



## **Election Media Monitoring**

**July 17-30, 2012**

Key findings identified during the media monitoring for the period of July 17-30:

- According to the time allocated by Rustavi 2 and Imedi, the sequence of the first top five subjects and time distribution coincide to one another. These are: the President, the Government, the Coalition Georgian Dream, Christian-Democratic Movement and New Rights.
- Likewise, the time distribution is similar on Maestro and the Ninth Channel. Here the following sequence is present: Coalition Georgian Dream, the government, United National Movement, the President and local NGOs.
- According to the time allocated by the First Channel, Kavkasia and Real TV, the Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first. However, there are big differences from the standpoint of time distribution.
- Distribution of the time allocated to the subjects on the first channel is the most equal of all, and the least equal on Real TV.
- On the First Channel, all the subjects, except the government, have a more than 50% share of direct speech.
- Distribution of direct and indirect speech on Rustavi 2 and Imedi is similar, like it is the case of distribution of allocated time. In both cases the Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest share of direct speech out of those subjects to which more than 5 minutes were allocated.
- The Coalition Georgian Dream has very similar distribution of direct and indirect speech on Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel – almost half of the allocated time.
- The government has a very little share of direct speech on the Ninth Channel. Such indicator has not been observed on any other channel among those subjects to which more than 4 minutes were allocated.

- On Real-TV, in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream and the President, the share of direct and indirect speech is inversely represented. The Coalition has 29% per cent of direct speech, and the President has the same amount of indirect speech.
- In regards to the coverage tone, there is a similar picture in regards to certain subjects on Rustavi 2 and Imedi. On both channels, the President has more than 80 per cent of positive tone. It is notable that such a big share of positive tone has never been observed during the whole monitoring period. Other than the President, there is a similar coverage trend for the subjects such as the government, Christian-Democrats and the Coalition Georgian Dream.
- This trend is also observed on the First Channel as well, but the percentage distribution is different (positive coverage for the President, government and Christian-Democrats).
- The trend of covering one and the same three subjects with relatively more negative tone is observed on Maestro and the Ninth Channel. These subjects are: the government, the United National Movement and the President.
- The highest indicator of negative coverage was reported on Real TV – 71% for the Coalition Georgian Dream. In case of the government and the President, here the share of positive coverage is more than 45%.
- In regards to the journalist’s tone, the President has more than 50% positive coverage on the First Channel.
- Distribution of the journalist’s tone is similar to the general tone distribution on Rustavi 2, Imedi, Maestro and the Ninth Channel.
- Negative share of the journalist’s tone on Real TV is even more for 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 the time allocated to the subject, direct and indirect speech and the 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 (sometimes with 0 per cent of time). The category “other” on each channel represents the group of subjects (except the political parties), to which 1 per cent of time or less was allocated on this channel.

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 (in the format of - hour:minute:second). 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 per cent 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 accuracy, and for evaluating this, the monitor observes if the journalist’s conclusion and the materials used in the news items are relevant 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 July 17-30 per channels.

### **The First Channel**

*The time allocated to subjects on the First Channel was distributed quite evenly. The titles of news items broadcasted via the First Channel are of neutral and descriptive nature. Often there were some news items, where the President was covered with a very positive tone. In regards to the respondents shown in the news item, such reports are always balanced on the First Channel. As for providing facts for grounding the journalist's information, such facts are always provided in the news items of the First Channel.*

During the monitoring period (July 17-30), the time allocated to the subjects on the First Channel was quite evenly distributed and there are no big differences among percentage indicators. It should be mentioned that 18 percent was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream, which was on the first place whereas the same time allocated by other channels was no less than 25 per cent. The President (16%) and the government (12%) were among the top three together with the Coalition. (See the Diagram: Time 1)

In regards to the direct and indirect speech, the share of direct speech is always 50 per cent among the subjects to which more than 4 minutes were allocated except the government, which had a chance to speak directly during 42 per cent of the time allocated to it. (See the Diagram: Speech 1)

While making a tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, it was revealed that the most amount of positive tone was used for the President (65%), the Government (25%) and the Christian-Democratic Movement (11%). As for the negative tone, the most amount of negative tone was used for the Coalition Georgian Dream (9%) and the government (5%). (See the Diagram: Tone 1).

As for the journalist's tone, here too the President has the biggest share of positive coverage (54%). For example, in the Moambe of July 23<sup>1</sup> and July 26<sup>2</sup>, there were news items about the President Saakashvili's visit to Kakheti for meeting the disaster-affected population. There was much footage shown in both of the news items where the President was greeting the people, meeting them warmly and there were people's positive emotions. The positive tone was also observed for the government (7%) and the Christian-Democratic Movement (6%). The negative tone was observed only for two subjects: the Coalition Georgian Dream (11%) and the government (2%). In case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, most share of this 11 per cent of negative tone was caused by the news item "Arrest of Activists" broadcasted on July 17, which talked about the arrest of Merab Kachakhidze, member of the Conservative Party. The news item showed a covert video taken in 2006 with participation of Koba Davitashvili and Mr Kachakhidze. The news item was leaving an overall negative impression in regards to the parties who are the members of the Coalition Georgian Dream. (See the Diagram: Tone J1)

Titles of the news items broadcasted on the First Channel are of neutral and descriptive nature.

During the period of July 17-30, there were many cases on the First Channel, when the talks and activeness of one particular subject, namely those of the President would prevail in the news item. Moreover, the news item would leave a positive impression about the President. For example, in the news item of July 20 "Assistance Plan", which lasted for only 10 minutes and 18 seconds, the President's activity was shown almost during the whole news item. Either the President was seen, or the journalist was talking about him, or he was talking to the victims and the government members. The news item of July 21 "President in Kakheti"<sup>3</sup> (7 minutes) had the same structure, where the President is talking during the half of the news item, and as for the other half - he is being talked about by the journalists or citizens. Besides, this news item leaves a very positive impression about the President Saakashvili. The President is welcomed with applauses in all the villages. Exclamations are heard: "God bless you, may God never lose your hope in you", etc. The President hugs and meets the local people.

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<sup>1</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sj7tAHpaCtQ&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>2</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

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

<sup>3</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8qtvITgXh8&feature=youtu.be>

The news item of July 24 “President in Guria and Samegrelo”<sup>4</sup> lasted for 5 minutes and 37 seconds. Besides, the President himself was talking for about 2 minutes and 20 seconds. Besides, there were moments in the news item when the journalist was talking in a neutral way; however, there was a very positive footage as a background. In the beginning of the news item it is shown how the President handed over a house to the people affected by the disaster; after that the footage shows how he visits various facilities, meets with the people. The people are saluting him “Misha, Misha”. Old footage was also added to the news item showing the President walking in the water up to his knees. At the end of the news item the President is shown on visiting the Aversi Clinic, holding a newborn child and caressing it. The news item ends by showing Saakashvili coming, surrounded with many people, saluting, Saakashvili is caressing the children, shaking hands with the people, etc.

In regards to the respondents shown in news items, the reports of the First Channel are always balanced and various opinions are represented around the covered issue.

As for providing facts by a journalist for grounding the information on them (the respondent’s comment, footage, reference to the mentioned source of information), such facts are always provided in the news items on the First Channel.

## **Rustavi 2**

*According to the allocated time the top four subjects were: the President, the government, Coalition Georgian Dream and Christian-Democratic Movement. Often there are news items where the President and the Government representatives are shown in a very positive context. Also, the Christian-Democratic Movement is represented positively as well; but as for the Coalition Georgian Dream, it is shown in a negative context. Titles of news items are mostly informative and neutral. From the viewpoint of provided sources the news items are mostly balanced.*

On Rustavi 2 the most amount of time was dedicated to the President (31%) and the government (20%) during July 17-30. In regards to the allocated time, the Coalition Georgian Dream is ranking three with 15%, the Christian-Democratic Movement – fourth with 10%. All other subjects have 6% or less (See the Diagram: Time 2).

In regards to the direct and indirect speech it is interesting that in case of the President to whom the most time was allocated (1 hour, 23 minutes), the share of direct speech is

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<sup>4</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mAF2mX9qsk&feature=youtu.be>

67%. In case of the Government, the share of direct and indirect speech is most equally distributed (48% direct, 52% indirect). Out of all the subjects to which more than 6 minutes were allocated on Rustavi 2, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the least share of direct speech (31%). (See the Diagram: Speech 2)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, the picture is quite diverse. We see quite a big share of positive and negative tone. It is notable that the President has 81 per cent of positive coverage (out of an hour and a half), the government – 52 per cent of positive tone (out of about 1 hour), and Christian-Democratic Movement – 35 per cent of positive tone (out of about half an hour). As for the negative tone, the most negative tone was revealed towards the Coalition Georgian Dream, which had 55 per cent of negative coverage out of 43 minutes allocated to it. (See the Diagram: Tone 2)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, the picture is similar to the previous one. The President, the government and the Christian-Democratic Movement have most amount of positive tone (President – 39%, the government – 39% and Christian-Democratic Movement 20%), the Coalition Georgian Dream has 55 per cent of negative tone. (See the Diagram: Tone J2).

Titles of news items on Rustavi 2 are informative and neutral in most cases. There were no titles with particularly positive or negative tone during the period of July 17-30.

There were many news items revealed during the monitoring period where the President's activities prevailed: speeches and footage. Besides, all of them leave a positive impression about the President. In addition, there were positive news items about government representatives as well.

News items about the President mostly referred to his visits in the regions and to the affected people. For example, in the news item of July 20 "President with the people affected by the disaster" we see the local population, who at some points meets the President with applauses, and are saying 'thank you' to him. Saakashvili is shaking hands with the people, and encourages them. The journalist is saying that the President was personally getting familiar with the disaster liquidation works during the whole night.

Besides, there was a very positive news item about the President on July 21 "President in the Affected Villages", where the elderly people were hugging Saakashvili. One of the ladies is crying, and the President is comforting her. All the people are expressing

gratitude to him. The President calls 'brothers' to the people of Lanchkhuti and this leaves even more positive impression about him.

The viewers get a clearly positive impression about the President and the government in the news item of July 23 "5 Days after the Disaster".<sup>5</sup> The news item shows that the government is working very effectively even 5 days after the disaster. This is notable in the journalist's text and the footage as well. There is a very positive impression left by Saakashvili's visit to a little child's birthday, where the children are saluting him "Misha! Misha!" and a lady is hugging Saakashvili. It should also be mentioned that this part is a bit irrelevant to the contents of the news item, as far as the news item was about the disaster and in fact much time is allocated to the President's visit to the child's birthday party.

The example of the government's positive coverage is the news item of July 19 "Government in the Disaster Zone", where the journalist is saying that Vano Merabishvili was the first one to go to the disaster zone. The news item shows footage of his meeting with the local population, where he gives a promise to the people that the situation will be improved soon. The news item mentions that the divisions of the Defense Agency and reservists are providing assistance to the local people, and there is a footage shown reflecting these images. It was also shown in the news item how Vice-Speaker Giorgi Baramidze is participating in repairing the roof damaged by the disaster. Footage of Ramaz Nikolaishvili also leaves a positive impression.

During the monitoring period it was clearly seen that there were positive reports about the Christian-Democratic Movement, contents of which resembled the news items about the President. Here too, the leaders of the Christian-Democratic Movement are meeting with the people and assist them in various activities. For example, in the news item of July 17 "Christian-Democrats in Martkopi" Giorgi Targamadze is shown while helping the farmers in cutting grass. The news item of July 20 "Christian-Democratic Movement in the affected region"<sup>6</sup> shows how Giorgi Targamadze is assisting one of the affected people in pumping water from the flooded cellar; how the members of the Christian-Democratic Movement were going to the hospital for visiting an affected youth. In the report of July "Christian-Democratic Movement in Kelktseuli", Targamadze and Vepkhvadze are hoeing with locals and are joking with them. The

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<sup>5</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

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

<sup>6</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SiOR8hfMZGw&feature=youtu.be>



news item of July 26 “Meeting in Batumi”<sup>7</sup> was positive towards Giorgi Targamadze and Christian-Democratic Movement. It is shown how an elderly person was taken to the stage; there were many people, flags, and applause. Also, the report shows Giorgi Targamadze who went to the gym of the sports complex from a ship, learned fishing technology, got familiar with the problems of fishermen and piloted a ship. The journalist referred to him as “captain Giorgi Targamadze”. Finally, Giorgi Targamadze let fish back into water, the fish that has been enlisted in the Red Book; and in general there was a positive impression created about Christian-Democrats.

It is interesting that the negative reports broadcasted by Rustavi 2 during this monitoring period, was mostly about the Coalition Georgian Dream. For example, the report of July 17 “Political Corruption” leaves a negative impression in regards to the Georgian Dream, because they are referred to as suspects in corruption and deals, and they refer to the money received from the Georgian Dream as ‘black money’ of the Georgian Dream.

The news item of July 17 “People’s Criticism” is negative towards the Georgian Dream and Goga Khaindrava, because it mentions that Goga Khaindrava has addressed the public with uncensored language, and the Georgian Dream is mentioned as a supporter of Russia.

The news item of July 19 “New Offer” is to be pointed out, which talks about the Code of Conduct initiative. Various parties and NGOs are presented in this report and all of these subjects are covered in a neutral way except the Coalition Georgian Dream, coverage of which tends to be negative. Besides, the journalist is using the footage of Karaleti incident as the text background, where Kakhi Kaladze is swearing. There was a report on the same subject broadcasted on July 24 “Code of Conduct”, where the Coalition is again covered negatively. The journalist is saying that all the parties have signed the Code of Conduct but the Georgian Dream.

The news item of July 23 “Kbilashvili’s Scandalous Interview” is very tendentious and negative towards two members of the Coalition (Zakareishvili and Kbilashvili). The report lasts for more than 8 minutes and it is almost fully negative in regards to the Georgian Dream. The negative impression is created by presenting interviews of 9 citizens in the report, and their opinions are against the evaluations made by the Coalition Members. There is an impression created as if the main goal of the report is to

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<sup>7</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FIJKN7HXeQE&feature=youtu.be>

make the audience develop a bad impression about the positive relationships between the Coalition and Russia.

The news item of July 30 “Georgian Dream in Kakheti” is positive towards the government, as far as the citizens are happy and they are saying that the government has provided assistance to them after the disaster, and that the recovery works are “in full swing”. However, the impression towards the Georgian Dream is becoming negative, as far as the report shows how a local person is having an argument with the representative of the Georgian Dream and telling, “we have not seen you come here to help us, the government is helping us”.

Alongside with the general impression of the reports, footage and respondents’ comments, often the journalists’ text created positive or negative background. Examples:

- Journalist: “Bidzina Ivanishvili is creating parallel structures and there is an emerging concern that in case of unfavorable results of the elections he will try to initiate a protest wave through them” (July 17, the report “Parallel Politics”).
- Journalist: “the lady who was asking the President for a computer for her grandson two years ago, became a cause of an incident recently, to which Mikheil Saakashvili responded promptly” (July 25, report “President in Samegrelo”).
- Journalist: “Steering wheel was at the disposal of the Captain Giorgi Targamadze for a half an hour” (July 26, report “Meeting in Batumi”).

In regards to the sources provided in the news items, Rustavi 2 is mostly balanced.

