for 72% of the time the President was talking himself, for the rest of the time (28%) he was talked about. For instance, the story “Medea 2012” on 14 June lasted for 4 min and 23 sec, out of which the President talked for almost 3 minutes. In the same news program on Ureki rehabilitation the President’s speech lasts for half of the report itself.

Contrary to the above-mentioned, the Coalition Georgian Dream is talked about in 73%, and the representatives are allocated only 27% of the total time (See the Diagram - 10).

As to the time allocation based on a journalist’s tone, neutral tone dominates on Imedi. Positive tone was monitored towards the President and the government (4% each). As for the negative tone, a journalist’s tone towards the Coalition Georgian Dream was negative in 16% of 25 minutes. Negative tone was marked towards the Voters League as well - 51% of 1 min and 15 sec (See the Diagram - 11).

Time allocation based on respondent’s tone is as follows: the most positive tone was observed towards the Labor party (67%); however, the respondent speaks about the party only for 2 minutes. Positive tone was observed towards the government (30% of 9 minutes), Christian-Democratic Movement (18% of approximately 2 minutes), the President (15% of 7 minutes) and the Coalition Georgian Dream (2% of 11 minutes). The negative tone towards the coalition is remarkably higher than towards other subjects - 27% of 10 min and 46 sec (See the Diagram - 12).

With regards to the overall impression on news items, irrespective of dominating neutral tone, there are cases when the stories prone to be positive, however those stories are mainly about the authorities or the Christian-Democratic Movement.

News item of 11 June covering the President in Ozurgeti can serve as one of the examples of positive tone towards the President, where the President meets and talks to the locals, among them with children too, and the positive disposition of the people is highlighted¹.

The stories based on the interviewed respondents are sometimes balanced, sometimes - not. Thus, it is difficult to talk about the tendencies during the monitoring period. One good example of imbalanced coverage is the news item of June 7 with the headline “What They Are Thinking in the Dream”. The story does not show the representative of either the Coalition Georgian Dream or the Chamber of Control, and only one source - the Facebook page of Ivanishvili is provided (Facebook logo and running text), but in a

¹ For watching the news item please follow the link:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JejurTbaExU&feature=youtu.be>

way that it's difficult to be sure that is a Facebook page. This story is attractive for another reason as well - running text in the story doesn't correlate with what the journalist is saying.

Maestro

During the period of 1-18 June, the most time on Maestro was devoted to the Coalition Georgian Dream - 26%. The second and third places were shared between the government with 20% and the President with 16%; United National Movement was allocated 11% of the total time, and the rest - 5 and even less percent (See the Diagram - 13).

Monitoring of direct and indirect speech revealed same results for the Coalition Georgian Dream and the President - 55% and 56%, respectively, although the Georgian Dream Coalition was allocated more time - 58 minutes, while the President - 36 minutes. The result of Christian-Democratic Movement catches attention - 73% of 7 minutes devoted to them was a direct speech. In case of the Labor party, though, only 23% of 7 minute coverage was a direct speech (See the Diagram - 14).

Overall impression about the coverage of the government representatives was critical and ironic with a tendency towards negative. For example, in the news item of June 7 "Details of Avaliani's Disappearance" the anchor gives floor to the journalist with the words: "now Nino Arghvliani will tell us whether Vardzelashvili wanted to eat Avaliani or not". However, later in the story it is said and shown that the Minister joked about it.

Quantitative monitoring results show the same. Time allocation based on the journalists' tone provides an interesting picture. Journalists' tone is generally neutral, except for several subjects when the tone is negative. These subjects are: local self-government (13%), United National Movement (10%), the government (7%) and the President (5%). The Coalition Georgian Dream is also marked with negative tone - 1% only (See the Diagram - 15).

The same can be said regarding time allocation based on the respondents' tone. The United National Movement, the President and the government have the most negative tone. However, there is positive tone observed towards the above-listed subjects as well (See the Diagram - 16).

There are many cases on Maestro when the journalist's narrative does not coincide with the comments made by the respondents or with visual material. For example, in the news item "One Day before the Rally" on 9 June a journalist says: the Coalition considered that it was a compromise by the authorities when they allocated alternative space for the rally". This is followed by a comment of the Coalition's press speaker Maia Phanjikidze where she did not even mention the government.

In the first story on June 12 -"22 or 121 Euro? Kutaisi-Kiev airfare is much higher than 22 Euro" a journalist says that Airzena, the management of which was disliked by the government, refrained from commenting; although s/he has not provided evidences of the government's dislike. In the same story nobody confirmed the journalist's statement - neither the President, who does not even mention the company.

In terms of having multiple respondents representing different sides of the story, some of Maestro's reports are balanced and some - imbalanced. Therefore it is difficult to talk about the tendencies. However, it should be mentioned that unbalanced stories are mostly when there is a lack of feedback from government representative. For instance, the news item of June 9 "Trial against Georgian Dream Members". There are 5 respondents interviewed and all of them represent the coalition, thus presenting only one side of the story, and there is no comment from either a representative of the Ministry of Interior and the Prosecutor's Office, or any representative from the government.

Kavkasia

On the channel Kavkasia the most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream-28%. The second and third places were shared between the government (17%) and the United National Movement (12%). It should be mentioned that Kavkasia is the only channel, where the time allocated to the President is not even among the top three. The president was devoted 10% of the time. The other subjects got 6 or even less percent (See the Diagram - 17).

When talking about direct and indirect speech, it is worth mentioning that the subjects to which 9 minutes were allocated, share direct and indirect speech almost evenly. 8 minutes were allocated to the Christian-Democratic Movement out of which 67% was direct speech. Though the Chamber of Control, which was subject of a discussion during this period, had 3% of direct speech (See the Diagram - 18).

Time allocation based on a journalist tone gives the following picture: when talking about the subjects, a journalist mostly has a neutral tone, but also uses a negative tone when talking about the following subjects: the government (8%), the parliament (9%), the President (7%), the United National Movement (3%), the Chamber of Control (7%) and local self-government (54% of 1 min and 21 sec) (See the Diagram - 19).

The same picture is created when respondents are talking about the subjects. The government has the highest negative tone (45% of 6 min.), the President - 28% of approximately 3 minutes, the United National Movement - 24% of 1.5 minutes and the Chamber of Control - 30% of about 2 minutes. The Coalition Georgian Dream got 4% of negative and 6% of positive tone. It is worth mentioning that the Labor party has the most positive tone - 22% of about 1.5 minutes (See the Diagram - 20).

The same is reflected in the qualitative monitoring. The coverage about the government representatives tends to be ironic and negative. Moreover, there were cases of severe criticism of the government activities by the respondents.

In regards to the presented respondents, Kavkasia is more or less balanced. However, it should be mentioned that very often it is difficult to identify a respondent, as there are no names indicated.

There were almost no other instances of other violations on Kavkasia.

The Ninth Channel

The most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream (31%), the government (22%), the President (17%) and the United National Movement (12%), which make the top group of four. Other subjects got less than 5% of the time (See the Diagram - 21).

Distribution of direct and indirect speech displays an interesting picture. When observing the top four subjects based on time, the Coalition Georgian Dream has more than a half (54%) of direct speech. One of the examples is the news item of June 9 about Ivanishvili's interview on Maestro. Ivanishvili talks for 11 minutes in this report.

Unlike the Coalition, the government, the President and the United National Movement have 19, 32 and 43 percent, respectively. The Chamber of Control and the parliament were just the discussion topics of others (only 14 and 13 per cent of direct speech), local NGOs, however, got quite high indicator of direct speech - 72% of 4 minutes (See the Diagram - 22).

Time allocation based on a journalist's tone reveals that the journalists use neutral tone when talking about the subjects, but the tone becomes negative when talking about: the government (15% of approx. 15 min.), the President (16% of 11.5 min.), local self-government (27% of 3 min.) and the United National Movement (9% of 8 min.) (See the Diagram - 23).

Tone is the same when respondents are talking about the subject. The government was negatively talked about in 40% of about 10 minutes, the President - 20% of about 4 minutes. Also, 16 and 20 per cent of negative tone in 1.5 minutes was used towards the United National Movement and the Chamber of Control. The respondents positively talked about two subjects only - the Coalition Georgian Dream got 7% of 6.5 min. and the President - 4% of about 4 minutes (See the Diagram - 24).

During the qualitative monitoring it was revealed that the Ninth Channel ironically and extremely negatively portrays the following subjects: the President, the government and local self-government. For example, the news item of June 7, where the President is making a statement regarding the national exams, ends with the words: "It's not correct to expect from a child to know something that one has not studied at schoooooool (in Georgian the last vowel is prolonged). Then just before starting a new story, the picture is changed and one can see a studio and an anchor smiling, which gives an irony to the story.

One of the stories that leaves a negative impression about the government is the one entitled "Tragedy in Kutaisi: a New Victim of the Parliament Construction", aired on June 7. The story referred to the explosion that took place in Kutaisi 3 years ago which ended in casualties. In general, the title isn't relevant to the content. The explosion of the memorial is shown twice in the story. Moreover, the second shot is not recorded with a professional camera and is accompanied by the scream of another woman giving the story a more dramatic look.²

On the Ninth Channel the coverage with regards to the presented respondents are sometimes balanced, sometimes not. Therefore, it is difficult to highlight any tendency during the reporting period. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that imbalanced are the stories which are about the issues where the comments from government representatives are clearly needed, but no such comments are provided in the reports.

Coverages on the Ninth Channel are more or less characterized by discrepancies between what journalist is saying and what the footage is about. For instance, in the

² For watching the news item please follow the link:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EmiiqF-hXEs&feature=youtu.be>

news item of June 11 “Ivanishvili was fined with 148 million” a journalist says: “In the Coalition Georgian Dream this fact has already been named the honorarium of the leaving government, which requests it within 7 days”. None of the coalition members says these words.

In the news item of June 7 that covers Bidzina Ivanishvili’s interview regarding Kutaisi and the rally in Kutaisi, a journalist says: “From Bidzina Ivanishvili’s interview, where he claims that the government will achieve nothing by threats”. Yet, Bidzina Ivanishvili said nothing like this in the broadcasted interview.

Real TV

On Real TV the most time (42%) was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. Real TV is the only channel which allocated 40% of its time to one subject. The first 3-4 stories of each news program covered the Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili. With regards to the allocated time the President (30%) and the government (13%) are also among the top three. Other subjects got 3 or even less percent (See the Diagram - 25).

It is interesting that according to the distribution of direct and indirect speech, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest indicator (26% of about 2 hours) of direct speech. This indicator is half as much as those of the Chamber of Control and the Labor party. While the President, the parliament, the United National Movement, the Christian-Democratic Movement got almost 80% of direct speech (See the Diagram - 26). For instance, in the news item of June 6 “Meeting with the Population”, which lasted for 17 minutes, Mikheil Saakashvili talked for 16 minutes.

