



Election Media Monitoring of TV-Companies

May 11 - August 15, 2012

Key findings identified during the media monitoring for the period of May 11- August 15, inclusive:

- 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 the United National Movement.
- As for the remaining five channels (the First Channel, Maestro, Kavkasia, the Ninth Channel and Real TV), the Coalition Georgian Dream ranks the first according to the allocated time. However, the rates of allocated time are different.
- Time distribution is quite similar on Maestro and the Ninth Channel. Here we see the following sequence: the CGD, government; in case of Maestro: President and UNM; in case of the Ninth Channel it is vice-versa: UNM and the President.
- Out of these channels, the distribution of time allocated to the subjects is most unequal on Real TV.
- On the First Channel, Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel, the government has the least share of direct speech. Out of them, the least rate was reported on the Ninth Channel.
- The CGD has the lowest share of direct speech on Rustavi 2, Imedi and Real TV. However, the President had more than 70% of direct speech on these three channels.
- In regards of the coverage tone, there is a trend that the subjects: President government and CDM are positively covered in most cases on Rustavi 2 and Imedi; whereas the CGD is covered with negative tone.
- Real TV dedicates main news releases of the day mostly to the CGD and almost always covers it with negative or very negative context. The tendency of positive coverage of President and government is also observed on this channel.

- Government, President and the UNM are more often covered in negative context on Maestro and the Ninth Channel. However, it is noteworthy that this trend is more observed on the Ninth Channel.
- Neutral tone is more prevalent on Kavkasia and the First Channel. We should point out, however, that the President has quite a big share of positive coverage on the First Channel.

Methodology and Analysis

This report covers the period from May 11 until August 15, inclusive. The exception is the subjects coverage tone in the quantitative part, which has been analyzed for the period from June 19 to August 15, inclusive, because of the changes made to the methodology. Five biweekly reports have already been prepared¹ from May 11 until August 15. This report summarizes the data of all the five periods (May 11 – July 30), and the results of the period of July 31 – August 15 are also added.

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 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

¹ Please follow the link to find the reports: <http://mediamonitor.ge/>

diagrams (in the format of - hour:minute:second). Those subjects, to which less than 10 minutes were allocated on the channel during the period of May 11 – August 15, inclusive, 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 in total less than 5 minutes were 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 support 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 associations.

Based on these components, the results of monitoring of news releases are provided for the period of May 11 – August 15, per channels. Summary of time allocated to the subjects in the quantitative part covers the period from May 11 until August 15, and the subject coverage tone – the period from June 19 until August 15 due to the slight changes made to the methodology.

The First Channel

Time allocated to the subjects on the First Channel, which in total was 28 hours and 5 minutes, is quite equally distributed and there are no big differences between the percentages. Headlines of news reports are neutral and descriptive on the First Channel. The news items mostly leave neutral impression in regards to the subjects shown in the news items. However, during the whole monitoring period we came across the cases when the overall impression created by the news items tended to be positive towards the President and other representatives of the authorities. Overall positive impression is mostly caused by direct speech of the subjects and the footage shown. In regards to the respondents shown 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 in the report, such facts were always provided in the news items on the First Channel.

During the whole monitoring period (May 11 – August 15), the time allocated to the subjects on the First Channel, which was in total 28 hours and 5 minutes, is quite equally distributed and there are no big differences among the percentage indicators. The CGD ranks first, to which 20 percent was allocated out of the total time allocated to the subjects. Together with the Coalition, the top five subjects are: the President, the government, CDM and New Rights, with only slight differences among their percentage indicators: the President – 14%, the government – 11%, CDM – 10% and the New Rights – 9%. As for other subjects, 5 per cent or less of the time was allocated to them. (See the Diagram - Time 1).

From the viewpoint of direct and indirect speech, out of the subjects to which more than one hour was allocated in total, the share of direct speech is always more than 54 percent except the government, which had a chance of direct speech only in 37 percent of time. According to the percentage indicators, the biggest share of direct speech was reported for: CDM (71%) and New Rights (72%). (See the Diagram - Speech 1).

While performing the tone-based evaluation of subjects, it was reported that in total, the President has the biggest share of positive tone on the First Channel (62%), then comes the government (23%) and the CDM (16%). The positive tone was used also for covering the CGD and New Rights, but they only got 4 and 5 percent of positive coverage (CGD 4%, New Rights 5%). As for the negative tone, during the period from June 19 until August 15, inclusive, the biggest negative tone was used for the government (11%). Negative tone was also used for covering the CGD (5%), the President (5%) and the UNM (8%); (See the Diagram - Tone 1).

As for the journalist's tone, the most eye-catching is the share of positive coverage used for the President, which equals 35%. It is noteworthy that the share of the journalist's neutral tone is no less than 96 percent towards any other subject on the First Channel. The positive tone was also revealed in case of the government (5%) and the CDM (2%). The negative tone was reported only in regards to two subjects: CGD (4%) and the government (2%). (See the Diagram - Tone J1).

Headlines of news items broadcasted by the First Channel during the monitoring period were neutral and descriptive.

In regards to the respondents shown in the reports, the news items are mostly balanced on the First Channel and various opinions are provided about the covered issue. There are news items in the first half of the monitoring, which leaves an impression that comments by other side are also needed for creating a full picture about the issue. For example, in the news item of June 9 "Demographic Policy", opinions of only the political parties are provided in regards to the demographic issues, but there is nobody representing the majority. In the news item of June 19 "New Life of Old Tbilisi" there is no comment of representatives of the construction companies. However, it should be pointed out that there are fewer cases like this observed since the end of June.

In general, as the subjects are now in the active phase of the election campaign, more often we see the news items, which describe one particular action of these subjects (e.g. a visit to the region, a statement, etc.). These news items are mostly combined in the rubric "Election Chronicles", where the activities of campaigns of election subjects are covered. There is only one source or one side represented in such reports. Despite this, it is difficult to speak about the balance, because mostly there are short reports and election activity of one particular party/subject is covered.

The monitoring observes the news items in total as well and reports the overall impressions of these reports towards any particular subject. It is noteworthy that the news items mostly leave neutral impression on the First Channel in regards to the subjects shown in the news items. However, during the whole monitoring period we came across with the cases when the overall impression obtained from the news items tended towards positive in regards to the President and other representatives of the authorities. It is noteworthy that the number of news items, which had such a general impression, started to increase since the end of July. It is also interesting that the positive general impression is basically caused by the direct speech of the subjects and the footage too. For example, the news item of July 16 "Insurance Cards", which shows Saakashvili shaking hands amiably with a pensioner, and the pensioner thanking him.

The news item of July 24 “President in Guria and Samegrelo”² 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.

The news item of August 7 “Tribute to Heroes” shows the President hugging the family members of people killed in the war of August. He has tears in his eyes. The family members are thanking Saakashvili and his government because of identifying their son after a DNA test.

There were news items during various periods of the monitoring, where the overall impression tended to be negative towards various subjects: the local authorities, CGD, the President, the government. For example, in the news item of June 23 “Election Moambe” (election news release) negatively presented the local government. In the news item of July 12 “Briefing of Labor Party”, Paata Jibladze is negatively speaking about Ivanishvili, the authorities and creates negative impression about them. The news item of August 3 “President in Poti and Svaneti” the President negatively talked about the CGD. He called them “Group of Putinists”. Besides, the President’s words are accompanied with footage, which shows some people smiling, which intensifies cynicism even more. The President is also saying, “Prophets of Ruining” will not be able to ruin anything. And again, there is footage of people where a lady is nodding, thus agreeing with the President.

As for supporting the journalist’s information with facts (the respondent’s comments, footage, reference to the source of provided information), such facts are almost always provided in the news items on the First Channel. Very seldom there are the reports where the journalist’s opinion is irrelevant to the material shown in the news item. Cases like these were more often observed in May-June.

For example, in the news item of June 8 regarding the decision of the Chamber of Control, as the journalist is saying, the Chamber of Control says that there were several facts of vote-

² Please follow the link to see the report:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mAF2mX9qsk&feature=youtu.be>

buying by Ivanishvili, and the Chamber of Control is disseminating the material according to which 239 vehicles, which were registered to Elite Burji LLC, were providing services to the election campaign of the Georgian Dream with a symbolic price. However, this is not confirmed by the comment of a representative of the chamber of control, and neither is there any official document or material shown.

Another example of irrelevance is the news report of June 14 about the decision on conducting the elections at prisons. In the beginning of the report a journalist is saying that all the parties say and agree that this is a step taken forward and that everybody agrees that it is necessary that the international observers be there. This is not true if judging from the viewpoint of the news item. Only Davit Gamkrelidze is speaking about the observers and about correctness of this decisions, and Guram Chakhvadze only emphasizes the importance of this decision and does not mention the observers. There are following respondents shown in the news item: Levan Vepkhvadze, Zakaria Kutsnashvili and Sozar Subari. None of them is speaking about the significance of the decision and its positive side, or necessity of having observers. On the contrary, Vepkhvadze may have been speaking about the risks and pressure, but Sozar Subari is speaking directly and negatively about the UNM. Thus, the very first sentence of the journalist is misleading and creates different attitude, which is not true.

Rustavi 2

During the whole monitoring period, in total, 32 hours and 23 minutes were allocated to all the subjects on Rustavi 2. Three key subjects were identified: the President, the government and the CGD, to which the most time was allocated compared to other subjects. The biggest share of direct speech was observed in case of the President. The news items, for which the overall impression tends to be positive, are about the President and the government or the CDM. As for the news items where the overall impression tended towards negative, they were more often about Bidzina Ivanishvili and the CGD. There are news items where the clear discrepancies are observed between the journalist's narrative and the presented material.

