



## Election Media Monitoring

September 1-14, 2012

The following are the key findings of the media monitoring for the period of September 1-14:

- All the channels except Rustavi 2 and Maestro allocated the most time to the Coalition Georgian Dream.
- Out of the monitoring subjects, the least number of subjects were covered on Imedi.
- Less than 1 percent was allocated to the local NGOs only on Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel.
- The Coalition Georgian Dream has quite equal distribution of the direct and indirect speech only on Rustavi 2, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel.
- All the subjects but the government, to which more than 5 minutes were allocated on the First Channel, have more than 51 percent of direct speech.
- The President has more than 53 percent of direct speech on all the channels except the Ninth Channel.
- The subject coverage tone is mostly neutral on the First Channel and on Kavkasia.
- The President was covered with a positive tone for more than 75 percent of time on Rustavi 2 and Imedi.
- The Coalition Georgian Dream was covered with negative tone on Real TV in case of 81 percent of total time allocated to it.
- Relatively more share of negative tone was revealed towards one and the same subjects on Maestro and the Ninth Channel: the United National Movement, the government, the President. However, the indicator of negative tone is comparatively lower on Maestro and higher on the Ninth Channel.
- As for the journalist's tone, all the subjects were covered with a neutral tone on the First Channel except 2 subjects: the government and the president. However, it is notable that less than 3 minutes were allocated to both of the subjects during the time when the journalist was speaking and also in the footage without comments.

- High rate of the journalist's positive tone was revealed towards the President on Rustavi 2 and Imedi (60 percent and more), and quite high negative tone was reported towards the Coalition Georgian Dream (more than 28 percent).
- On the Ninth Channel the journalist's tone follows the general pattern, and there is quite high negative tone for the government, the United National Movement, the local self-government, the president and the Central Election Commission (CEC).
- The negative share of the journalist's tone on Real TV is even more towards the Coalition Georgian Dream, than the share of general negative tone.

## **Methodology and Analysis**

Election Media Monitoring of televisions includes quantitative and qualitative components. The quantitative component includes time allocated to the subject, direct and indirect speech and tone of coverage. Components of the qualitative monitoring are: balance, accuracy, fact-based coverage, manipulation with footage and music.

The quantitative data are provided in the diagrams, which are attached to the report. The time allocated to the subjects is provided in the diagrams in percentage. 100 percent equals to the time allocated to all the subjects on each channel during the particular monitoring period, which is indicated in the title of the diagram. If the diagram does not show any political party, which is a monitoring subject, this means that no time was allocated at all to this party on this channel during this period. Those parties, to which at least several seconds/minutes were allocated, are shown on the diagram (often with 0 percent of time). The category "other" on each channel represents the group of subjects (except the political parties), to which 1 percent of time or less was allocated on this channel.

It is notable that the President is always counted alone despite whether he is making statements on behalf of the National Movement or not. However, other political figures, such as, for example: Vano Merabishvili, Davit Bakradze, Gigi Ugulava, etc. when they make speeches on behalf of the party and make appeals or nominate candidates, they are considered to be the "United National Movement" and not as the "government" or the "parliament".

Direct and indirect speech differentiates whether the subject is talking in the news-item himself or if he is being talked about by: journalists or other respondents. The direct and indirect speech is provided in the diagrams in percentage. 100 percent equals to the time allocated to every subject on this channel, which is provided along the subjects on these diagrams. Those subjects, to which less than one minute was allocated on the channel, are not represented in the diagram.

The coverage tone is assigned to the subject when somebody is talking about him indirectly and also when he is talking about himself, about other subjects or about general issues. The diagrams show three categories of tones: positive (green), neutral (yellow) and negative (red). While counting the time allocated to the subject, the tone of this allocated time is also evaluated. Attention is paid to the text of a journalist or a respondent, and also to the overall context of the news item.

Tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects is given in two ways: evaluation of total time allocated to the subjects on a given channel based on the tone, and tone of coverage/mentioning of subjects by a certain journalist. The coverage tone is given in percentage. In the first case, 100 percent equals the total time of talking about a subject on a particular channel, and also the time of talking about this subject by journalists. The subjects, to which less than 1 minute was allocated in each case, are not represented on the diagrams.

While performing the qualitative monitoring, the emphasis is laid on the balance, i.e. if there are several different opinions about the covered subject represented in the news items. The emphasis is also laid on the accuracy, and for evaluating this, the monitor observes if the journalist's conclusion and the materials used in the news items are compatible to each other (footage, comments of the respondents), or if there are any mistakes in the names, figures, identity of respondents. They also observe if the news item refers to any particular fact, and if there is any footage/comments provided in this news item to confirm this fact.

The monitoring pays attention to the cases of manipulating with footage and music in the news releases. It is assumed that there was a case of manipulation with footage and music, if the footage or photos used in the news item are represented, and there is a music accompanying that footage, which creates certain disposition and results in sharply positive or negative association.

Based on these components, the results of monitoring of news releases are provided for the period of September 1-14 per channels.

It is notable that only those parties and unions were monitored during this monitoring period, which were registered as election subjects for the Parliamentary elections of Georgia on October 1, 2012, in accordance with the Central Election Commission. Other subjects, such as the government, the President, the parliament, local self-government, local and international organizations<sup>1</sup>, CEC, Commission for Ensuring the Voters List Accuracy (SIA), observers, the State Audit Service – are unchanged.

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<sup>1</sup> The monitoring looks at the coverage of local NGOs only in the elections context.

## **The First Channel**

*The time allocated to the subjects on the First Channel is more or less equally distributed. However, if we add up the time allocated to the United National Movement and the President, who has been making statements on behalf of the party during the election period, we will see that the allocated time is more evenly distributed and there are fewer differences observed among the subjects. In regards to the direct and indirect speech we should point out that the subjects, to which more than 5 minutes were allocated, have more share of direct speech than indirect one, except the government. The subject coverage tone is mostly neutral. Headlines broadcasted on the First Channel are mostly neutral and descriptive. The news reports mostly leave neutral impressions about the presented subjects. In regards to the respondents presented in the reports, the news items are mostly balanced on the First Channel. As for providing facts for supporting the information provided by the journalist, such facts are always provided on the First Channel.*

During the monitoring period (September 1-14), in total, 4 hours and 6 minutes were allocated to the subjects on the First Channel, which is more or less equally distributed among the subjects. However, if we summarize the time allocated to the United National Movement and the time allocated to the President (in total - 18%), who has been making statements on behalf of the party during the election period, we will see that the allocated time is more equally distributed and fewer differences are observed among the subjects.

The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first, to which more than 20 percent was dedicated out of the total time allocated to the subjects. The Christian-Democratic Movement and the United National Movement rank second and third, and to them 14-14 percent were allocated. Likewise, the time was equally distributed between the New Rights and the Labor Party, and they got 10-10 percent out of the total time. As for other subjects, they got 7 percent or less. (See the Diagram - Time 1)

In regards to the direct and indirect speech it is noteworthy that out of the subjects to which more than 5 minutes were allocated, the share of direct speech is more than the indirect one except the government. In all the cases the share of direct speech is less than 51 percent. The direct speech indicator for the government is quite low and it is only 7 percent out of 8 minutes. The highest percent of direct speech was revealed equally for the Coalition Georgian Dream and the Christian-Democratic Movement (69 percent). (See the Diagram - Speech 1)

While evaluating the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, it was revealed that the majority of monitoring subjects are covered with neutral tone on the First Channel. In most cases the share of neutral tone was higher than 92 percent. The President

and the government are the only exceptions. During this period 9 minutes were allocated to the President and out of this time he was covered with neutral tone in 75 percent, and as for the government, only 46 percent was neutral out of 8 minutes dedicated to it. In case of the government there was 41 percent of negative tone observed, which is the highest indicator of negative tone on this channel. It should be noted that at the same time the government had the highest rate of positive tone, which was 12 percent. The Coalition Georgian Dream, to which about one hour was dedicated, has 7 percent of positive tone. (See the Diagram - Tone 1)

As for the journalist's tone, all the subjects are covered with neutral tone except for two subjects. Journalist allocated 2 minutes and 18 seconds to the President, and out of this time 7 percent was covered with negative tone. 2 minutes and 41 seconds were allocated to the government, and here 16 percent was positive tone and 3 percent - negative tone. (See the Diagram - Tone J1)

During this monitoring period the headlines of news items have been neutral and descriptive on the First Channel.

The monitoring observes the news items as a whole, and tracks the overall impression that the reports leave about any certain subject. It is noteworthy that on the First Channel the reports mostly leave neutral impression about the presented subjects. Actually there have not been any cases of positive or negative coverage. There were one or two cases of positive coverage in case of the president and government representatives. For example, in the news item of September 1 "Prime Minister in Gori" the story is about Vano Merabishvili walking in the streets and getting familiar with the city rehabilitation process. In fact, there have not been any reports during the monitoring period, where the overall impression would tend to be negative towards any subject<sup>2</sup>.

In regards to the respondents presented in the news items, the reports are mostly balanced on the First Channel, and various opinions are provided about the covered issues. Besides, the reports, which are prepared under the sections "Election Chronicles" or "Election Messenger" are continued within the frameworks of the election campaigns, where the election campaigns of the electoral subjects are covered. In cases of these reports it is difficult to talk about the balance.

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<sup>2</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MSaBa8MYZrg&feature=youtu.be>

As for providing facts for supporting the information provided by the journalist in the report, the First Channel always provides such facts.

Within the frameworks of the election campaign, the First Channel has been offering live broadcast of opposition party representatives in its news releases for several months already. During the monitoring period of September 1-14, there were 5 live broadcasts like this on the First Channel, and each of them lasted for 10 minutes on average. The following guests went live during these broadcasts: Vakhtang Khmaladze (Coalition Georgian Dream), Mamuka Katsitadze (New Rights), Levan Vepkhvadze (Christian-Democratic Movement), Manana Kobakhidze (Coalition Georgian Dream), Soso Shatberashvili (Labor Party).

Usually, there is only one guest who goes live during these broadcasts, and the talks are about the election programs of the parties. The journalist mostly lets the guests express their opinions fully, and interrupts them only in case if she wants to ask an additional question, to specify something, if there is little time left, or if the respondent went beyond the topic of the discussion. Basically, the anchor's questions to the guests are less demanding.

## **Rustavi 2**

*The time allocated to the monitoring subjects was more or less equally distributed among them during the period. The most time was allocated to the United National Movement and the Coalition Georgian Dream. It is notable that if we add up the percentage indicators of the United National Movement and the President, we will get 43 percent in total, and in this case the time allocated to the subjects will be distributed quite unequally. In regards to the direct and indirect speech, the share of direct speech prevails almost in case of all the subjects. This indicator is lower only in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, the government and international organizations. As for the tone-based evaluation of subjects, here the positive coverage of the following subjects is eye-catching: the United National Movement, the President, government, Christian-Democratic Movement and the local authorities. As for the news items where the overall impression tends to be negative, they are mostly dedicated to Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream. Since the second half of August, Rustavi 2 started to arrange live broadcasts in its news releases, where one or more politicians were*

*invited. During the live transmission, basically the journalist's questions to the respondents were equally demanding.*

During the monitoring period (September 1-14), in total 7 hours were allocated to all the subjects on Rustavi 2. The time was more or less equally distributed among the subjects. The most time was dedicated to the United National Movement - 24 percent, and to the Coalition Georgian Dream - 23 percent. The other subjects among the top-five are: the President with 19 percent, the government - 10 percent and the Christian-Democratic Movement - 8 percent. The other subjects have 3 or less percent. It is noteworthy that if we add up the percentage indicators of the United National Movement and the president, which has been making appearances on behalf of the party almost always during the election period, and who is also actively involved in the election campaign, we will get 43 percent in total. In this case the time allocated to the subjects will be distributed quite unevenly. (See the Diagram - Time 2)

In regards to the direct and indirect speech, the share of direct speech prevails almost in case of all the subjects. This indicator is less than 49 percent only in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, government and international organizations. In other cases the share of direct speech is no less than 54 percent. The president has the biggest share of direct speech (73%), and the government has the least (40%). (See the Diagram - Speech 2)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the subjects, the picture is quite unbalanced here. There is an eye-catching positive coverage of following subjects: the United National Movement (26%), the President (84%), the government (27%), the Christian-Democratic Movement (20%), and the local self-government (72%). As for the negative tone, the highest indicator was observed in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream - 39 percent. It is noteworthy that the negative tone was also reported in regards to the United National Movement and the government (5 and 10 percent). (See the Diagram - Tone 2)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, the picture is almost the same. The most positive tone was reported for the President (61% out of almost 19 minutes), the government (23% out of about 17 minutes), and the United National Movement (15% out of about 19 minutes). As for the negative tone, the biggest share was

reported in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream – 36 percent from out of about 22 minute. (See the Diagram - Tone J2)

The headlines of news items broadcasted on Rustavi 2 were mostly informative and neutral during the monitoring period. However, sometimes there are the headlines of non-neutral contents. It is notable that the headlines with positive contents are mostly related to the authorities, for example: “New Medical Center: a 6-storey clinic was located in the space of 40,000 square meters, and equipped with modern technologies.” (September 4). As for the headlines with negative contents, they are mostly dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream: “Ivanishvili against Georgian Wine” (September 6), “Ivanishvili’s lie” (September 7), “and Ivanishvili’s scandalous statement” (September 10).

During the monitoring period, there was a tendency revealed on Rustavi 2: the reports where the overall impression tends to be positive, are dedicated mostly to the President, the government, prime-minister, the United National Movement and only in a few cases to the Christian-Democratic Movement. It is also noteworthy that the reports about the President often show applauses, chanting, and sometimes positive music is also used, which creates a positive background.

In the news item dated September 11 “New Projects in Imereti”, the President is represented quite positively. The report has footage of gathered people holding flags, applauding and chanting the president’s name. The reports also show the shots where an old man is giving a vessel to the President as a gift, the President is taking a photo with his voters, etc. in the same news report, the President is opening a newly constructed gas pipeline in Kharagauli. At that time he is holding a child in his hand, and they are lighting fire together. At the end of the report the President is going to the people, greets everybody and shake hands with them<sup>3</sup>.

There was a report – “State Insurance” broadcasted in the same news release, which presented Davit Bakradze and the state insurance system quite positively. The Speaker of the Parliament is visiting a citizen, and takes him to the hospital by his own car. While driving they are speaking about the state insurance. There is footage showing how this citizen is being served at the hospital and how satisfied she is<sup>4</sup>.