## **Imedi**

*From the viewpoint of the allocated time during the monitoring period, the data of Imedi and Rustavi 2 are quite similar. The same subjects were among the top four. Often the reports create positive impressions about the representatives of authorities and Christian-Democratic Movement. In addition, there are many news items where the overall impression tends towards negative in regards to the Coalition Georgian Dream. We see the news headlines with negative or positive contents. In regards to the presented respondents, the reports are more or less balanced. Unbalanced news items are mostly about the visits of authority representatives to the regions and about the governmental programs. In some reports there is a feeling that comments of a*

*representative from the Coalition Georgian Dream are needed. As for the inconsistencies between the journalist's opinion and the facts presented in the news items, there were several cases revealed.*

During the monitoring period the most time was allocated to the President – 34 percent. The same subjects are among the top four as it is the case on Rustavi 2, with the same sequence, and with similar rates: President (34%), government (22%), Coalition Georgian Dream (14%), Christian-Democratic Movement (12%). 3 percent or less time was allocated to other subjects. (See the Diagram: Time 3).

As for the direct and indirect speech, here as well the data of Rustavi 2 and Imedi are quite similar. According to the allocated time, the President ranks first with 69 percent of direct speech (out of the allocated 1 hour and 56 minutes). In case of the government, the share of direct and indirect speech is distributed more or less equally (45% direct, 55% indirect). Out of the subjects who had coverage for 3 minutes and more, the lowest share of direct speech is for the Coalition Georgian Dream – 32 percent. (See the Diagram: Speech 3).

In regards to the tone-based allocation of time among the subjects, similarity with the data of Rustavi 2 is still observed. In reference to some of the subjects, quite a big share of positive and negative tone was revealed. Out of the time allocated to the President (more than 2 hours), 86 percent was covered positively. In case of the government, 48 percent of the allocated time (1 hour, 20 min) was covered with a positive tone, and as for the Christian-Democratic Movement, 56 percent of positive tone was reported (out of allocated 44 minutes). As for the negative tone, the biggest share of the negative tone was reported for the Coalition Georgian Dream, which ranks third based on the allocated time (55 min) – 38 percent. (See the Diagram: Tone 3).

As of the time allocated to the subjects based on the journalist's tone, the trend of a general tone is repeated. The President, the Christian-Democratic Movement and the government have the most share of positive tone (70%, 41%, 35%), and the Georgian Dream – the most negative tone – 46 percent, which is more than the share of negative tone reported for this subject in regards to the overall tone. (See the Diagram: Tone J3).

The reports broadcasted via Imedi during July 17-30 mostly had informative and neutral headlines. However, in regards to the news items, which were about the Georgian Dream, more negative headlines were observed. For example: “Political Corruption? – From pocket to pocket – unlawful contributions in the “Dream”” (July 17), “What does Ivanishvili want from Gelbakhiani?” (July 18); “Architecture of the Dream – Projects disapproved by Ivanishvili and Stalin’s statue”. News headlines about

the representatives of authorities looked more positive. For example “Public Service Hall – Innovative Project – Highest Evaluation by the House of Lords” (July 17), “Recovery from the Disaster – Rehabilitation Works Going on Non-Stop” (July 21).

Imedi often broadcasted reports during the monitoring period where the President’s appearance, activities and speech prevailed (July 20, news item “President in the disaster-affected regions: recovery works – meeting with the population”; July 23, news item “President and Patriarch in Kakheti: meeting with disaster-affected population”; July 26, news item “President in Kakheti: Observing the Recovery Works – meeting with the public”).

It is noteworthy that other than showing the president and the government often and for a long time, these subjects are also presented very positively. During the monitoring period there were frequent reports which showed the President meeting with people in various regions, people praising him and expressing gratitude towards him, hugging him, chanting his name, applauding.

For example, the news item of July 19 “President in disaster-affected regions: assignment to the government” shows the president visiting various families, comforting the affected people and promising to compensate the damage. There is footage where the victims of the disaster are crying. Saakashvili hugs them, tells them to calm down ‘what are we here for? Everything will be fine’. The citizens are looking at the President with hope and telling him ‘Misha, we count on you’.

The news item of July 20 “President in the disaster affected regions: recovery works – meeting with population”<sup>8</sup> leaves a very positive impression about the President. It is notable that the news item is not constructed on the disaster occurrence and the inflicted damage, but on the President’s meeting with the people and on having Saakashvili praised by the people. The report lasts for 7 minutes and 40 seconds and two third of the report is dedicated to the positive coverage of the President: respondents talking about the President or his appearance, or Saakashvili’s direct speech.

The news item of July 23 “President and Patriarch in Kakheti: meeting with the disaster-affected population”<sup>9</sup> is also very positive towards the President. The report shows the President’s meeting with the people together with the Patriarch and the warm and

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<sup>8</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PLltHfS8jfo&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>9</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ump4474Moo&feature=youtu.be>

grateful welcome by the people. The President also met with the workers, also visited local residents in their houses. He was also invited to the birthday party and the children met him with cheerful chanting. The child, who had a birthday, blew out candles on the cake. Saakashvili took him in his hand and then the news item finished with the image of a smiling President holding a smiling child.

Imedi often broadcasted the reports where the Prime-Minister, Speaker of the Parliament and other members of the government were presented in a positive way. For example, the report of July 17 “Prime Minister in Gori District – priorities of agriculture” shows how the Prime Minister is talking with a farmer about the agricultural issues, and discusses the details about apple species and their growing. The report also shows his visit to the center of Gori, which is now being rehabilitated. Merabishvili points out that the rehabilitation will support the development of business in Gori and employment of local people as well. It is also mentioned that Merabishvili visited a church construction in Gori (he is shown greeting with a priest). A positive tone is created, completely for Merabishvili.

There were news reports on Imedi, where the Christian-Democratic Movement was positively presented. For example the news item of July 17 “Christian-Democratic Movement in Martkopi – presenting their election program” shows how the CDM members are helping the farmers in haying grass, how they are giving promises about addressing their problems, and also the comments of local residents are provided, who are talking about Christian-Democrats in a positive way. The news item of July 18 “Christian-Democratic Movement in Lanchkhuti Districts” presents Giorgi Targamadze applying chemicals on the trees for protecting them from fall webworm. The CDM members are shown surrounded by people and a positive impression is created about them.

In addition to the positive presentation of the above listed subjects it should be noted as well that there is a negative impression created by the news items about the Coalition Georgian Dream and its members. The report of July 18 “What does Ivanishvili want from Gelbakhiani?”<sup>10</sup> is negative towards Bidzina Ivanishvili. While making one of his speeches, Ivanishvili a few times confused his majoritarian candidate Valeri Gelashvili with Valeri Gelbakhiani. First he said Gelbakhiani instead of Gelashvili, and then vice versa. This video is shown and then the journalist describes in details how Ivanishvili messes up with surnames. Finally the journalist herself says Gelashvili instead of

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<sup>10</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4QkyEv2SIR4&feature=youtu.be>

Gelbakhiani and there is an impression created that this time it is not a mistake and that the journalist is doing this with irony.

The news item of July 25 “Registration of the unemployed: population registration process has started” suggests that Ivanishvili does not trust the researches because he wants to create some destabilization in the country after the elections.

The news item of July 17 “Dream Architecture: projects disapproved by Ivanishvili and Stalin’s statue”<sup>11</sup> reports that Bidzina Ivanishvili does not like the “glass buildings” construction during the rule of Saakashvili. There is also the majoritarian candidate of the Georgian Dream for Gori, who says that if the people so wish, it is possible to return Stalin’s statue to its initial place. For illustrating the restoration of Stalin’s statue the edited version of dismantling the statue is shown as if the statue has gone back to its initial place. This footage is accompanied with a specific music and then the journalist’s words follow – “this is one of the plans of the Georgian Dream”. The news item presents Bidzina Ivanishvili negatively (July 17, news item #5).

From the viewpoint of the respondents, the news items are sometimes balanced and sometimes – not. Often there are unbalanced reports about the topics such as the visits of government representatives to the regions and their meeting with population, governmental programs on insurance and unemployment. In some of the news items there is a feeling that the comment is needed by a representative from the Coalition Georgian Dream.

Together with the overall impression of the reports, footage and respondents’ comments, the journalists’ text also created positive or negative background. For example:

- Journalist: “He [Ivanishvili] lives in a glass palace himself and does not like glass buildings” (news item of July 17 “Dream Architecture: projects disapproved by Ivanishvili and Stalin’s statue”)
- Journalist: “Ivanishvili’s Coalition opposes the document, key principle of which is to conduct the elections without violence and vote-buying” (July 18, the news item “Refusal of the Dream”)

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<sup>11</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KVHYCoqht2U&feature=youtu.be>

- Journalist: “Government members have reported to Mikheil Saakashvili who have not left the affected region” (July 20, news item “President in the disaster-affected regions: recovery works – meeting with population”)
- Journalist: “Ivanishvili is performing the statutory obligation, but in a strange way. The oligarch is presenting an ultimatum to the authorities” (July 21, news item “The fine – bargaining? What does Ivanishvili want?”)

As for the inconsistency between the journalist’s opinion and the facts presented in the news item, there were a few cases like this. For example, in the report of July 25 “Laborists’ Briefing: Dzagania’s statement”<sup>12</sup> the journalist is saying that according to Dzagania, 80 million, which was transferred by Bidzina Ivanishvili, will be used for the election campaign of the National Movement, and this is what Ivanishvili has agreed with Saakashvili secretly in Alaverdi. However, after that they show Dzagania who is not saying the same and it is difficult to draw any conclusion from his speech.

## Maestro

*Distribution of the time allocated to subjects on Maestro is more or less equal. The most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream, then to the government. With the overall impression, the news reporting is mostly neutral. Representatives of authorities are often covered with criticism. Negative or positive impressions are basically created as the result of the respondents’ comments in the news items. In most cases the reports had informative and neutral headlines. In regards to the presented respondents, the news items are mostly balanced. There were several cases identified where the things said by a journalist did not correspond with the respondent’s comment provided in the news item.*

Distribution of the time allocated to the subjects is more or less equal on Maestro. The most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream – 25 percent, then to the government – 23 percent. The United National Movement and the President rank third and fourth with 13 and 11 percent. All the other subjects got 6 or less percent (See the Diagram: Time 4).

After observing the direct and indirect speech on Maestro, it was revealed that out of the subjects to which more than 5 minutes were allocated, the government (50 min) had the least share of direct speech – 29 percent. Distribution of direct and indirect speech

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<sup>12</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2y4FoO-1k7U&feature=youtu.be>

was same for the Coalition Georgian Dream, the United National Movement and the President. (See the Diagram: Speech 4)

In regards to the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, it is noteworthy that based on the allocated time both positive and negative tones were revealed towards the top-four ranking subjects. However, among them the most negative tone (26%) was used for the government; the United National Movement and the President have 18 and 21 percent of negative tone. The local self-government has quite a big share of negative tone – 43 percent. However, only 4 minutes and a half were allocated to this subject. The Coalition Georgian Dream has only 5 percent of negative tone, and as for the positive tones, the President has the most amount of positive tone – 27 percent. (See the Diagram: Tone 4)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, the situation reveals the same tendencies as it was the case of general tone. The biggest share of the negative tone was reported in regards to several subjects: the government (15%), United National Movement (17%), the President (15%), local self-government (44%). (See the Diagram: Tone J4)

The news items on Maestro mostly had descriptive and neutral headlines.

The overall observation is that the news items were mostly neutral concerning the subjects. However, in case of the government representatives, the negative reporting was observed, but mostly in the critical light. It is also notable that in most cases this negative impression is created by the respondents' comments and not by the journalists' texts or footage. However, we also come across with some instances of creating certain impression with the help of frames.

For example, the news item of July 17 "Prime Minister in Gori"<sup>13</sup> shows a video compiled by qartli.ge, where Vano Merabishvili repeats one and the same texts and gestures while meeting the people in different villages. Consequently, the overall impression created by the news item looks more negative towards Merabishvili.

The news item of July 24 "New Rules for Journalists" tends to be negative towards the government and Merabishvili. The report is about having stricter conditions for journalists at government sessions at the Chancellery after appointment of Merabishvili. Merabishvili is presented negatively as the one to be blamed for making the rules stricter. In this report the journalist is saying: "despite the Prime Minister Vano

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<sup>13</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Zkvjx4KMq4&feature=youtu.be>



Merabishvili promised that the government would be accessible for the Georgian media, this promise was not kept". It is mentioned several times that Merabishvili has not kept his promise and on the contrary, set stricter rules for the journalists for having access to the governmental sessions.

The President and the authorities were criticized in the news item of July 26 "President in Telavi: Mikheil Saakashvili opened a square in the disaster-affected town together with Gigi Ugulava"<sup>14</sup> the dissatisfied local people created a negative impression towards Saakashvili. The journalist emphasized that some part of the local population could not bring their problems to the President. The criticism was caused by the fact that the President's Facebook page only showed the parts where the local people were expressing their satisfaction. Although Saakashvili's speech was broadcasted, where he was giving hope to the population and was promising them to address the problems, still, his words did not sound credible any more because of the context. There was also a comment presented by a dissatisfied woman saying, "yes, the orchestration was OK" and this created a negative background.

Interestingly enough, in several news items the President was covered positively. For example, the news item of July 17 "Meeting with the public" presents the President surrounded by people and talking positively. In addition, there was a news item of July 21 "Recovery works in Telavi" which shows how Saakashvili is talking to the public and promising them to solve their problems. The report also shows how Saakashvili is hugging and kissing the people and how they are praising him.

In regards to the presented respondents, news items of Maestro are balanced in most cases. However, it should be pointed out that actually the unbalanced reports are about the issues where it is obvious that the representatives of the government and those of the United National Movement are clearly needed. In some of these cases the journalists clarified that the respondents did not wish to make any comment.

There were also some cases revealed on Maestro when the journalist's words were irrelevant to the respondents' comments presented in the news item. For example, the news item broadcasted on July 26 "On Secrete Games of Tbilisi in the Caucasus",<sup>15</sup> where the journalist said that Khizri Aldamov was blaming Mikheil Saakashvili of the murder of Zhvania, Patarkatsishvili and Roman Dumbadze. However, Khizri Aldamov is not saying this in the part shown in the report. He blames Saakashvili in setting up

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<sup>14</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RBKZw7qvXY&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>15</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MjaqNNzwi4Y&feature=youtu.be>

the terrorist gangs, but neither does not mention the above-mentioned persons nor does not call him a murderer.

During the monitoring period there were several cases observed on Maestro when the respondent's name was indicated with mistakes, or no name was specified at all.

## Kavkasia

*There were two subjects identified to which far more time was allocated compared to other subjects: the Coalition Georgian Dream and the government. The overall impression created by the news reports is often neutral. However, in the news items where representatives of authorities are shown, the overall impression tends to be more negative. Such negative impression is created by the comments of the respondents shown in the news reports, and not by the journalist's text or frames. The news items do not have any headlines and this is why it was not possible to make any observation. In regards to the presented respondents the news items are more or less balanced. Mostly the news reports are supported by the footage and respondents comments. Seldom we see inconsistencies between the journalist's opinion and the respondents' comments.*

According to the allocated time, there were two subjects that stand out during this monitoring period on Kavkasia, which were allocated more time compared to other subjects. These are: the Coalition Georgian Dream (29%) and the government (20%). 8 percent or less was allocated to the subjects. (See the Diagram: Time 5).