During the whole monitoring period (May 11 – August 15), in total 32 hours and 23 minutes were allocated to all the subjects on Rustavi 2. Out of them 3 main subjects were identified to which the longest time was allocated compared to other subjects. These top-three are: the President (29%), the government (20%) and the CGD (17%). 9% of time was allocated to the CDM, and 5% or less – to all other remaining subjects . (See the Diagram - Time 2).

In regards to the direct and indirect speech, the largest share of direct speech was reported in case of the President. In total, 9 hours and 30 minutes were allocated to the President during the whole monitoring period, and 73 per cent of this time is a direct speech. In case of other subjects, to which more than 40 minutes were allocated in total, the share of direct speech is not less than 45 per cent. The only exception is the CGD. On Rustavi 2 only 5 hours and 30 minutes were allocated to the Coalition, and out of this time they had an opportunity of direct speech only in 36% of cases. (See the Diagram - Speech 2)

From the viewpoint of tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, we see quite a big share of positive and negative tones. It is notable that the President has the highest share of positive coverage (80 per cent out of 5 hours and 40 minutes) at all the seven channels that were monitored. Besides, the government also has a big share of positive tone 50 per cent (out of 5 hours), CDM – 32 per cent (out of 2 hours and 43 minutes), UNM – 19 per cent (out of about hour and a half), also the local self-government – 62 per cent (out of 17 minutes). As for the negative tone, the biggest negative tone was reported in regards to the CGD, which was covered negatively in 44 per cent of cases out of 4 hours and 13 minutes allocated to it. (See the Diagram - Tone 2)

There is a similar picture if we look at the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone. Even in this case the President, the government, the CDM and the UNM have the biggest share of positive tone (the President – 62%, the government – 33%, the CDM – 20% and the UNM – 12%). In case of the CGD, these shares of journalist's tone was equally distributed between neutral and negative, 50-50 per cent. (See the Diagram - Tone J2).

News headlines on Rustavi 2 are mostly informative and neutral. Sometimes there is an indication on negative or positive tone observed in the headlines, but we have not identified any headlines with particularly positive or negative tone.

During the monitoring period there was a trend revealed on Rustavi 2 that the news items where the overall impression tends to be positive, are mostly about the President and government or the CDM. It is also noteworthy that applauses and chanting is often shown in the reports about the President, which creates a positive background. As for the news items, where the overall impression tends to be negative, more often they are about Bidzina Ivanishvili and the CGD.

For example, the news report of July 12 "Rehabilitation Works in Kobuleti", where the President is talking to a foreign tourist and children are chanting the President's name. He stops near the children, shakes hands with them and hugs them. The vacationers are waiving

to the President from the beach. Besides, the journalist is describing the rehabilitation process positively, which creates a positive background.³

In the news item of 6 July “Prime Minister in Terjola” Vano Merabishvili is portrayed in a positive context – the way he talks to the farmers about local problems, the way he promises to help with the rehabilitation of a bridge and so on. Special attention shall be given to the moment, when Merabishvili and one of the local farmers are joking thus creating positive context for the Prime Minister.⁴

The news item of July 23 “5 Days after the Disaster”⁵ 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 are 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, but in fact much time is allocated to the President’s visit to the child’s birthday party.

The news item of August 13 about the President’s visit to Tskaltubo and Baghdadi very positively portrays the President. He is shown with the people. Everybody greets, praises and thanks him. Chanting of his name is often heard, mostly the children’s voices, applauses; flags are waving. Saakashvili is addressing people and asking: if Georgia is better now than it was 8 years ago. And the people are chanting: yes, it is, yes!

As for the CDM, since the beginning of July, when the party started its active election campaign, the reports with overall positive impression on them were broadcasted more often. It was also observed that often there were positive reports about the CDM, contents of which resembled the reports about the President. For instance: Magda Anikashvili and Zaza Gabunia’s visit to socially vulnerable families (6 July), Giorgi Targamadze’s visit in Kakheti and peach picking (9 July), Targamadze helping bee-keepers in Teliani (11 July), Magda Anikashvili milking a cow in Zestaponi and baking khachapuri, Giorgi Targamadze making cheese (12 July), Giorgi Targamadze driving a bus (13 July), Giorgi Targamadze helping the farmers to cut grass (July 17), Targamadze assisting the people affected by the disaster and helping them to pump water from cellars, and visiting the affected people at the hospital (July 20), Targamadze’s speech in Batumi at the sports complex, and going into the sea by

³ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBvBv5ehIyU&feature=youtu.be>

⁴ Please follow the link to see the report: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=36yUwPF_mDY&feature=youtu.be

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

ship with fishermen (July 26), Magda Anikashvili injecting a patient and pouring Tkemali into bottles (August 13). In all the above stories the Christian-Democratic Movement is presented in a very positive way.

It is interesting that the negative news items broadcasted via Rustavi 2 during this period mostly were about the CGD. For example, the news item of June 11 “Majoritarian Candidates of the Georgian Dream”, which voices the list of majoritarian candidates, provides the negative facts from the ‘political history’, and this is done in an ironical context.

In the news item of July 12 “Confrontation in Karaleti”, Kakha Kaladze, one of the coalition leaders is shown fighting and swearing. All the citizens interviewed in the report are negatively speaking about the coalition. One of the persons even swears at them. Journalist’s tone is often negative and blames directly Kaladze, his surroundings and the coalition members of this confrontation. Facts of fighting are frequently shown, thus creating negative background for the coalition during the whole report.

One more example of negative portrayal of Bidzina Ivanishvili is 16 July report on his initiative regarding the revival of Ergneti market. The story is full of old reports from Ergneti market where the respondents describe the market as a gateway for drugs, smuggling and corruption. A journalist in the beginning and during the report is highlighting the negative sides of the Ergneti market. Eventually, from the report it can be concluded that Ivanishvili’s initiative serves an objective to resume corruption, smuggling and drug trafficking, which negatively presents Bidzina Ivanishvili. In the same report a journalist vividly creates negative impression on Ivanishvili’s candidate, Tamaz Tamazashvili, former head of police, and focuses on his previous connections with corruption and notes that he has been in the prison on his second term. By saying so the impression on Ivanishvili becomes even more negative.⁶

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 several times, 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

⁶ Please follow the link to see the report: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yI3137_nukA&feature=youtu.be

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

The news item of August 6 “Apology to Abashidze’s Regime” starts with the interview of Murman Dumbadze, one of the majoritarian candidates of the CGD, given to one of the newspapers, where he is saying that they should apologize to Aslan Abashidze’s regime, because worse regime has been established after him. After that there is some footage from archive showing how the borders of Adjara was cut off and people were not allowed to go to Adjara. The journalists are emphasizing that during Abashidze’s rule Adjara was isolated from Georgia. Archive footage also shows Davit Berdzenishvili and Koba Davitashvili, who fought against Abashidze’s regime at that time. But now they are members of the Coalition, which feels nostalgia for old regime of Adjara.

During the monitoring period we observe cases of manipulating with footage on Rustavi 2: showing archived materials in the context where the story given in the report is led to a particular conclusion, or leaves positive/negative impression about a certain subject.

In regards to the manipulation with footage, the news item of May 22 “Ivanishvili and Peace Bridge” stands out. The story is about Bidzina Ivanishvili’s attitude towards the Peace Bridge. First the report shows some footage of the Peace Bridge, and how it has been used for various events: catwalk, exhibition, wedding photos. Then the reporter is saying that Ivanishvili’s statement made the experts recall one of the famous persons and a bridge. Here they meant Aslan Abashidze and Choloki Bridge in 2004. At the same time they show the footage of how the Choloki Bridge was exploded, which ultimately creates negative impression about Bidzina Ivanishvili.⁷

Together with overall impression left by the reports, footage and respondents’ comments, often the journalist’s narrative created positive or negative background. For example:

⁷ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=30Sw9u335JA&feature=youtu.be>

- 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”).
- Journalist: “Favorite candidate of the Coalition did not conceal nostalgia for the regime which had isolated Adjara from other parts of Georgia with concrete blocks” (August 6, report “Apology to Abashidze’s Regime”).
- Journalist: “Leader of the Georgian Dream respondent to the memorial week only in writing. The statement was posted on the Facebook page traditionally with mistakes” (August 9, report “Ivanishvili’s Two-Day Silence”).

As for the irrelevance between the journalist’s narrative and respondents’ comments or visual materials presented in the report, we come across with the news items where these inconsistencies are evident. For example, in the story on “Dream Boxes” on 9 June the journalist says that “according to the rules of the Georgian Dream, those wishes, which are about the equipment, will be made come true only in exchange to attending the rally”. This opinion is not supported by any interview of any subject or any visual material.

There was a quite broad report on June 26 about the restoration of Bagrati Temple, where the journalist is saying at the end of the report: “One of the UNESCO experts produced quite a superfluous and unqualified opinion about its reconstruction...” however, none of the respondents have evaluated UNESCO’s opinion in the news item, neither is the journalist specifying, who expressed this opinion. Thus, it seems as if she expressed her own opinion.

In the news item of August 6 “president in the family of an Olympic Champion” there was a discrepancy between the headline and contents of the report. The whole news item tells a story about President Saakashvili’s visit to Karaleti and population. His speech is also broadcasted. However, it is not mentioned or shown anywhere that he visited a family of the Olympic champion.