As for the Christian-Democratic Movement, there were only a few reports that left clearly positive impressions about the Christian-Democratic Movement. The news item of

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<sup>3</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7L96MfVqweo&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>4</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hO6HcIbiKW8&feature=youtu.be>



September 7 “Christian-Democratic Movement at Rukhi Fortress” shows a meeting with population during the election campaign. The footage often shows many people gathered around, they are holding the party flags and their election numbers. The meeting is ending with the concert, where Inga Grigolia sang herself. The meeting with the voters ended with fireworks. The report shows the election number of the Christian-Democratic Movement, which is also lit up with fireworks<sup>5</sup>.

Negative reports broadcasted on Rustavi 2 during this monitoring period were dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. For example, Bidzina Ivanishvili was presented in quite a negative context in the news item of September 14 “Scandalous Interview”. The report shows a compilation of his interviews given to foreign outlets. In all of these interviews the emphasis is laid on how loyally Ivanishvili is mentioning Vladimir Putin and how he is criticizing Mikheil Saakashvili. Other party members and experts are also shown in the report, which criticize the leader of the Coalition Georgian Dream for such statements. Besides, there is an interview with two Russian respondents shown in this report, who are talking about Russia’s attitude to Georgia and about a possible military operation from its side. The report also contains footage of Vladimir Putin and Dmitri Medvedev; also how the meetings are raided in Russia. In general, the report leaves quite a negative impression about Bidzina Ivanishvili<sup>6</sup>.

The negative background is created not only by the overall impressions left by the reports, footage and respondents’ comments, but also sometimes by the journalists text as well.

For example:

A journalist: “Leader of the Georgia Dream threatens the teachers that they will be judged if he comes to power... Bidzina Ivanishvili expanded the list of public officers to be judged in a few hours after making this statement. When speaking at the extraordinary press-conference arranged with the purpose of presenting the voters list, the leader of the Coalition added judges to teachers too, and made a forecast that they would also appear sitting on defendant’s chairs too” (September 1, the news item “Ivanishvili’s Menace”)

In regards to presenting various sides and opinions, majority of the reports have been balanced during the monitoring period. During the election campaign the numbers of reports increased where it is difficult to speak about the balance, as far as mostly only one side or one source was presented and only one particular party’s or subject’s election activity was covered.

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<sup>5</sup> Please follow the link to see the video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3IrrgBB0NTI&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>6</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLEuUsnzvws&feature=youtu.be>

Since the second half of August, Rustavi 2 started to have live broadcasts in their news releases, where one or several politicians were invited. Sometimes these broadcasts were made in the form of debates. During the period of September 1-14, on average 20 minutes were dedicated to these live broadcasts. In total there were 3 live broadcasts like this on Rustavi 2 and following guests were invited: Davit Bakradze (United National Movement / Speaker of the Parliament), Akaki Minashvili (United National Movement), Aleks Petriashvili (Coalition Georgian Dream), Davit Usupashvili (Coalition Georgian Dream), and Giorgi Baramidze (United National Movement).

During such live broadcasts the journalist would mostly let the guests express their opinions and interrupted only when the guests diverted from topic or exceeded the time. The journalist's questions to the guests are in most cases equally demanding.

### **Imedi**

*Unlike all the other channels, the least number of monitoring subjects were covered on Imedi during the monitoring period. The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first, though it has the least share of direct speech. The reports often had non-neutral headlines. Positive news reports were mostly about the President, the government and the United National Movement, and the negative reports - mostly about Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream. According to the presented respondents, the news reports were more or less balanced. Since the second half of August, Imedi started to have live broadcasts in its news releases, and political figures would go live during these broadcasts. In most cases the journalist's questions to the guests were less demanding.*

In total, 5 hours and 57 minutes were dedicated to the subjects on Imedi during the monitoring period. It is notable that unlike all the other channels, the least number of monitoring subjects were covered on Imedi. The top-three were: the Coalition Georgian Dream (23%), the United National Movement (19%) and the President (16%). The percentage indicators are more or less equally distributed among them. However, if we combine the times allocated to the United National Movement and the President, as far as the President is often making statements on behalf of the party, in this case the United National Movement will be the number one and the time difference with the Coalition Georgian Dream will become more than 10%.

Out of the time allocated to the subjects on Imedi, 16% was allocated dedicated to the Christian-Democratic Movement, and 12 percent - to the government. As for other 3 subjects, they got 5% (New Rights), 4% (Labor Party) and 1 (National-Democratic Party). (See the Diagram - Time 3)

As for the direct and indirect speech, according to the allocated time (1 hour and 23 minutes), although the Coalition Georgian Dream ranked first, it got the least amount of the direct speech – 38%. Other subjects have at least 49% of direct speech. (See the Diagram - Speech 3)

As for the tone-based distribution of time among the subjects, quite a large share of positive coverage was revealed in regards to several subjects. These are: the President (75%), the government (37%), the United National Movement (21%) and the Christian-Democratic Movement (16%). In regards to the negative tone, the highest percentage was revealed in regards to the Coalition Georgian Dream – 36 percent out of about ninety minutes. (See the Diagram - Tone 3)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, here the common trend is repeated. The most positive coverage was reported for the President (63% out of about 20 minutes), the United National Movement (26% out of about 19 minutes), and the government (25% out of about 15 minutes). The Coalition Georgian Dream got the most time – about 30 minutes, and they also had a notably high indicator of negative tone (28%). (See the Diagram - Tone J3).

The reports that were broadcasted on Imedi during the monitoring period often had non-neutral headlines. The news items with negative headlines were mostly dedicated to Bidzina Ivanishvili. For example, "Ivanishvili and teachers: the dream with threats" (September 1), "Ivanishvili and Judges: the dream with threats" (September 1), "Torturer of Junta: Bregadze, "Dream" and Zhorzholiani" (September 4), "Putin's Servant? "Independent's" article about Ivanishvili" (September 8), "Ivanishvili's next threat: the Dream's leader and special operation in Lapankuri" (September 10).

On the other hand, the majority of reports with positive headlines were related to the President and the Prime-Minister: "Rehabilitation of Gori Fortress: The Prime Minister got familiar with the planned and ongoing works in Gori" (September 1), "Educational initiatives: President's meeting with teachers – new swimming pool in Gldani" (September 12), "Road Rehabilitation: President visited the ongoing works in the village Shroma" (September 13), "Smiling Georgia" – President got familiar with project implementation in Natanebi (September 13), "Registration of job-seekers: Prime Minister attended the process of making the employment database" (September 14).

As for the overall impression, there is a revealed trend that the positive reports mostly are about the President, the government, the National Movement and the Christian-Democratic Movement. However, the negative reports are mostly about the Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili. It is noteworthy that this trend has been revealed right after the

beginning of the monitoring and has not changed for the next four months. Vice versa, as the elections get closer, this trend is more intensified.

Examples:

The news item of September 5, "Vintage and Selling of Grapes" leaves a very positive impression about Mikheil Saakashvili, who visited one of the locals for vintage and participated in it. There is a footage of a woman working in the vineyard and when the president is approaching her to greet, she is saying that her hands are dirty, though the president is answering: "What is dirt, I don't understand... you have working hands, not dirty hands" and kisses her hands. Then there is footage of the President picking grapes and then taking full buckets to have them emptied in the vehicle. After the vintage Mikheil Saakashvili has dinner with the hosts, proposes toasts and listens to the people around the table who are saying how the gas and water supply has improved in the village. At the end of the news item the President is going to a newly opened factory where the grapes are collected, warmly greets the staff and expresses satisfaction in regards to the functioning of the factory<sup>7</sup>.

The news item of September 13 - "Road Rehabilitation: the President visited the ongoing works in the village Shroma" is positive about the President. Saakashvili is himself taking part in the road rehabilitation work, drives a special vehicle, meets the gathered people and talks to them about the performed works and future projects. The report is loaded with many ovations, chanting and applauses.

Vano Merabishvili is positively covered in the news item of September 12 - "Prime Minister in Dusheti District: visiting the ongoing works and a guesthouse". There are no shots used in the report showing party attributes and neither are there people's ovations, however, in general, the report shows how the gas pipelines are installed and how the workers are working. Besides, there is a comment of a local person who is satisfied with ongoing works. Merabishvili is meeting with the population and gives them a hope that the gas will be supplied soon. The Prime Minister is also meeting with the workers and talking to them about the construction of hydropower station, and telling them that these ongoing works will provide additional jobs to them. Merabishvili is asking to the gathered people: "Have we said anything that we have not fulfilled? Have you heard any promise that was not kept?"

In the first half of September at least one report was dedicated to the Christian-Democratic Movement in every news releases on Imedi. Consequently, there were the news items

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<sup>7</sup> Please follow the link to see the video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=74WhYqpnoQY>

observed that created positive impression about this party. For example, the news item of September 1 “Anikashvili in Varketili: majoritarian candidate of the Christian-Democratic Movement talks about the gaps in the insurance program”. It is noteworthy that this news item was broadcasted after a quite positive report about the new insurance program, and starts with the journalist’s text that the Christian-Democrats are criticizing this program, which presents the party in a negative way. Despite this, there is footage of Magda Anikashvili visiting a lonely person with disabilities, and hears his opinion about the insurance, which makes the news item more positive in regards to the Christian-Democratic Movement<sup>8</sup>.

Negative reports broadcasted in Kronika during this monitoring period (September 1-14) were mostly dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream, its members and Bidzina Ivanishvili. It is notable that the majority of such news items underline the linkages of the leader of the Coalition Georgian Dream to Russia and particularly to Vladimir Putin.

For example:

The news item of September 12 “Georgian Democracy and Russian Interference” negatively presents Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream in general. The report is constructed based on the statement of the Minister of Defense of Estonia, which was published in The Wall Street Journal. According to the reporter, the Estonian politician refers to Bidzina Ivanishvili as a pro-Russian force in his statements, and blames him of supporting Putin’s interests in Georgia. It is worth mentioning that the English text of the statement, which is shown on the screen, does not coincide with the Georgian version, which is being read out by the reporter. There are respondents, experts and politicians invited to the program, who are negatively speaking about Bidzina Ivanishvili. Moreover, they are talking about Russia’s possible plans in connection to Georgia, which makes the audience think about the connection between Bidzina Ivanishvili and Putin, as this idea is generated by the overall context of the report. The shots of Vladimir Putin are used several times in the report. In one of them, where he is answering to the question asked by the Georgian journalist, whether the Russian-Georgian relationships will be unchanged for the next 6 years, he answered by asking a question: “I don’t know. When will you have elections in Georgia?” Even this part indirectly make the audience think about Putin’s interests in connection to Ivanishvili<sup>9</sup>.

From the viewpoint of the respondents presented in the reports, the news items are more or less balanced. However, there are the reports during this monitoring period, which are

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<sup>8</sup> Please follow the link to see the video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvFXHeDQDI4>

<sup>9</sup> Please follow the link to see the video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=btr2bPGcQCO&feature=youtu.be>

difficult to evaluate based on their balance. There is a relatively small number of unbalanced news items, but their majority is about the Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili.

Starting from the second half of August, Imedi started to have live broadcasts in its news releases. Political figures participated and went live during the news releases. There were 3 live broadcasts like this on Imedi during September 1-14, and about 20 minutes were allocated to each of them on average. Following guests went live during the broadcasts: Zurab Chiaberashvili (Minster of Health), Davit Sakvarelidze (United National Movement), Shota Khabareli (Coalition Georgian Dream), Magda Anikashvili (Christian-Democratic Movement), and Chiora Taktakishvili (United National Movement).

During these live broadcasts the journalist almost always let the guests express their opinions and interrupted them only to ask probing questions or in case if the respondent went beyond the topic of discussion. The journalist's questions to the guests are often less demanding.

We need to point out the debates arranged in the program on September 7, when the guests were Davit Sakvarelidze (United National Movement) and Shota Khabareli (Coalition Georgian Dream). The journalist's questions were stricter to Shota Khabareli, member of the Coalition Georgian Dream. When the guest tried to avoid one of the questions, the journalist asked three times and insisted him to answer. Besides, we should also note that the questions asked to the majoritarian candidate of the United National Movement referred to the Coalition Georgian Dream. In the last part we could observe the journalist's and Davit Sakvarelidze's ironic attitude to Shota Khabareli.

There were Magda Anikashvili (Christian-Democratic Movement) and Chiora Taktakishvili (United National Movement) invited to the program on September 13. Despite none of them were representing the Coalition Georgian Dream, the journalist was ultimately asking both of the respondents about probable dissolution of the coalition. When Magda Anikashvili tried to avoid the answer and continued to talk about her party's program and when she justified it by saying that the Christian-Democratic Movement is not distinguished with gossiping about other parties, the journalist interrupted her and asked to make a comment about the Georgian Dream.

## **Maestro**

*According to the allocated time, the time was distributed among the top-three subjects: the United National Movement, the Coalition Georgian Dream and the government with*

*minimum differences. However, it is notable that if we add up the time allocated to the ruling party and the President, who has been actively involved in the election campaign, we will see that quite much time is allocated to the United National Movement. In regards to the direct speech, the President has the biggest share. Majority of news items on Maestro had descriptive and neutral headlines. However, we can also observe critical and negative headlines about the officials. It is noteworthy that during this monitoring period there were reports broadcasted on Maestro where the President and the United National Movement were covered negatively and positively as well. In regards to the presented respondents and different opinions, the news items are balanced in most cases. There are rare cases when the journalist's words/opinions did not correspond to the material presented in the report.*

In total, 3 hours and 31 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Maestro during the monitoring period. According to the allocated time, there were minimum differences observed time-wise among the top-three subjects: 20 percent for the United National Movement, 19 percent for the Coalition Georgian Dream and 18 percent for the government. The President ranked fourth with 14 percent. However, it should be pointed out that if we summarize the time of the ruling party and that of the President, who has been actively involved in the election campaign, we will see that the United National Movement has quite a large share of time – 34 percent. Other subjects got 7 or less percent. (See the Diagram - Time 4)

After observing the direct and indirect speech it was revealed that out of the subjects to which more than 10 minutes were allocated on Maestro during September 1-14, the President has the largest share of direct speech – 59 percent. The lowest share of the direct speech has the government (27%) and international organizations (23%). (See the Diagram - Speech 4)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, the large share of positive coverage was revealed only in regards to two subjects on Maestro: the United National Movement (41% out of about 48 minutes) and the President (40% out of about 30 minutes). The negative tone was observed in regards to several subjects. Among them the government has the highest rate – 26 percent out of about 40 minutes. Relatively less negative tone is observed for the Coalition Georgian Dream (11% out of about 42 minutes), the President (9% out of 30 minutes) and the United National Movement (8% out of about 48 minutes). (See the Diagram - Tone 4)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, the negative tone prevails towards three subjects. They are: the government (20%), the United National Movement (21%) and the President (12%). There are very rare cases of positive coverage of

subjects by the journalist – the President had 8 percent of positive tone and the United National Movement had 5 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone J4)

The reports on Maestro had mostly the descriptive and neutral headlines. However, there are some headlines with critical contents about the government, the President, local self-government and the National Movement, which leaves a negative impression about these subjects. For example, “Graves in the village Duisi: according to the people living in Pankisi Gorge, there are people of Duisi among the people neutralized by the special operation” (September 1), “National’s list in Adjara: why was the company’s 11 thousand square meters handed over to Irakli Kverghiladze, number three in the list, without the auction” (September 3), “Votes of Prisoners – Nana Kakabadze: Kalmakhelidze’s institution is going to mobilize the votes for the National Movement through the prisoners, probationers and their family members” (September 11), “Rural development program: population is asking for gas and water, but instead there were mini-stadiums and bus-stops were build under the program” (September 12), “Foreign Debt: the state foreign debt increased by 118 million USD a month” (September 13).