From the standpoint of percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech, we should point out that the share of direct and indirect speech is more equally distributed in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream (47% direct, 53% indirect), than in case of the government, which has only 31 percent of direct speech. Majority of other subjects have at least 49 percent of direct speech. (See the Diagram: Speech 5).

During the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects it should be pointed out that the most negative tone was reported in regards to the government - 25 percent. The President has 14 percent of negative tone, the Coalition Georgian Dream - 7 percent. As for the positive tone, the most positive tone was observed in regards to the President (30% out of 15 minutes); the Coalition Georgian Dream and the government have 11-11 percent of positive tone. (See the Diagram: Tone 5).

According to the journalist's tone, the distribution of time allocated to the subjects mostly creates a neutral picture. In case of the government a relatively bigger share of negative tone was reported – 18 percent, and in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream – 7 percent of negative tone. (See the Diagram: Tone J5).

News items on Kavkasia do not have headlines. This is why no observation was possible.

In frequent cases the overall impression created by the news items of Kavkasia is neutral; however, in the news items where the representatives of authorities are shown (the President, the government, the ruling party), the overall impression tends to be negative. Like Maestro, the negative impressions are created on Kavkasia because of the respondents comments presented in the news reports and not other journalist's text or footage. For example, the news of July 24 item about the discussion of the money allocated by the government is neutral as a whole. However, Gia Tsagareishvili, who was presented in the news item, talked negatively about the President. Besides, there was a part of the video shown, there Jondi Baghaturia was criticizing the deputy minister of Finances. As the results of such comments, the overall impression towards the authorities still remained negative.

There were several reports on Kavkasia, where the government had a positive coverage. For example, the news item on July 19 about the natural disaster in Kakheti and Samtskhe-Javakheti where the President was talking, and this created an overall positive impression for him. In the report of July 20, which was also about the disaster, the journalist is describing the working process of the government and leaves a positive impression about the government.

There were seldom cases during this monitoring period when positive impressions were created in regards to the representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream in the news items, and whenever it happened it was actually because of the respondents' comments: for example, the news item of July 24 about Zviad Dzidziguri's meeting with the public in Rustavi where Dzidziguri and local population too spoke positively about Bidzina Ivanishvili.

In regards to the presented respondents, the news items on Kavkasia are more or less balanced. In the cases where such reports are not balanced, mostly there is a lack of the comments by representatives of the judiciary and the Prosecutor's Office. However, the journalists pointed out that they did not want to make any comment.

The stories are mostly supported with footage and the comments of respondents. As for the inconsistency between the journalist's opinion and the material presented in the news item, there is an interesting case of the news item of July 24, where a journalist said about a new candidacy for the State Audit Service that according to the disseminated information Eka Kherkheulidze would replace Lasha Tordia. However, the journalist did not specify the source of information. Besides, Eka Kherkheulidze said in the report that she was not aware of this information.

In the news item of July 25, which was dedicated to the visit of the leaders of the party Free Georgia to the village Jishkariani<sup>16</sup>, the journalist said that the leaders met with the public and informed them about their party program, and the population got interested in the prospects of getting back the Russian market for the Georgian agricultural products. However, the footage of the news item showed a visit of Kukava-Shalamberidze to the tomb of Zviad Gamsakhurdia. In the interview given to the journalist, Kukava said himself that their party aimed at getting the country to the national and orthodox direction, which the President Gamsakhurdia and Kostava wanted. The footage shows only a few people who are following Kukava. There are no shots of talking or meeting with the public.

Names of the majority of the respondents presented in the news items on Kavkasia during the period of July 17-30 were not indicated. There was an error in the report of July 20. The journalist said that the Free Georgia submitted 75 thousand signatures to the Central Elections Commission. However, Alexander Shalamberidze said that there were 80 thousand signatures.

## **The Ninth Channel**

*According to the time allocated on the Ninth Channel, approximately the same amount of time was allocated to the top two subjects (Coalition Georgian Dream and the government). Representatives of authorities were in most cases covered in a negative context. From the viewpoint of the news headlines, sometimes critical and ironical headlines concerning the authorities are observed on the Ninth Channel. As for presenting various opinions in the news items, in this respect the reports are more or*

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<sup>16</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lsp4BNSFbU&feature=youtu.be>

*less balanced. We also come across with some inconsistencies between the journalist's opinions and the materials presented in the news items.*

In regards to the time allocated on the Ninth Channel, approximately the same time was allocated to the top-two subjects (the Coalition Georgian Dream 27%, the government 26%). The United National Movement and the President got 15 and 9 per cent. As for other subjects, 4 percent or less was allocated to them. (See the Diagram: Time 6)

As for the distribution of direct and indirect speech, out of the subjects to which more than 6 minutes was allocated on this channel during the period of July, 17-30, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the most equal distribution of direct and indirect speech (47% direct and 53% indirect). As for other subjects, the government, which ranks second with 38 minutes, has the least share of the direct speech – 18%. It is noteworthy that out of the subjects to which more than 5 minutes were allocated, none of the channels have had such a low indicator of direct speech during the monitoring period. The President and the United National Movement also have a relatively low share of direct speech – 27 and 33 percent. (See the Diagram: Speech 6).

From the viewpoint of tone-based coverage of subjects, the President and the United National Movement have the most share of negative tone: the government (36%), the President (34%), the United National Movement (26%). As for the positive tone, only two subjects revealed a relatively big share of positive coverage: the President (17% out of 14 minutes and the Coalition Georgian Dream – 9% out of 46 minutes). (See the Diagram: Tone 6)

Distribution of allocated time according to the journalist's tone is similar to the overall tone tendency. The share of negative tone is quite big in regards to the subjects such as: the government (32% out of 21 minutes), the United National Movement (30% out of about 11 minutes) and the President (36% out of 8 minutes). (See the Diagram: Tone J6)

As for the headlines of news items, headlines are mostly of informative nature on the Ninth Channel. However, sometimes the critical and ironic headlines are observed towards the authorities. For example: “Merabishvili in Gori: the Prime Minister repeated one and the same text nine times” (July 18), “Awaiting a meeting with the President: people are punished for their attempt to meet him” (July 20), “Works for show: Mikheil Saakashvili opened a square in the disaster zone” (July 26), “The Dreamer National Movement: the United National Movement is hiding behind the name of the Georgian Dream” (July 30).

During the qualitative monitoring, observation on the overall impressions created by the news items, there was a tendency revealed on the Ninth Channel that the President, the government and the United National Movement are in most cases covered in a negative context as the result of the respondents' comments, the general context and the journalist's narrative.

For example, in the news item of July 18 "Gegenava's promise" – main contents of the story is that Gegenava is meeting with the voters and is giving the election promises to them. Then the law of the Parliament and the Criminal Code is mentioned, which forbids such activities.

The news item of July 18 "Merabishvili in Gori: the Prime Minister repeated one and the same text nine times" is ironical and negative towards Vano Merabishvili. The whole story is constructed on one motif that Merabishvili was repeating one and the same sentences, which he had learned by heart, during all his meetings in the villages, which creates a negative impression about Merabishvili.

The news item of July 20 "Compensations for Disaster: the government fails to calculate the total damage" is getting negative for the authorities, as far as it mentions that the authorities evaluate the farmers' year-long labor only for 1,000 Lari and according to the expert, these figures look like a PR campaign of the authorities rather than the attempt to provide real assistance to the victims.

The news item of July 21 "10 million for charity" tends to be positive towards Ivanishvili and negative towards the government. The journalist points out several times that it was Ivanishvili's charity, but the government does not recognize this. Besides, it is highlighted that the Reserve Fund is empty and that the government needs money. The journalist is saying: "the government has an ambition to cope with the state loss itself and refuses to get assistance of a political rival." In general, there is an impression created that Ivanishvili is acting with dignity and is helping the victims, but the government does not recognize this, though on the other hand it cannot cope with the damage itself.

The news item of July 28 "Support sworn on the Koran: the ruling team is collecting the votes for election" is negative towards the National Movement and the authorities, because the story is about how the United National Movement activists go to villages and make the voters swear on the Koran that they would support their party.

As for providing various opinions in news items, they are more or less balanced in this respect. However, it should be noted that in most cases the news items do not contain

comments by the government, various state structures and representatives of the United National Movement. However, in several cases they mentioned that they could not contact the respondents and get comments from them.

We often see the news items on the Ninth Channel where the journalist's narrative intensifies the negative impression towards specific subjects. For example:

- Journalist: "this happens whereas Saakashvili wrote off 34 million from National Channels two years ago." (July 18, story about the Revenues Service)
- Journalist: "9 villages and the Prime Minister's one universal text, former Minister of Interior is assuming a role of a Prime Minister against his habit of being a man of few words, however, Vano Merabishvili addresses the people at nine various meetings with one and the same text and gestures." (July 18, news item "Merabishvili in Gori: the Prime Minister repeats one and the same text nine times")
- Journalist: "Nika Rurua dislikes the works performed by Bidzina Ivanishvili, however, tens of sites were repaired absolutely for free based on the request of that Ministry of Culture"... and there follows a list of more than ten sites. (July 18 the news item "Response to the Minister of Culture")
- Journalist: "Government emptied the money-boxes of Georgian citizens that they were saving for hard times" (July 24, the news item about "Minister of Finance at the Parliament")
- Journalist: "Citizens who were beaten up for attempting to meet the President neither got an apology nor a pleasure of seeing" (July 25, the news item "President's Apology")

There were cases revealed on the Ninth Channel during the period of July 17-30, where the journalist's opinions were not consistent with the material presented in the story. For example, the news item of July 19 "Empty Parliament"<sup>17</sup> says that according to the information disseminated by the Georgia's Way, the building is to be bought by a Georgian businessman living in France and Moscow. After this the journalist is saying that according to the Georgians living in France, this person has close ties with the Georgian authorities and namely with Saakashvili. After there is a broadcast from France, where the reporter of the Ninth Channel in France gets live via Skype. She only

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<sup>17</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ubRSdwY5LEE&feature=youtu.be>

lists the sites that belong to this person and repeats that this person has close linkages with the Georgian government. However, there is no source or fact provided in the report to support this.

In the news item of July 25 “The President’s Apology”<sup>18</sup> the journalist is speaking about the citizens who tried to have a meeting with the President different times and that they were detained for this. All the listed people are shown in the footage. They are telling their story themselves. In the end the journalist is saying that one of the citizens was in prison for 6 months only because when the President was visiting Rustavi and was talking to the people about new roads and infrastructure, he yelled at him “Shall we eat asphalt then?!” however, there is no fact or source provided to prove that this really happened and that this person was really detained.

## Real TV

*Out of seven channels, in regards to the allocated time, the highest percentage was reported on Real TV towards one specific subject - the Coalition Georgian Dream. There are two main tendencies identified: positive news items about the President and the government and sharply negative reports about the Coalition Georgian Dream. Coverage is mostly negative because of the journalist’s narrative; also there are frequent cases of manipulating with music and footage. Besides, we often come across with negative headlines. The stories are sometimes balanced, sometimes - not. However, it should be noted that the majority of unbalanced stories are caused by the lack of the comments by representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream, or by the lack of respondents of different opinions.*

Real TV is the only channel where more than 40 percent of total time allocated to subjects is dedicated to one particular subject, and this subject is the Coalition Georgian Dream during the whole monitoring project. During the period of July 17-30, 45 percent of time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream (1 hour and 42 minutes). Coverage time for the President and the government was almost equal (the President 23% - 51 minutes, and the government - 19 percent - 43 minutes). 4 percent, i.e. 8 minutes or less was allocated to the rest of the subjects. (See the Diagram: Time 7)

As for the percentage distribution of the direct and indirect speech, out of the three subjects, to which more than 40 minutes were allocated, the Coalition Georgian Dream

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<sup>18</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmGhC3rmh1g&feature=youtu.be>



has the lowest percentage of direct speech (29%), and the highest percentage of indirect speech (71%). It is interesting that in case of the Coalition and the President, the distribution of direct-indirect speech is disproportionate. The government has 43 percent of direct speech, and the United National Movement has 82 percent out of the allocated 8 minutes. (See the Diagram: Speech 7)

As for the subjects coverage tone, if we look at the main three subjects, we will see that: in case of 71 percent of the allocated time the Coalition Georgian Dream is covered with negative tone, and the President and the government have 72 and 46 percent of positive coverage. (See the Diagram: Tone 7)

Monitoring the journalist's tone regarding the subjects reveals that the Coalition Georgian Dream has more share - 78 percent. The government and the President are the subjects which have the biggest share of positive tone both as a general tone and as a journalist's tone (Government 25%, President 44%). (See the Diagram: Tone J7)

From the viewpoint of headlines on Real TV it is noteworthy that we often see descriptive and short headlines. However, when the news item is about the representatives of Coalition Georgian Dream, then they mostly have headlines with negative tone. For example, "Bidzina's Magic Circle" (July 18), "Bidzina's Soviet Dream" (July 19), "Ivanishvili's Trick" (July 20), "Liar Izoria" (July 24), "and A month of Bidzina's Conscience" (July 30). Nevertheless, when the news item is about the authority representatives, the headlines are neutral or positive. For example: "Public Service Halls: Worldwide Recognition" (July 17), "Employment - Government's Priority" (July 25), "Prime Minister's 'Thank You' to Doctors" (July 26), "President's 'Thank You' to Soldiers" (July 30).

According to the overall impressions in the news items, there are two trends identified on Real TV. On one hand these are positive stories concerning the President and the government, and on the other hand, the stories of clearly negative contents towards the Coalition Georgian Dream and its members, and rarely towards other opposition representatives as well. In both cases the general impression is created by the journalist's narrative, also by the respondents' comments and footage.

For example, the news item of July 23 "President and Patriarch in Kakheti" shows the President's meeting with people and with the church. The President is kissing the people, and they are saying thank you to him. Besides, people's words are heard: God bless you. The President walks among the people, shakes hands with them, and hugs them.

The news item of July 24 “President in Tsalenjikha” shows Saakashvili sitting in the family of the Kutelias and talking to them. The housewife is thanking the President. Then they broadcast old footage where the President is trying to find his way in the elevated river hand in hand with this woman.

There is a positive impression created about Vano Merabishvili in the news item of July 26 “Distribution of Insurance Policies” and “Prime Minister in GeoClinic”, because in one case he very diligently explains the insurance terms and conditions to the Bekauri family, and in another case talks to the child and promises to the doctor that they will increase their salaries.

As for the news items that create negative impressions towards the Coalition Georgian Dream, here the main emphasis is laid on Bidzina Ivanishvili. Often he is related to Russia, Putin, Nino Burjanadze, Eduard Shevardnadze and the Soviet era. Negative impression is created by the journalist’s text, also by the respondents’ comments and footage. Manipulation with footage and music is frequent with the purpose of negative coverage of coalition representatives.

For example, the news item of July 17 “Party of the Dream” leaves a negative impression regarding the Coalition and Ivanishvili, because this is a story saying that the Coalition members have a party at a restaurant after every rally, with Ivanishvili’s money. Then a dark night is shown with Gubaz Sanikidze going to the Restaurant ‘Lord’.

The news item of July 19 “Bidzina’s Majoritarians”<sup>19</sup> is especially negative towards the Georgian Dream, because it ironically presents Usupashvili and Khidasheli. The report shows that nobody knows Tina Khidasheli and Usupashvili even in the regions where they have been nominated. There is an ironical comparison of Khidasheli with Cassandra, a character from a soap opera.