Tone-based allocation of time is well-described both in quantitative and qualitative reports. A journalist speaking about the Coalition Georgian Dream uses 40% (of about 50 min) of negative tone (See the Diagram - 27). Below several quotes of journalists are provided. For example, in the story “Ivanishvili’s Another Scandal” on June 6th a journalist says: “The oligarch frequently makes similar absurd mistakes which makes the members of the Coalition Georgian Dream to continuously correct his inconsiderate actions”.

In the news item of June 15 “Thanks to Bidzina” a journalist says: “Bidzina Ivanishvili’s camels loaded with gold and money stopped at Maestro’s office... in exchange to this they have to perform liturgy ceremony/pray for Bidzina in the air every morning and

evening. Prayers are obligatory before and after dinner... Thank you Bidzina for feeding me - will say one from Maestro channel and Ramishvili and others will accompany".

Journalists of Real TV use negative tone when talking about the Labor party (8% of about 2.5 minutes) and the Chamber of Control (4% of about 2 minutes), but their tone is positive regarding the government (11% of about 3 minutes) and the President (2% of about 5.5 minutes). Excerpts from the stories on Hilary Clinton's visit to Georgia can serve as good examples of positive tone on Real TV. For instance, the June 6th story "Unofficial part of the Visit" starts by showing beautiful views over Batumi which is accompanied by nice music. After such an introduction there comes an airplane of Hilary Clinton. Following that there is a scene of the meeting with authorities. In the story there is also footage of them walking in the streets of Batumi and boulevard again accompanied by the pleasant music.³

The same picture is created with the respondent's tone when talking about the subjects. The Coalition Georgian Dream has 32% of negative tone and 5% of positive tone; the government - 15% of negative and 31% of positive tone, the President - 7% of negative and 26% of positive tone (See the Diagram - 28).

On Real TV there are many inconsistencies among journalists' comments, respondent's comments and the visual material. For instance, the entire news item of June 7 with the headline "Action with Ivanishvili's Money" is about how much it cost Ivanishvili to come to politics. Enlisted are office, means of transportation, shares purchased, salaries; also how much Ivanishvili transferred to Maestro and Kavkasia and how much it cost him to be shown on Kavkasia. A journalist mentions a specific figure, but never refers to a source of information based on what he/she is speaking..

³ For watching the news item please follow the link:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gbUdhn7pPQ&feature=youtu.be>