A big part of the news items on Maestro in general leaves a negative and critical impression about the United National Movement, the President and the government. It is also noteworthy that in most cases this negative impression is created because of the respondents’ comments and not because of the journalist’s texts or footage.

For example,

In the news item of September 4, “President’s Appeal – Mikheil Saakashvili: Kutaisi Airport – I will press you hard until you decrease prices” here the emphasis is laid on the president’s terminology and the tone of his speaking. According to the journalist, the experts are evaluating the President’s speech as the threat to businessmen. Besides, negative evaluations are also made by the respondents presented in the news report. All this leaves a negative impression on the audience about the president<sup>10</sup>.

The news item of September 7, “Vote-Buying? According to the population of Kvemo Chala, Giorgi Karbelashvili gave a dinner with his own expenses”, tells a story of Giorgi Karbelashvili, majoritarian candidate of the United National Movement in Vake district, who offered a dinner to the local people in Kvemo Chala. According to the journalists, he is blamed of vote buying. The respondents presented in the report, who are village residents, confirm this fact. There is also Karbelashvili’s comment provided in this news item where

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<sup>10</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0WTCmePEYi8&feature=youtu.be>



he is rejecting this and says that the local population arranged the dinner. The NGO representatives are talking in the report about the alleged fact of vote-buying.

There was a news item broadcasted on September 11 “Prisoner’s Votes – Nana Kakabadze: Kalmakhelidze’s Institution is going to mobilize the votes for the National Movement through prisoners, probationers and their family members”, which negatively presents the Ministry of Corrections and Legal Assistance. The story is based on the article of the newspaper Resonance, according to which the election law is violated – the ministry is asking the prisoner’s family members to bring ID cards, and to the probationers – to bring the list of the supporters of the United National Movement.

It is noteworthy that during this monitoring period (September 1-14) there were the reports on Maestro where the President and the United National Movement were positively covered. In this respect the release of September 8 stands out, which started by the direct broadcast of the convention of the United National Movement from the Sports Palace. The live transmission lasted for 12 minutes. There was a broad coverage of Davit Bakradze’s speech and then there was Vano Merabishvili’s address. This live broadcast was quite positive about the United National Movement. At the end of the same program, there was another live broadcast from the Sports Palace for 8 minutes, where Mikheil Saakashvili addressed the people. This also leaves quite a positive impression as well.

In respect to the presented respondents and the different opinions, the reports on Maestro are mostly balanced. If the balance is not observed, often the journalists say that the particular respondents refused to make any comment. We also come across with other reports during this monitoring period, which are difficult to evaluate from the standpoint of balance.

There were rare cases on Maestro where the journalist’s words/opinions do not correspond to the materials presented in the report: the respondents’ comments and footage.

## **Kavkasia**

*The most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream on Kavkasia. However, if we add up the time allocated to the National Movement and the President, then there will be only one-percent difference between the Coalition Georgian Dream and the ruling party. Out of the subjects to which more than 7 minutes were allocated, the majority has more than 45 percent of direct speech. The subjects are mostly covered with neutral tone. The reports are more or less balanced and supported by footage and respondents’ comments. As*

*for the irrelevance between the journalist's opinion and the material presented in the report, we almost never see the cases like this.*

In total, 4 hours and 19 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Kavkasia. The most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream (23%). It is notable that according to the allocated time, the indicators of subsequent subjects are similar: United National Movement (14%), the government (13%), local NGOs (9%), Christian-Democratic Movement (9%), the President (8%). It is interesting that if we add up the time allocated to the United National Movement and the President, because the President often makes speeches on behalf of the party and is engaged in the election campaign, then there will be only one-percent difference between the Coalition Georgian Dream and the ruling team (the Coalition Georgian Dream – 23 percent, the United National Movement – 22 percent). According to the allocated time, the third subject has 13 percent, which is quite a big leap. (See the Diagram - Time 5)

In regards to the percentage-based distribution of direct and indirect speech, it is notable that in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which the most time was allocated, the share of direct and indirect speech is almost equally distributed (the direct speech – 51%, indirect – 49% out of about 1 hour). Out of those subjects to which more than 7 minutes were allocated, the majority has more than 45 percent of direct speech. Only 4 subjects have less than 45 percent of direct speech. They are: the United National Movement (43%), the government (36%), international organizations (30%) and the Central Election Commission (43%). (See the Diagram - Speech 5)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the subjects it is noteworthy that the subjects are mostly covered with neutral tone on Kavkasia. The most positive tone was used for the President, which is 23 percent out of about 20 minutes of coverage. There was also positive coverage, though with less percentage, for the Coalition Georgian Dream (4%) the United National Movement (8%), the government (7%) and the Christian-Democratic Movement (9%). However, the most negative tone was observed for the government (17% out of about 33 minutes) and the United National Movement (15% out of about 40 minutes). Negative coverage was also observed in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream as well – 9 percent out of 1 hours and 5 minutes. (See the Diagram - Tone 5)

Distribution of the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone mostly creates a neutral picture. The indicator of neutral tone is always more than 82 percent. The only exception is the State Audit Service, which has only 72 percent of neutral coverage out of ninety minutes allocated to it. There was relatively large portion of negative tone observed in case of the government and the United National Movement (11-11% out of

about 15 and 14 minutes). The government also had the highest indicator of positive tone (7% out of about 15 minutes). (See the Diagram - Tone J5).

During the whole monitoring period, the news items did not have headlines on Kavkasia; this is why no respective observation was made.

The reports mostly leave a neutral impression in general about the subjects. However, there are also other news items where the overall impression about a certain subject would tend to be positive or negative. In this respect it is notable that the overall impression is tending towards negative mostly for the United National Movement, authorities and government. This impression is mostly created by the comments of the respondents presented in these reports.

The news item of September 11 deals with the damage that the population experienced because of the harvest of hybrid corn. The negative impression is intensified in the report by the archived footage of the President when he was making a speech in 2011 and promising to help the people. There are also the comments of dissatisfied local population in this news item as well.

However, during the monitoring period there were also other reports, which left a positive impression about the president. For example, the report of September 14 showed Misha's visit to Tskaltubo leaves a positive impression about the president. There is a footage of gathered people with flags. The President is speaking about revival and future plans.

In regards to the sources used in the reports and diversity of presented opinions, the news items are more or less balanced on Kavkasia during the monitoring period. However, there are cases when the reports are based on one source only. Like other channels, often there are news items on Kavkasia, where it is difficult to talk about the balance.

The reports are mostly supported with footage and respondents' comments. As for irrelevance between the journalist's opinion and the material presented in the report, we don't actually see the cases like this during the monitoring period.

## **The Ninth Channel**

*The time allocated to the subjects was more or less equally distributed among the subjects. The top-three subjects were: the Coalition Georgian Dream, the government and the United National Movement. It is notable that if we sum up the time allocated to the ruling party and to the President, then the United National Movement will be on the first place according to the time allocated to it; and this will produce a picture of even more equal*

*distribution of time among the top-three subjects. The most equal time per direct and indirect speech was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream, and the most unequal – to the government. It is notable that such low share of direct speech has not been reported on any other channel during this monitoring period. There are quite often cases of critical and ironical headlines on the Ninth Channel in regards to the President, government and the ruling team. The President, government, the United National Movement and other representatives of the authorities are covered mostly in a negative context in the reports as the result of the respondents' comments, also because of the general context and the journalist's text. Positive coverage of subjects on this channel is rare. As for presenting various opinions in the news items, in this respect the reports are more or less balanced. However, it is notable that in most cases the comments of the government, those of various state structures and the representatives of the United National Movement are not provided in the reports.*

In total, 2 hours and 51 minutes were allocated to the monitoring subjects on the Ninth Channel during the monitoring period, which was more or less equally distributed. According to the allocated time, the Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first with 24 percent. Then comes the government with 21 percent and the United National Movement with 17 percent. Almost equal share – 10 and 9 percent of time was dedicated to the local NGOs and the President. It is notable that if we count the time allocated to the ruling party and the president together, because the President was very often making statements on behalf of the party during the election period, then the United National Movement will become the number one in this list with its 26 percent. Thus, this will produce a picture of even more equal distribution time among the top-three subjects. Other subjects have 4 or less percent. (See the Diagram - Time 6 and the Diagram - Time 4)

As for the distribution of direct and indirect speech, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the most equal distribution (50-50% out of about 40 minutes). Likewise, the relatively equal distribution is observed in case of the President (48% direct and 52% indirect from out of 15 minutes), and the local NGOs (54% direct and 46% indirect out of about 16 minutes). It is worth mentioning that compared to all the other channels, the Ninth Channel has the least share of direct speech among the subjects – 10 percent, which is observed for the government out of about 36 minutes (See the Diagram - Speech 6)

As for the tone-based coverage of subjects, there is an eye-catching prevalence of negative tone on the Ninth Channel in regards to the following five subjects: the President (53% out of about 15 minutes), the government (43% out of about 37 minutes), local self-government (40% out of about 6 minutes), the United National Movement and CEC which have 29-29%, respectively. The Coalition Georgian Dream has a relatively lower indicator of negative tone, which is 9 percent out of about 45 minutes.

As for the positive tone, positive coverage is rare on the Ninth Channel. There are only two subjects with positive tone: the United National Movement – 23 percent and the President – 19 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone 6)

As for the distribution of time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, here the main trend looks similar to the overall tone. The share of negative tone is quite big in regards to the same subjects, which had a big share of negative coverage as a whole. The local self-government (59% out of about 3 minutes), the President (57% out of about 6 minutes), the Central Election Commission (45% out of about 4 minutes), the government (41% out of about 19 minutes), and the United National Movement (38% out of about 13 minutes). (See the Diagram - Tone J6)

In regards to the headlines of news items, often we can observe critical and ironical headlines about the President, the government and the ruling team. For example: "Headquarters – the National way" staff member of the National Movement is distributing the social assistance" (September 6), "Smiling Georgia: The president is actively interested in healthy teeth" (September 6), "Right to the revoked vote: no polling stations will be opened in Russia" (September 7), "Lists of supporters of the National Movement: members of election commissions are assigned to collect the lists" (September 11), "President's evaluation: Saakashvili called 'rodents' to the political opponents" (September 11), "President's address: the President is asking for support in order to bring more benefit" (September 13), "Bonuses to the public officers in Zugdidi: one third of the budget will be used for the bonuses and expenses of officials" (September 14), "New life of Old Tbilisi" there are still many old houses in Tbilisi which are dangerous to live in (September 14).

During the qualitative monitoring, from September 1-14 inclusive, there was a tendency identified on the Ninth Channel after observing the general impressions of the reports, that the authorities, the government, the President and the United National Movement are mostly covered in a negative context as the result of not only by the respondents' comments, but also due to the overall context and the journalist's text.

The news item of September 3 "abandoned settlement" creates a negative impression about the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia. The report shows the footage of poor living conditions of IDPs. The report describes the problems of sewerage, drinking water and hygiene, which is also supported by the comments of the respondents. As they say, the Ministry does not respond to the request of the residents<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D4wKAZJPDRM&feature=youtu.be>

In the news item of September 6 “Smiling Georgia: The President is actively interested in healthy teeth” provides a negative and ironical coverage of the President’s initiative. The journalists’ texts are quite ironical, and the respondents negatively evaluate the program<sup>12</sup>.

The news item of September 8 “Election Epithets: The President criticized political opponents at the convention of the Nationals” negatively presents Mikheil Saakashvili. The report underlines the terminology, which the President is using against the opponents. There are some sections shown from various speeches of Mikheil Saakashvili, where he negatively refers to his opponents<sup>13</sup>.

There are news items on the Ninth Channel, where the journalist’s text is intensifying the negative impression about a particular subject. For example:

- “Lie and confession of the authorities of Georgia: Ministry of Internal Affairs is officially stating that none of the 11 people neutralized during the special operation were the citizens of Georgia. Two days after this statement the Saakashvili’s government admits that they mislead the public and killed two citizens of Georgia during the special operation held in Lopota Gorge. What else is the ruling power is hiding from its own people?” (September 3, the report “MIA’s confession”).
- “It has been more than a year that the authorities are trying to have the state achievements reflected on the people’s faces. Benefit of economic advancement should be revealed by the citizens’ smile and healthy teeth” (September 6, the report “Smiling Georgia: the President is actively interested in the healthy teeth”).
- “After talking about the constructed hospitals, Lazika to be built and occupied territories, Mikheil Saakashvili also found time for the anticipated elections and political opponents as well” (September 8, the report “Election epithets: the President criticized political opponents at the convention of the National Movement”).
- “See Mikheil Saakashvili’s fight against rodents and mummy (September 11, the report “President’s evaluation: Saakashvili referred to the political opponents as rodents”).
- “It was found out in the capital city that together with unemployment, Merabishvili would try to defeat political dinosaurs too” (September 12, the report “Hostile class: Merabishvili’s statement is perceived in dark colors at the Dream”).

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<sup>12</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=51TY69yIO64&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>13</sup> Please follow the link to see the video: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZSv-Y\\_DiNg&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZSv-Y_DiNg&feature=youtu.be)

As for presenting various opinions in the news items, in this respect the reports are more or less balanced. However, it is noteworthy that in the comments of the representatives of authorities, the government, the United National Movement and local self-government are not provided in the less balanced news items.