In the news item of July 19 “Bidzina’s Soviet Dream”<sup>20</sup> the journalist tries to present the phrases used by Bidzina Ivanishvili at different times in a negative way. The emphasis is laid on Ivanishvili’s statement that Georgia was good during the Soviet times. Eventually, it is concluded from the story that Ivanishvili has nostalgia for the Soviet Georgia.

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<sup>19</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1MLVJVkPe0&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>20</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2uNaCF-CIE&feature=youtu.be>

The news item of July 19 “Gelashvili Expelled from the Village”<sup>21</sup> negatively presents Valeri Gelashvili, a majoritarian candidate of the Coalition. The story is about how the villagers ‘expelled’ Gelashvili from the village and how they were verbally abusing him. The locals are saying that Gelashvili did not keep his previous promises, and this is why the people did not want to see him. However, it is not clear in all the moments whether the people are scolding Gelashvili or somebody else.

The news item of July 24 “Kremlin’s Drawback”<sup>22</sup> is negative towards Ivanishvili. During the whole report he is not shown in a neutral way even once. First he is compared to Burjanadze and then it is mentioned that he shares the interests of Shevardnadze. Then Bidzina Ivanishvili is compared to Putin. The respondents who were presented in the news item were not identified and there is no information about who these people are who speak negatively about Ivanishvili.

The news item of July 26 “Failed Meeting”<sup>23</sup> reports about Mirian Tsiklauri, majoritarian candidate of the Coalition that while he was Gangebeli in Kazbegi, he collected money and cheated the people. Also, the report shows Levan Izoria’s meeting with people in Samegrelo, where the fight took place. The report shows a local person from Khevi who calls “rabbits” (also meaning cowards in Georgian) to the supporters of the Georgian Dream, and then recites poems about them, where Ivanishvili and his supporters are mentioned negatively. The journalist’s narrative is added to this report from the studio. For example, the journalist says that historically the people of Khevi have been sincere and courageous, and this is impossible for them to spread rumors. The journalist is also drawing many other opinions that are not proved by anything and sounds quite incredible.

As for the balance of the reports according to the presented respondents, during this period they are sometimes balanced, sometimes not. However, it is noteworthy that we come across not only with the unbalanced reports, where the lack of comments by other sides is felt, but also the news items where the balance is present, but no diverse opinions are provided.

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<sup>21</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0QfI0g0g8Y0&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>22</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3jAwQSIjvKU&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>23</sup> For watching the news item please follow the link:

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

There are many news items on Real TV where the journalist's narrative exacerbates the negative impression created in regards to the Georgian Dream representatives. Examples:

- Journalist: "Bidzina Ivanishvili, presumably, is in love only with his glass palace" (July 17, "List of the Dream's Majoritarians")
- Journalist; "There have been much talks among the parliamentary majority that Jondi Baghaturia is doped with the flavor of Ivanishvili's money." (July 18, the news item "Conspiracy Meeting")
- Journalist: "Putin is lamenting for the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Bidzina Ivanishvili is missing Red Georgia." (July 19, news item "Bidzina's Soviet Dream")
- Journalist: "However, the apprentice of the leader of the Republican Party, presumably, did not excel at school and since coming to politics the oligarch has already made many mistakes" (news item of July 19 "Ivanishvili's Mentor")
- Journalist: "the fact that the billionaire Ivanishvili looks like a Mafioso ruler Putin with height, gestures, way of speaking, outlook and much capital accumulated in Russia, may not be advantageous for the billionaire." (July 24, news item "Kremlin's Drawback")