Other than the discrepancy between the journalist’s opinion and the material presented in the news item, the monitoring observes in the qualitative part if the presented information is supported with facts. In this respect the news item of June 20 is interesting “Kaladze’s Secret

Meeting”, which tells a story of Kaladze’s ‘secret’ meeting with thieves in law in a fashionable restaurants of one of the European cities. In the beginning and end of the report, the journalists are presenting the story of Kaladze’s visit to the audience as if it were a fact. However, it is not seen from the news item what the source of information is. The journalist is repeating the phrase “according to information of Rustavi 2” several times. There are shots taken at the restaurants, where Kakha Kaladze is vaguely seen, but none of the thieves in law is shown there, about which the journalist is talking. Dossier and footage about the thieves in law leave a very negative impression on the audience, but there is nothing that would prove their connection to Kaladze. For supporting Kaladze’s presence at a ‘secret’ meeting, the journalist saying that he left Georgia on June 12 by Lufthansa flight and returned on June 14. However, neither is there any source that would prove this information. There are 3 respondents in the report: Victor Dolidze, Eka Beselia and Vakhtang Khmaladze. None of them confirm the fact of the meeting or Kaladze’s linkage with thieves in law. At the end of the report Kaladze is again mentioned negatively in the context of the Italian football scandal and it is assumed that this very scandal is one of the topics of the meeting. The footage and information presented in the report leaves a very negative impression about Kaladze, who is mentioned to be one of the leaders of the Georgian Dream and the majoritarian candidate. However, the whole information is not supported with facts.⁸

As for presenting various sides and opinions in the stories, the majority of news items turned out to be balanced during the monitoring period. However, comments of Georgian Dream representatives are more lacking in the reports about the CGD. However, in the reports about governmental programs and president’s activities, the counter opinions are seldom provided.

Imedi

During the whole monitoring period, in total 36 hours and 39 minutes were allocated to the subjects, which is the longest time out of the seven channels. According to the summarized results, in case of Imedi and Rustavi 2, the time distribution among the subjects is quite similar. The top three is also represented with the same subjects: the President, the government and the CGD. Positive reports are mostly about the President and the government, also for the CDM, but the negative reports are mostly about the CGD and its members. We see the headlines with negative or positive contents. According to the respondents presented in the stories, the reports are more or less balanced. In the unbalanced reports we feel the need of having comments of the representatives of the CGD. As for the

⁸ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAMSWo-YFtU&feature=youtu.be>

inconsistencies between the journalist's report and the facts provided in the news item, such cases were revealed during the monitoring period.

During the whole monitoring period, in total 36 hours and 39 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Imedi, which is the biggest indicator out of the monitored seven channels. Based on the summarized results, in case of Imedi and Rustavi 2, time is distributed among the subjects the similar way. Like it was the case with Rustavi 2, the longest time, with the same sequence, was allocated to the President – 28 percent, government – 20 percent and the CGD – 16 percent on Imedi. According to the allocated time, the CDM rank fourth (10). As for other subjects, 5 percent or less was allocated to them. (See the Diagram - Time 3)

In regards to the direct and indirect speech too, data of Rustavi 2 and Imedi are quite similar. According to the allocated time (10 hours and 11 minutes) the President, who is ranking the first, has the biggest share of direct speech – 71%. Also, the UNM has a big share of direct speech – 70 percent (out of almost 2 hours). Other subjects, to whom more than 50 minutes were allocated, have at least a share of 42 per cent of direct speech, except the CGD. The Coalition ranks third based on the allocate time (6 hours and 2 minutes), and it had only 32 percent of direct speech. (See the Diagram - Speech 3)

As for the tone-based distribution of time allocated to the subjects, here also we observe similarities with the data of Rustavi 2. Quite a big portion of positive and negative tone was revealed in regards to some subjects. Out of the time allocated to the President (more than 6 hours and 30 minutes), 78 was a positive coverage. In case of the government, 46 percent of allocated time (6 hours and 8 minutes) was a positive coverage; in case of the CDM, there was 39 percent of positive tone (out of almost 3 hours allocated to them). The positive tone was reported in case of the UNM as well (14% out of 1 hours and 38 minutes). As for the negative tone, the largest share of negative tone was reported for the CGD, which ranks third based according to the time allocated to it (4 hours and 44 minutes) – 37 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone 3)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, the tendency of general tone is repeated. The biggest share of positive coverage was reported for the President with 56 per cent, the CDM and the government 26-26. The Georgian Dream had the most negative tone – 40 percent, which exceeds the share of negative tone revealed in connection to this subject from the viewpoint of a general tone. (See the Diagram - Tone J3).

During the monitoring period, the news items on Imedi often had non-neutral headlines. out of the reports about the CGD, there were headlines with more negative tone, for example, “Ivanishvili’s RossCredit – from pocket to pocket: pre-election fiction?” (May 11); “Kaladze’s August” – Russian position of the Georgian Dream (July 10), “Political Corruption? – from

pocket to pocket – unlawful donations to the Dream” (July 17); “Gia Burjanadze, Dream and a Megrelian Accent: what does Burjanadze want from Megrelians” (August 1); “Ivanishvili vs. Georgia: at whose expense the tycoon is trying to recover 230 million USD” (August 2); “Ivanishvili could not see Adjarian people in Besuhmi: “Going to a Leftover Party”” (August 4); “Bidzina and Nino: Dream patriotism” (August 13). The headlines of reports about the officials used to be more positive. For example: “Public Service Hall – an innovative project – highest evaluation by the Chamber of Lords” (July 17), “Liquidation of the disaster effects – non-stop rehabilitation works are going on” (July 21); “Merabishvili’s agriculture development program: getting ready for vintage – Prime Minister at Gurjaani Winery” (August 6).

There was a trend identified during the monitoring period that the positive reports are mostly made about the President and the government, also about the CDM, whereas the negative reports are mostly about the CGD and its members. It is noteworthy that this tendency was identified right at the beginning of the monitoring and has not changed for the next three months. On the contrary, as the elections get closer, this tendency has been intensified even more.

For example, in the report of May 11 “Ivanishvili’s RossCredit – from pocket to pocket: a pre-election fiction?” a journalist is saying: “the oligarch knows well that the origin of money, which he has already spent for coming to the Georgian politics, is one of his main political stains. However, as it seems he’s got lot more left to spend”.

News item of July 12 on the President’s visit to Kobuleti was very positive towards Saakashvili. It was reported that Mr. Saakashvili visited all the new ongoing projects in Kobuleti and got interested in all the details, especially in employment issues. The report shows how he greets people. People also heartily greet him. Tourists wave hands to the President from the beach. In the report the local population approach the President and shake his hands saying “Misha is great”. In the end it is reported how the President meets population. Children are chanting “Misha, Misha” and Saakashvili hugs them. Positive tone of the report is supported by a journalist’s comment even more: “Mikheil Saakashvili unexpectedly visited Rustaveli Street in Kobuleti spurring special feelings of local people”.⁹

The news item of July 20 “President in the disaster affected regions: recovery works – meeting with population”¹⁰ 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

⁹ Please follow the link to see the report:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c4bo1oROtMU&feature=youtu.be>

¹⁰ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PLltHfS8Jfo&feature=youtu.be>

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.

In the report of August 10 "President in Racha", the tone is clearly positive towards the President. We hear his name chanted several time in the report. Many people are gathered to meet him. On seeing the president there are applauses and exclamations ("thank you so much for employing my son", "you have dragged Georgia out of the swamp, from the swamp!" "be happy in the whole territory of Georgia"). Majority of them are wearing red caps with an inscription "I love Georgia". Some of them are waving red flyers with Number 5, and some are holding the national flag. Some are holding the inscription "Misha, the people of Racha love you". The president's speech is also often interrupted by the loud applauses and exclamations. At the end of the news item there is a middle-aged man who want to say something. He is saying that he is 73 years old, he has seen 5 governments and none of them has done so many things as this government, and he addresses everyone to vote again for them. This is followed by applauses and chanting again. The President is kissing him.

It is noteworthy that this report is not a rare or different case. The reports about the President's visit in various regions, or his meetings with voters look like one another. These reports always present the President's speech, often a long one, show many people with smiling faces and party attributes, there are applauses and chanting, thanking and remarks of different positive contents.

It is interesting that the reports about the CDM also looks similar to the news items of the President or the government, especially since July, when the Christian-Democrats started an active election campaign, which have extensive coverage by Imedi.

For example, the report of June 19 "CDM at a Children's Center" covers a visit of representatives of the CDM to the center for disabled children. Contents and footage of the news item leaves a positive impression about this party.

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.

News item of August 1 “CDM in Kakheti: election campaign – meeting with the population of the region” tends to be positive towards the CDM. Besides, the talks of the members of the CDM about their party are positive. At the end of the report there is footage of members of the youth wing of the CDM who went to the monument of the Soldier’s father with torches, and Giorgi Targamadze symbolically lit up number 10, which is their party number.

News item of August 2 “Election Campaign of the CDM: leaders of the movement in Stepanstminda and vulnerable people” shows how Magda Anikashvili took a citizen to the hospital and attended the childbirth. Then she informed the child’s father about his son’s birth. In the news item of August 10 “CDM in Chiatura”, Akhvlediani and Targamadze are putting on the miner’s uniforms, go down at the depth of 6 km and do everything like miners. At the end of the report they extract some minerals too.

As for the CGD and its members, often there is a negative impression created by the reports aired about them during the monitoring period.