Annexes: Diagrams

Diagram 1

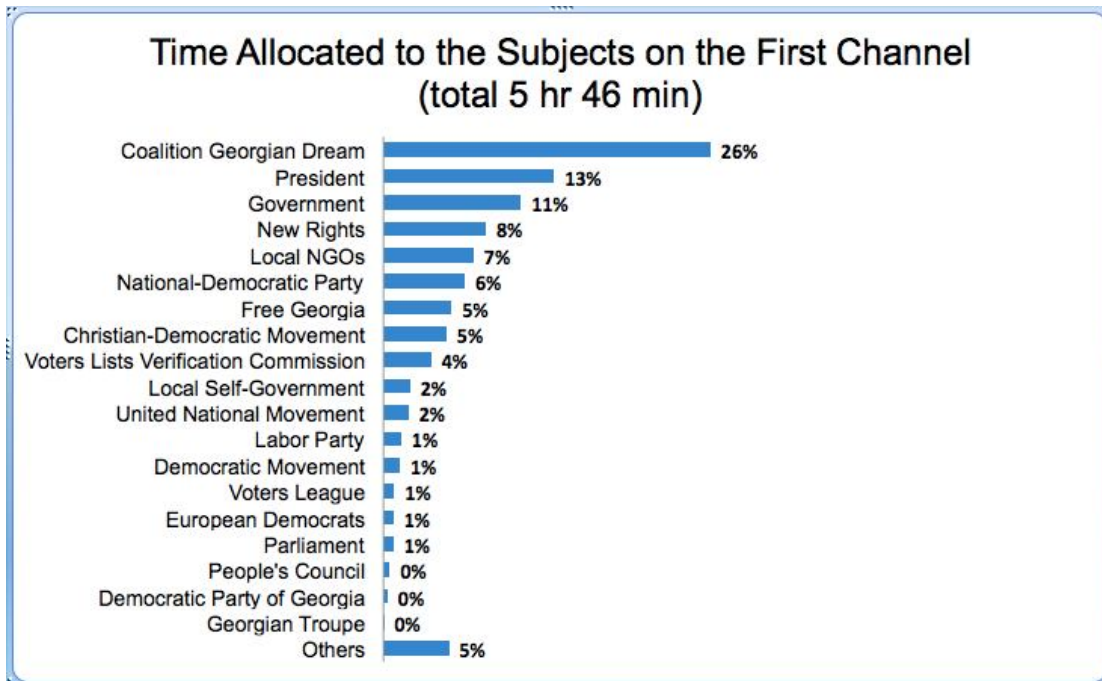


Diagram 2

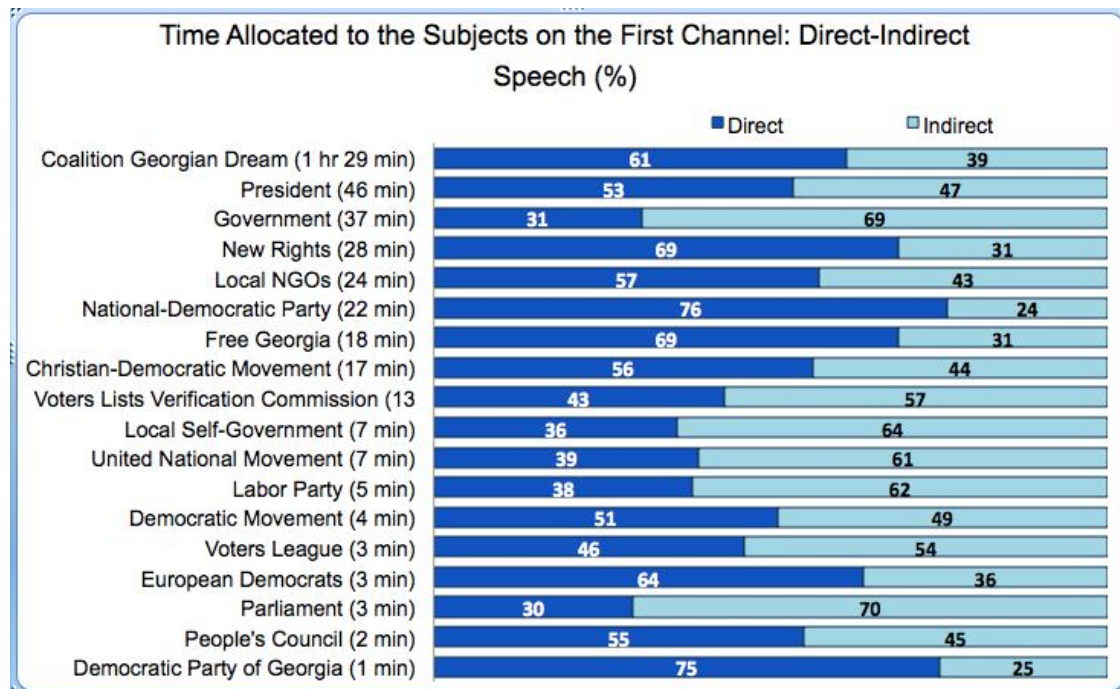


Diagram 3

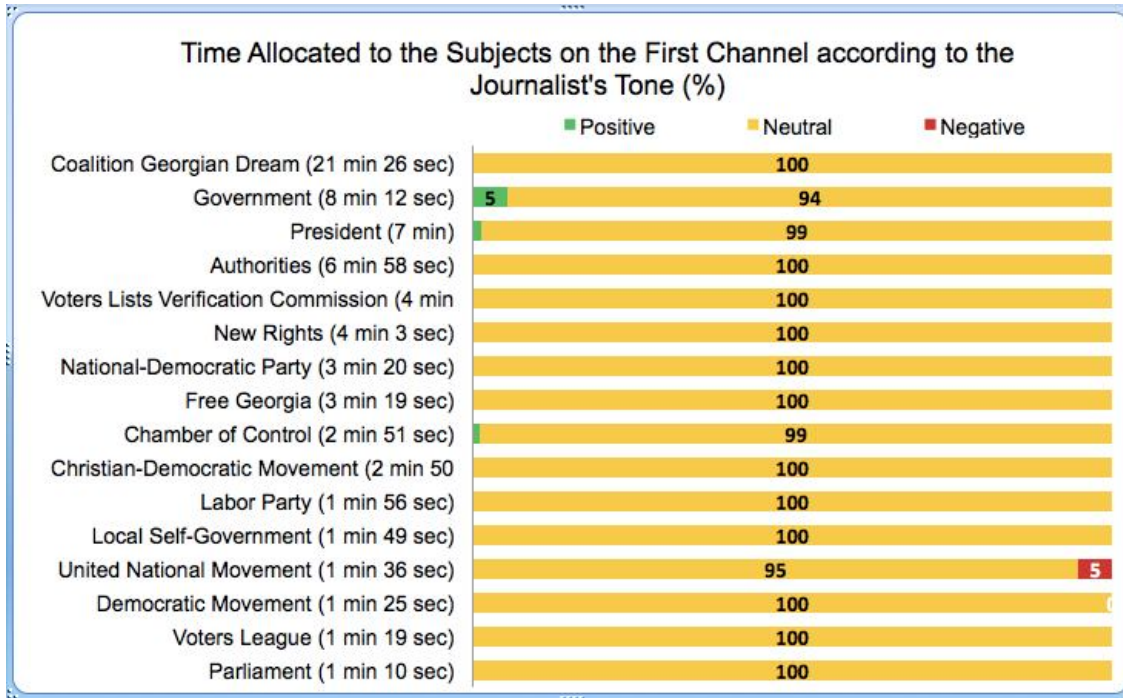


Diagram 4

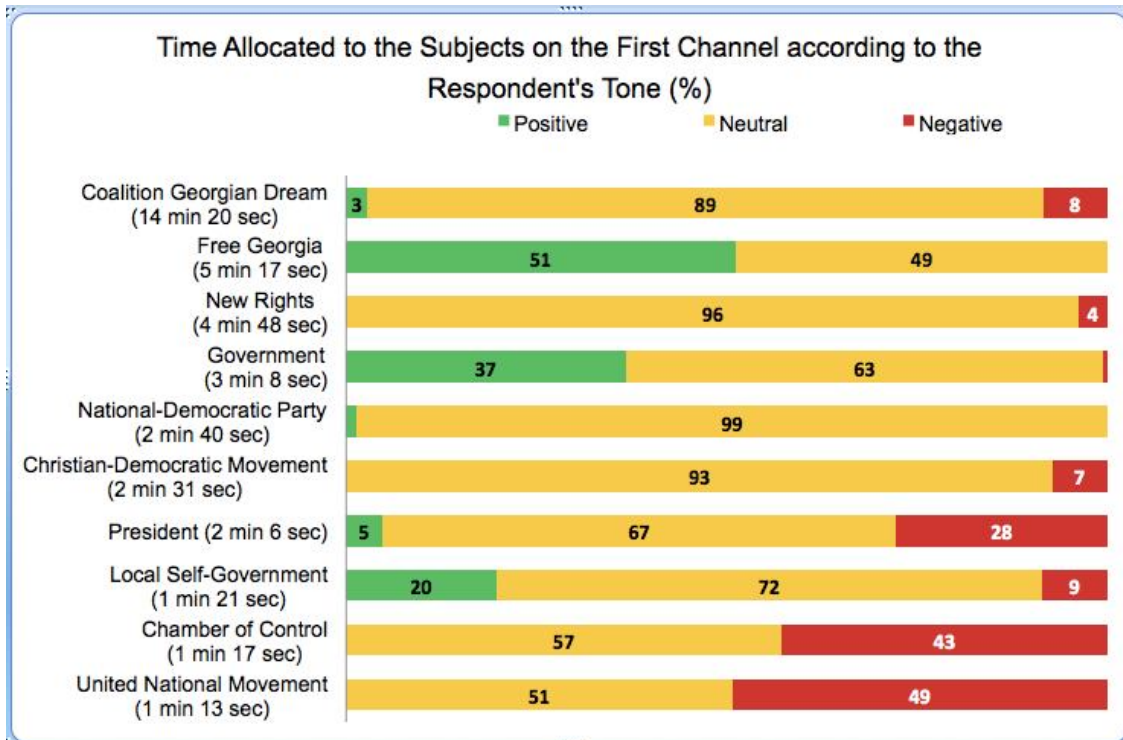


Diagram 5