## **Real TV**

*Time was more or less equally distributed among the monitoring subjects on Real TV during September 1-14. The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first with 28 percent. It is notable that during the whole monitoring period the Coalition has never had such a low percentage indicator on Real TV during the whole monitoring period. If we add up the times allocated to the United National Movement and the President, then the ruling party will become the number one according to the allocated time. As for the percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech, out of the subjects to which more than 10 minutes were dedicated, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest percentage indicator of direct speech. It is eye-catching that the Coalition Georgian Dream, which ranks first in regards to the allocated time, has a very big share of negative coverage. In regards to the headlines of news items on Real TV, it is noteworthy that we often see descriptive and short headlines. However, there were also clearly negative and ironical headlines revealed as well mostly towards the Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili. There are frequent cases of manipulation with cutting, shots and music in the reports on Real TV. Like the First Channel, Rustavi 2 and Imedi, Real TV also started to have live broadcasts in its news releases. Political figures participate in these live broadcasts, where the journalist's questions to the guests in most cases are less demanding. It is notable that there was no representative from the Coalition Georgian Dream in these live broadcasts.*

In total, 6 hours and 34 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Real TV during the period of September 1-14. This time was more or less equally distributed among the monitoring subjects. The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first with its 28 percent. It is worth mentioning that during the whole monitoring period, the Coalition has never had such a low percentage indicator. The President and the United National Movement rank second and third with 19 and 16 percent, respectively. It is noteworthy that if we count together the times allocated to the United National Movement and the President, because the President has been actively involved in the election campaign and often his speeches are related to the party name, then the ruling party will be on the first place with its 35 percent of the allocated time. With this picture will see that the percentage indicator of the time allocated to the subsequent subjects after the United National Movement and the Coalition Georgian Dream is different with minimum 17 percent. The Christian-Democratic Movement (11%)

and the government (10%) have almost the same distribution. As for other subjects, 6 percent or less were dedicated to them. (See the Diagram - Time 7)

As for the percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech, out of the subjects to which more than 10 minutes were allocated, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the biggest rate of direct share (28% out of about 1 hour and 50 minutes), and the National-Democratic Party – the highest (93% out of about 22 minutes). It is noteworthy that even in case of the government, the share of direct speech is quite low – 35 percent. (See the Diagram - Speech 7).

As for the tone-based coverage of subjects, here the most evident is the share of negative coverage for the first-ranking Coalition Georgian Dream – 81 percent out of about 2 hours. As for the positive tone, the quite a big share of positive tone was revealed towards the following four subjects: local self-government (87% - out of about 12 minutes), the President (77% out of about 1 hour and 15 minutes), the United National Movement (37% out of about 1 hour and 15 minutes) and the government (27% out of about 39 minutes). Relatively small share of positive tone was observed for the Christian-Democratic Movement – 7 percent out of about 54 minutes. (See the Diagram - Tone 7)

As for the evaluation of the tone of a journalist when speaking about the subjects, here we see that in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream the journalist's negative tone has even more share – 88 percent (out of about 55 minutes), than this is in case of an overall tone. Distribution of positive tone is similar. The local self-government, the President, the United National Movement and the government are the subjects, which have the biggest share of positive tone: local self-government (59%), President (51%), the United National Movement (42%) and the government (23%). (See the Diagram - Tone J7)

In regards to the headlines of news items on Real-TV, it is noteworthy that often we see descriptive and short headlines. However, during this period we observed clearly negative and ironical headlines, mostly addressed to the Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili. For example “Ivanishvili, to Ivanishvili, from Ivanishvili...” (September 4), “Bidzina has taken off his mask” (September 4), “Aslanization of Bidzina” (September 6), “Bidzina – failed project” (September 6), “Liar Oligarch” (September 10), “Undercover office of the Dream” (September 12), “Party of Dreamers” (September 12), “Ivanishvili's “Success” Coalition” (September 13), “Bidzina's threat to Real TV” (September 13).

Overall impression tends to be either positive or negative in the news items of Real TV. Reports with overall neutral impressions are rare. Besides, the majority of positive reports are about the President, the prime-minister, the government, the authorities, the United National Movement and Mayor of Tbilisi. For example, the news item of September 6



“Visiting the President” shows a visit of ministers of foreign affairs of Sweden and Poland to Mikheil Saakashvili’s vineyard. The report leaves quite a positive impression about the President. There is footage of the President and foreign ministers picking grapes, baking bread in Tone – a Georgian clay oven, and pressing the grapes in Satsnakheli (a traditional winepress). The report also shows Zurab Chiaberashvili for a few seconds, who is also picking the grapes as well<sup>14</sup>.

Besides, the news item of September 10 – “Regional Tour of the National Movement”, which provided a positive coverage of the party and the president. The footage showed the gathered people, flags, comments of satisfied respondents, the President’s speech. It is noteworthy that the report also shows reconstructed Rabat Fortress from different angles, which is accompanied with a pleasant music.

On the other hand, much time is dedicated to the coverage of Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream on Real-TV and the overall impression about them is clearly negative. There are frequent cases of manipulation with frames and music and cutting as well in the reports. Besides, the opposition representatives are referred to with ironical adjectives, which is also observed to be done by the journalists as well.

There is a very good example of the above mentioned in the news item broadcasted on September 13 “Failed Coalitions”. The report is creating a negative impression about the Coalition Georgian Dream and its leader as well, though at the same time provides a positive coverage of the authorities. There are many cases of manipulation with frames and music. The news item is fully constructed based on the archived shots and tells a story of Georgia chronologically, specifically about the parties and various unions that existed for the last 25 years, which are referred to as ‘failed coalitions’: “Soviet Union”, “Citizens Union of Georgia”, “Revival”, “Georgian Party”, “People’s Council”. It is also worth mentioning that all of them are presented in a negative way. The shots taken from the archives, such as the war in Tbilisi, people in the streets trying to get warm at the fire, the elderly people in the shelter, rallies of May, 2011, etc. – are all related to the above listed ‘coalitions’ and the journalist is telling us that “this is Georgia they have created”.

It should be emphasized that the United National Movement is presented positively in this list and we hear in the report that “this era was ended by the coalition created around the National Movement”. This is followed by the footage of the Rose Revolution and then there are frames showing the rebuilt and renewed Georgia accompanied with a pleasant music. At the end, the Coalition Georgian Dream and its leader are discussed in a negative context,

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<sup>14</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFw6eqVOFgU&feature=youtu.be>

which is also accompanied with a manipulation with footage – there are some videos from the Russian movie – “The hand of Diamonds”<sup>15</sup>.

The overall impression created by the reports on Real-TV, both the negative and positive ones, are even more intensified with the journalist’s texts. For example:

- “The fact that the soldiers killed during the special operation sacrificed themselves while defending the country, remains an unaccepted and unimaginable fact for the dreamers” (September 3, the report “Special Operation in Lapankuri”).
- “... However, the Georgian Dream is still distinguished by drawing water to Putin’s mill” (September 3, the report “confession of a retired colonel”)
- “Who played devil between Jondi Baghaturia and the oligarch Ivanishvili – was not specified by the leader of the Georgian Troupe today. Jondi’s Dream – to get along with Ivanishvili’s surroundings and his much money, is still a dream” (September 3, the report “Jondi vs. Bidzina”).
- “Baghaturia has been trying hard to be among the pawns at the court of the Oligarch for 11 months already” (September 3, the report “Jondi vs. Bidzina”).
- “Coalition leader stumbled twice, but they say that there are only old and fake stones instead of diamonds in his gypsum” (September 13, the report “Failed Coalitions”).
- “Key political messages of the National Movement is understandable even for the youngest members of the ruling team” (September 10, the report “National Choice”).
- “[Citizens] have understood that everything is going on fine and thus they decided to visit the Rabat Fortress. However, this happened only after having an excellent convention of the National Movement in Akhaltsikhe” (September 10, the report “Regional Tour of the National Party”).
- “Train of Mikheil Saakashvili’s team has started off with rapid reforms” (September 10, the report “Since Rose Revolution until Today”).
- “Despite many problems, Mikheil Saakashvili’s government still managed to find a right way for taking the country out of crisis” (September 10, the report “Since Rose Revolution until Today”).

As for observing the balance in the news reports in regards to the presented respondents, during this period the reports are sometimes balanced, sometimes – not. It is noteworthy that the majority of unbalanced reports are caused by the lack of the comments by the

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<sup>15</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EpUsBe2qE2A&feature=youtu.be>

representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream. Besides, we often see the reports where it is difficult to talk about any balance.

As it was the case of the First Channel, Rustavi 2 and Imedi, Real-TV started to have live broadcasts in its news releases since September. Political figures participated in these broadcasts. During this monitoring period there were 8 such broadcasts on the “Reality” and on average 15 minutes were allocated to them. There was only one guest per each live broadcast, and the following respondents went live during the news releases broadcasted during the monitoring period: Levan Vepkhvadze (Christian-Democratic Movement), Sergo Ratiani (United National Movement), Inga Grigolia (Christian-Democratic Movement), Andria Urushadze (United National Movement), Davit Sakvarelidze (United National Movement), Guram Chakhvadze (National-Democratic Party), Giorgi Laghidze (Future Georgia), Dimitri Lortkipanidze (Free Georgia).

During these live broadcasts the journalist always let the guest finish his opinion fully and interrupts only when s/he wants to ask an additional question. In most cases, the journalist’s questions to the guests are less demanding.