For example there was a report in the news release of July 12 “Majoritarian candidates of the Dream: sportsmen, Santa Clause and Tbilisi”. The report created negative impression on Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Georgian Dream. Highlighted was the lack of political knowledge of majoritarian candidates nominated by the Georgian Dream. It was reported that most of the candidates were sportsmen, and one of them served as Santa Clause. Also, it was stressed that media knew that Ivanishvili was going to nominate majoritarian candidates for Tbilisi. However, he nominated candidates of the region instead. The focus was made on technical failures of the briefing, for instance a microphone that went wrong.

In the news item of July 13 “Kaladze and a Weapon: What happened in Karaleti?” is about a conflict between Kaladze and Karaleti population. A journalist says: “The situation was tense at it got even worse when the former football player surrounded by 12-men group of bodyguards decided to start swearing at the local population”. This is followed by footage where Kakha Kaladze is swearing at locals. This moment is repeated twice in a row.

The news item of July 17 “Dream Architecture: projects disapproved by Ivanishvili and Stalin’s statue”¹¹ 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

¹¹ Please follow the link to see the report:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KVHYCoqht2U&feature=youtu.be>

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).

News item of August 2 "Ivanishvili vs. Georgia: at whose expense the tycoon is trying to recover 230 million dollars" leaves negative impression about Ivanishvili, as far as the reports says that Ivanishvili is requesting money from the government. After that there is an expert presented as a respondent and he is involved in calculation of what this 230 million USD can be used for. Based on the report it seems that this is the money that will be taken from the social state programs. Ivanishvili is shown as a person who is requesting money from the state government unlawfully.

News item of August 4 "Magic of the Dream"¹² tells a story about what the CGD is trying to do for obtaining votes for elections. They show Murman Dumbadze several times, who is a majoritarian candidate in Batumi and who is saying that the people should now way circle number five on the polling day, because "there is a medical opinion", that the person who circles number five, will have cancer, and those who will do it with the left hand, will have some infection. This footage is followed by some shots about tribal rituals and the journalist is saying that even those tribes, where it is unimaginable to fight for power without black magic elements, would be jealous because of Murman Dumbadze's fantasy. Besides, the journalist is paraphrasing his words for 30 seconds with an ironical tone. Interesting thing is that it is shown again at the end of the report how Ivanishvili put on National Movement's hat, and this is accompanied by the journalist's words "it is interesting to see according to his prophecy what disease a coalition leader Bidzina Ivanishvili will contract, as far as today he could not cope with the sun of the village Beshumi in Adjara, and by the way, in front of Murman Dumbadze, put on a cap with the Number Five of the National Movement".

From the viewpoint of the respondents interviewed in the news items, they are sometimes balanced, sometimes - not. However, it was revealed during the monitoring period that the majority of unbalanced stories were about the CGD. One of the good examples of unbalanced reports is the news item of

June 7 with the headline "What They Are Thinking about in the Dream". The story does not show the representative of either the Coalition Georgian Dream or the Chamber of Control, and only one source -the Facebook page of Ivanishvili is provided (Facebook logo and

¹² Please follow the link to see the report:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lmUdu3_UdA8&feature=youtu.be

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

It is also worth mentioning that the reports about the regional visits of various party leaders, some representatives of the government and the President, or news items about election activities are basically constructed on one source, or the respondents express similar opinions like one another.

As for inconsistency between the journalist's opinion and facts presented in the news items, there were some cases like this revealed during the monitoring period.

For instance, story of 14 July "Ivanishvili's "August" and Ergneti: "Dream" Leader's Changing Statements". In the story a journalist says that Ivanishvili called Karaleti population sonderkommandos and miserable. However, after that Ivanishvili never mentions in his speech that he ever called people of Karaleti so. His interview is not shown in full, as if it is cut in the middle. He says: "They faced impediments everywhere, miserable, of course, started to throw stones in Karaleti, swearing is heard from some sonderkommandos..." and here his interview is cut, thus whom he called "sonderkommandos" and what he meant in this particular context is ambiguous.

As for inconsistencies between the journalist's opinion and the facts presented in the report, there were several cases like this revealed. For example, in the news item of July 25 "Laborists' Briefing: Dzagania's statement"¹³ 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

In total, 24 hours and 3 minutes were allocated to the subjects of monitoring on Maestro during the whole monitoring. There is quite a big similarity observed between Maestro and the Ninth Channel according to the time allocated to the subjects. The longest time was allocated to the CGD and the government. Majority of news items on Maestro leaves overall neutral impression about the subjects. However, in case of representatives of the authorities,

¹³ For watching the news item please follow the link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2y4FoO-1k7U&feature=youtu.be>

there is a negative coverage observed, although this is done in the light of criticism. In most cases, negative impression is created as the result of respondents' comments and not because of the journalist's narrative or footage. The unbalanced reports are mostly about the cases where there is a clear need of having a comment by the representatives of authorities and the UNM, State Audit Service (Chamber of Control), court and law enforcement bodies. There were also cases when the journalist's words / opinion was irrelevant with the material presented in the case.

In total, 24 hours and 3 minutes were allocated to the subjects of monitoring on Maestro during the whole monitoring period. It is noteworthy that there was quite a big similarity observed between Maestro and the Ninth Channel from the viewpoint of time allocated to the subjects. This is the case especially for the top four subjects. Both channels allocated the biggest time to the CGD (25 percent) and the government (21 percent). Also, there is a very big similarity between the President and the UNM, which rank third and fourth, respectively. 13 percent was allocated to the President and 12 percent to the UNM on Maestro. As for other subjects, 5 percent or less time was allocated to them. (See the Diagram - Time 4 and the Diagram Time 6)

Monitoring of direct and indirect speech revealed that out of the subjects to which more than 1 hour was allocated (CGD, the government, the President, the UNM and the CDM), the government (5 hours and 2 minutes) had the least share of direct speech - 27 percent. As for others, they have 45 percent of direct speech. Other subjects, to which less than 1 hour was allocated from May 11 until August 15, the local self-government (36 percent out of 56 minutes), and the State Audit Service (18 percent out of almost 27 minutes) got the least share of direct speech. (See the Diagram - Speech 4)

As for the tone-based evaluation of time allocated to the subjects, it is noteworthy that according to the time allocated on Maestro, there were both positive and negative tones towards the top four subjects. However, among them the government has the most negative tone (25%), and the UNM and the President have 17 and 18 percent of negative tone. The local self-government has quite a big share of negative tone - 43 percent, and the CGD - only 4 percent. High rate of negative tone is observed for the local self-government (43 percent), to which more than half an hour was allocated in total. As for the positive tone, the most positive tone was reported for the President (28 percent) and the government (11 percent). (See the Diagram - Tone 4)

In regards to the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, here again we see the same picture that repeats the trends of an overall tone. The biggest share of negative tone in the journalist's tone was observed during the period of June 19 - August 15,

inclusive, towards several subjects: the government (20%), the UNM (18%), the President (12%), the local self-government (41%). (See the Diagram - Tone J4)

The news items on Maestro mostly had descriptive and neutral headlines. However, since July the headlines with critical contents are observed in regards to the government, the President, the local self-government, the National Movement and the State Audit Service, which leave negative impression about these subjects. For example, "Charity or vote-buying? 1 sack of potato for 420 households, present of the Rustavi City Hall to the vulnerable families" (June 19); "Village left without water: despite the money allocated from the budget, no water is supplied to the village Erge" (July 4); problems of the coastline villages: population of Frone Ravine is still waiting to get compensation for the damage inflicted because of the war" (July 9); "Party of Legal Violation" - leader of majority confirms he was with Davit Tsiskarishvili and teachers at the restaurant (July 18); "In Ozurgeti before the president's visit: a man who came to meet Saakashvili was fined with 400 GEL by the police" (July 25); "Seized Institute: the court seized the accounts of the Development Research Institute of Georgia" (July 31); "Gamgebeli's Bet: Gamgebeli of Sachkhere had to listen to reproaches" (August 1); "Failed information campaign: coast guard service did not let the members of the CGD go to Batumi" (August 3); "Affected Kakheti and bonuses to officials: Gamgebelis, Deputy Gamgebelis and Heads of Sakrebulo in Kakheti received bonuses of about 3-6 thousand GEL" (August 4); "Election poster on the administrative building: there was a poster of the National Movement displayed on the wall of the building of the territorial body in the village Akura" (August 14).

In total, majority of news items on Maestro leave overall neutral impression about the subjects. However, negative coverage is noticed in case of government representatives, but mostly in the light of criticism. It is also noteworthy that in most cases such negative impression is created because of the comments of the respondents, and not because of the journalist's text or footage.

For example, in the news item of May 11 about the business trip expenses of the government members, the journalist refers to the government as "fast and swift-footed" in the very first sentence and says that "the President will study the issue of per diem amounts of the fast and swift-footed government."

The news item of July 24 with the headline "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 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.

In the news item of July 11 "Rally in front of Lagodekhi Gamgeoba" leaves a negative impression because of comments by some local people, who are unhappy with Gamgeoba activities. Also, 16 July story "Code of Conduct for Parties" is prone to be negative towards the United National Movement and towards the authorities in general. Although journalist's text is mostly neutral, the negative comments by respondents interviewed change the overall tone towards negative.

We need to point out the news item of 13 July "Next Seizure - "Elita Burji's" bank accounts have been seized for printing "Georgian Dream" newspapers", where general impression is created by a journalist. General impression towards the Chamber of Control is more negative. The journalist points out that Elita Burji has implemented number of government projects and Chamber of Control never had a "reasonable doubt" about those. They started to question only after Georgian Dream ordered to print on their T-shirts.