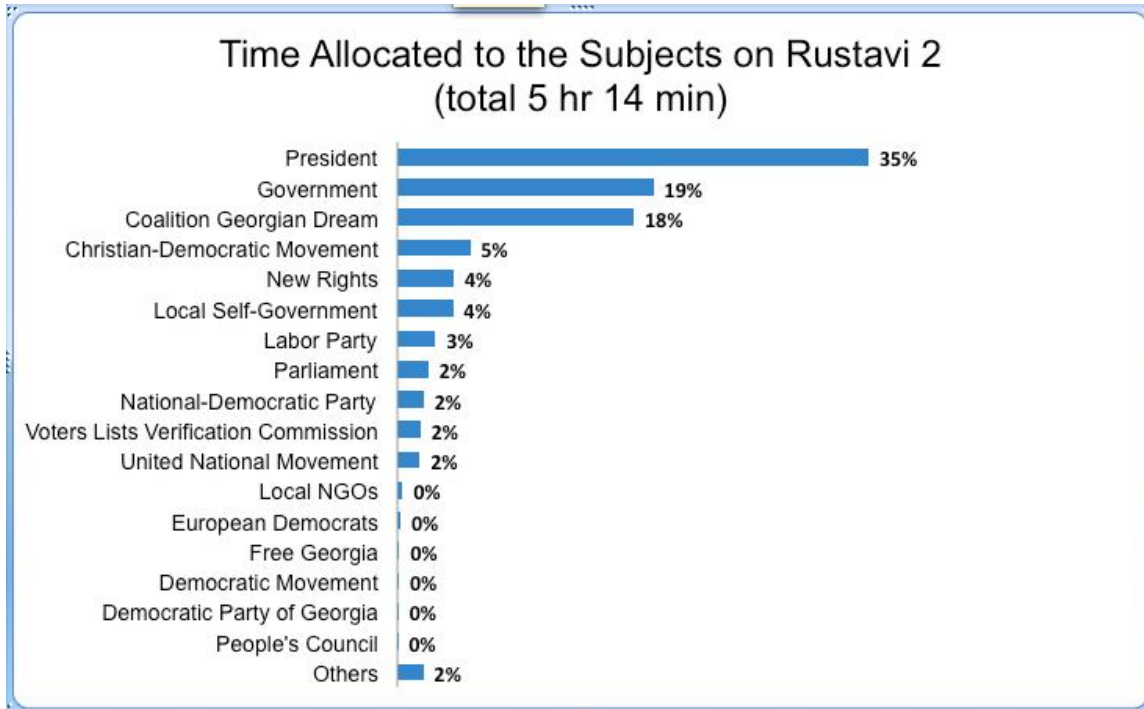


Diagram 6

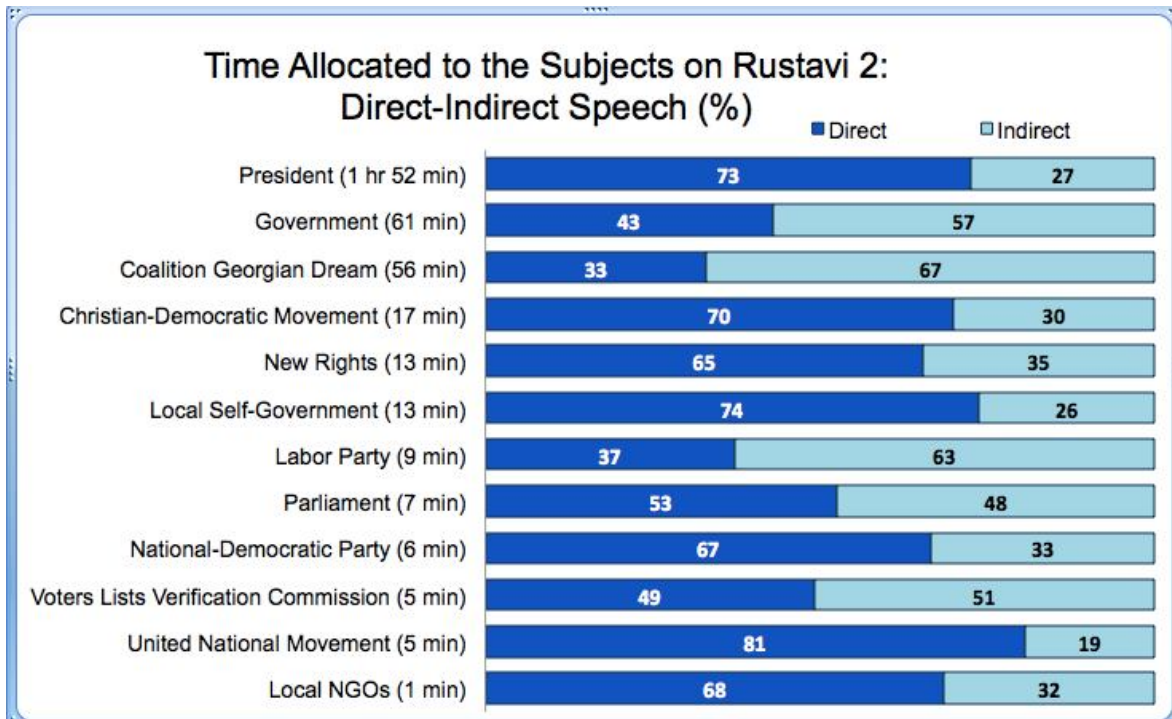


Diagram 7

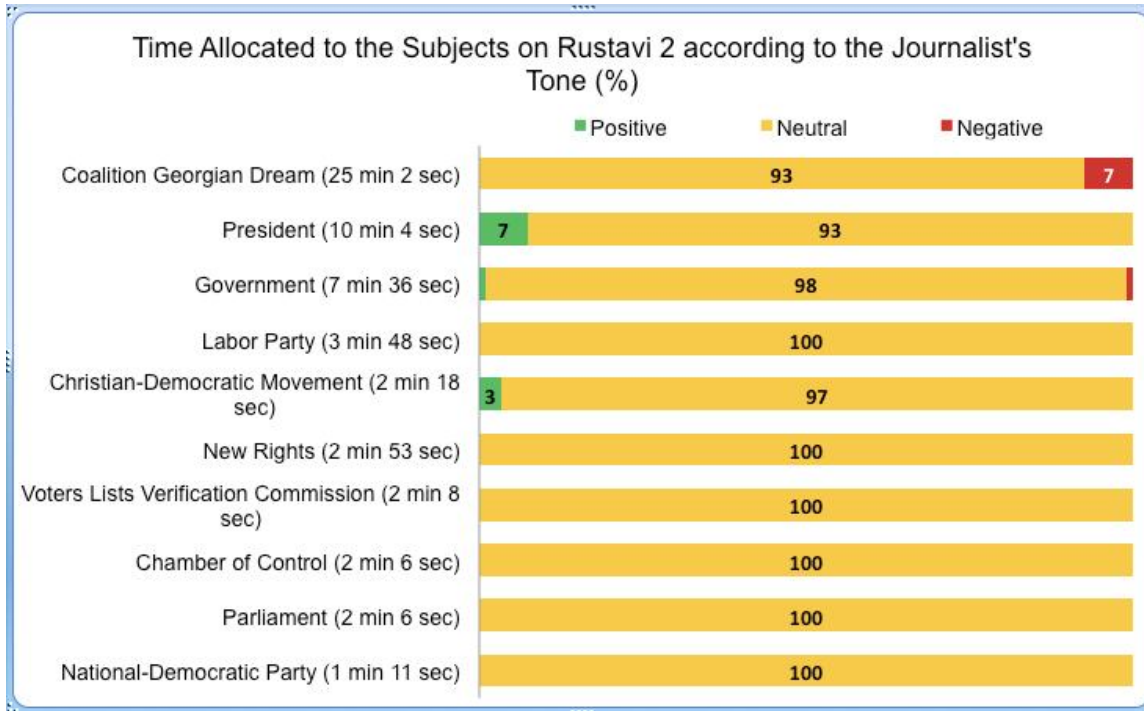


Diagram 8

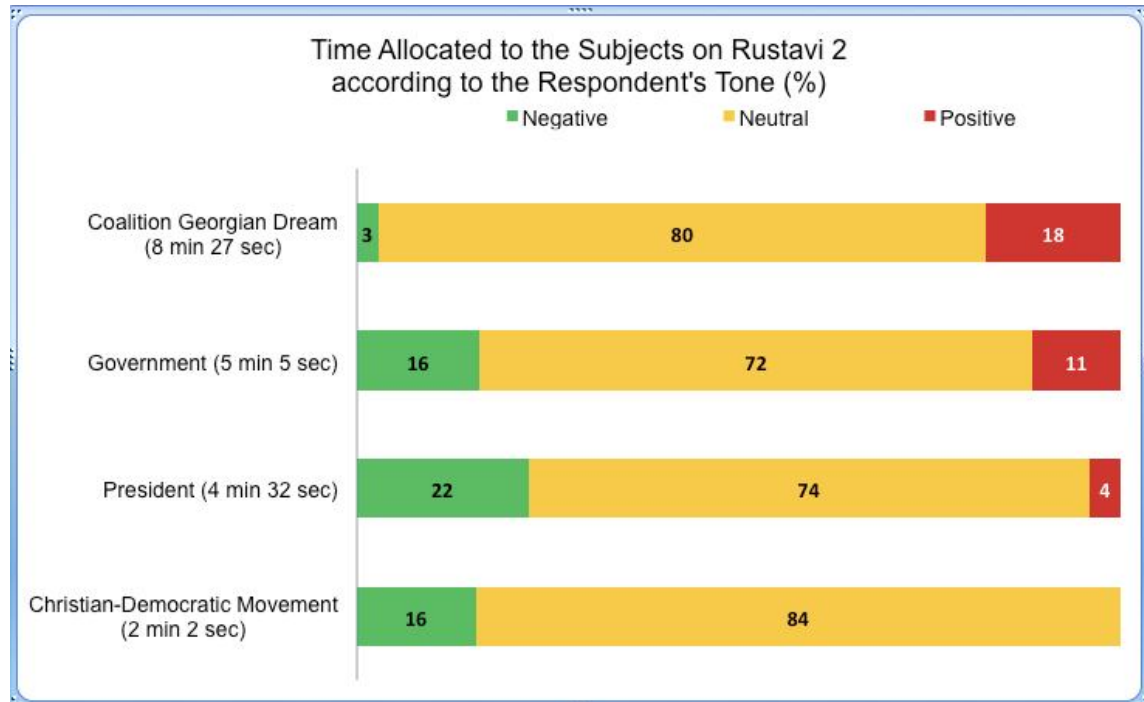


Diagram 9

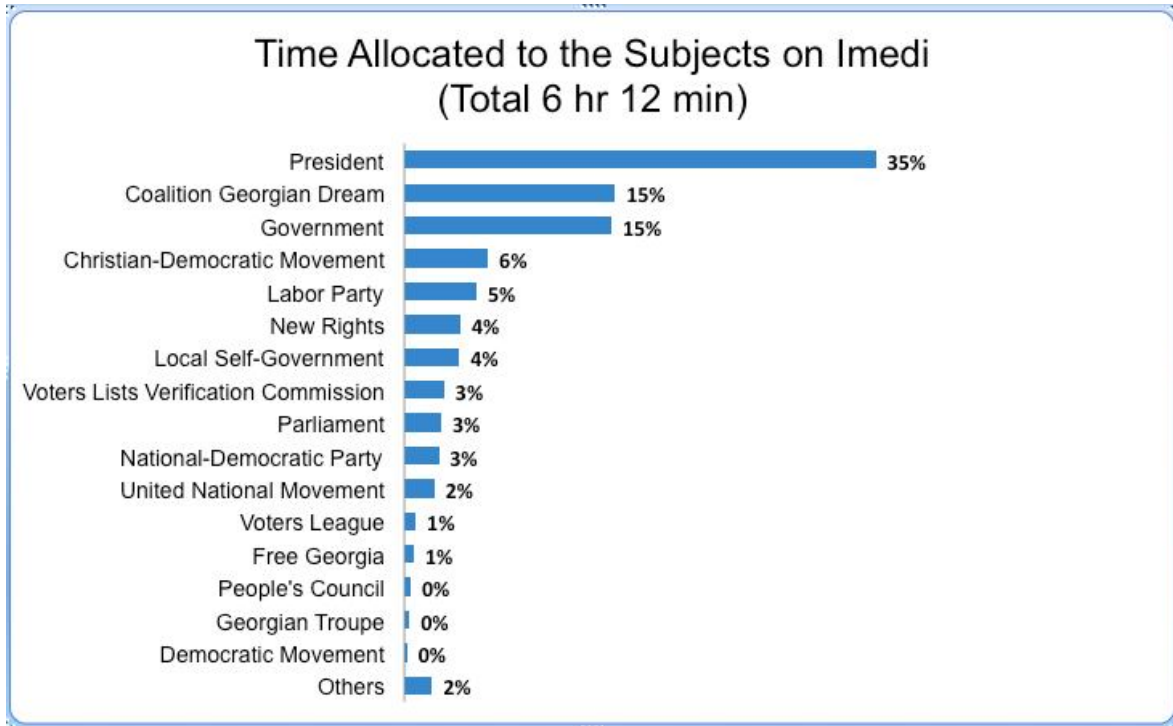