## Annexes - Diagrams

Diagram - Time 1

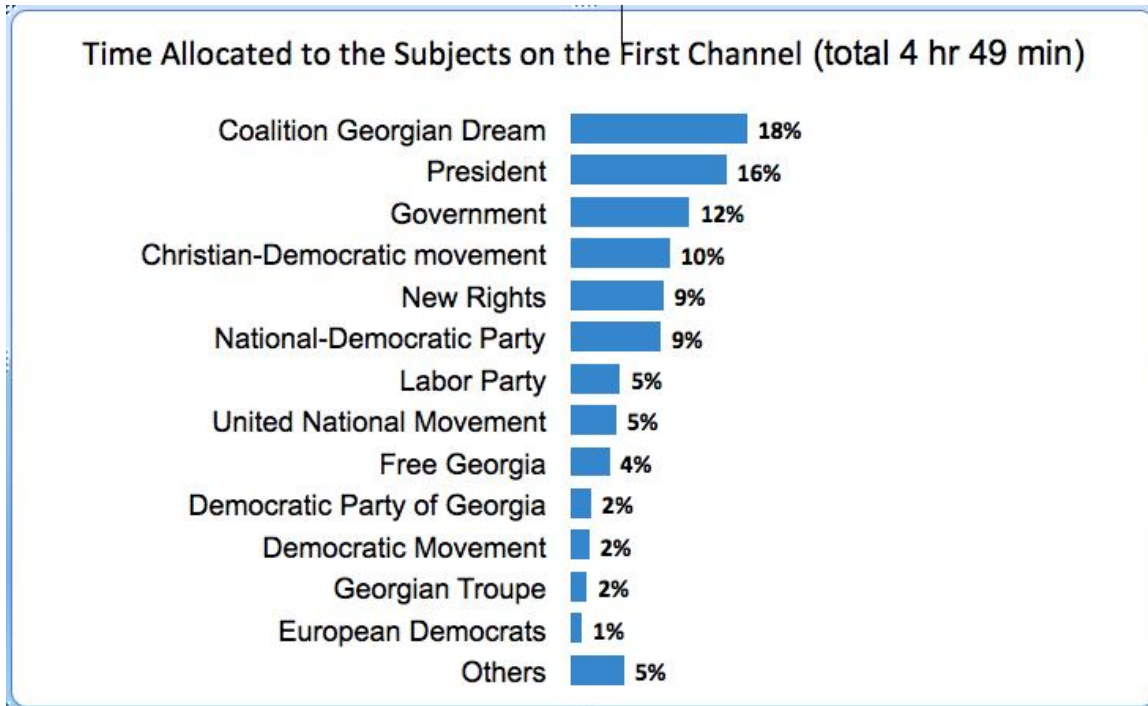


Diagram - Time 2

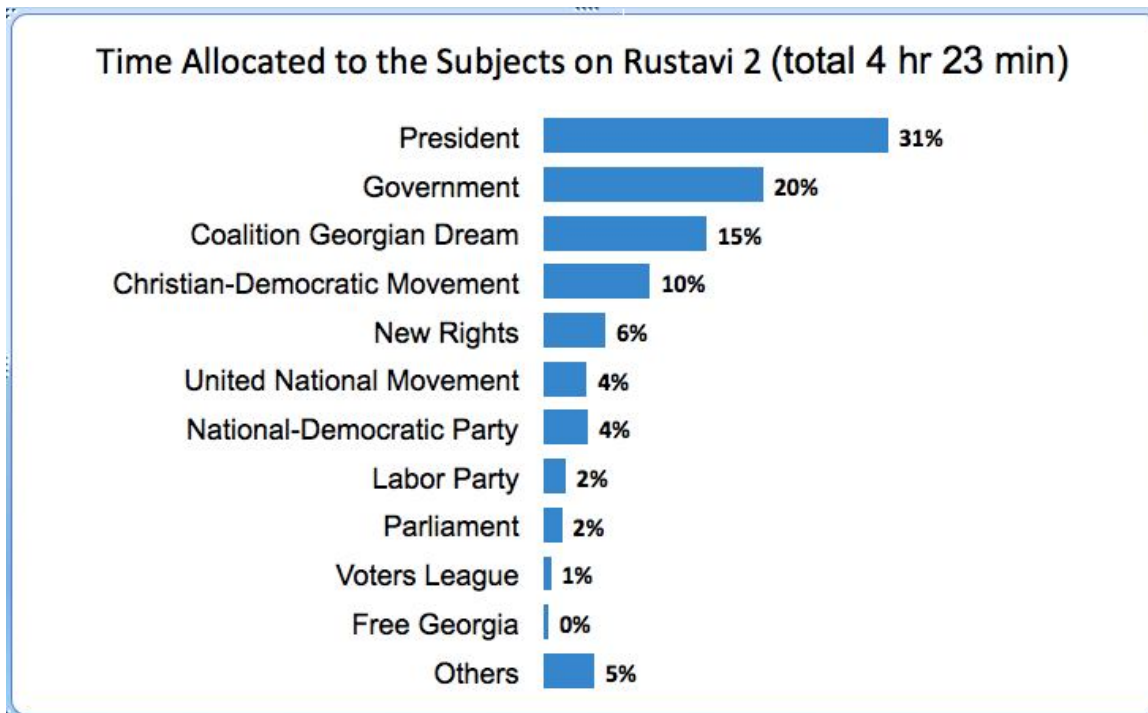


Diagram - Time 3

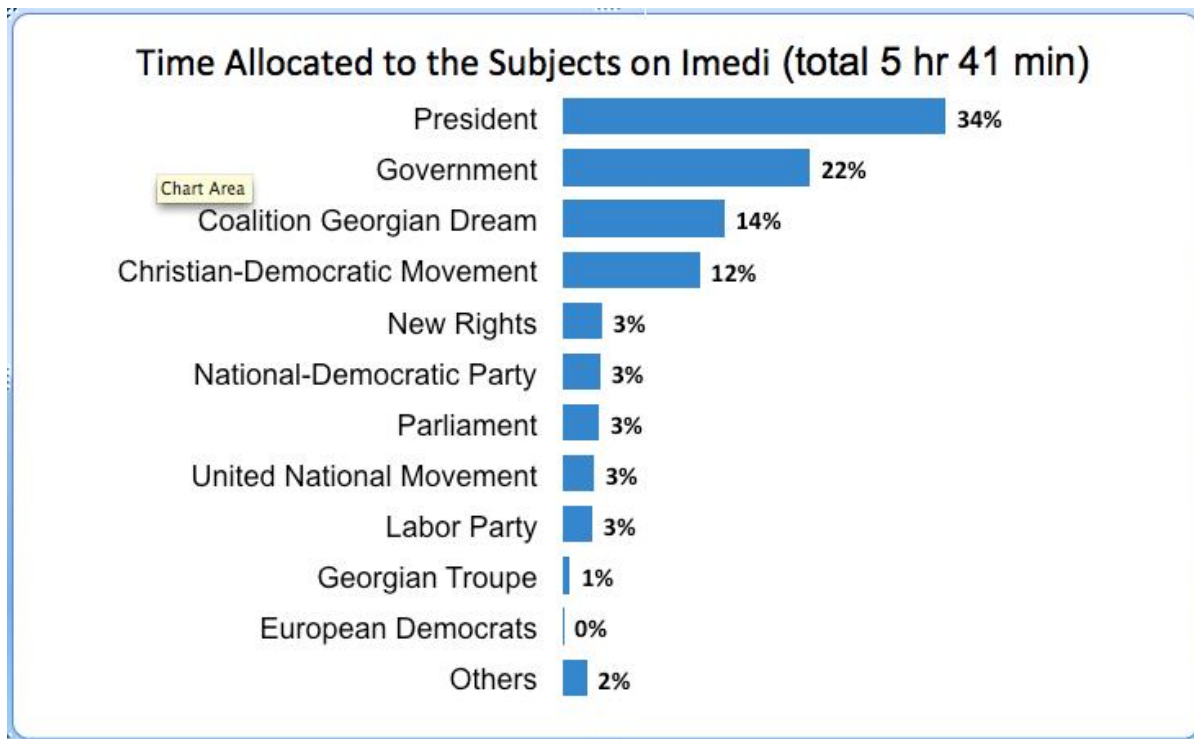


Diagram - Time 4

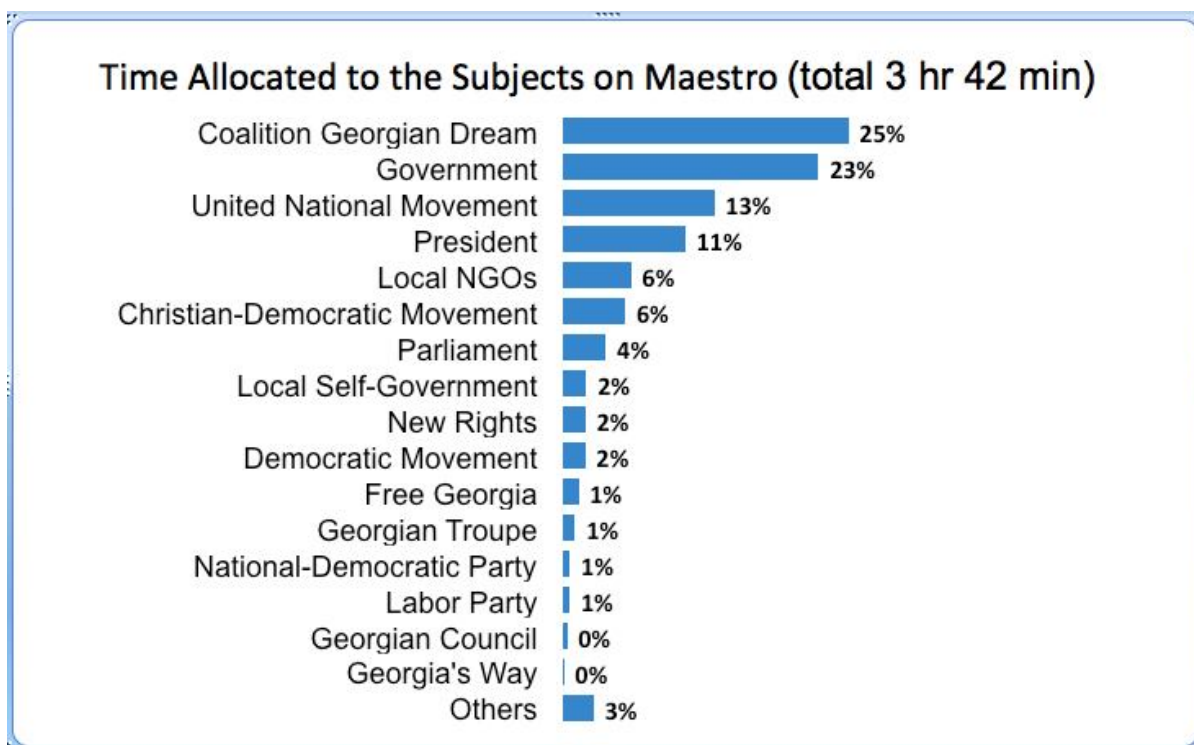


Diagram - Time 5

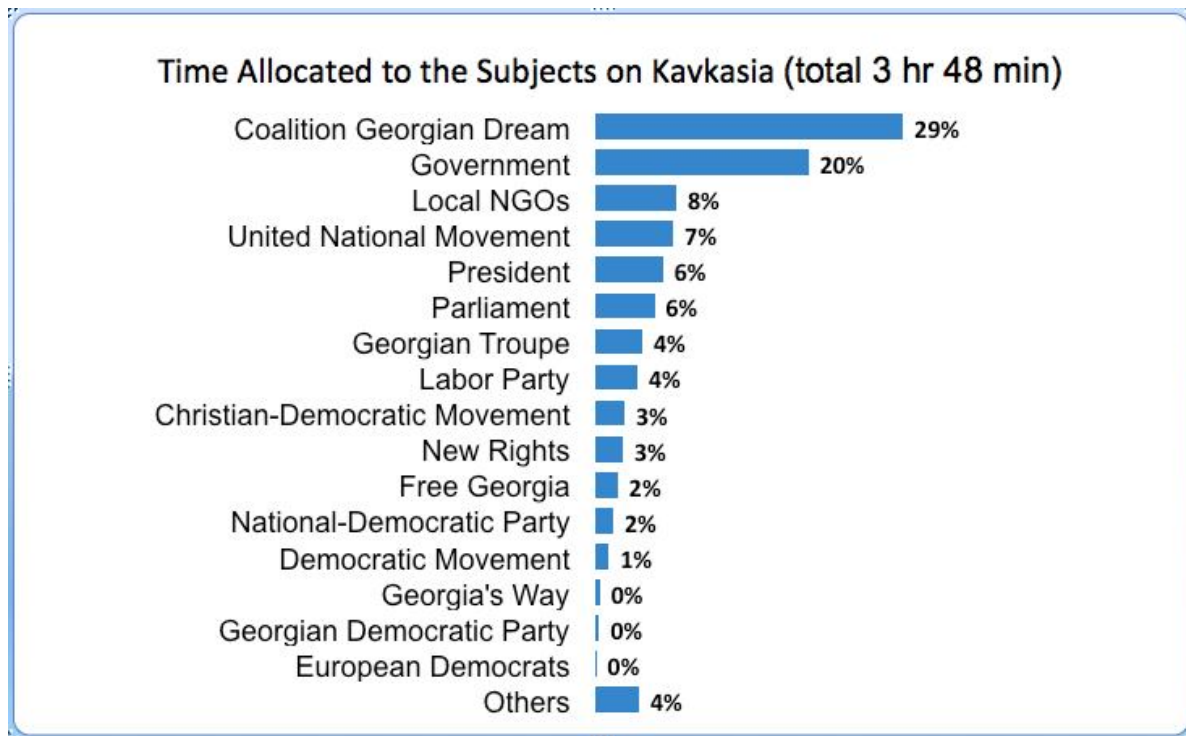


Diagram - Time 6

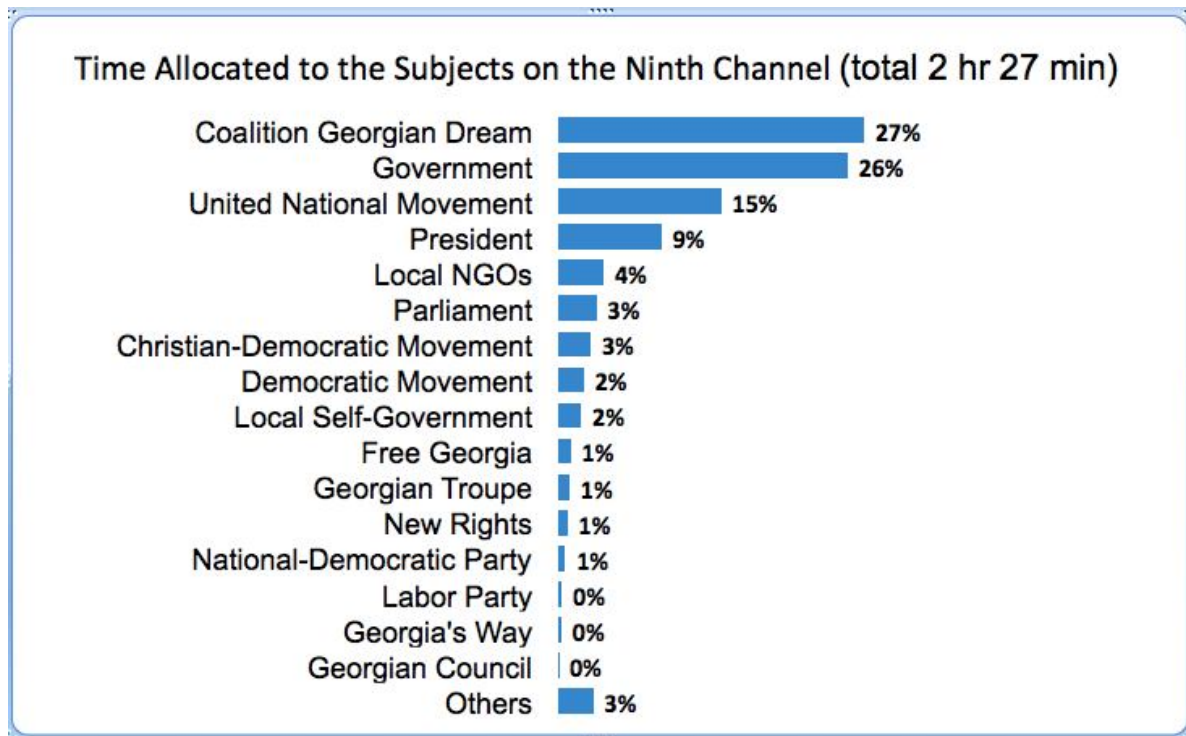


Diagram - Time 7

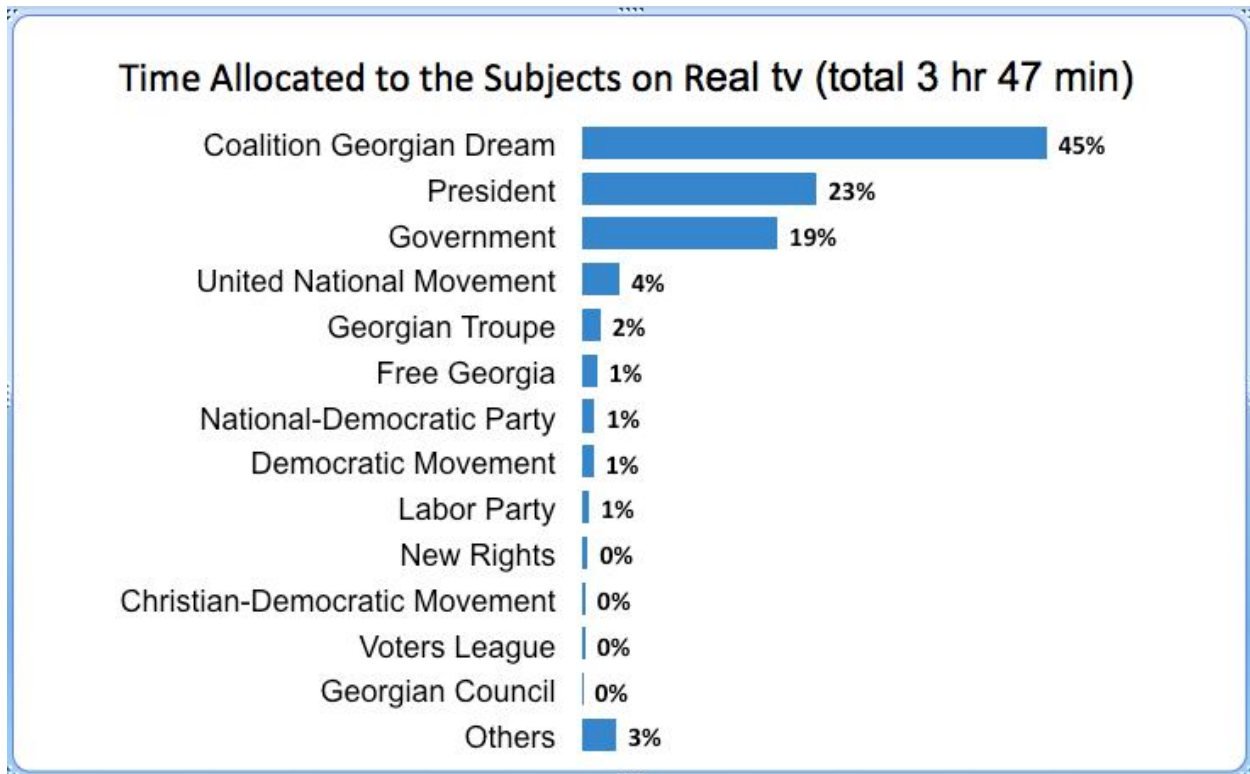