In the news item of July 26 "President in Telavi: Mikheil Saakashvili opened a square in the disaster-affected town together with Gigi Ugulava"¹⁴, the President and the authorities were criticized. 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 also 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 positive 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.

The news item of August 9 "War of August in Poti"¹⁵ is constructed so that to prove that the story, which is told by the President in his speech about flying to Poti during the Russian occupation, is false. The President's speech is shown in the news item where he describes his trip to Poti. Despite the President is saying in his speech that the roads were blocked and there were Russian occupants all around, he does not specify the exact date of his flight. After the President's speech the journalist is saying that according to one of the reporters the

¹⁴ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RBKZw7qvXY&feature=youtu.be>

¹⁵ Please follow the link to see the report: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9tm\]6hgdsA&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9tm]6hgdsA&feature=youtu.be)

President arrived in Poti only on August 29. Comment of this reporter is also provided in the news item. It is concluded from the report that the President's story is wrong, which leaves a negative impression about the President.

It is also interesting that the President was positively covered in some stories as well. 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. The news item of August 10 "Prime Minister in Agara: Vano Merabishvili opened a construction of Ruisi-Agara Highway" is positive towards the government as far as Vano Merabishvili and Ramaz Nikolaishvili are presented on opening the construction of a highway where 1,500 people will be employed.

In regards to the respondents and different opinions, news reports are mostly balanced on Maestro. However, it should be pointed out that the unbalanced stories are mostly about the issues where the comments are clearly needed by the representatives of the authorities and UNM, State Audit Service (Chamber of Control), court and law enforcement structures. Besides, in some cases the journalist is saying that they tried to contact the respondents, but they were not successful.

For example, the news item of June 9 "Court trial of members of the Georgian Dream" presents 5 respondents; all of them are from the Coalition and thus the position of the CGD is completely presented, although there is no comment by any representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, or a Prosecutor's Office or authorities.

The news item of July 31 "Seized Institute: the court has seized the accounts of the Development Research Institute of Georgia" shows only the representatives of the Development Research Institute of Georgia and other subjects protecting their interests. However, there are no representatives of the court or the authorities shown in the report.

The news item of August 4 "Pressure on the activities of the Georgian Dream - Nikoloz Kikalishvili was put under pressure by the deputy head of police of Signagi District" does not represent the other side, i.e. there is no comment by the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or those of Signagi Police.

There were also cases revealed on Maestro when the journalist's narrative/conclusion was irrelevant to the material presented in the story, or to the respondent's comments and footage.

For example, the news item “One Day before the Rally” on 9 June a journalist says: the Coalition considered that it was a compromise by the authorities when they allocated alternative space for the rally”. This is followed by a comment of the Coalition’s press speaker Maia Phanjikidze where she did not even mention the authorities at all.

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

In the news item of June 25 “Peach Harvest” the journalist has pointed out that as the farmers are saying, the government promised them to construct a food processing plant; however, the promise was not kept. Although the respondents expressed dissatisfaction about the prices on medicines, nobody mentioned the food-canning factory.

In the news item of July 3 “From the Minister of Defense to the Minister of Interior: former Minister of Defense will lead the Interior Ministry.” In the report a journalist says: As stated by Nikolaishvili, Bacho Akhalaia pounded the prisoner under his protection. However, in the following report the lawyer, though negatively speaking about Bacho Akhalaia never blames him of pounding.

In the news item broadcasted on July 26 “On Secrete Games of Tbilisi in the Caucasus” 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 the terrorist gangs, but neither does not mention the above-mentioned persons nor does not call him a murderer.

Except certain inconsistencies, we see some reports on Maestro, which contain footage or comments that support the main story presented in the report. In this respect, the report broadcasted on July 13 is interesting about the incident in Karaleti. There are two versions of Karaleti incident described in the report – the one presented by ITV agency and the other by Info-9. Maestro shows some frames provided by Info-9, where they show what preceded Kaladze’s swearing. A citizen is talking to Kaladze about his brother saying that he (Kaladze) lost his brother because of money. That makes Kaladze furious. Rustavi 2 and Imedi channels cut the film and showed only Kaladze’s swearing. Maestro, however, tried to show full picture.¹⁶

¹⁶ Please follow the link to see the report:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wNXesz_STb8&feature=youtu.be

Kavkasia

In total, 21 hours and 49 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Kavkasia. According to the allocated time, the top three subjects are the CGD, the government and the UNM. Percentage indicators are distributed among them almost equally. The reports mostly leave neutral impression about the subjects, however, the overall impression tends to become negative since the beginning of July, which more observed in regards to the President, the government, the local authorities, the UNM and the court. The stories are more or less balanced, however, there are cases when the news items are based on one source only. In case of unbalanced reports, we often feel the lack of comments by the authorities, National Movement and state structures. The stories are mostly supported with footage and respondents' comments. As for the inconsistency between the journalist's opinion and the material provided in the report, such cases are not often and do not establish a trend, but we still see them during the monitoring period.

Main evening news release on Kavkasia "Dges" (Today) lasts for a half an hour on average, unlike the news releases of all the other channels, duration of which usually ranges between 50-90 minutes. Kavkasia is also distinguished with the less duration of reports as well.

Starting from May 11 until August 15, inclusive, Kavkasia allocated 21 hours and 49 minutes to the subjects in total. According to the allocated time, the top three subjects were: the CGD, the government and the UNM. The percentage indicators were distributed among with almost equal intervals. The CGD – 26 percent, the government – 18 percent and the UNM – 11 percent. Time was almost equally distributed among other subjects, and 8 percent or less were allocated to them. (See the Diagram - Time 5)

In regards to the percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech we should point out that in case of the CGD and the UNM the shares of direct and indirect speech are almost equally distributed. In case of the Coalition – 47% direct, 53% - indirect; in case of the UNM – 52% direct and 48% indirect. Majority of other subjects have no less than 43 percent of direct speech. Only the government and the State Audit Service are the exceptions. Out of 1 hour and 44 minutes allocated to the government, 32 percent is direct speech; and out of 35 minutes allocated to the State Audit Service, it had only 16 percent of direct speech. (See the Diagram - Speech 5)

As for the tone-based evaluation of time allocated to the subjects, it is noteworthy that the biggest share of negative tone was observed in regards to the government – 21 percent; CGD had 7 percent, and UNM – 9 percent of negative tone. It is interesting that the President has equal share of positive and negative tones: 19 percent positive and 20 percent negative. It is

also notable that among the positive tones observed on Kavkasia, the President has the highest share of positive tone. The positive tone was also revealed in case of the CGD and the government: 5 and 9 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone 5)

According to the journalist's tone, distribution of time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone mostly creates a neutral picture. In case of the government a relatively big share of negative tone was reported – 12 percent. The journalist's negative tone was also revealed towards the UNM – 8 percent, and the CGD has 5 percent of negative tone. (See the Diagram - Tone J5).

During the whole monitoring period there were no headlines provided for the news items on Kavkasia, thus it was impossible to monitor them. In most cases the respondents shown in the reports are not identified, which often creates difficulties for monitoring.

In regards to the sources used in the news items, or variety 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. In case of unbalanced stories, often there is a feeling that the comments are lacking from the authorities, the National Movement and the state structures.

The reports mostly leave neutral impression about the subjects, however, there are reports where the overall impression about a certain subject tends to be more positive or more negative. In this respect, it is noteworthy that since the beginning of July the overall impression became more negative, which is observed in case of covering the President, the government, the local self-government, the UNM and the court. This impression is mostly created by the comments of respondents shown in the news items, which are sometimes repeated by the journalists. The overall impression rarely changes to positive, and mostly it is observed towards the CGD and Bidzina Ivanishvili.

The news items are mostly supported with footage and respondents' comments. As for the inconsistencies between the journalist's opinion and the material shown in the report, there are no frequent cases like this and no trend is created, but still, we find certain cases during the monitoring period.

For example, the first and sixth news items of June 22 (on seizing the Global TV and on Bakradze's initiative on Must Carry) – both stories have an interview of Giorgi Tugushi, a public defender. In the first report the journalist said that Giorgi Tugushi responded to the fact of police entry into warehouses of Global TV. However, in the sixth news item, according to the journalist, Tugushi responded to the statement of the speaker of the Parliament. In both reports one and the same part of the comment is shown. In general, it is

unclear in connection to which issue Tughushi's comment was made. Besides, in both cases the journalist is saying that according to Tugushi, the authorities should be especially careful in regards to the media-related issues. However, Giorgi Tugushi has not mentioned the authorities in his interview. He just said that any party should be especially careful.

In regards to statement of a social-democratic party about appointment of Vano Merabishvili on the position of a Prime Minister, expressed in the news item of July 5, the journalist said that according to the Social-Democratic Party "reshuffle of state priorities was caused by Bidzina Ivanishvili" and "Social-Democrats think that in the repressive and authoritarian regime established by the National Movement it is absurd to introduce and implement their social policy". The only source of information, the member of Social-Democratic party, presented in the report who is speaking about appointment of Ivanishvili, only says that the program presented by the National Movement is completely different from the program developed by them earlier.¹⁷

In the news item of July 24, 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 August 11 on imposing fines on Ivanishvili and Kaladze, the journalist is saying that Kaladze is not going to pay the fine amount. However, the report does not contain any comment by Kaladze or his lawyer.