Diagram 10

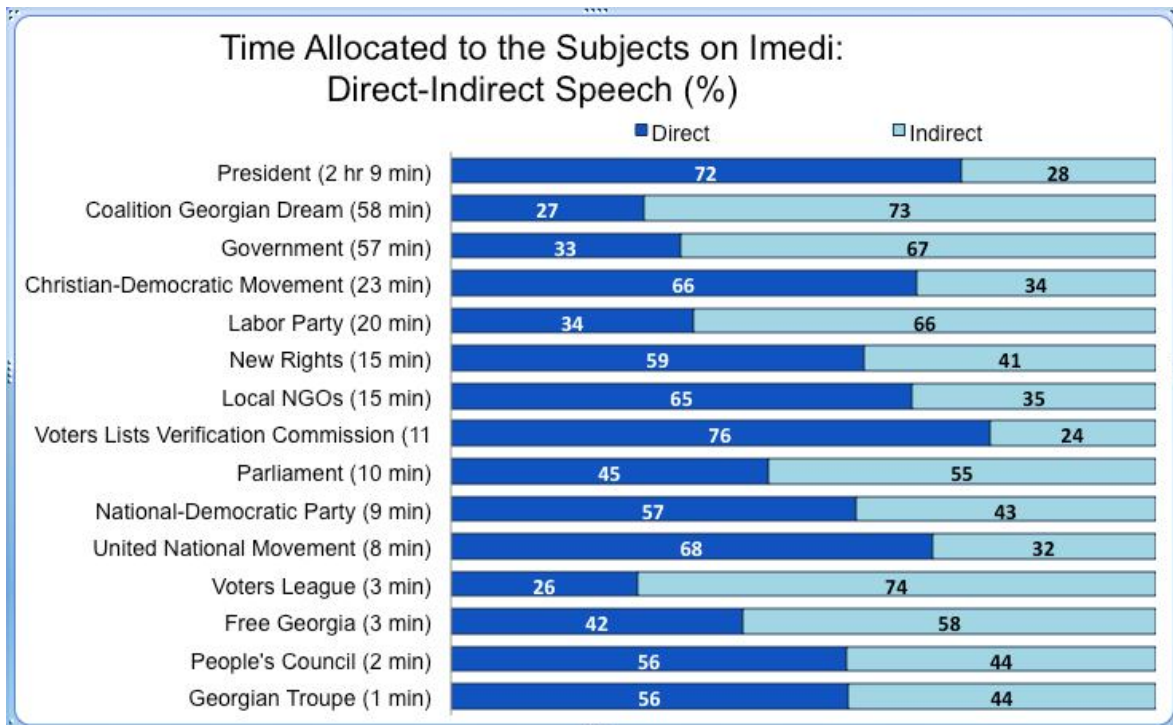


Diagram 11

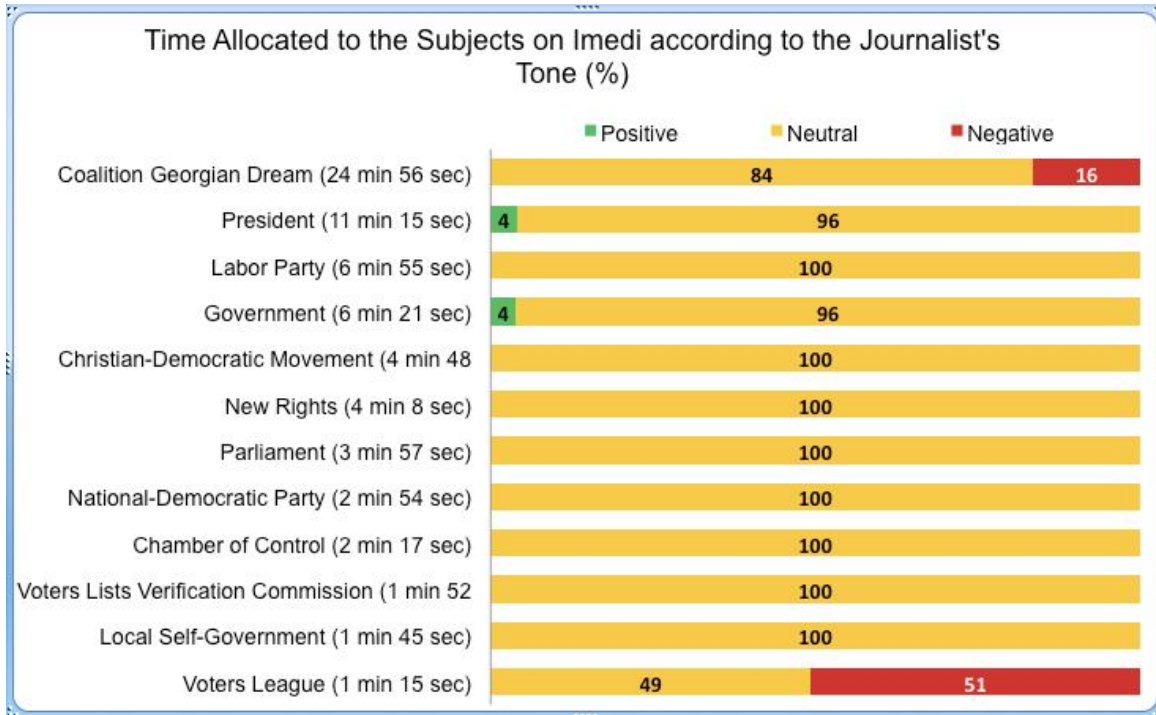


Diagram 12

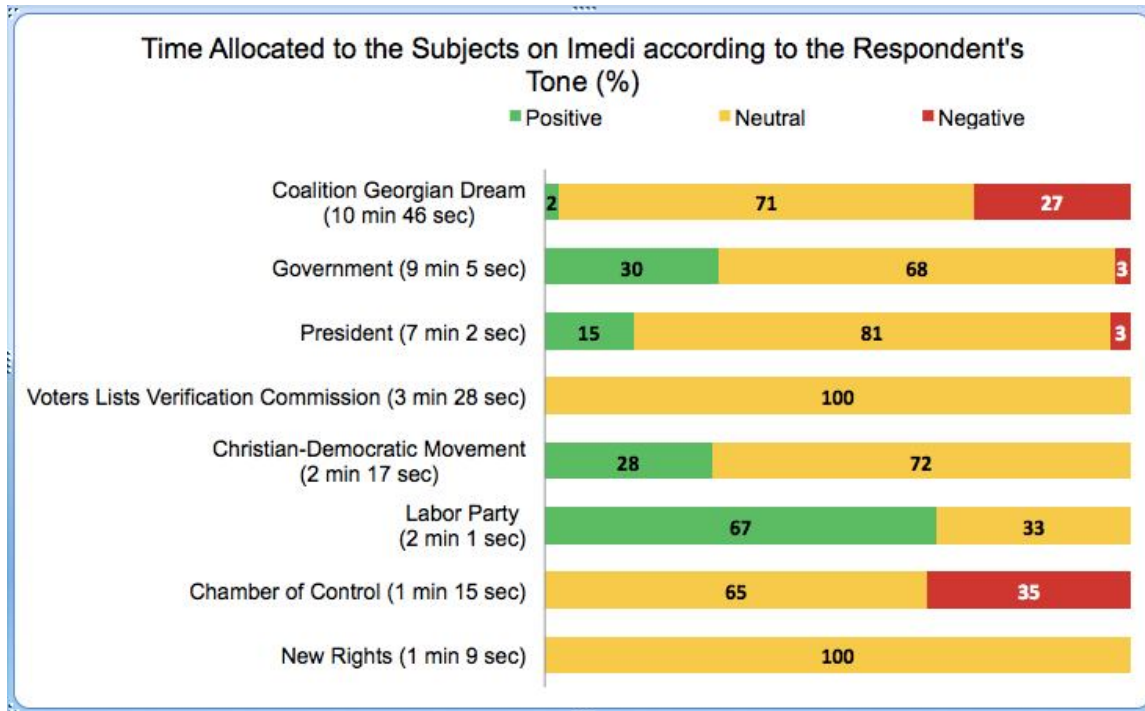


Diagram 13

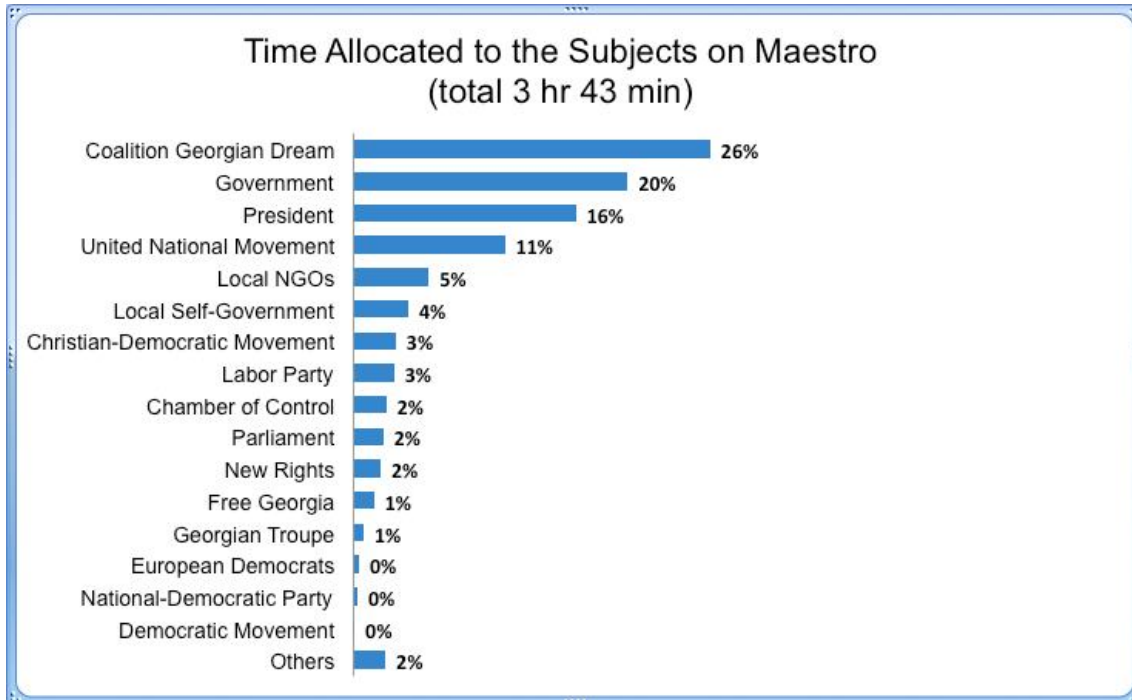


Diagram 14