Diagram - Speech 1

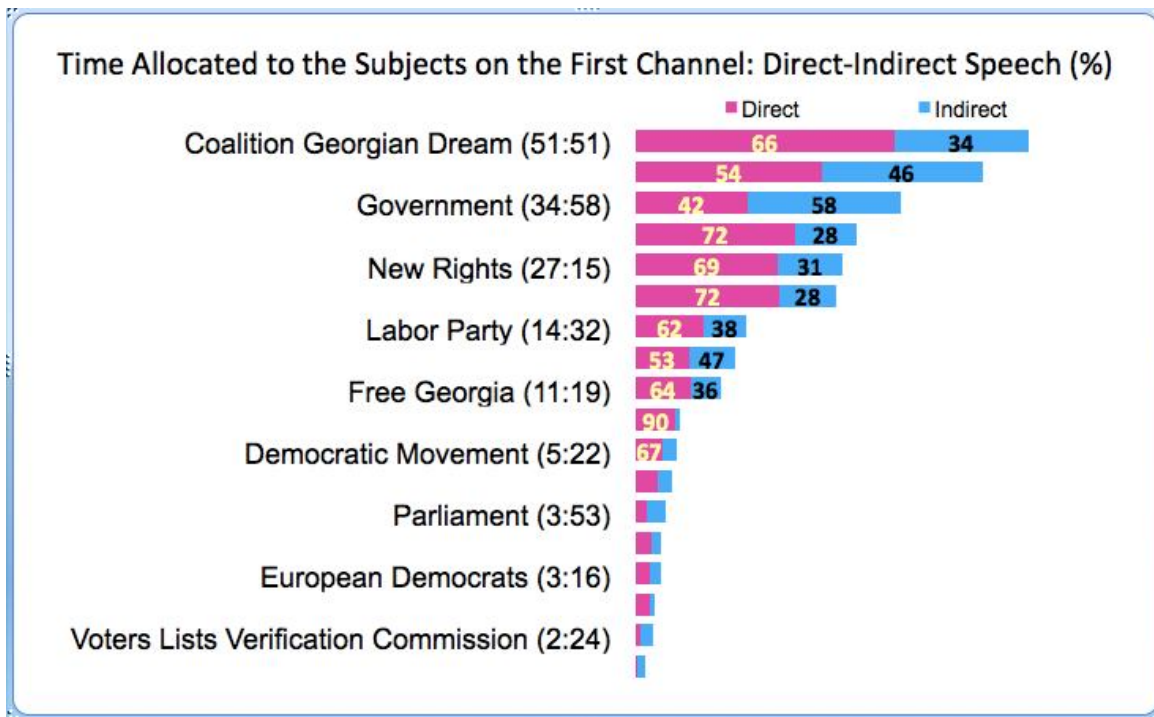


Diagram - Speech 2

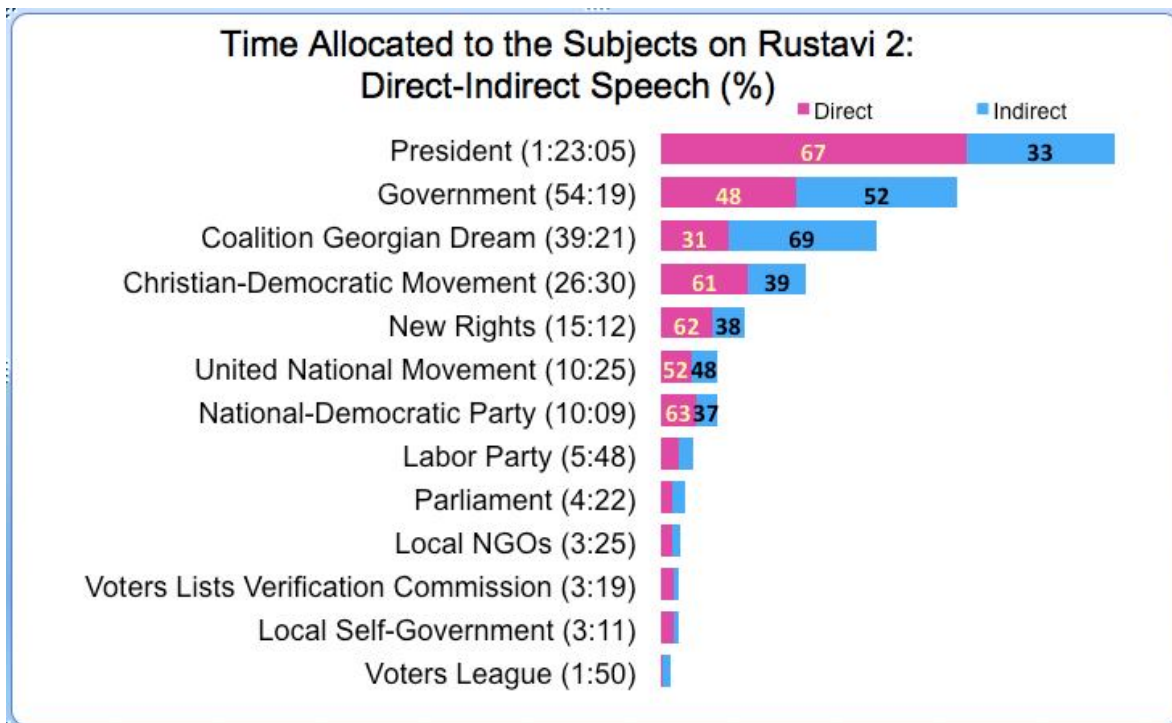


Diagram - Speech 3

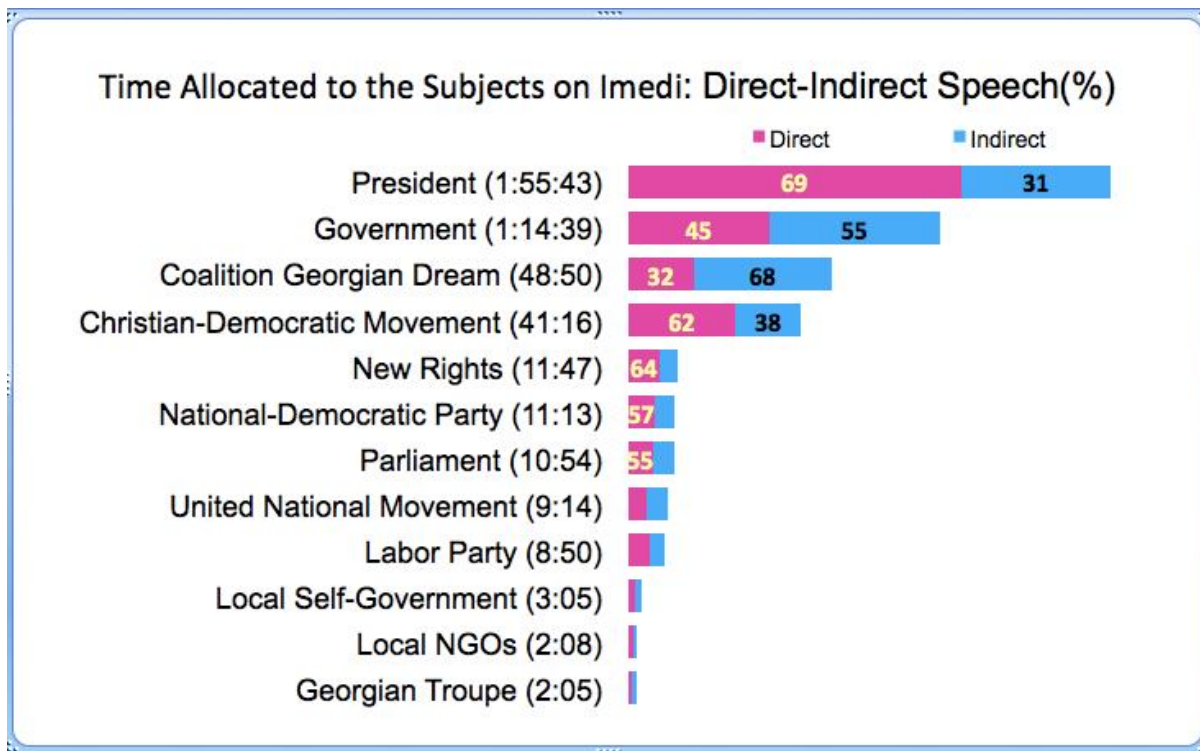


Diagram - Speech 4

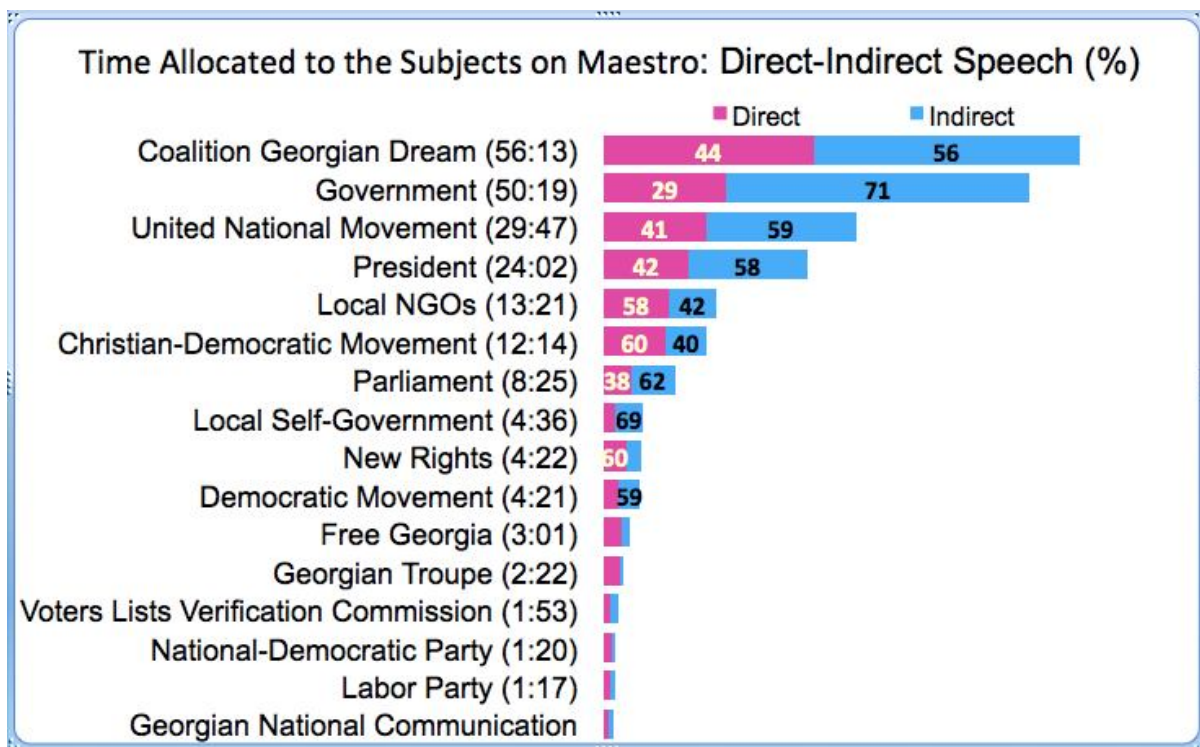


Diagram - Speech 5

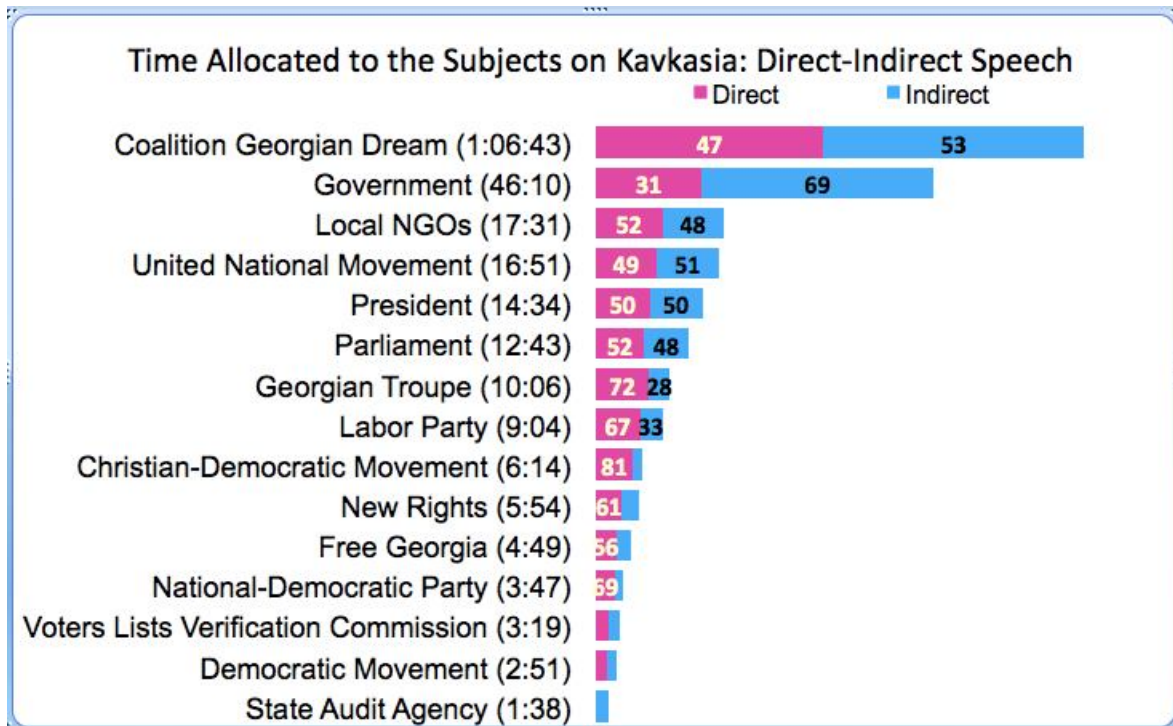


Diagram - Speech 6

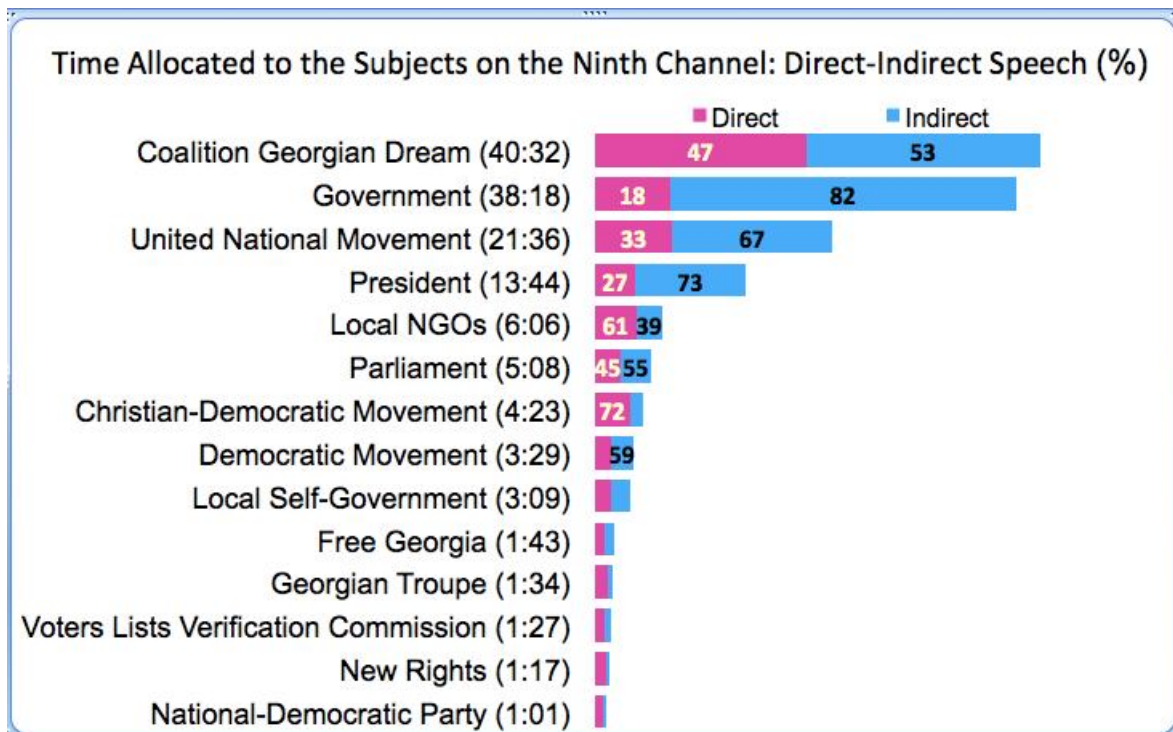


Diagram - Speech 7