## Annex - Diagrams

Diagram - Time 1

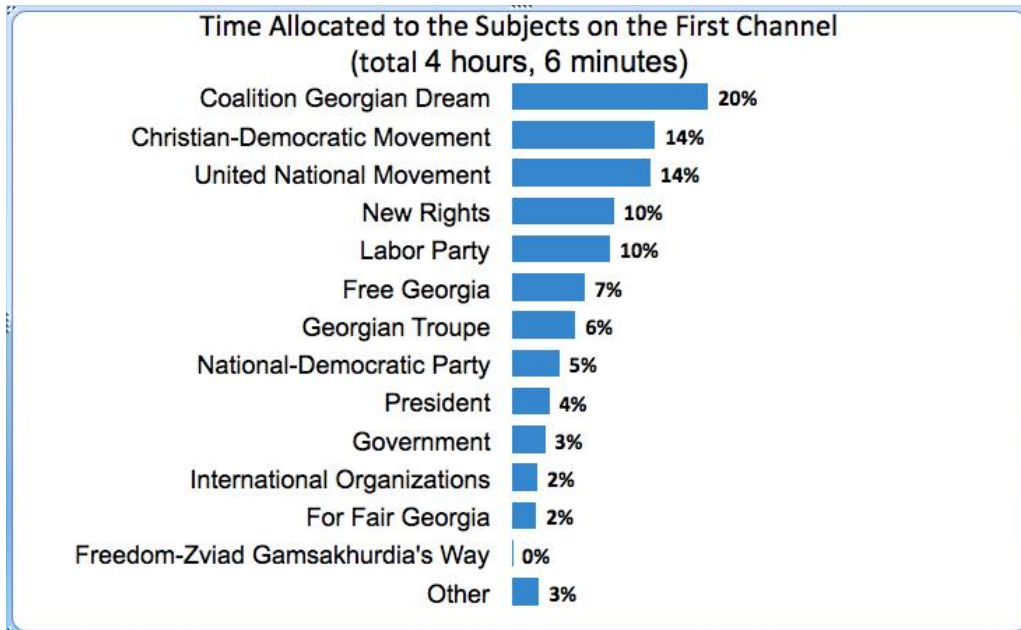


Diagram - Time 2

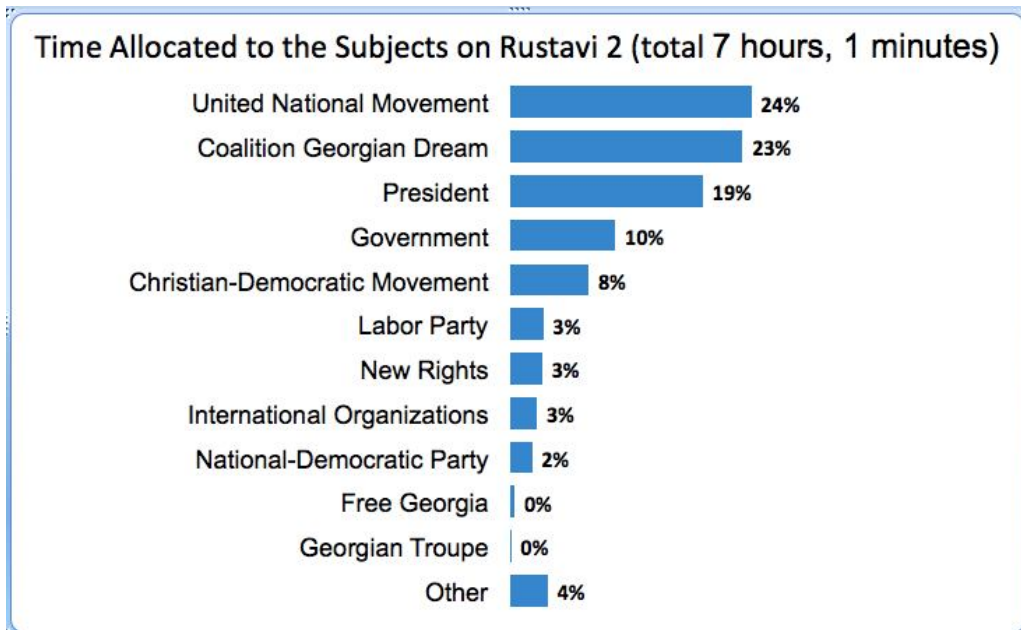


Diagram - Time 3

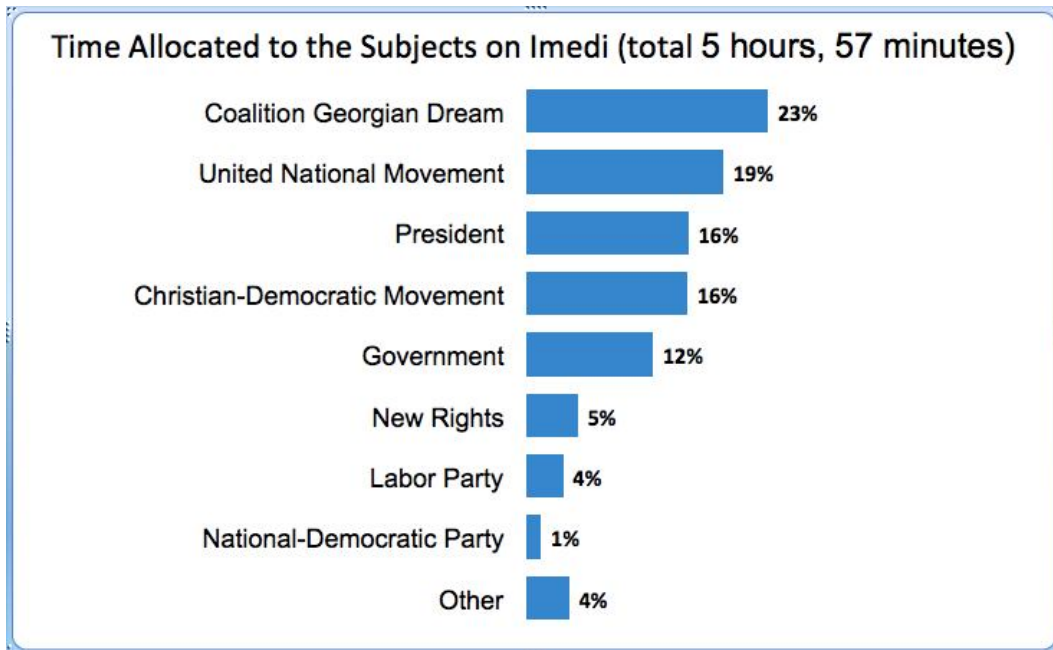


Diagram - Time 4

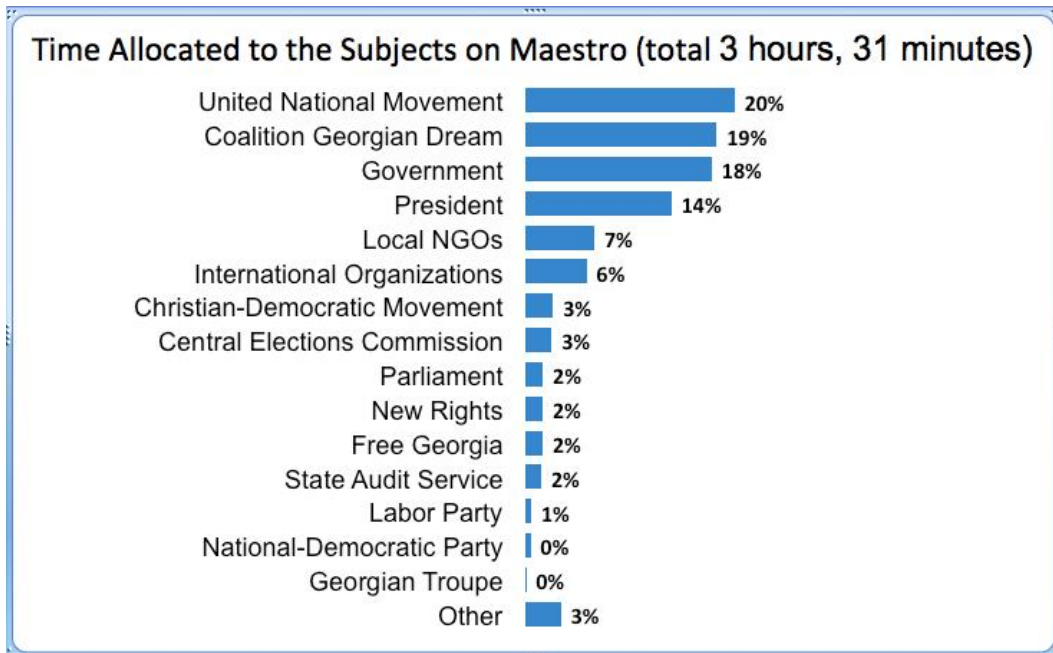


Diagram - Time 5

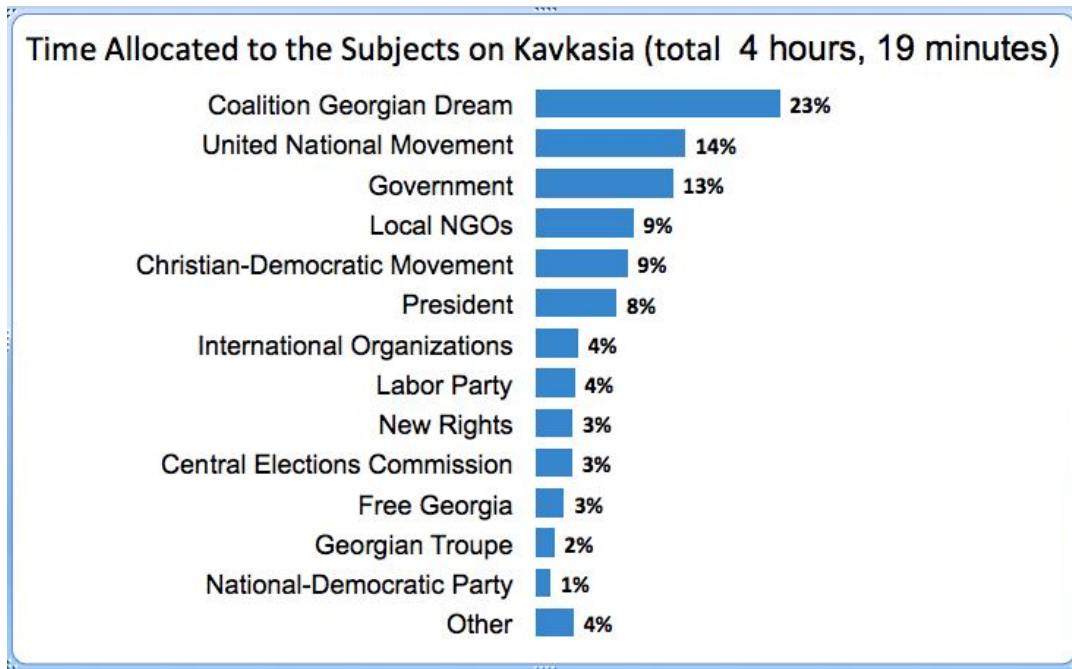


Diagram - Time 6

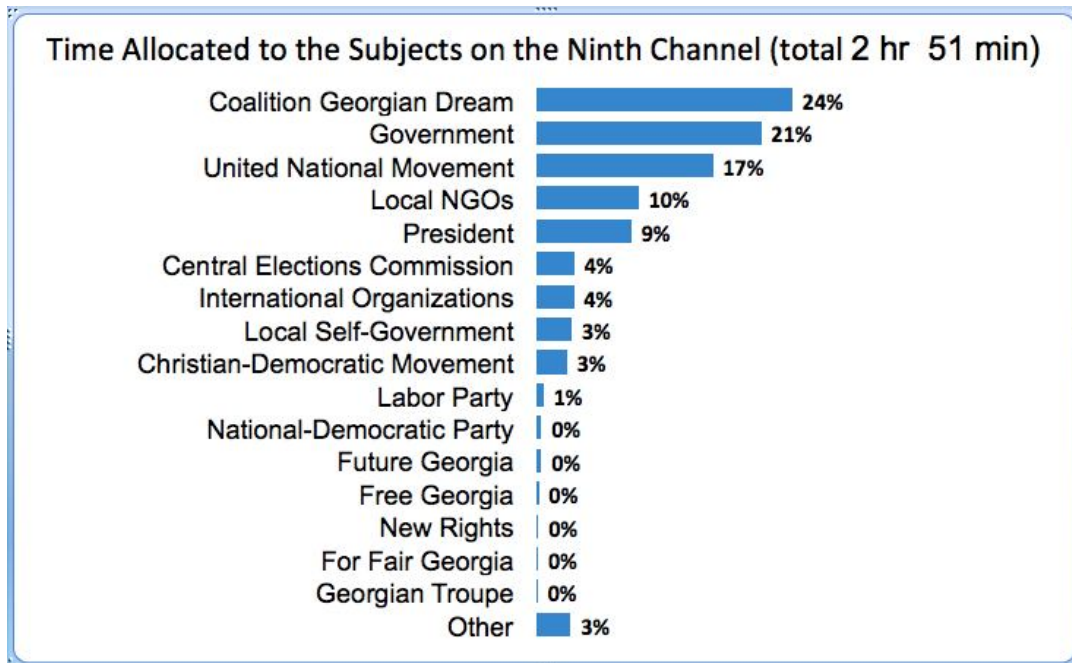


Diagram - Time 7

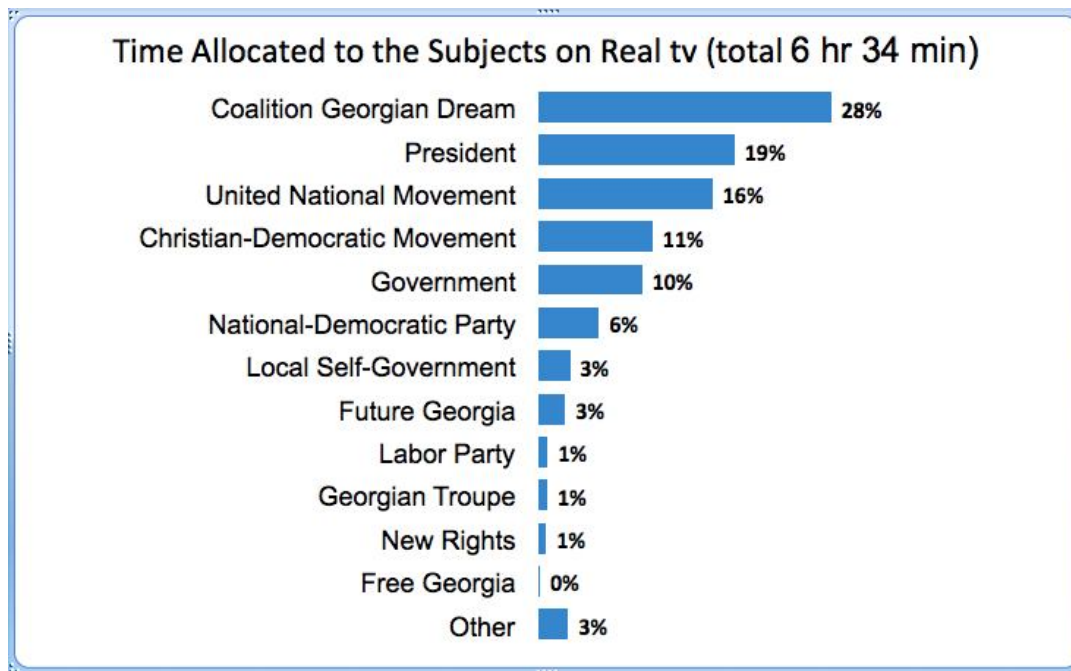