The Ninth Channel

During the whole monitoring period, the Ninth Channel allocated the least time to the monitoring subjects: 17 hours and 11 minutes. It is noteworthy that results are very similar according to the distribution of time on the Ninth Channel and on Maestro. The top two subjects are the CGD and the government. In most cases, the President, various representatives of the government and the authorities, and the UNM are mostly covered in negative context as the result of the respondents' comments, also general context and the journalist's narrative. In regards to the news headlines, they are mostly informative on the Ninth Channel. However, sometimes the critical and ironic headlines are observed towards the authorities. As for the headlines, they are mostly informative. However, sometimes we observe critical and ironic headlines about the authorities. As for presenting various opinions in the reports, in this respect the news items are more or less balanced. However, it

¹⁷ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g77XSdof-60&feature=youtu.be>

is noteworthy that in most cases the reports do not contain the comments of representatives of the government, various state structures and the UNM. There were cases when the journalist's narrative and the material presented in the news item were irrelevant to each other.

The Ninth Channel allocated the least time to the monitoring subjects during the whole monitoring period – 17 hours and 11 minutes. It is notable that the results are very similar on the Ninth Channel and Maestro in regards to the allocated time. In case of the first top-four subjects, their sequence and their percentage indicators are quite similar. As it was the case on Maestro, the CGD and the government ranked top two on the Ninth Channel as well: 28 and 23 percent. There is more similarity in case of the UNM and the President. The Ninth Channel allocated 13 percent to the UNM and 12 percent to the President, though it was vice versa on Maestro – 13 percent to the President and 12 percent to the UNM. Other subjects got 5 percent or less. (See the Diagram - Time 6 and the Diagram - Time 4)

As for the distribution of direct and indirect speech, the most equal distribution is seen in case of the CGD (49% direct and 51% indirect), and by the way this is the subject to which the most time was allocated – 4 hours and 4 minutes. It is noteworthy that mostly the share of indirect speech prevails in case of almost all the subjects on the Ninth Channel. The only exception is the CDM with its 62 percent of direct speech, and the local NGOs with their 66 percent of direct speech. The lowest share of direct speech – 18 percent – was reported for the government, which ranks the second from the viewpoint of the allocated time (4 hours and 1 minute). (See the Diagram - Speech 6)

In regards to the subject coverage tone, there is an eye-catching prevalence of negative tone towards the top-five subject on the Ninth Channel. The government, the UNM, the President and the local self-government had more than 33 percent of negative coverage. Out of them, the biggest share – 51 percent was reported for the local self-government. The government had 37 percent, the National Movement – 33 percent and the President 44 percent of negative coverage. As for the positive tone, only the several subjects had positive coverage, though still little. Relatively bigger share was for the President (9% out of 1 hour and 17 minutes) and the CGD (6% out of 3 hours and 15 minutes). (See the Diagram - Tone 6)

According to the journalist's tone, the distribution of time allocated to the subjects is similar to the overall tone tendency. The share of negative tone is quite big right towards those subjects that had big share of negative coverage from the viewpoint of overall tone; the government (35% out of 1 hour and 39 minutes), the UNM (41% out of 46 minutes) and the President (42% out of 35 minutes). As for the local self-government, in this case the percentage indicator of the journalist's tone and the percentage of the overall tone are

identical: 49 percent neutral and 51 percent negative tone of coverage. (See the Diagram - Tone J6)

Reports on the Ninth Channel mostly have informative headlines. However, sometimes we observe critical and ironical headlines towards the authorities. For example: “Pre-election promise – President declares zero tolerance to the opponents” (June 26); “Nepotism in the government: the Kardava brothers will assist the Akhalaia Brothers” (July 9); “Merabishvili in Gori: Premier Minister repeated one and the same text nine times at meetings” (July 18); “In anticipation of meeting with the President: people are punished for their attempted meeting” (July 20); “Works for show: Mikheil Saakashvili opened a square in a disaster zone” (July 26); “Dreamer National Movement: the National Movement is hiding behind the name of the Georgian Dream” (July 30); “Ignored confidentiality: the authorities are imposing stricter control on financial transactions (July 31)”; “Agitation done in the National way – they address the audit service to study the violations” (August 13); “The Magnificent Ten – the ruling team presented their candidates” (August 13).

Our observation on the overall impressions of the reports during the qualitative monitoring revealed the tendency on the Ninth Channel that in most cases the President, the government and other representatives of authorities and the UNM were mostly covered in the negative context as the result of the respondents’ comments, also because of the general context and the journalist’s narrative.

However, it is noteworthy that during this period of monitoring, there were a few reports broadcasted on the Ninth Channel where the President and the government were presented positively. This was for example the news item of June 29 “Natural Disaster in Tsalenjikha”, where the President is presented positively. It is pointed out that the President stopped his visit to Azerbaijan because of the disaster. There is footage of the President meeting with the population, hugging a crying woman and then giving promises that everything will be recovered. Although the overall impression of the report is positive as a whole, there is a shot showing Saakashvili attempting to enter the water, then he stumbles and changes his mind. It is noteworthy that other channels broadcasted the reports on the same issue with footage of President’s entry into water, but the Ninth Channel only showed this part (stumbling). It is also noteworthy that in the same news item the police is represented in a negative way. It is mentioned that they interfered in the activities of journalists, they blocked the road and did not let them shoot the President’s whole visit. There is a shot of a journalist going to a car that had already started off, and asking, they blocked the road on purpose. However, at that moment the road is not blocked.¹⁸

¹⁸ Please follow the link to see the report: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aiZ_r1q3uro&feature=youtu.be

There was another positive report about the Presidents and the government aired on August 7 “Funeral of a military officer: the President attended the funeral of Gela Tijishvili”. There was footage showing the President hugging the mourning woman, supposedly the deceased officer’s mother, and saying to them that “he will take revenge”. There is a close-up of the President’s eyes full of tears and the deceased officer’s father’s comment, when he is expressing his thanks to the government for assistance.

There is another interesting report of August 11 “Mikheil Saakashvili in Oni”. There is a story about the President’s visit to Racha. The journalist’s text is neutral and there are comments of three respondents, out of which the comments of the first two ladies are quite positive towards the President, which leaves on average a positive impression about the President. However, the last respondent is saying how the representatives of the local self-government did not let her approach the President. The woman is saying that she had only seen such incidents on TV and thought that they were exaggerated, but then she is saying “Oh no, what was that?! They stood in front of me and blocked my way...” In total, the news item is leaving a positive impression about the President, but at the same time leaves a negative impression about the local self-government.

As it has been mentioned already, there are many news items on the Ninth Channel, where the President, the UNM and other representatives of the authorities are covered in a negative, ironical or critical way.

For example, the news item of May 24 about the construction of Poti Airport is a reminder that it was Mikheil Saakashvili’s idea to construct an airport in Poti. The report creates a negative impression about the authorities, as far as it is proved by the report that the construction of Poti Airport and drying up the wetlands will disrupt the environment.

One of the news items which leaves a negative impression about the authorities, is the news report of June 7 “Tragedy in Kutaisi: new casualty at the construction of the Parliament”. The news item actually was about blowing up the War Glory Memorial in Kutaisi 3 years ago, which resulted in casualties. In total, the headline is irrelevant to the news item. The report shows the video of blowing up the memorial in Kutaisi twice. Besides, the second video had been shot by a non-professional camcorder, and there is a screaming voice of a woman, which aggravates the context even more.¹⁹

For example, in the news item of July 11, “Coordinators Directors” a journalist reports: “From Chakvi Oasis to Bazaleti resort, Order of Honor, money. All these - for school directors of the National Movement.”

¹⁹ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EmiiqF-hXEs&feature=youtu.be>

News report 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 broadcasted on August 10 “Village without water” is negative towards the local self-government. The Gamgebeli and Head of Sakrebulo are criticized and presented in a negative context. There is an interview with Ilia Chiaureli, head of the Sakrebulo of Sagarejo Municipality, which was recorded in May. He is saying in the interview “There will be water in august, for sure”, and then there is footage of the population in the village Udabno, saying that they had not had water for a long time. It is notable that it is not seen anywhere in the interview that the Head of Sakrebulo is speaking about that very village Udabno. The respondents are saying that there is no running water and they have not received anything. Besides, there is a villager shown who is talking about the books distributed by the activists of the National Movement. The books are about the reconstruction going on in Georgia, and they were distributed to the people who do not have water today, and “these thirsty people should look at these buildings and photos and enjoy it”.

News item of August 13 “Lists of Didgori” describes the meeting arranged by the National Movement on Didgoroba Holiday. According to the report, the National Movement is appropriating the public holidays and turning them into a party holiday, thus does not let other people with different political opinions to go to that place and celebrate the holiday.

Besides, the journalist's narrative is quite negative and ironical towards the National Movement. There is footage shown which create negative impression in addition, from different angle, about the ruling team. The journalist is saying "What a Didgori Field looks like after the meeting of the National Movement, at the 890th anniversary of the battle by David Agmashenebeli", and with these words there are shots of food leftovers scattered in grass and garbage. During the whole report there is a discussion about the lists "found in the field together with garbage", containing the names, surnames and other personal information of the people attending the event. The journalist is emphasizing that there was a list of even for people that would cook barbeque. After that there is a shots of patrol police officers standing on the road, and one of them confirm that indeed, there was a list given to them by the National Movement. There is a comment by Chiora Taktakishvili where she is saying that other parties may not bring their supporters to the meeting arranged by another party, though she is saying as well that the National Movement has not mobilized its supporters and that the Georgian Dream also had organized similar meeting the same day. This is followed by Panjikidze's comment, where she is saying that the ruling team tries to disturb the election campaign of the Georgian Dream. There is another respondent in the news item - a psychologist Marina Chitashvili saying that it is not possible to forbid people to go to the place where the holiday of 12th August is celebrated. The whole report, including the shots, the journalist's text and respondents' comments, leave quite a negative impression about the National Movement.