### Time Allocated to the Subjects on Real TV: Direct-Indirect Speech (%)

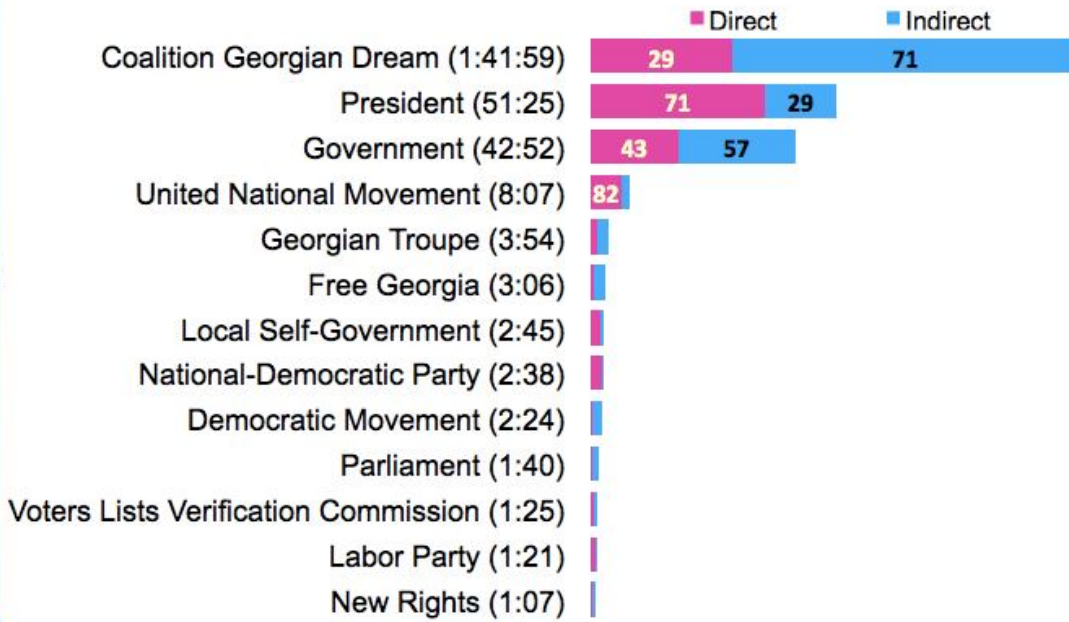


Diagram - Tone 1

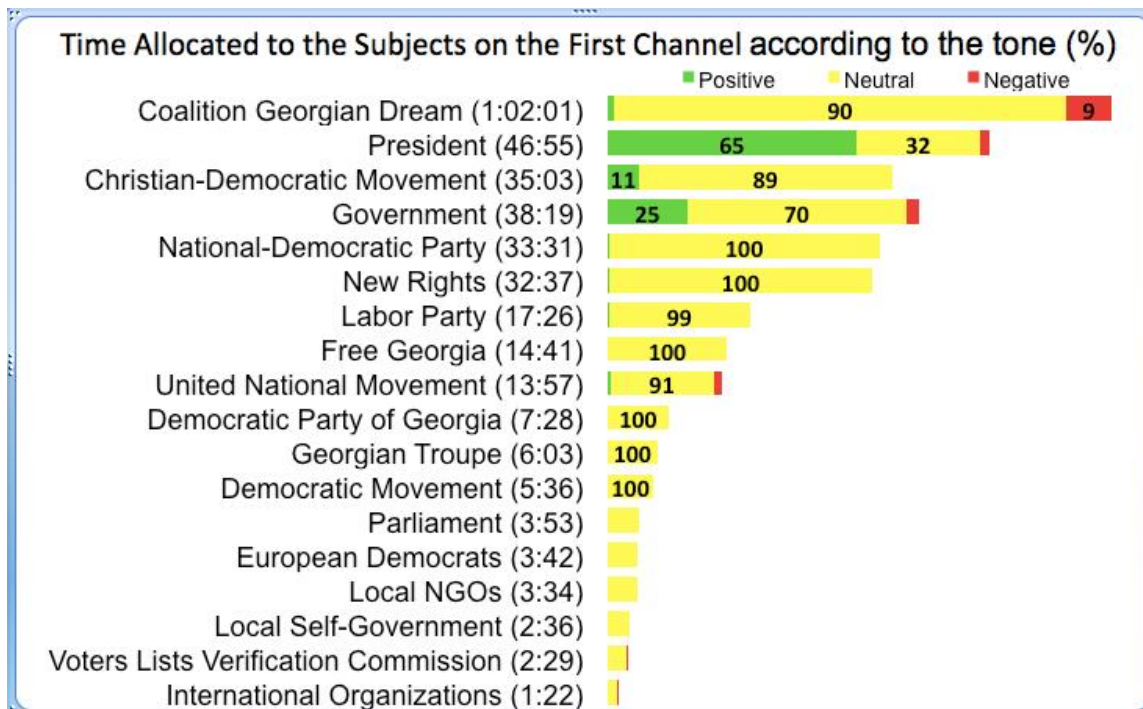


Diagram - Tone J1

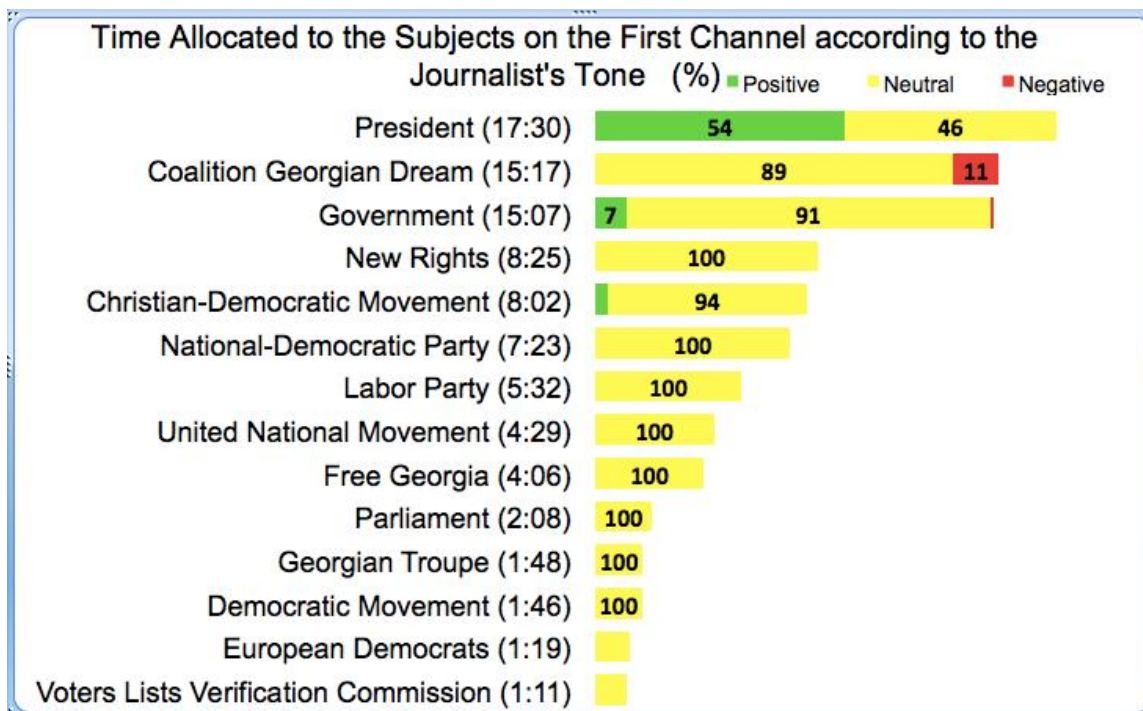


Diagram - Tone 2

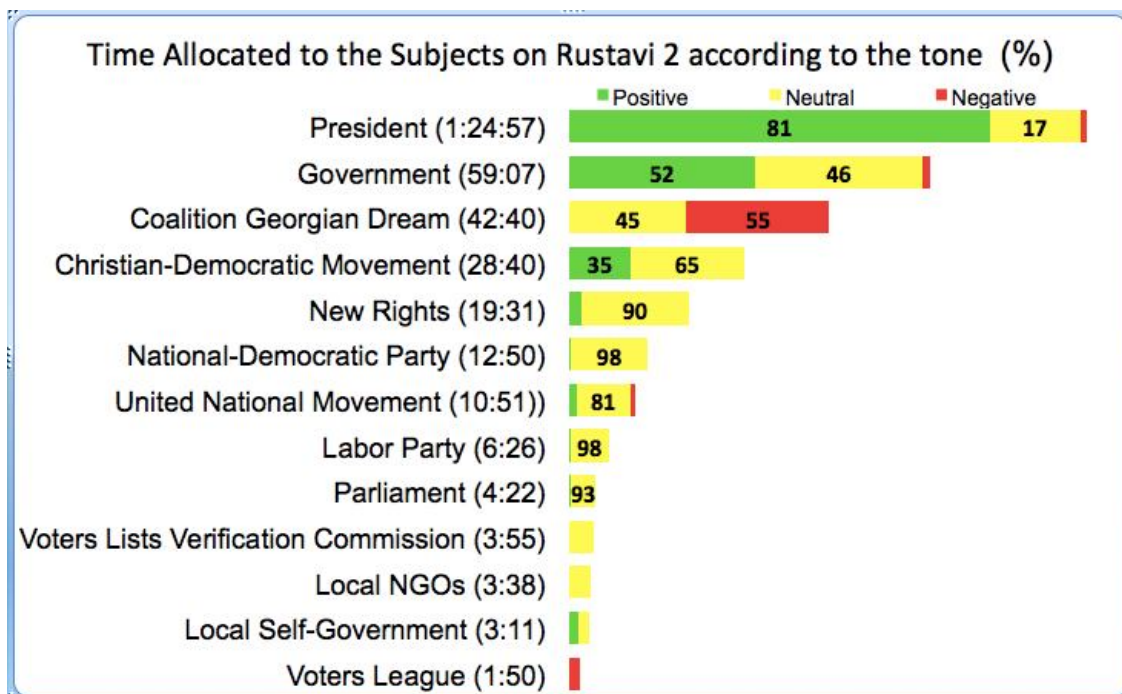


Diagram - Tone J2

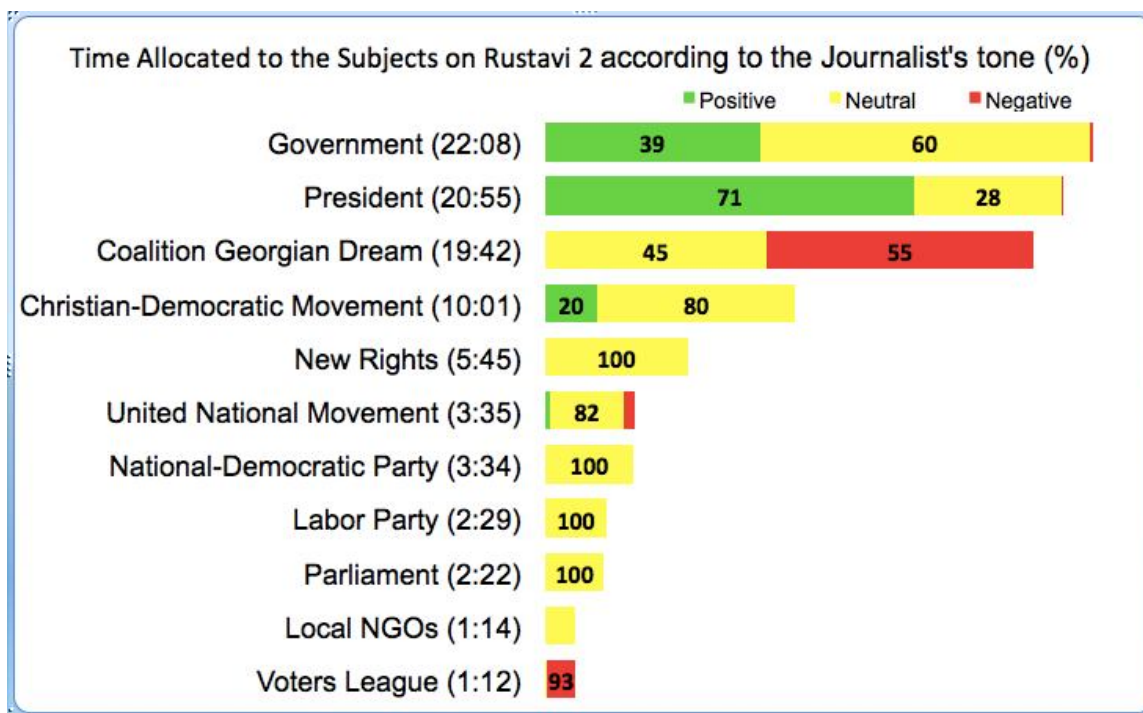


Diagram - Tone 3

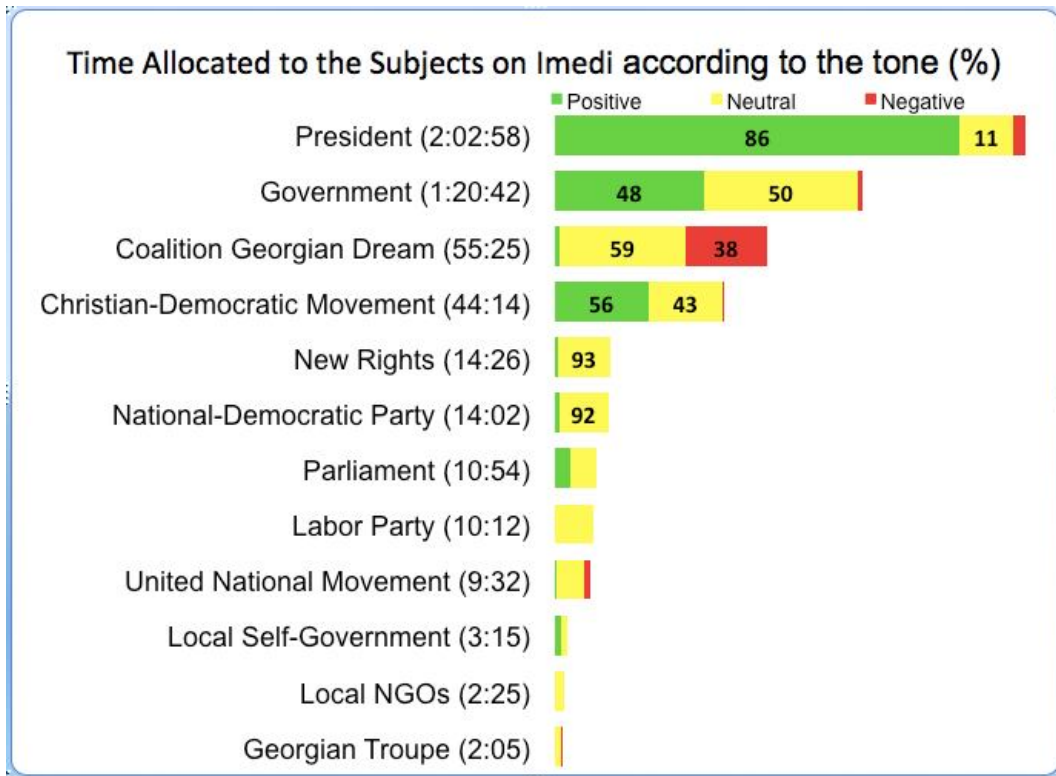


Diagram - Tone J3

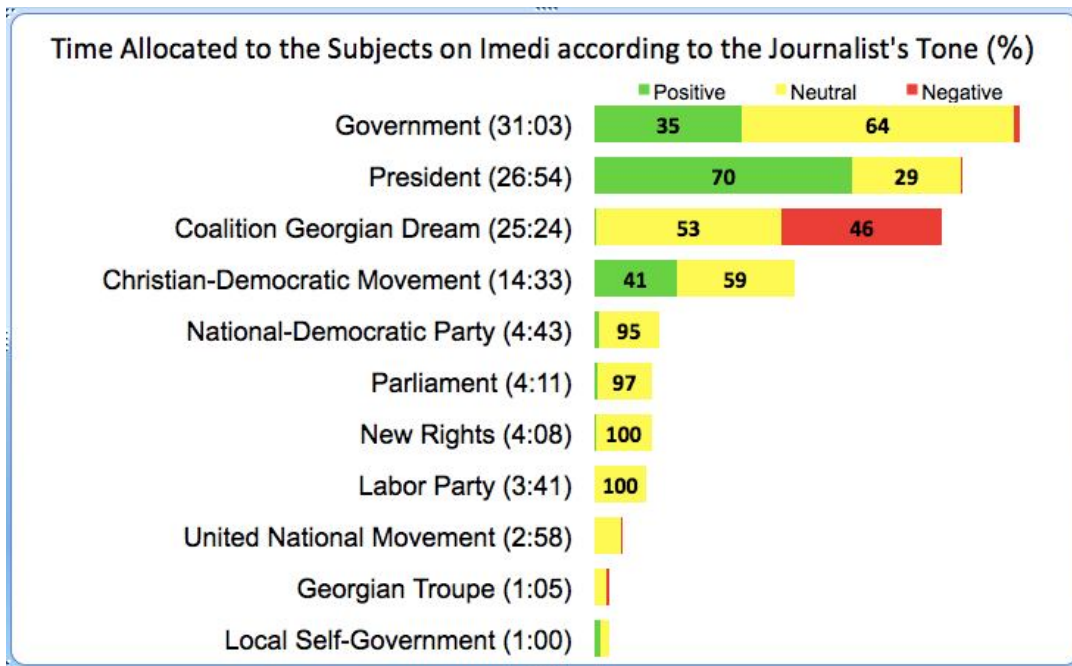