Diagram - Speech 1

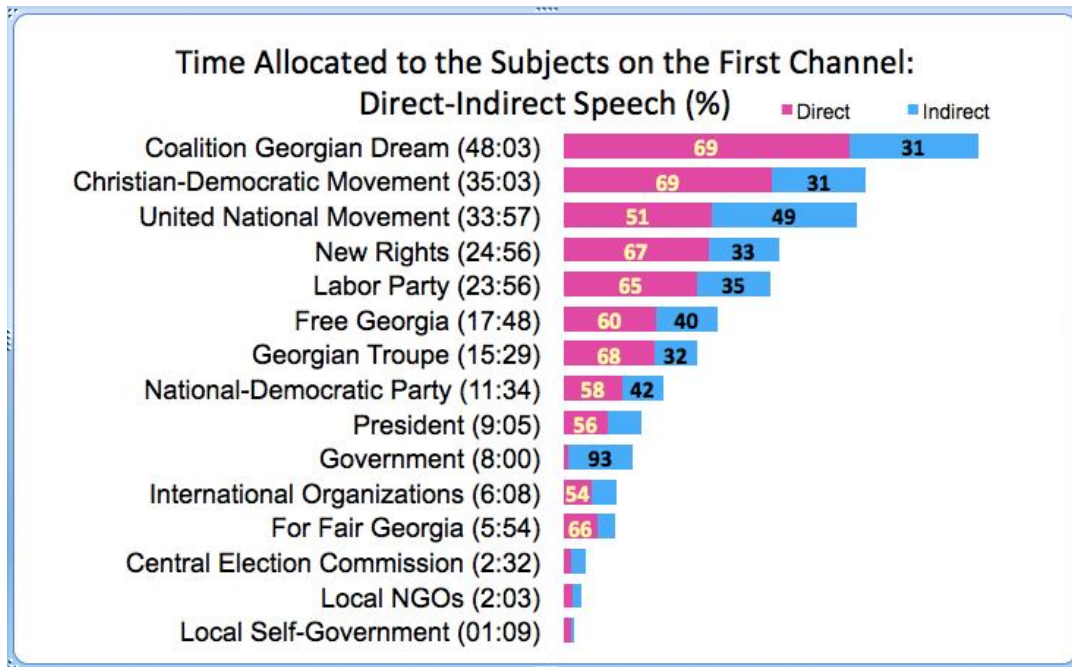


Diagram - Speech 2

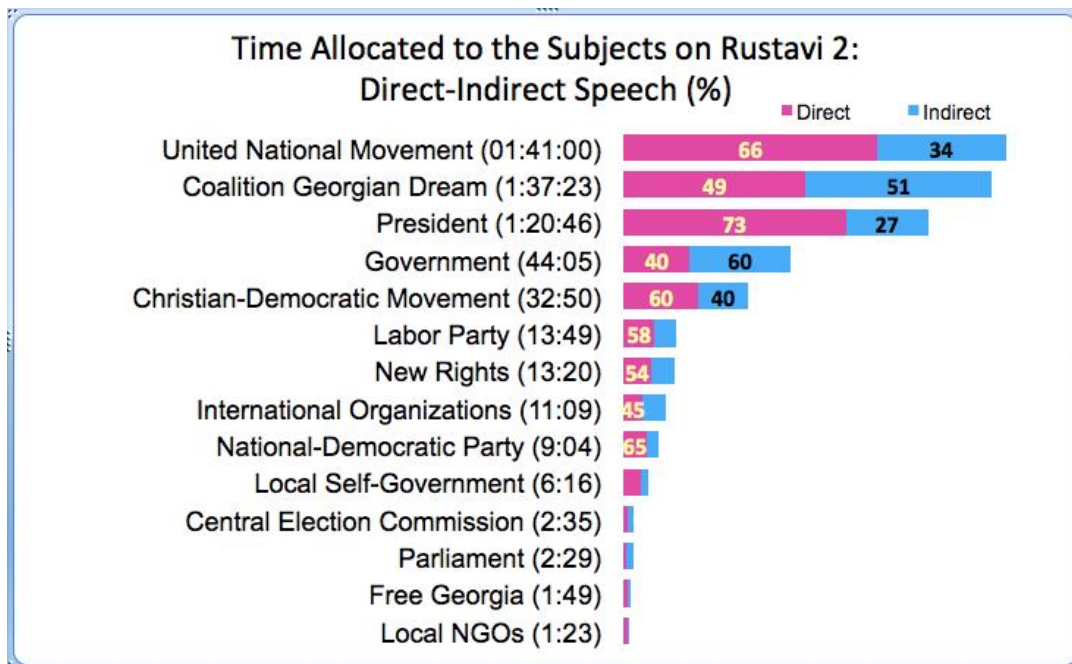




Diagram - Speech 3

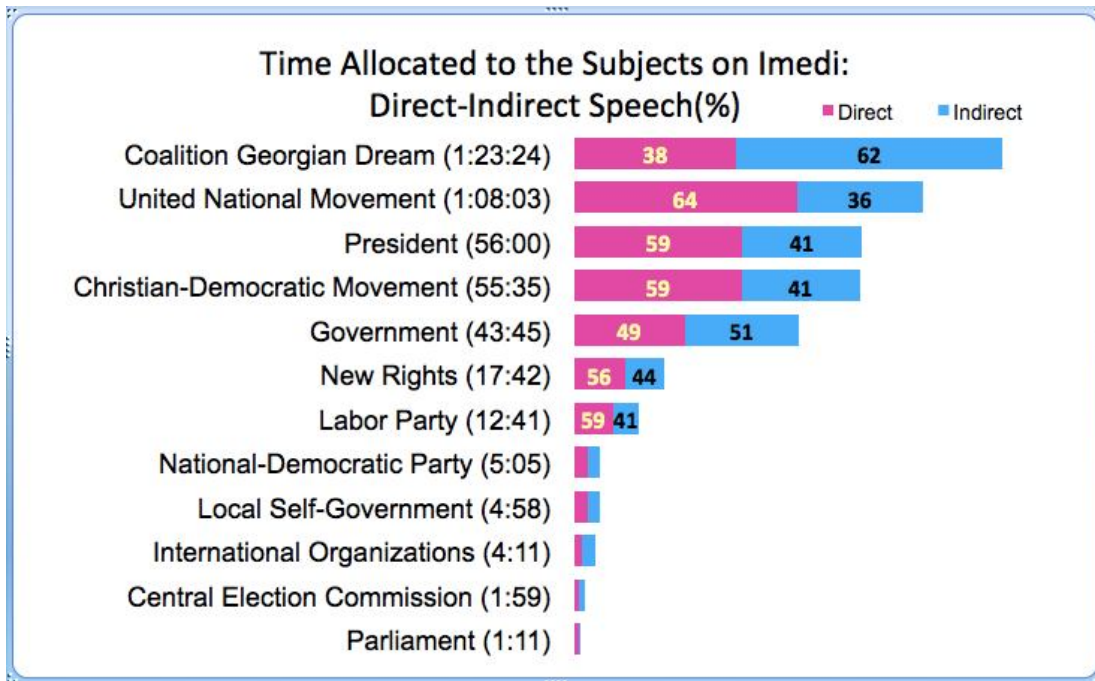


Diagram - Speech 4

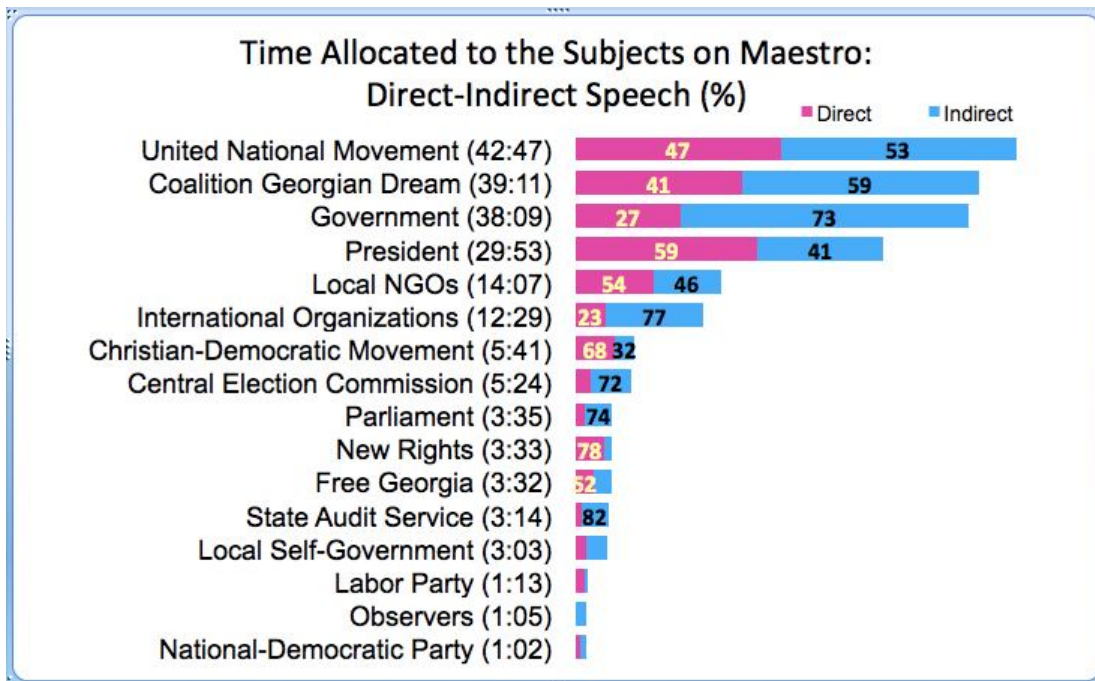


Diagram - Speech 5

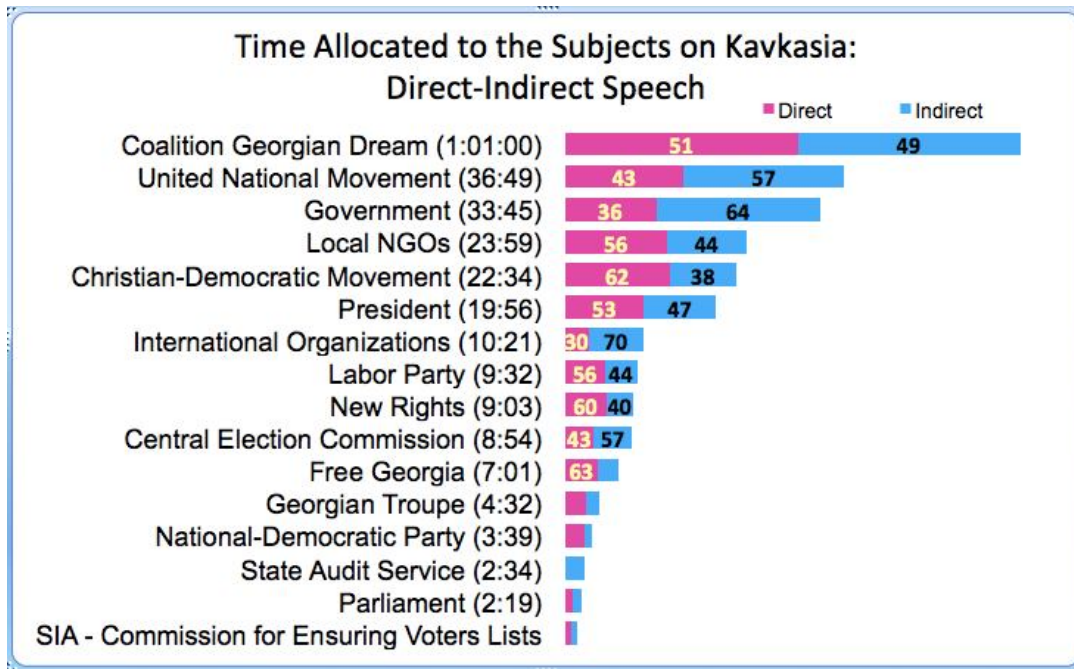


Diagram - Speech 6

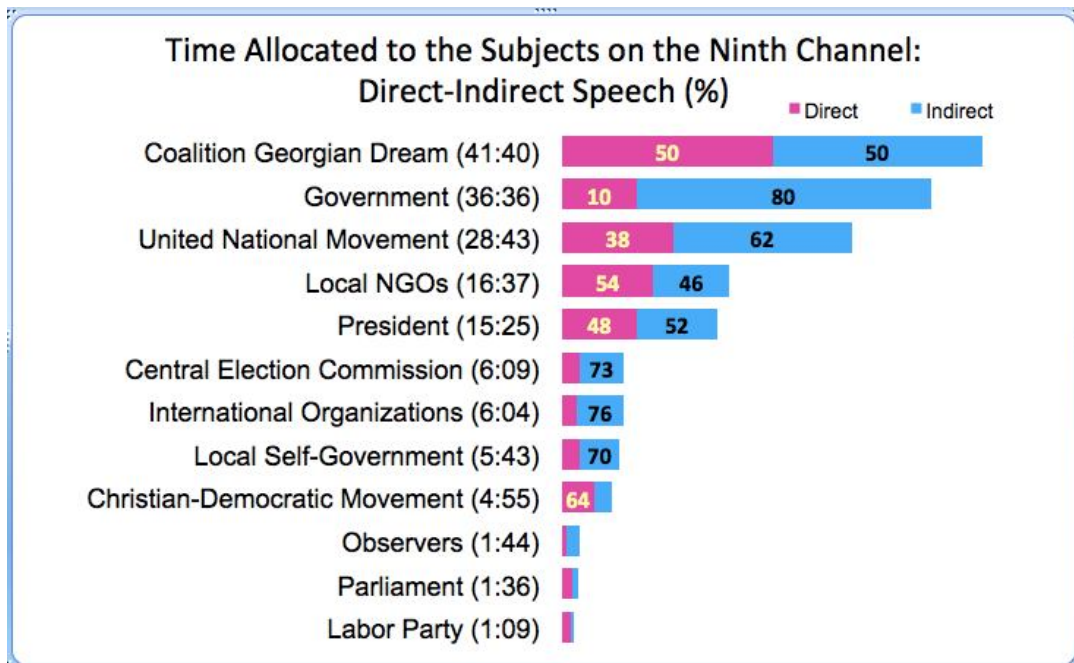


Diagram - Speech 7