There are reports on the Ninth Channel, where the negative impression towards a particular subject is intensified by the journalist's text. Examples:

- Journalist: "this happens whereas Saakashvili wrote off 34 million from National Channels two years ago." (July 18, story about the Revenues Service)
- 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")
- Journalist: "The authorities are now starting to persecute doctors because of political considerations" (August 3, news item "release because of political considerations")

- Journalist: “What kind of rigging scheme the government is working for, and how the National Movement is collecting the votes” (August 15, news item “threat of liquidation: Eliso Chapidze uncovers the plan of her possible liquidation”).

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 most cases they do not contain the comments of the representatives of the government, various government structures and the UNM. However, in several cases they have noted that they could not contact the respondents or to get comments from them.

There were cases revealed on the Ninth Channel when the journalist’s narrative and the material presented in the news item were irrelevant to each other. For example, the news item of May 22 discusses a banner in English, which is displayed on the House of Parliament in Tbilisi. The journalist is saying that the publicist Vasil Maglaperidze evaluates the banner as “political retardation”. However, Vasil Maglaperidze is talking about another issue in his comment and expresses a concern that the government lays more emphasis on the construction in their words than on freedom, as it was in the times of the Soviet Union.

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

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

The news item of July 19 “Empty Parliament”²⁰ 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 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.

²⁰ For watching the news item please follow the link:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ubRSdwY5LEE&feature=youtu.be>

In the news item of July 25 “The President’s Apology”²¹ 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.

In the news item of August 3 “Peace in Caucasus” the journalist is reading Ivanishvili’s quotation. There is a text seen in the frame, but the first part does not coincide with the text that the journalist is reading out.

Real TV

In total, 26 hours and 37 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Real TV during the period of May 11 - August 15. This time was quite unequally distributed among the subjects of monitoring. The CGD ranks first with 42 percent. During the whole monitoring the Coalition used to be on the first place in all the five reports produced so far, and there was always 40 percent and more time allocated to it. The President and the government are among the top three subjects. There are two main tendencies revealed: positive news items about the President and the government, and reports with sharply negative contents about the CGD. The negative coverage is mostly caused by the text of journalists, also there are frequent cases of manipulation with music and footage. In regards to the headlines of stories, it should be pointed out on Real TV that we often see descriptive and brief headlines. However, when the report is about the representatives of the CGD, the reports mostly have the headlines with negative tone. The reports are sometimes balanced, sometimes - not. However, It should be pointed out that the majority of unbalanced reports are caused by the lack of the comments of representatives of the CGD or by the lack of the respondents with different opinion.

In total, 26 hours and 37 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Real TV from May 11 until August 15. This time was distributed quite unequally among the subjects of monitoring. There are 3 main subjects that attract attention, to which the most time was allocated on Real TV. However, there is quite a big difference among the percentage rates. Out of them the CGD ranks first with 42 percent. It is noteworthy that during the whole monitoring the

²¹ For watching the news item please follow the link:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmGhC3rmh1g&feature=youtu.be>

Coalition used to be on the first place in all the five reports produced so far, and there was always 40 percent and more time allocated to it. The President and the government are among the top three subjects with 15 percent. 4 percent or less were allocated to other subjects. (See the Diagram - Time 7)

As for the percentage-based distribution of direct and indirect speech, out of the four subjects to which more than 1 hour was allocated, the CGD has the lowest share of direct speech (29%), and highest rate 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 President has 76 percent of direct speech. The government has 46 percent of direct speech, and the UNM has 69 percent. (See the Diagram - Speech 7)

As for the subject coverage tone, if we look at the main three subjects: there is 64 percent of negative coverage for the CGD, to which the most time was allocated to this channel – 7 hours and 7 minutes. The president is mostly covered with positive tone and it has 74 percent of positive coverage. Out of 3 hours and 5 minutes allocated to the government, the coverage was positive in case of 39 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone 7)

While evaluating the tone of journalist's speech about subjects, it is revealed that the CGD has a bigger share in case of journalist's tone – 66 percent, than the overall tone. The government and the president are the subjects, which have the biggest share of positive tone: government – 17%, President – 39%. (See the Diagram - Tone J7)

From the viewpoint of headlines of reports on Real TV, it is noteworthy that we often see descriptive and brief headlines. However, when it refers to the representatives of the Georgian Dream, the news items mostly have negative headlines.

Examples: "Thief's brother in the Dream" (June 7); "Thieves of honey in the Dream" (June 11); "Self-respecting Lady Nino" (June 20); "Property seized for vote-buying" (June 21); "Surrounding and scared Bidzina" (July 3). There were reports with one and the same headline broadcasted on July 5 and 6 - "European Failure of the Dream"; "Self-satisfied Bidzina" (July 9), "Plagiarist Bidzina" (July 9); "Ivanishvili – plagiarist or cheater" (July 16); "Bidzina's Vicious Circle" (July 18); "Bidzina's Soviet Dream" (July 19); "Ivanishvili's Trick" (July 20); "Liar Izoria" (July 24); "A month of Bidzina's Conscience" (July 30). However, when the reports are about the representatives of authorities, the headlines are neutral or positive. For example, "Public Service Halls: world recognition" (July 17); "Employment – Government's Key Priority" (July 25); "Prime Minister's Gratitude to Doctors" (July 26); "President's Gratitude to Soldiers" (July 30); "Liar Gujabidze" (August 3); "Dreamer Batsikadze" (August 3); "Liar Ivanishvili" (August 6); "Liar Abashidze" (August 7);

“Bidzina’s Soviet Nostalgia” (August 6); “Ivanishvili’s Hysteria on the War” (August 10); “Putin’s Favorite Nino” (August 14).

In general, there are two main trends in the news releases on Real TV: when the reports are made about the government and the President, they create a positive impression about them. As the elections come closer, there are more frequent reports about the visits of the President, government representatives and candidates of the UNM to the regions and their meetings with voters. It is also noteworthy that in these reports big time is allocated to the speeches of leaders and candidates, which intensifies the positive impression even more.

The news item of June 6 “Unofficial part of the Visit” starts by showing beautiful views over Batumi, which is accompanied by nice music. After such an introduction there comes an airplane of Hilary Clinton. Following that there is a scene of her meeting with government representatives. In the story there is also footage of Clinton and Saakashvili walking in the streets of Batumi and boulevard again accompanied by the pleasant music.²²

For example, the news item of July 4 “Intoxication by Chlorine” describes the President’s visit to a hospital and his meeting with the victims. In the same news release “New Cabinet of Ministers” the journalist is referring to Shashkin as an “idea generator”. Besides, the news item of July 9 “Prime Minister’s meeting with the population” positively portrays Vano Merabishvili. There is footage showing him hugging one of the men out of the people gathered there, and greeting a child ‘by kicking him’.

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.

²² Please follow the link to see the report:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gbUdhnb7pPQ&feature=youtu.be>

The news item of August 10 "President in Racha" is clearly positive towards the President. There are many people gathered for meeting with him. There are applauses and exclamations on seeing the President, such as: "You have taken Georgia out of swamp, out of swamp", "be happy in the territory of Georgia". Majority of people are wearing red caps with inscription "I Love Georgia". Some of them are waving red fliers with Number 5, and some of them are holding the national flag. One of the people is holding an inscription "We, the people of Racha love Misha". At the end of the news item an elderly man is asking for the floor. He is saying that he is 73 years old and he has seen 5 governments, and none of them has done so many things than this one and addresses everybody to vote for them again. This is again followed by applauses and chanting. The president is kissing him. The story ends on the background of applauses.

On the other hand, there is much time allocated to the coverage of Bidzina Ivanishvili and the CGD on Real TV, and the overall impression remains clearly negative. There are frequent cases of clipping, or manipulating with shots and music, or the opposition representatives are mentioned with ironical and cynical adjectives, often by the journalists as well.

One of the good examples of negative coverage and manipulation with footage is the shots about the rally of the Georgian Dream, which took place on May 27 and was broadcasted on May 28, where Kaladze is making his speech and addressing the people. The shots are made in black and white. The video is accelerated, there is an accompanying music from the movie "Peola" and there is a clip from this movie where Ipolite Khvichia (actor playing the role of a main character Peola) is saying: "mind the defense, Khvedelidze, mind the defense". Then there is footage from old football match of Kaladze, where he is coming and shrugging. After that there is a video of Ipolite Khvichia again, where he is feeling bad and is shouting: "I need a Goal, a Goal!", which is making reference to Kaladze's own-goals. The news item provides a very negative coverage of Kakha Kaladze, member of the Georgian Dream.²³

In the news item of June 26 "Where Bidzina was on holiday during the war" the footage and journalist's text is used for emphasizing contrast between the war-related misfortunes and Ivanishvili's holiday at the seaside.²⁴

In the story of 9 July "The Dream of a Dream Tycoon" Ivanishvili's photo is presented on the background of a hammer and sickle. Same news item was full of pictures and reports of the Soviet time and the respondents interviewed are often descendants of the ones subjected to

²³ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbpy7t-CgoQ&feature=youtu.be>

²⁴ Please follow the link to see the report: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N-eUnXiOxCc&feature=youtu.be>

repression. In 5 July story “Russian Money in Georgian Politics” Ivanishvili’s photo is shown on the background of St. Vasil Cathedral and there are dollars falling from the sky.