Diagram - Tone 4

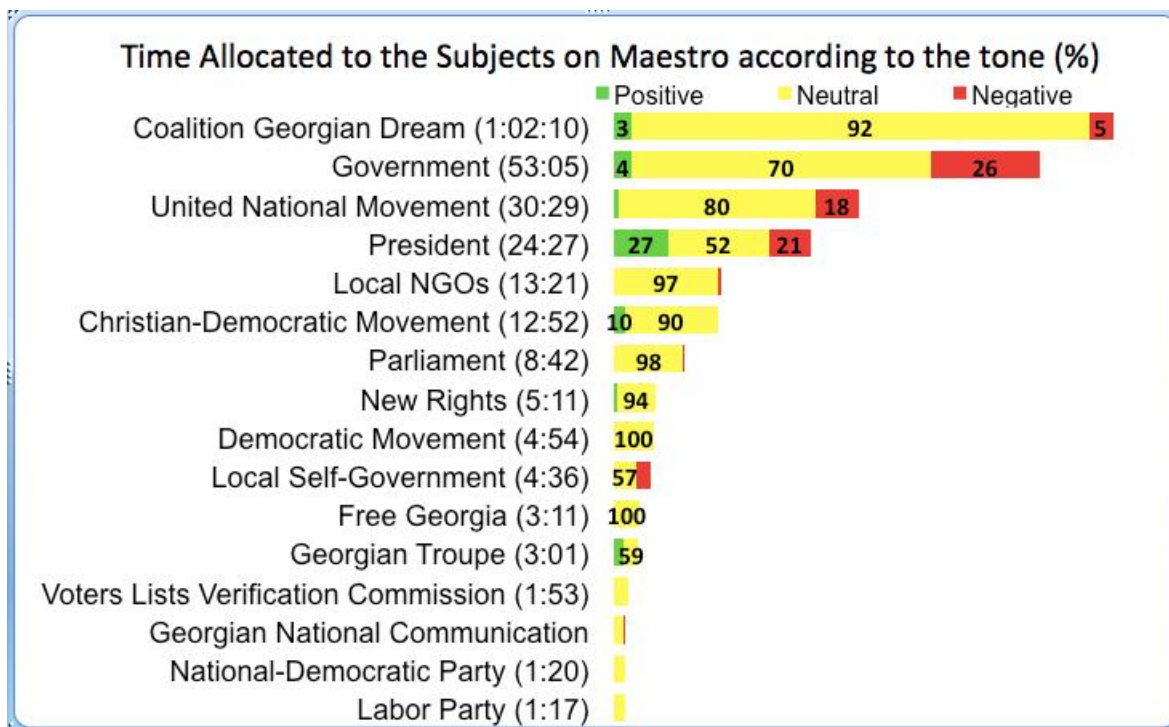


Diagram - Tone J4

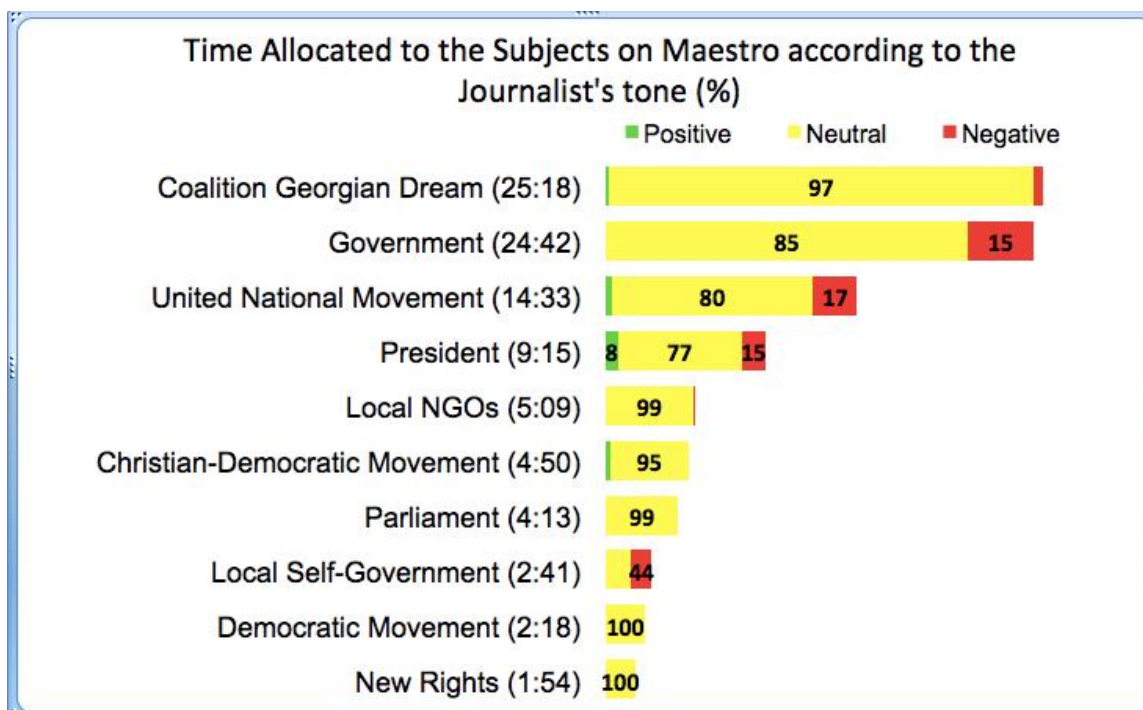




Diagram - Tone 5

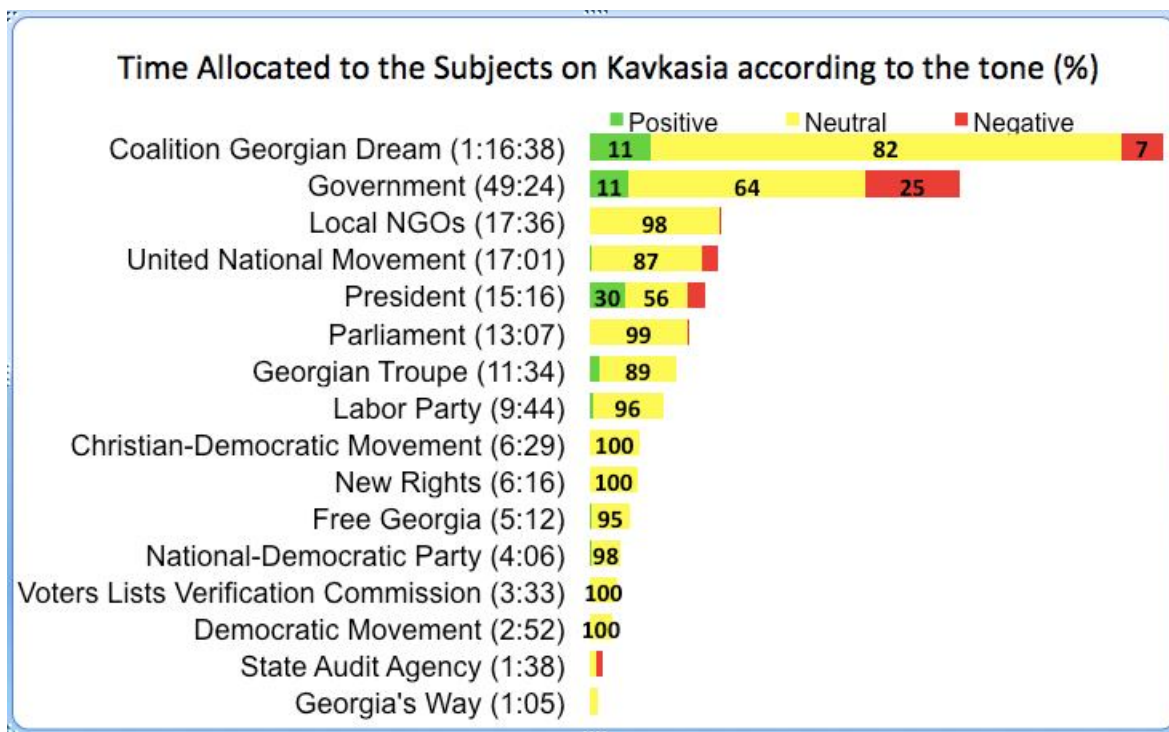


Diagram - Tone J5

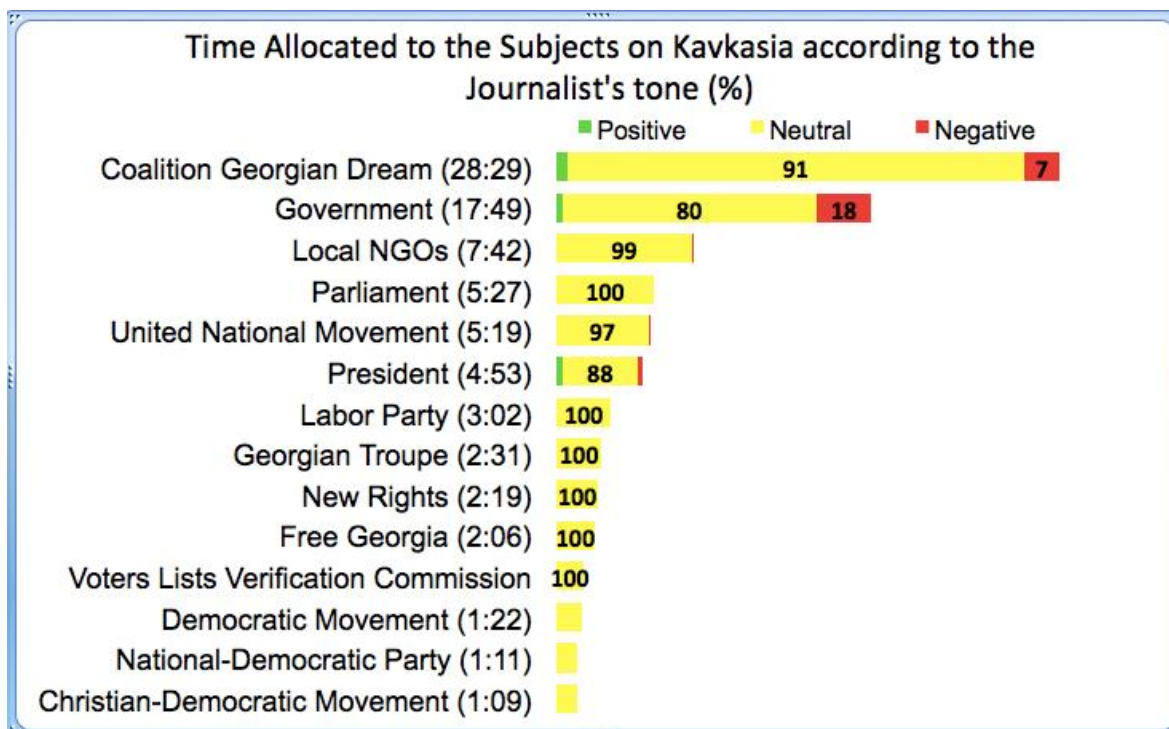


Diagram - Tone 6

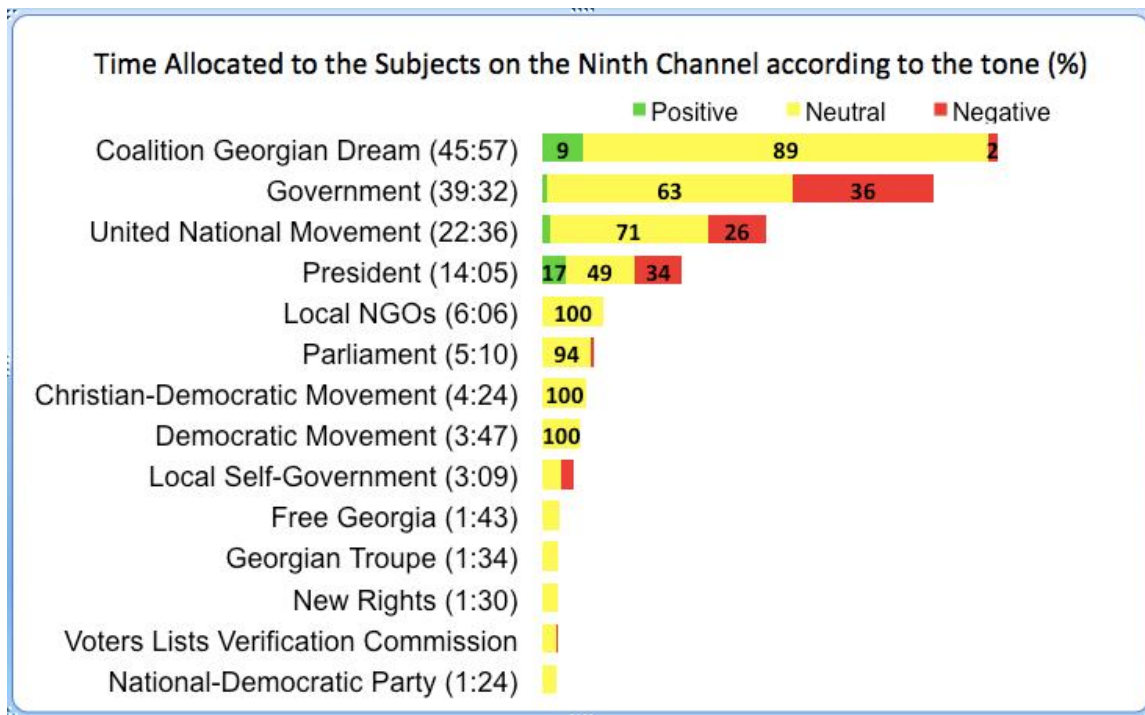


Diagram - Tone J6

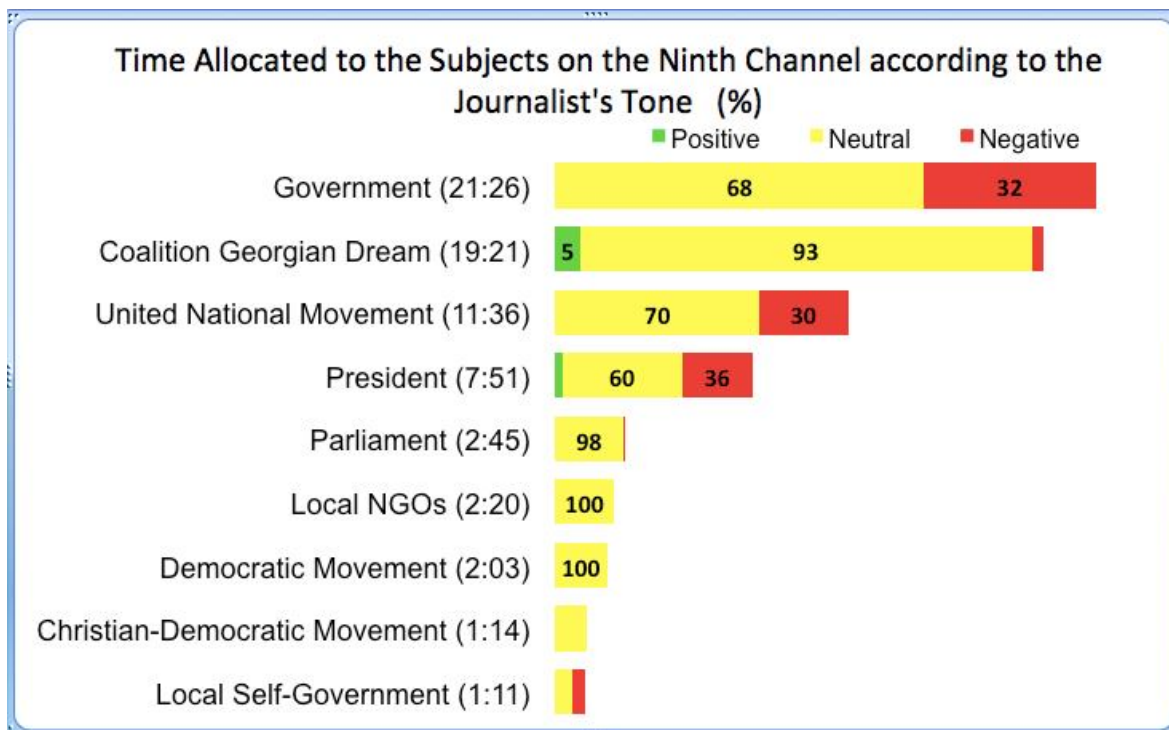


Diagram - Tone 7

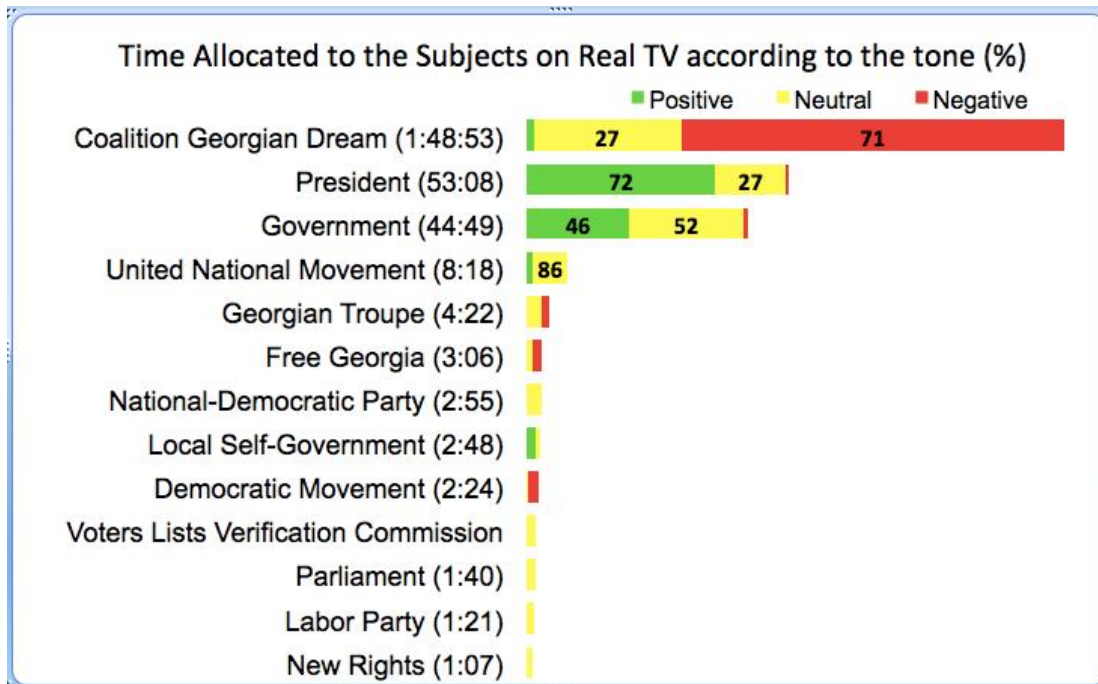


Diagram - Tone J7.