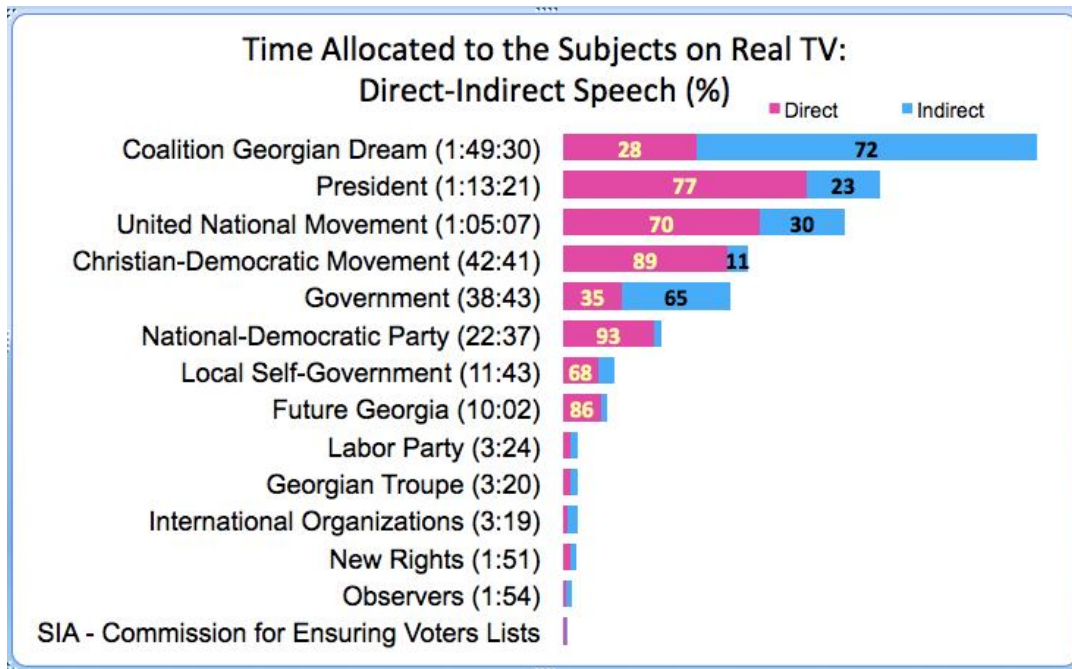


Diagram - Tone 1

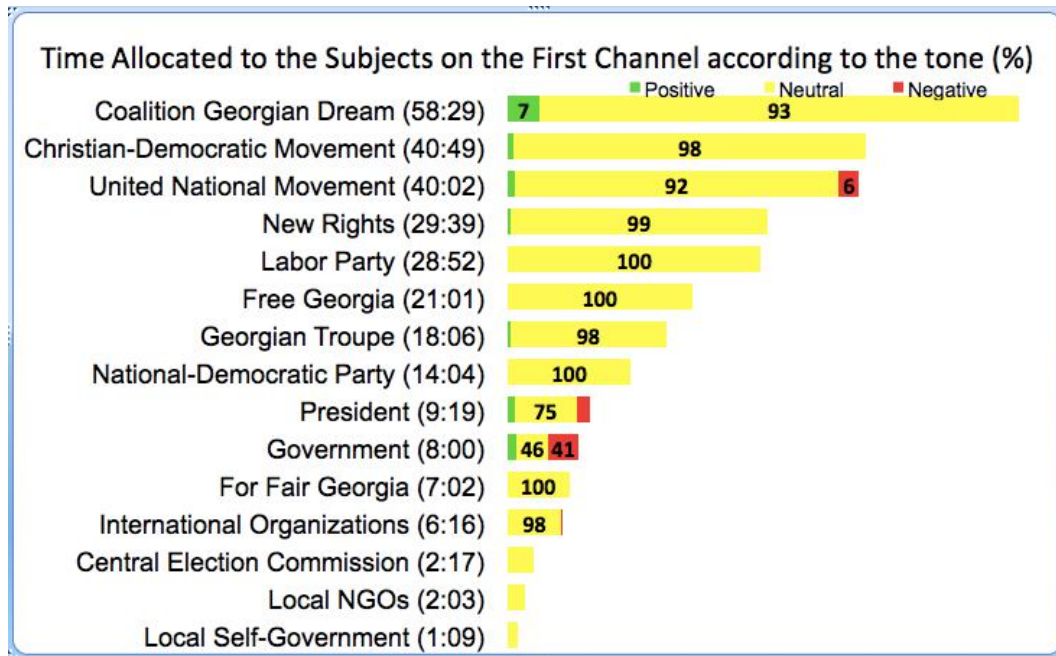


Diagram - Tone J1

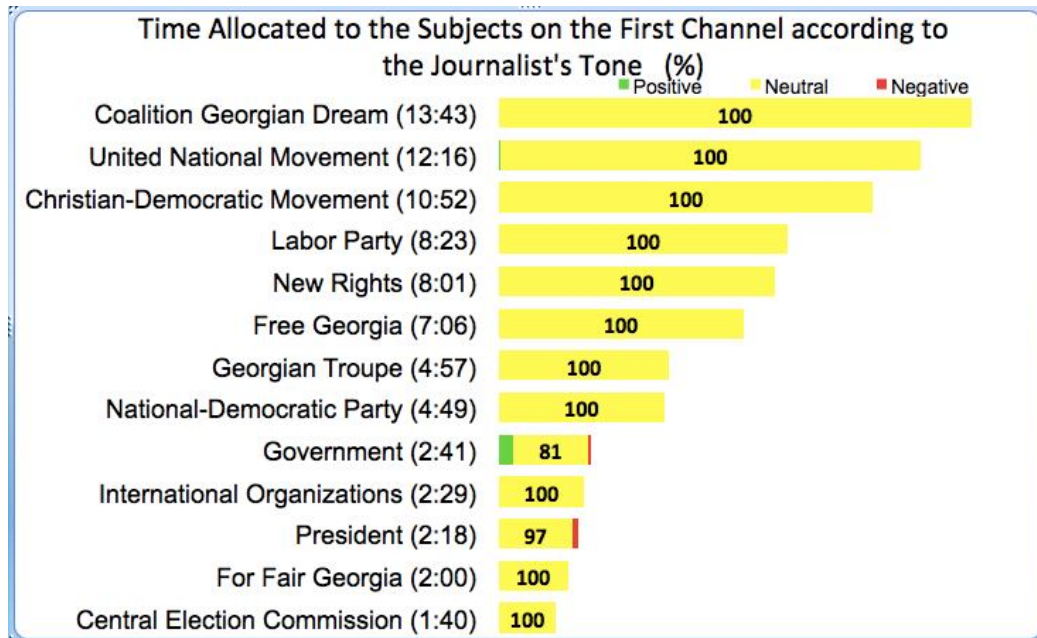


Diagram - Tone 2

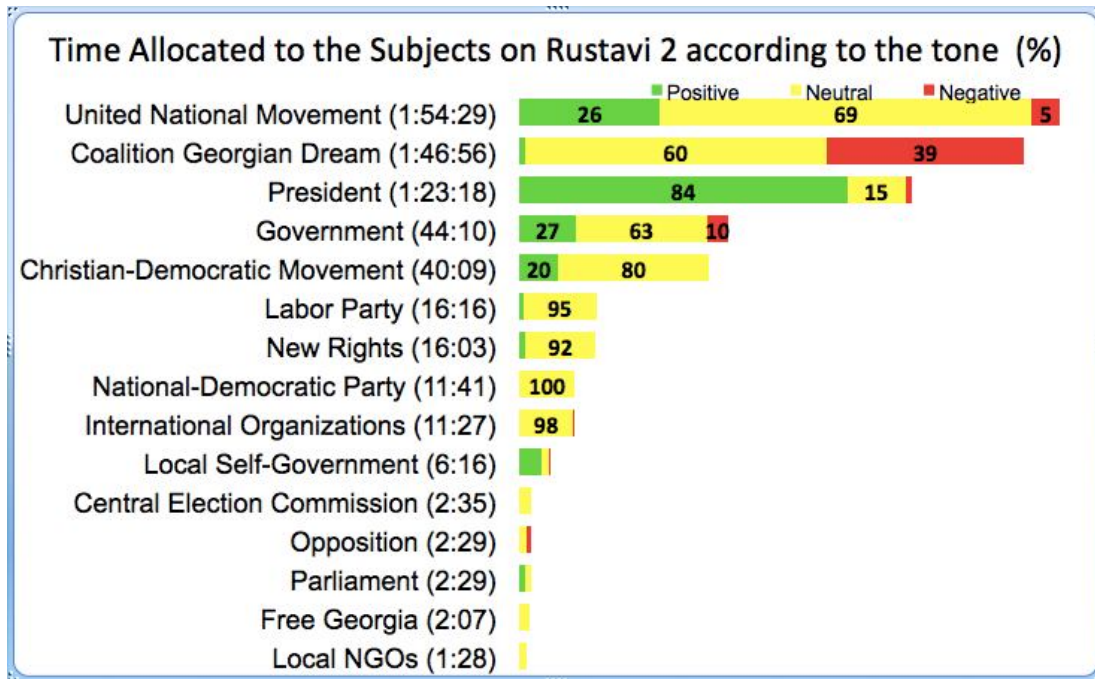


Diagram - Tone J2

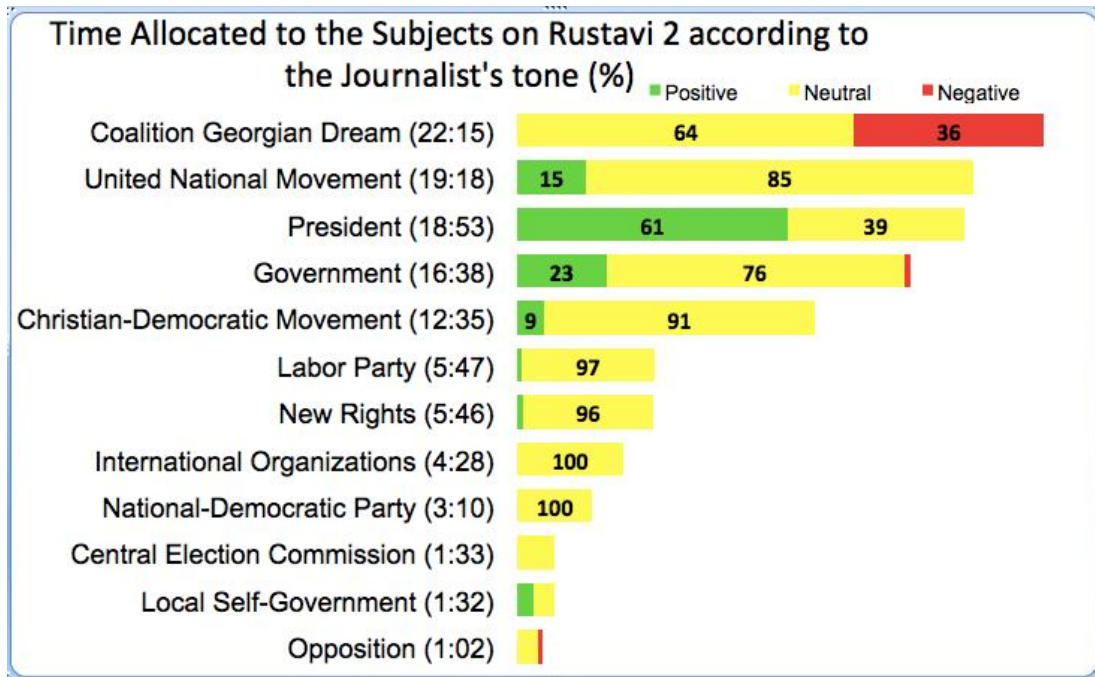


Diagram - Tone 3

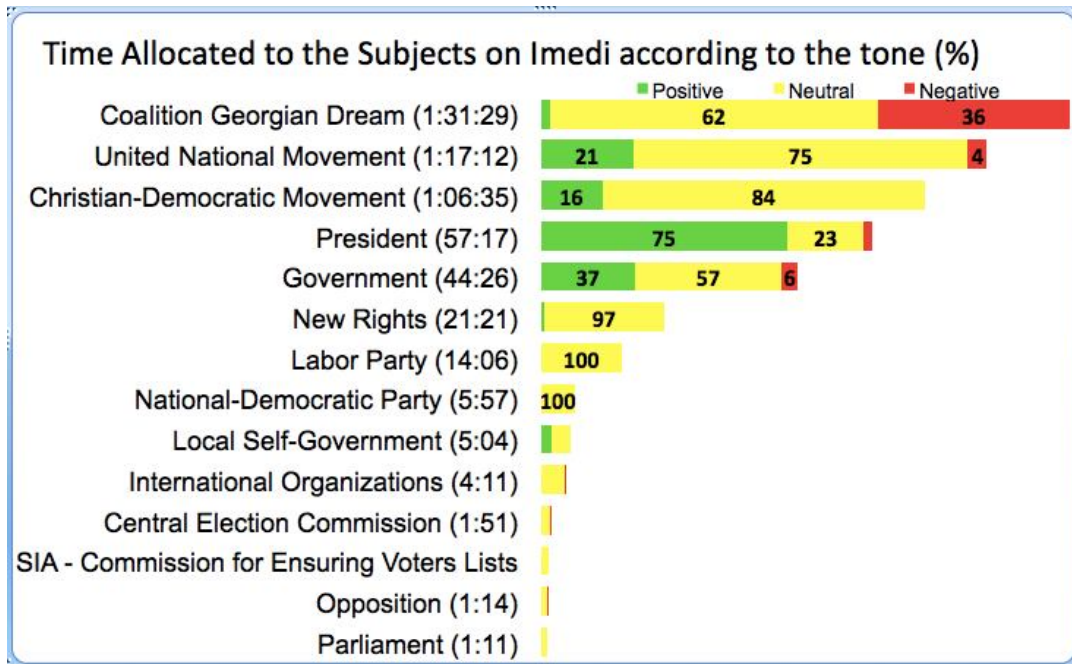


Diagram - Tone J3

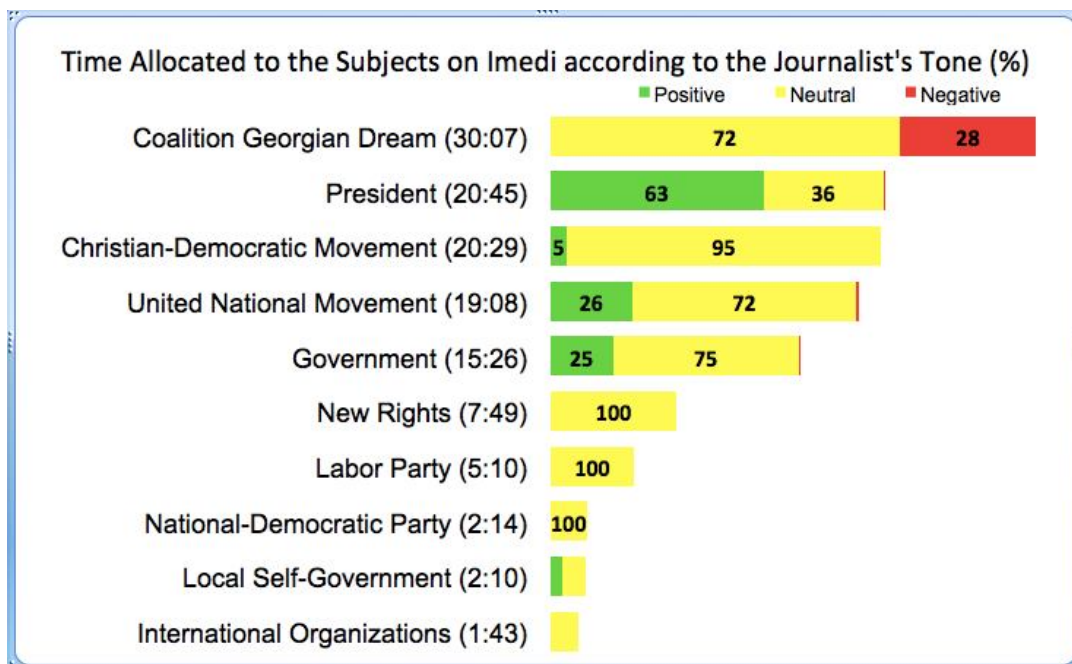


Diagram - Tone 4