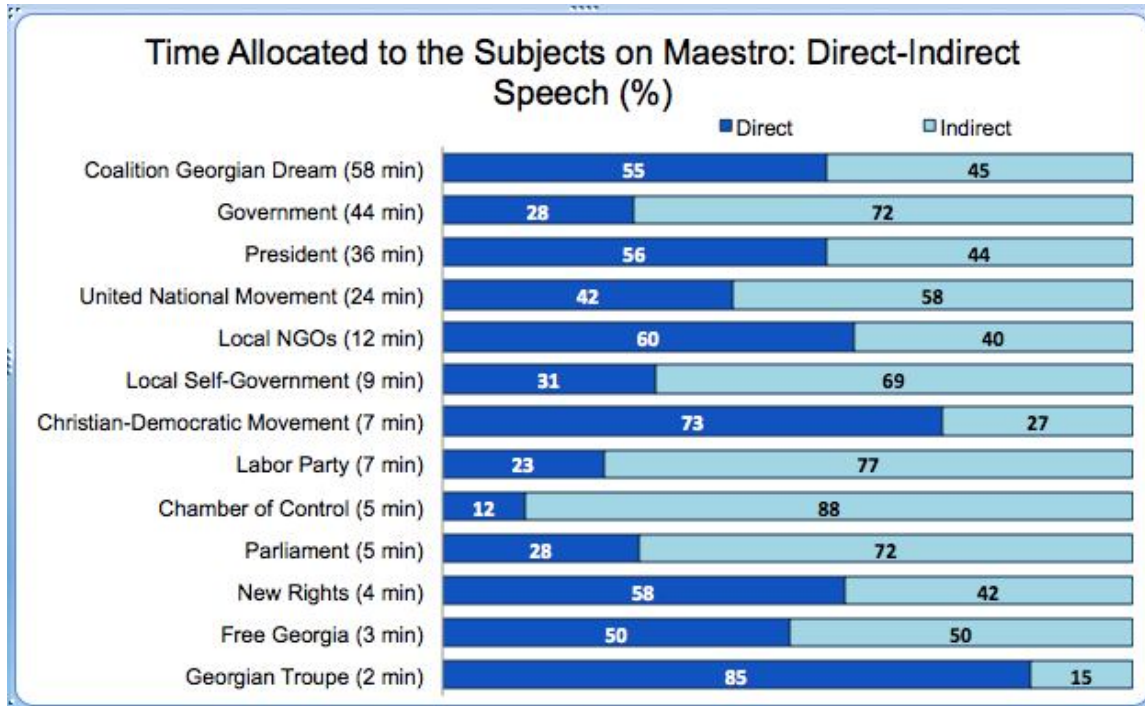


Diagram 15

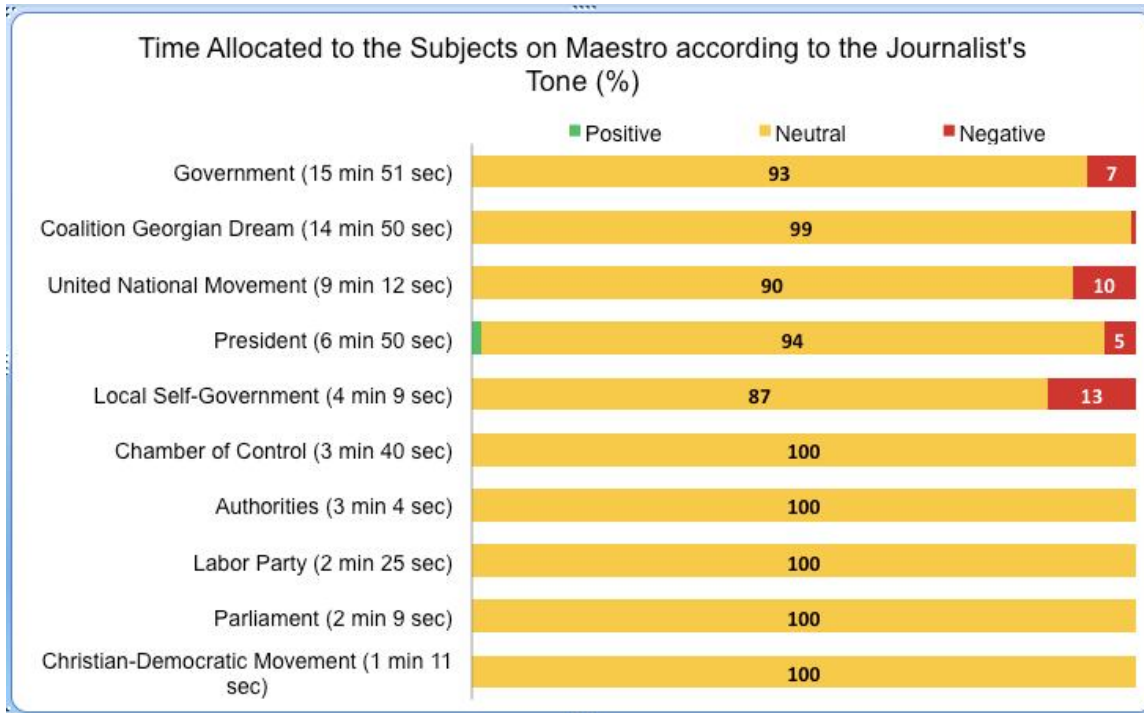


Diagram 16

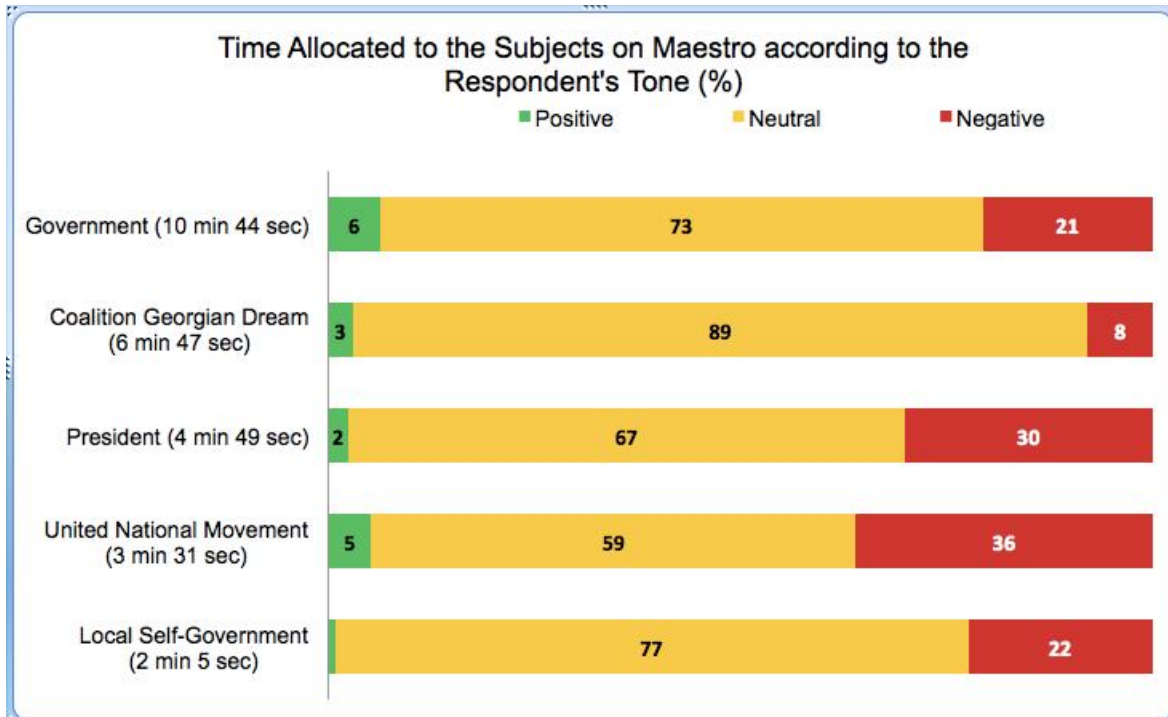


Diagram 17

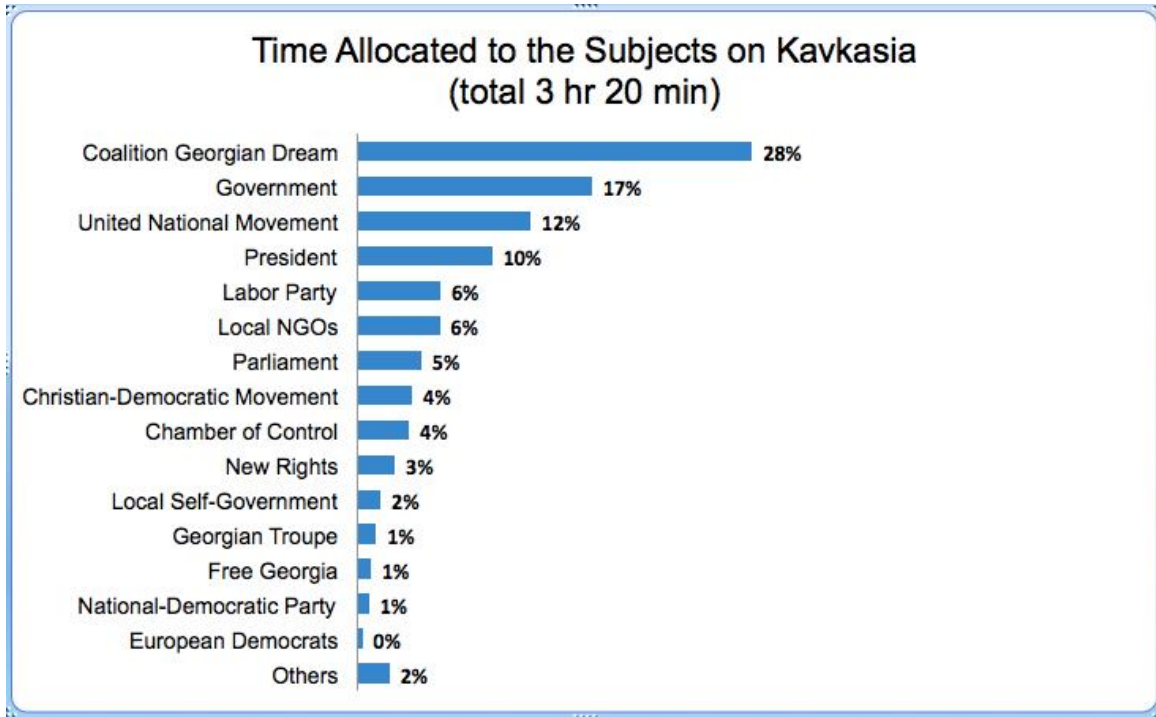


Diagram 18

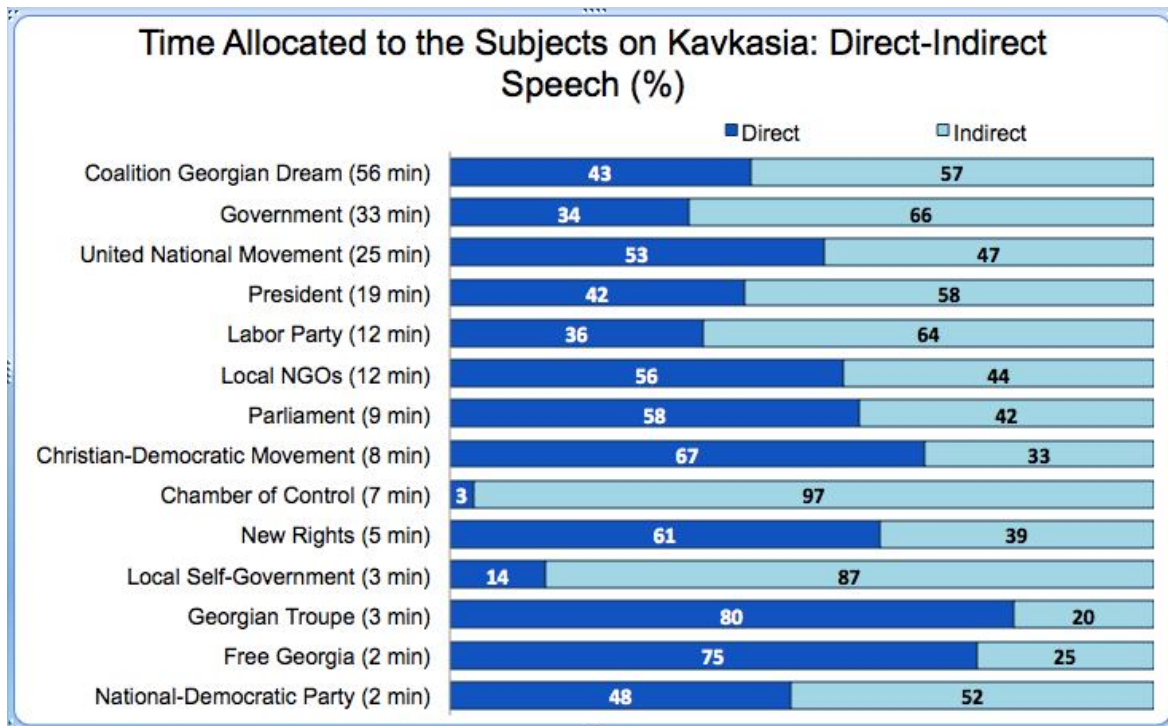