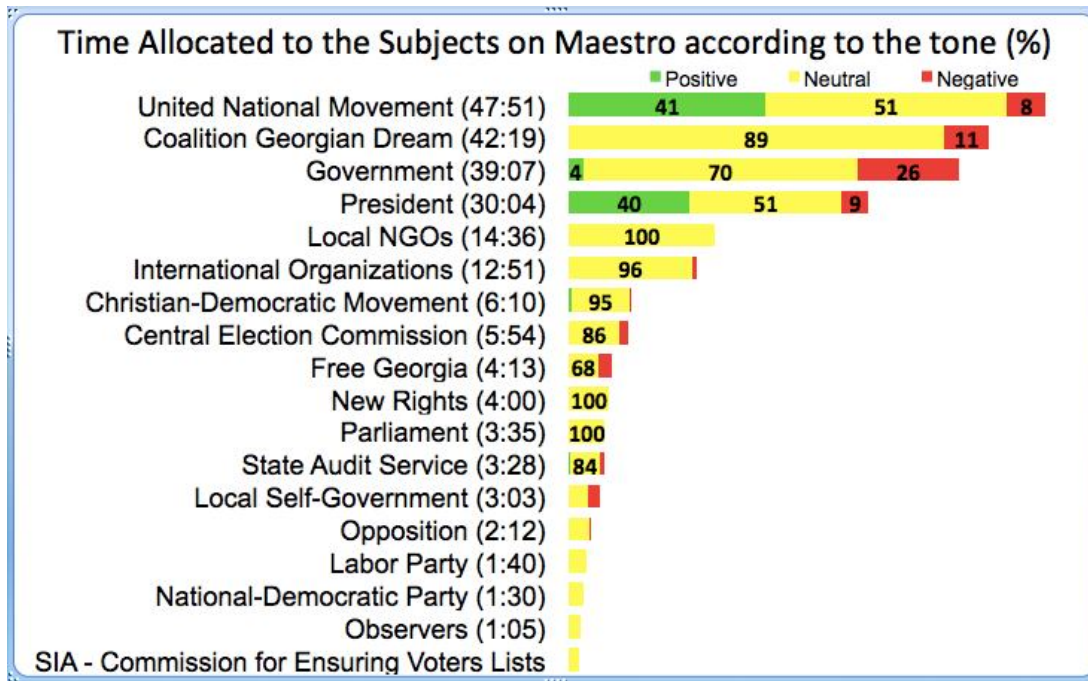


Diagram - Tone J4

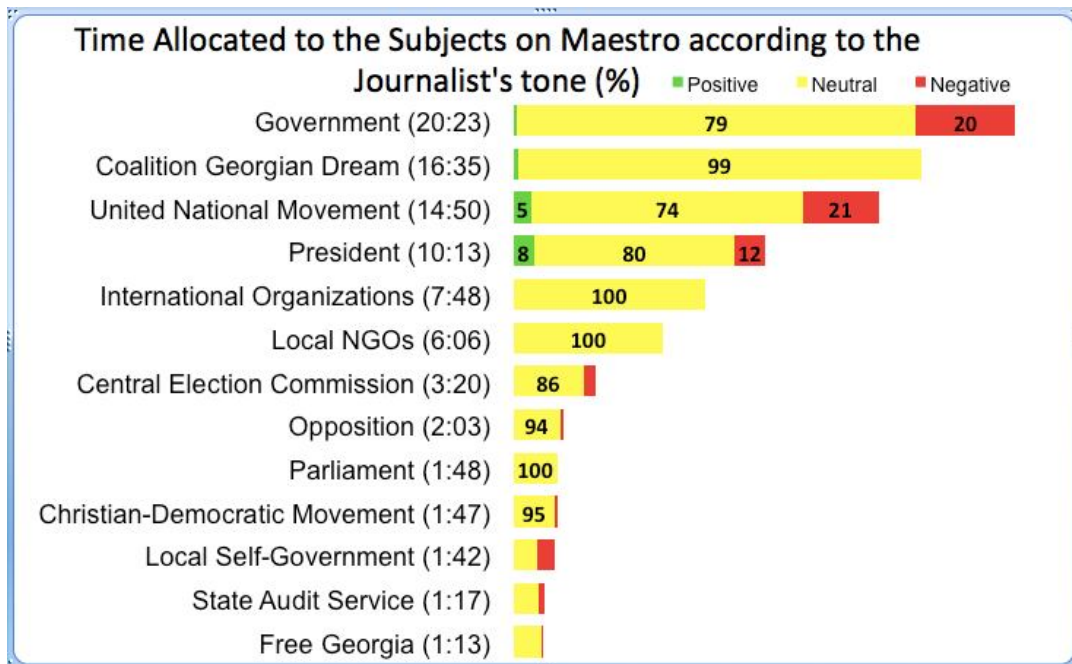


Diagram - Tone 5

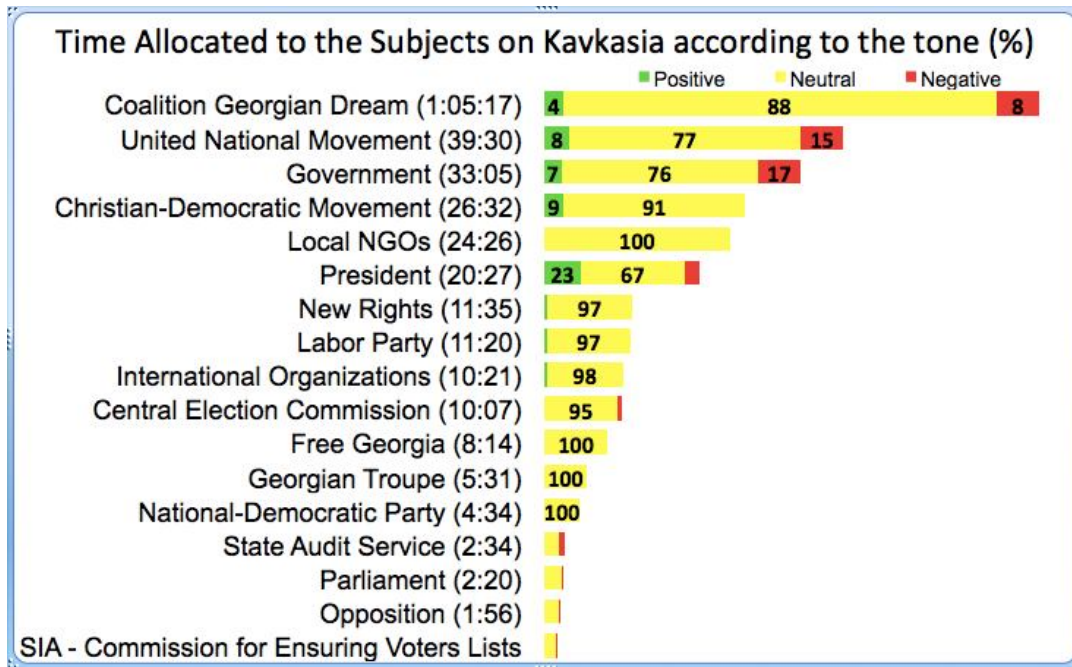


Diagram - Tone J5

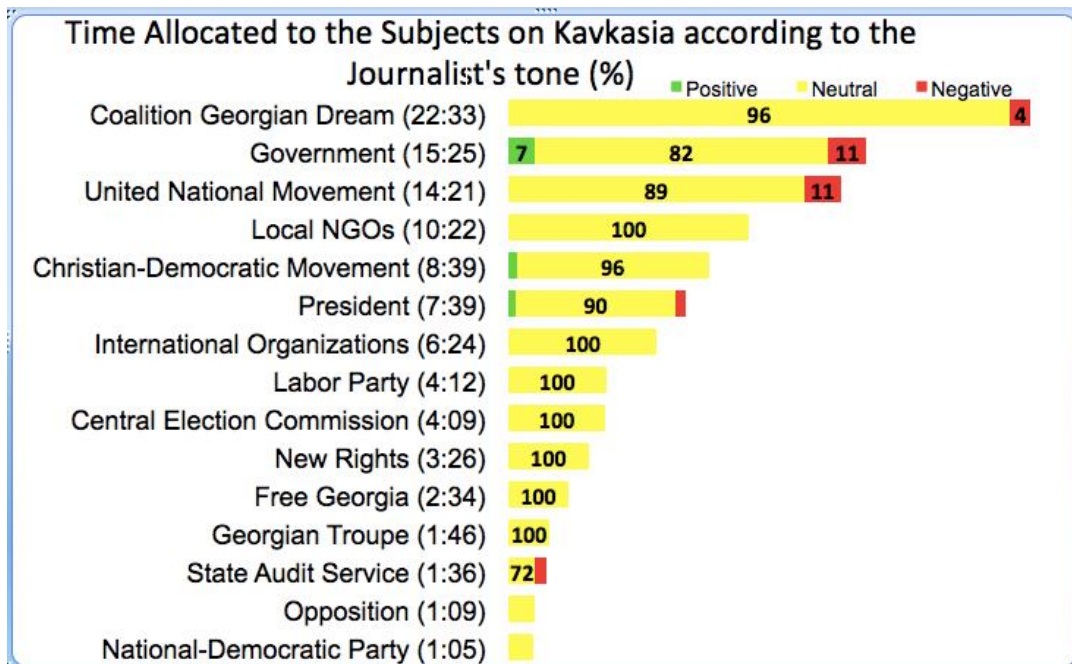




Diagram - Tone 6

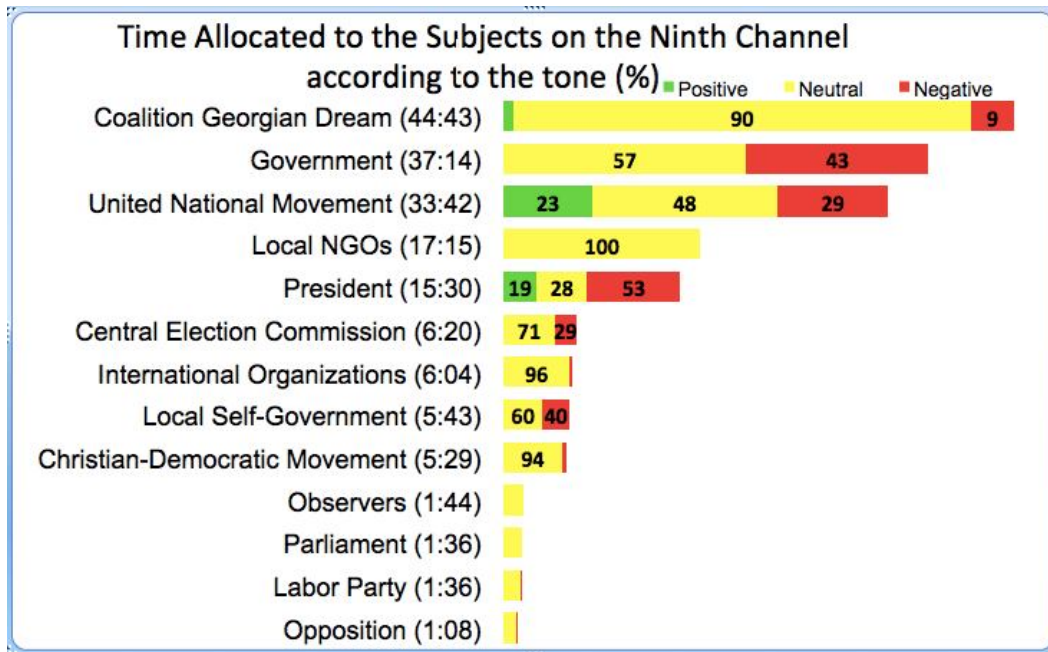


Diagram - Tone J6

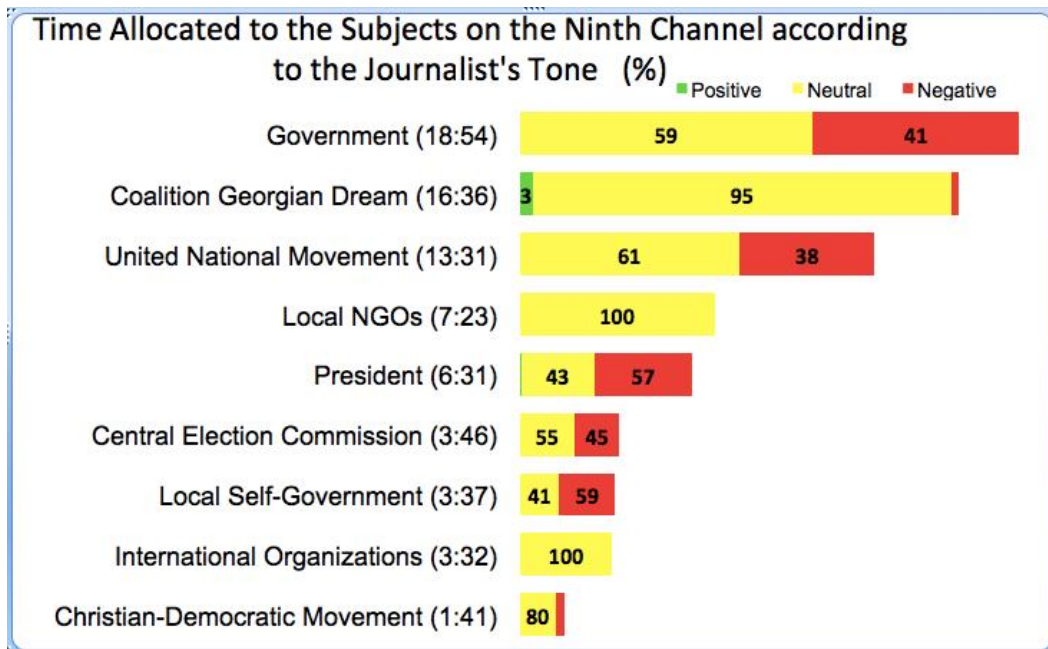


Diagram - Tone 7

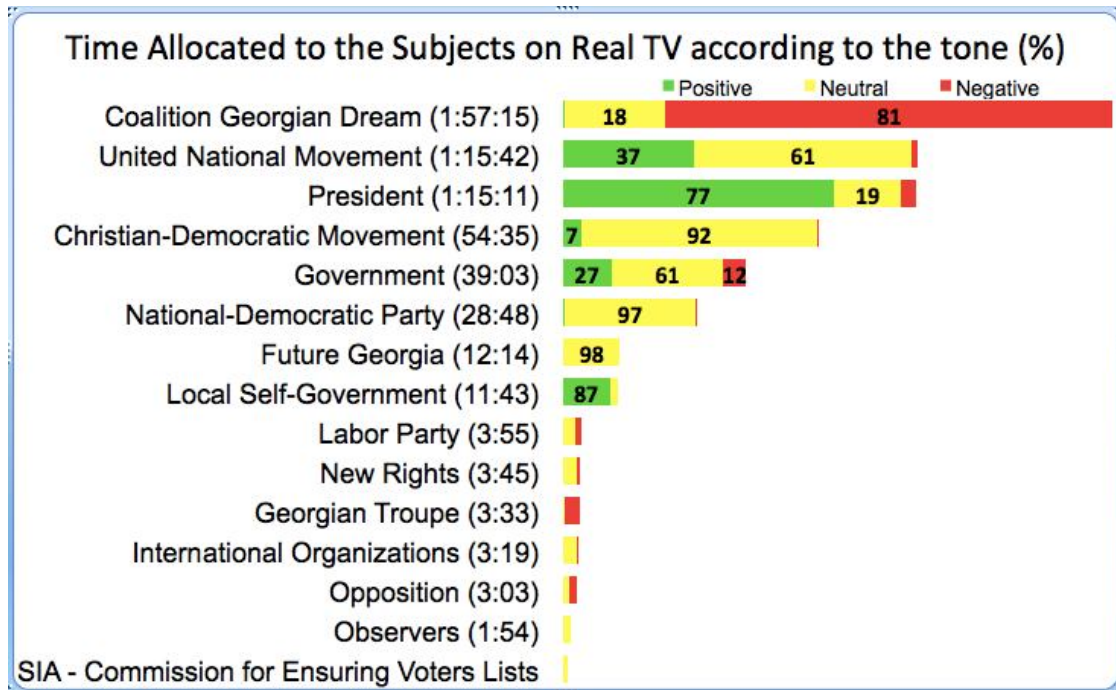


Diagram - Tone J7.