Diagram 19

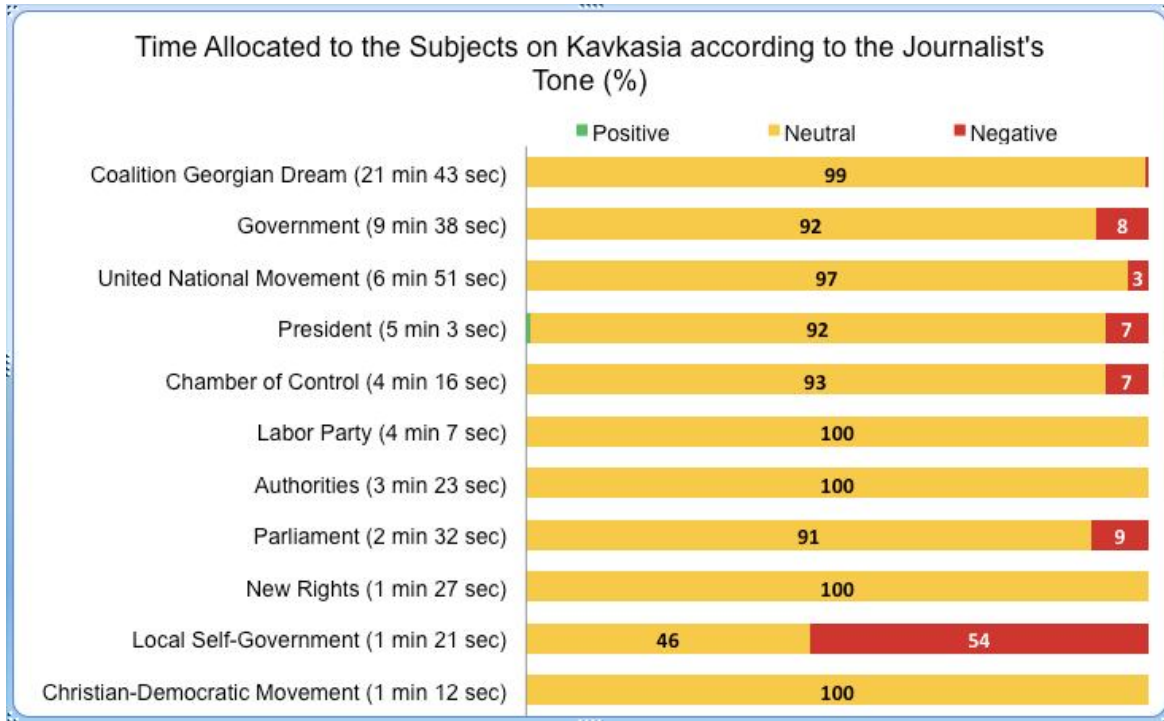


Diagram 20

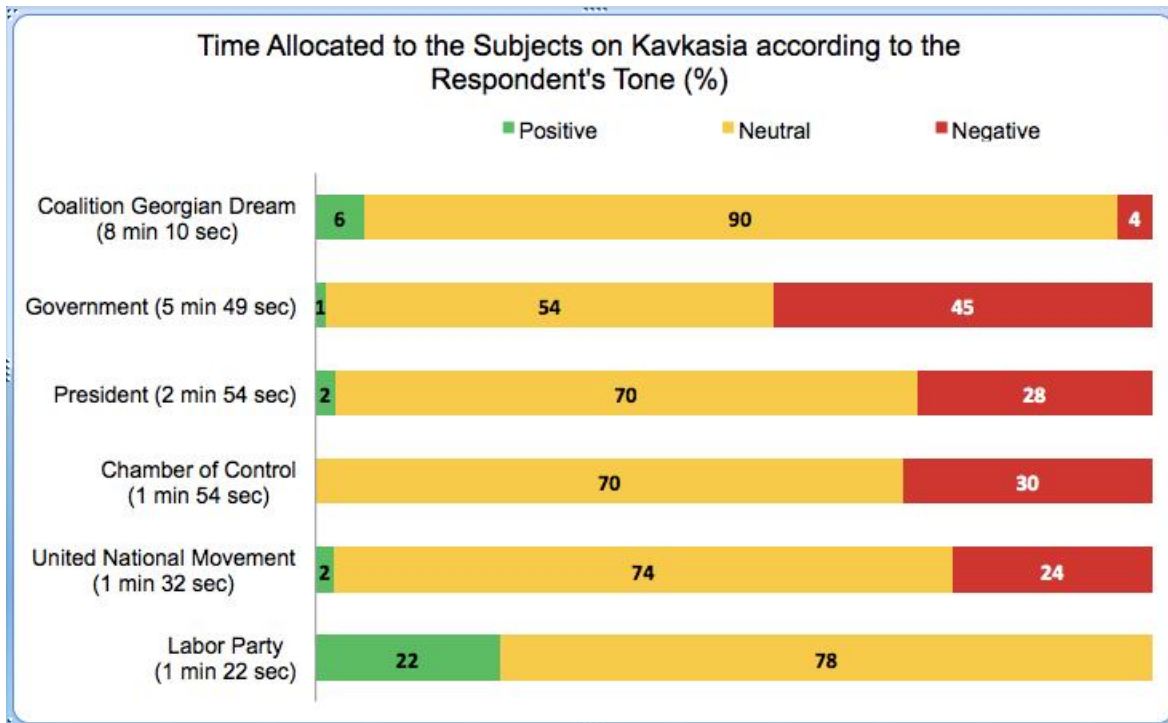


Diagram 21

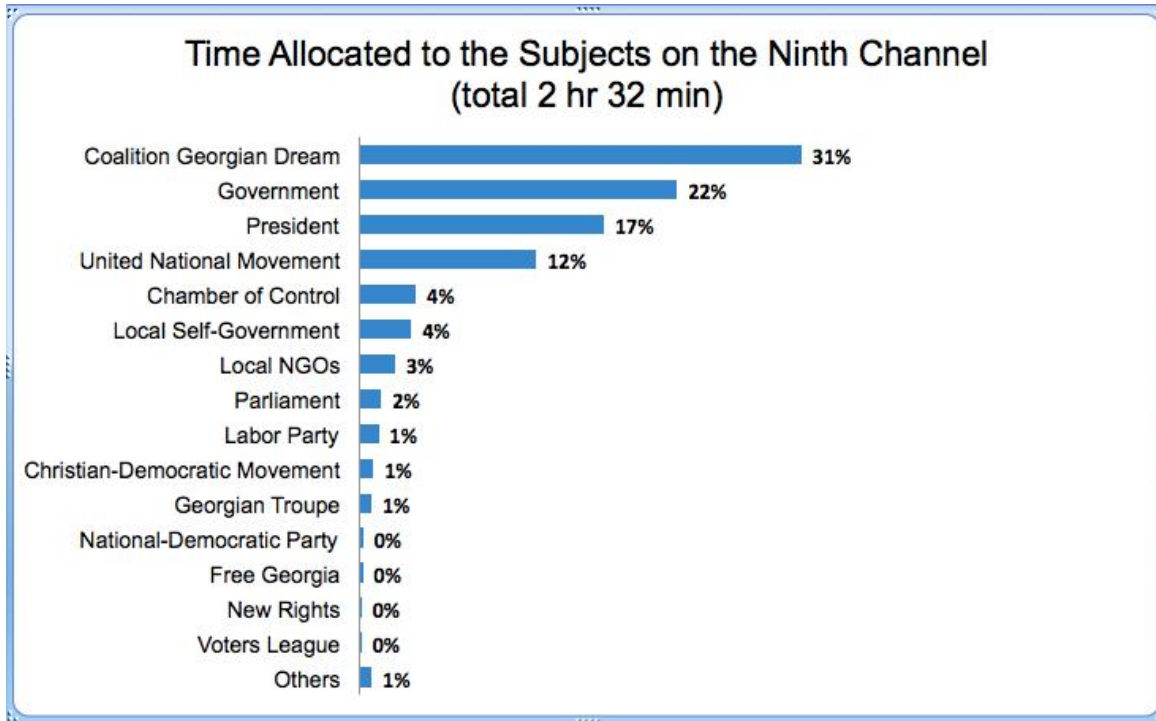


Diagram 22

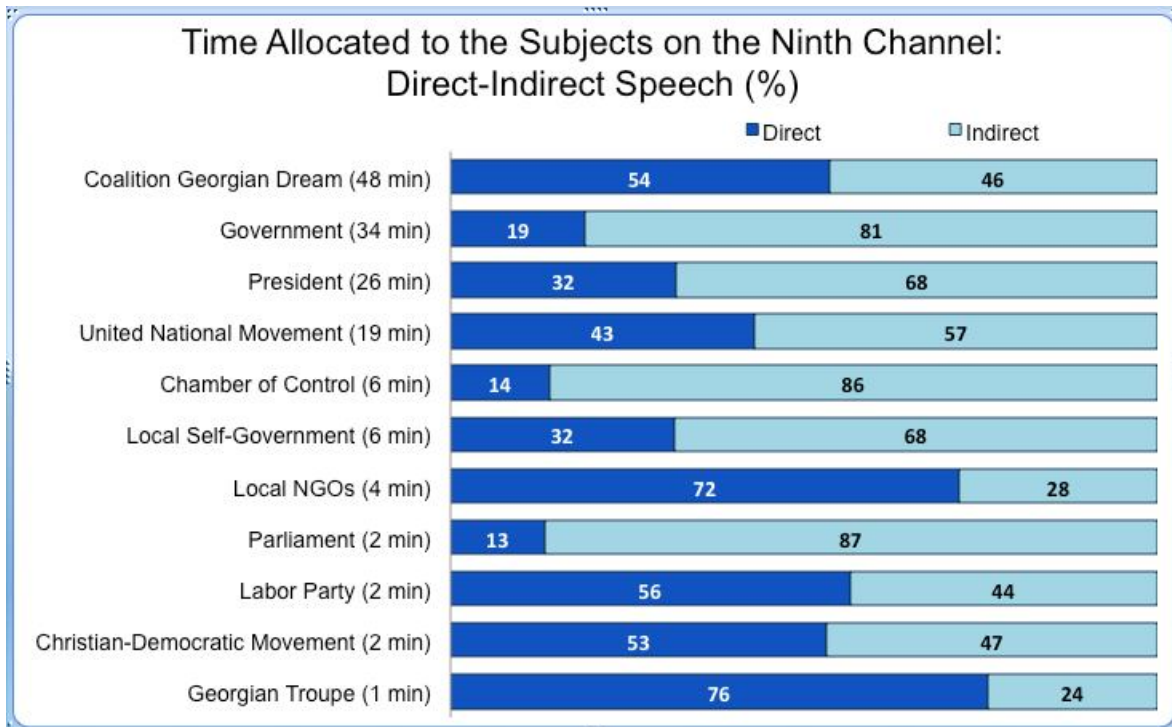


Diagram 23

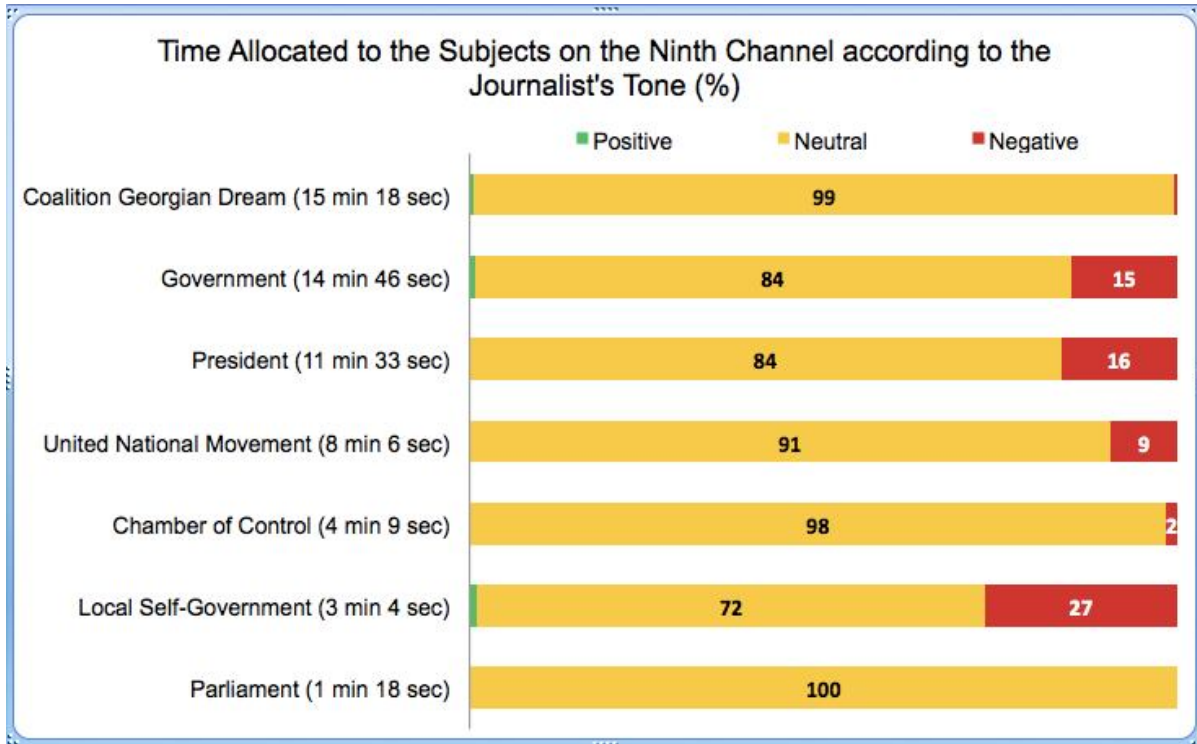


Diagram 24

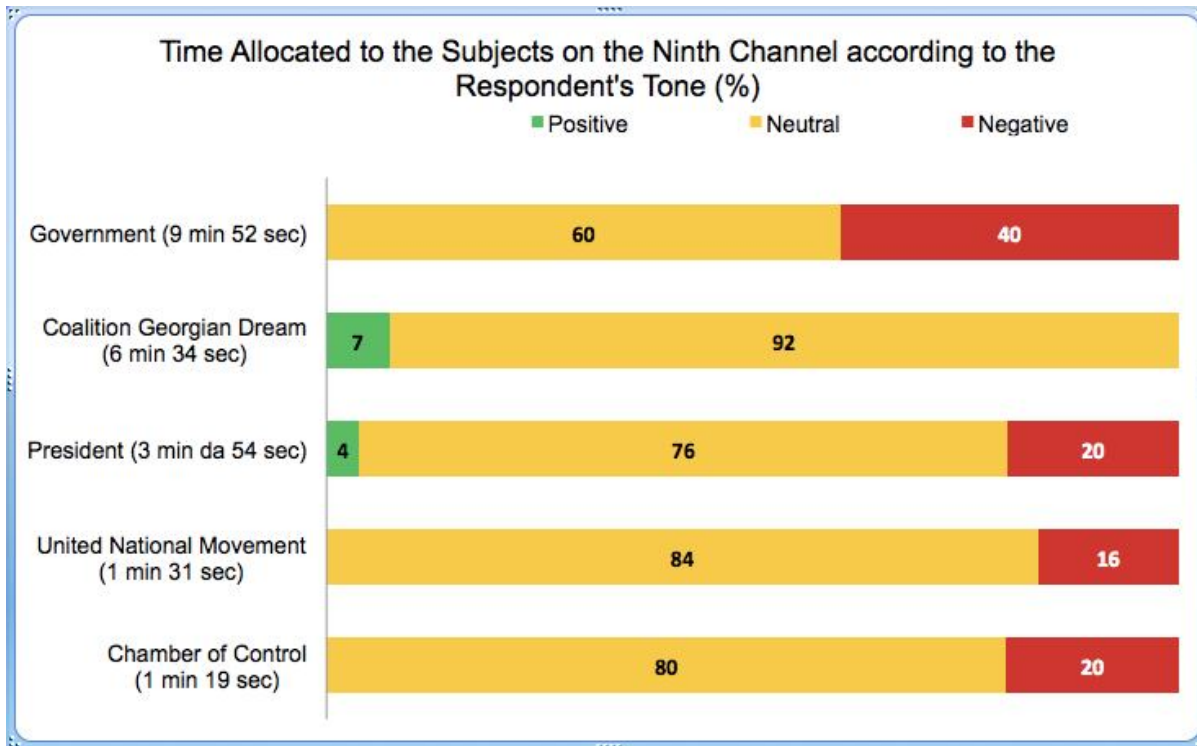


Diagram 25

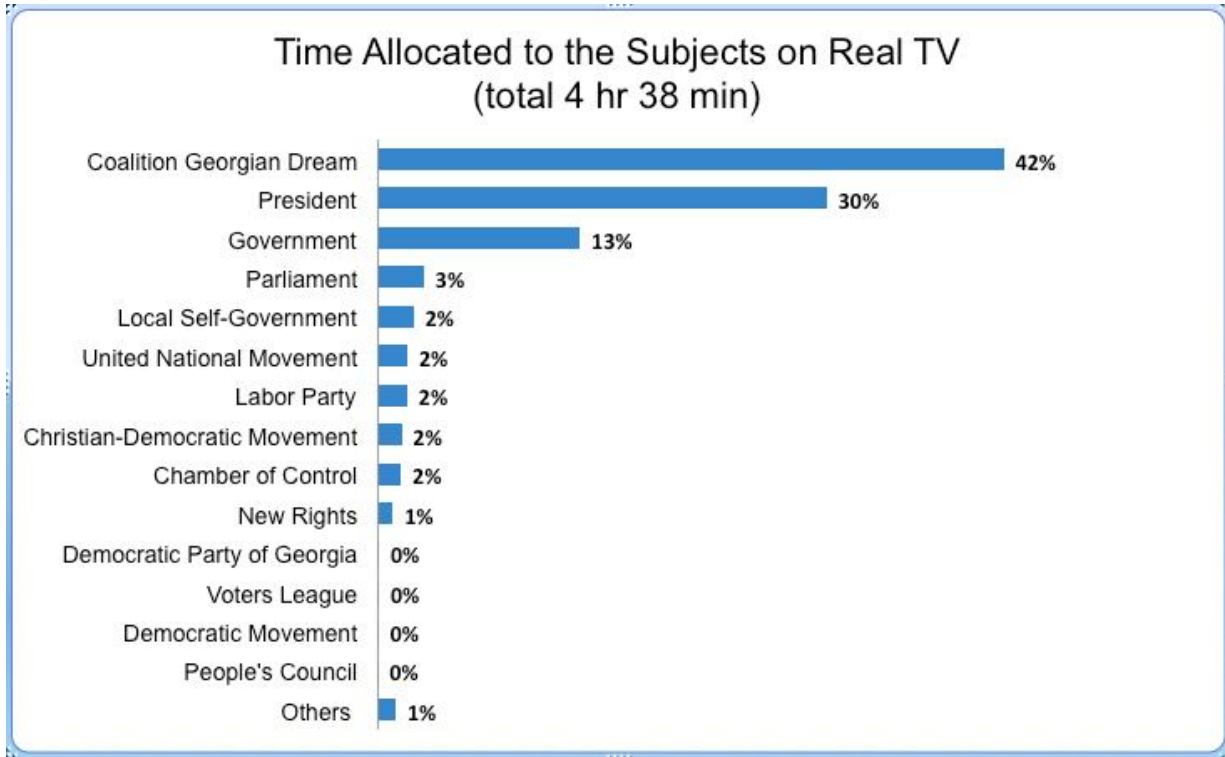


Diagram 26

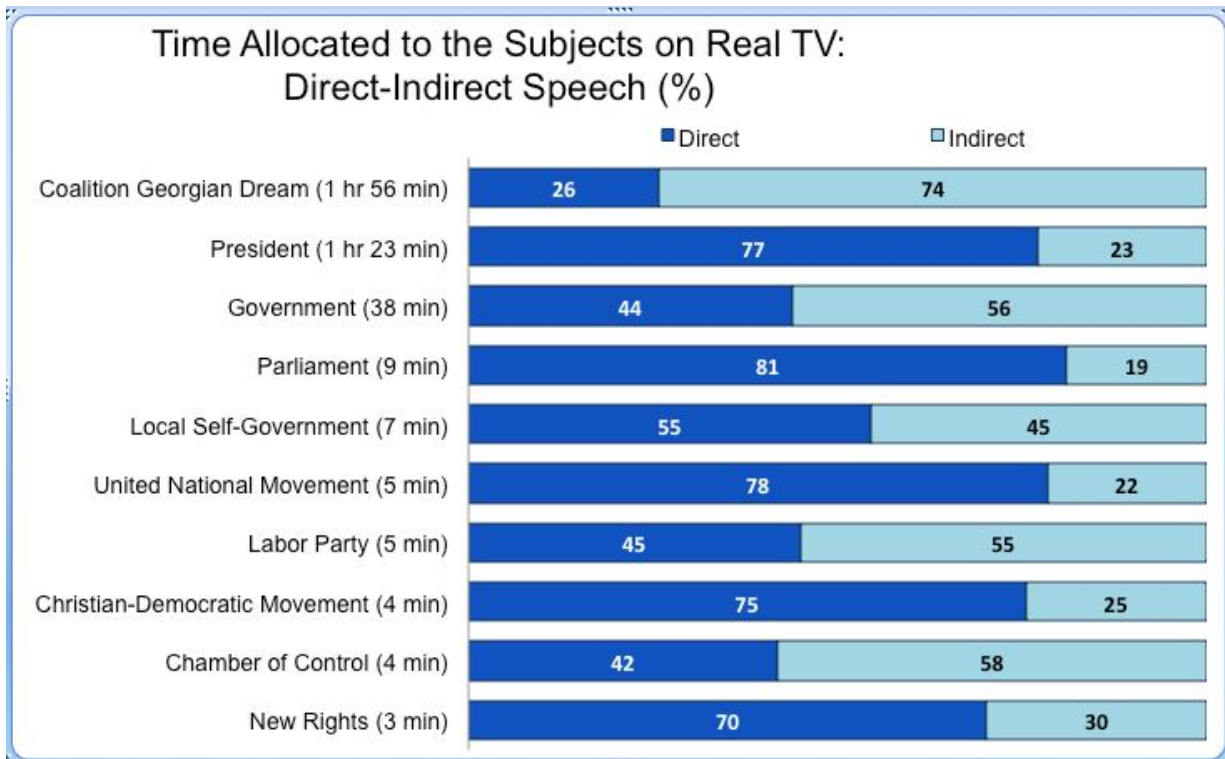


Diagram 27

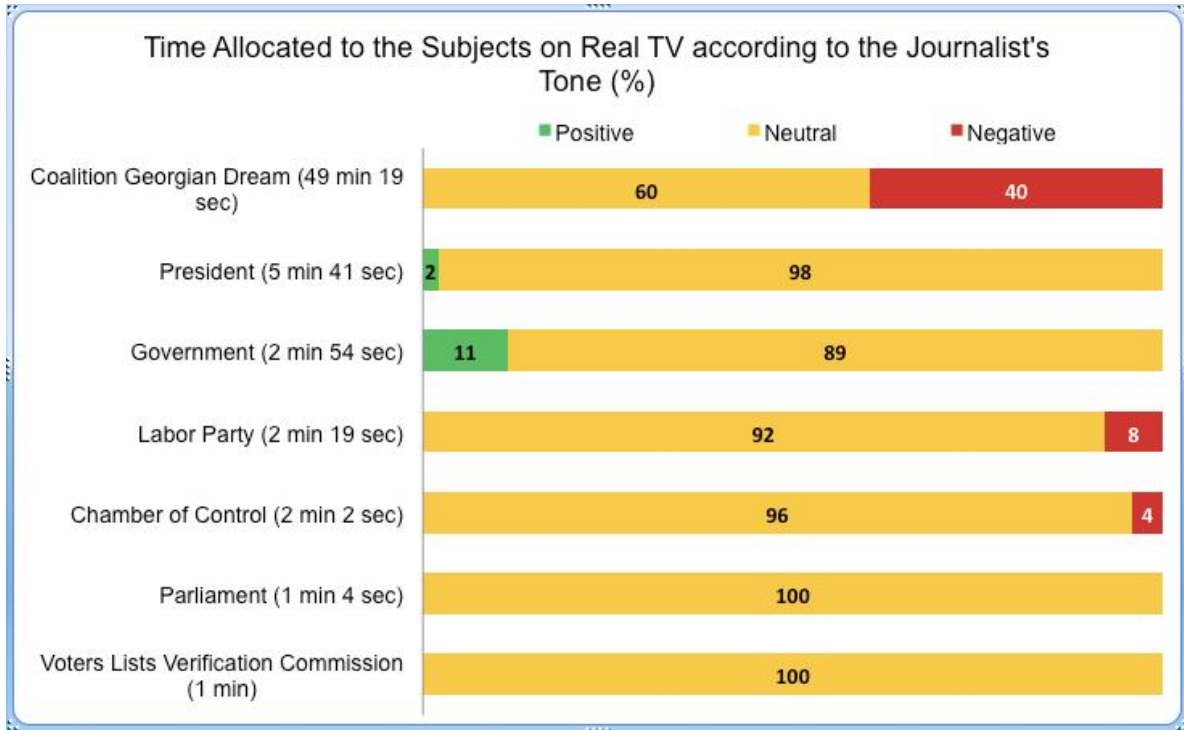


Diagram 28