We should mention the story of July 10 “Next Dream Scandal” which is distinguished with its very negative impression about the Coalition both in terms of journalist’s narrative and shots used. Journalist’s negative introduction of the coalition lasts for 85 seconds. In the report aired on July 12 “Tycoon’s Balance” a journalist calls Tina Khidasheli “The Queen of the Casting held at Glass Palace”.

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”²⁵ 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”²⁶ 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.

The news item of July 24 “Kremlin’s Pitfall”²⁷ 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 whom these people are who speak negatively about Ivanishvili.

²⁵ Please follow the link to see the report:

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

²⁶ For watching the news item please follow the link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2uNaCF-CIE&feature=youtu.be>

²⁷ For watching the news item please follow the link:

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

The news item of July 26 “Failed Meeting”²⁸ reports about Mirian Tsiklauri, majoritarian candidate of the Coalition that while he was Gamgebeli 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 unserious.

The news item of August 2 “The Dream in the Street”²⁹ says that in case of rigging the elections the Georgian Dream is planning the demonstrations in the streets. Then the comments of Bidzina Ivanishvili, Maia Panjikidze and Manana Kobakhidze are shown that confirm the above mentioned. After that they show some shots of protest rallies arranged by the opposition for the last few years in Tbilisi and also some parts from the speeches of some opposition leaders (quite rude and harsh parts). It is noteworthy that the selected shots have very negative contents and the journalist is also saying that the opposition demonstrations always resulted in unrest, streets full of garbage, increased crime rate and impeded economic development.

News item of August 6 “Bidzina’s Taste”³⁰ describes the demonstration of the Georgian Dream in Batumi. In the beginning of the demonstration there is a journalist’s text: “Batumi welcomed Bidzina Ivanishvili with heavy downpour. Dark clouds appeared above the Square of Dreams exactly when the tycoon stepped on the specially arranged and bulletproof stage”. The report emphasizes that Ivanishvili was not wet because of the rain, but the people did not wait until the end of Ivanishvili’s speech because of the rain and left the demonstration – there is footage and comments of the population. It is mentioned in the report that the things that millions of tourists like and that are recognized by the world leaders, cannot satisfy Bidzina Ivanishvili’s taste. Here Batumi is implied and then beautiful shots of Batumi are shown on the background of a pleasant music. This is a very broad

²⁸ For watching the news item please follow the link:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hsQPXdDFrFk&feature=youtu.be>

²⁹ Please follow the link to see the report:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NQoamxtQv14&feature=youtu.be>

³⁰ Please follow the link to see the report:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lv_TWTwc6xQ&feature=youtu.be

report and it tells the story about the demonstration from different angles in a negative context.

Overall impression is even more intensified because of the journalist's texts, which often were non-neutral on Real TV during the whole monitoring period. For example:

- Journalist: "Sweating and excited Kakha Shartava made announcement of hot October for the people of Khashuri". (May 17, news item "Meetings of the Dream")
- Journalist: "The oligarch frequently makes similar absurd mistakes which makes the members of the Coalition Georgian Dream to continuously correct his inconsiderate actions". (June 6, news item "Ivanishvili's Another Scandal")
- Journalist: "Bidzina Ivanishvili's camels loaded with gold and money stopped at Maestro's office... in exchange to this they have to perform liturgy ceremony/pray for Bidzina in the air every morning and evening. Prayers are obligatory before and after dinner... Thank you Bidzina for feeding me - will say somebody from Maestro channel and Ramishvili and others will accompany". (June 15, news item "Thanks to Bidzina")
- 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 Pitfall")
- Journalist: "He [Bidzina Ivanishvili], together with other dreamers, turns out to be nostalgia for bended chairs and passionate nights". (August 6, news item "Bidzina's Taste")

- Journalist: “Bidzina Ivanishvili could not find time for expressing condolences to the mothers of dead sons”. (August 8, news item “Where is Bidzina”)
- Journalist: “Although Ivanishvili is saying rare and memorable “precious” phrases, none of them are found in so called comic show of Odishvili, as they belong to his boss” (August 8, news item “Mentor Ivanishvili”)
- Journalist: “Although Lady Nino knocked much on the door of the Glass Palace some time ago, nobody opened the door to her. Nino found herself in an off-site position”(August 9, news item “Burjanadze’s refusal to elections”)
- Journalist: “Bidzina does not remember either Georgia without lights and or buried rights. How can he remember that? Ivanishvili was making much money in Russia at that time” (August 14, news item “Vazha Lortkipanidze in the Dream”)
- Journalist: “Imperfect Megrelian language skills are the main weapon of Alasania, majoritarian candidate in Zugdidi... Nobody cares his proficiency in Megrelian, however, he is quite good at forecasting a terrible future”. (August 15, news item “Long Live Irakli”)

As for the balance of news items according to the presented respondents, during this period the news items are sometimes balanced, sometimes – not. However, it is worth mentioning that the majority of unbalanced reports are due to the lack of comments of the representatives of the CGD, when their opinion would be significant reasoning from the content. It is also notable that we come across not only with the unbalanced reports, where we see the lack of comments by various sides, but also with the reports where some balance is observed in regards to the respondents, but there is no diversity of expressed opinions.

Very often there are inconsistencies between the journalist’s opinion and the comments or shots shown in the report on Real TV. For example, the news item of June 7 “Acting with Ivanishvili’s Money” – the whole news item is constructed on how much it cost for Ivanishvili to come to politics. Then there is a list of offices, transportation, purchase of shares, salaries; also how much Ivanishvili transferred to Maestro and Kavkasia and how much it cost for him to appear in the air of Kavkasia. The journalist is providing a particular amount along all these items in the list, but it is never mentioned based on which documents or sources this figures were provided.

In the news item of August 6 “Dream’s promise to the prisoner women” the journalist is saying that Medea Vasadze promised all the female prisoners that they would be released from prisons if they supported the Georgian Dream. The news item shows Medea Vasadze’s

speech in Batumi, where she says that she is sorry because there are more than 4 thousand women prisoners in Georgia, and she is also saying that she is aware of their implicit support. Despite this the journalist is still repeating that the Georgian Dream promises the prisoners to set them free, and then gives a list of crimes because of which these women are serving their sentences: murder, trafficking, drug dealing, etc. They also show the shots of arrest and drug dealing. At the end of the news item the journalist is saying that in any case, there are frequent amnesties by the government for prisoners and especially for women.

It is especially important to point out that there are very frequent cases of manipulating with footage and music on Real TV. In the majority of news items provided as examples above, the music, shots, animation and effects are used that create positive or negative impression.

For example, the news item of June 20 “Self-respecting Lady Nino” tells a story how Bidzina Ivanishvili and Nino Burjanadze forgot severe criticism expressed towards each other. After this they show a fact that reconciliation between Burjanadze-Ivanishvili can be a “Russian Project” as the journalist puts it.

The news item of August 10 “Fined Dreamers”³¹ ends with an animation, which is made in a horror style, and is used as a background for the journalist’s narrative and heavy music for 13 seconds. There is an image of Bidzina’s face in black and white, where he has a very angry and troubled expression. There is a body with black gown attached to this face, which is moving separately from the head. From time to time there are hands shown in the animation, which Bidzina is hitting into his head. Besides, during the whole 13 seconds, the dollars keep falling from above.

Shuamtoba holiday in Beshumi

Several events took place in the country during the monitoring period, which was actively covered by various TV channels. These events were: flood and natural disasters in various parts of Georgia, incident in Karaleti, anniversary of the war of August, etc. However, a special emphasis should be laid on the celebration of Shuamtoba holiday in Beshumi on August 4, which was covered by all the monitored channels. The Beshumi Holiday is a good example of how various channels present the same story, which speaks about their news reporting policy and tendencies.

Leaders of two main political forces happened to go to Adjara at the same time for Shuamtoba holiday on August. Mikheil Saakashvili met with the people and addressed them

³¹ Please follow the link to see the video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ArPdv1OP5Jg&feature=youtu.be>

with a speech. At the same time, Bidzina Ivanishvili, leader of the CGD went to the same place with his supporters. This resulted in an incident after which the supporters of the Georgian Dream left the place of celebration. However, seven TV-channels covered this incident the following way:

It is interesting that this story was the first news item in the main news releases on the Ninth Channel, Maestro and Kavkasia. At the same time, Bidzina Ivanishvili's visit to Beshumi and Mikheil Saakashvili's meeting with the people was combined in one story. The report lasted for 3:18 minutes on the Ninth Channel (without a headline), on Maestro "Confrontation in Beshumi: there was a confrontation between the supporters of the National Movement and those of the Georgian Dream in Beshumi" - 4:44; and the same story was covered on Kavkasia for 6:12 (without a headline).

There were two news items prepared on the First Channel, Rustavi 2 and Imedi about this incident. One of them told a story about the President's meeting with the population and the celebration, and the other one was about how Bidzina Ivanishvili came there, to the same place. Out of the seven channels, the first channel allocated the least time to these news items - the 8th news item "President in Beshumi" 2:56; the 9th news item "Incident in Beshumi" - 1:14; the second news item on Rustavi 2 - "Shuamtoba in Adjara" - 6:45 minutes, and the third news item "Georgian Dream in Beshumi" 5:33. It was the 5th news item on Imedi "Ivanishvili failed to see Adjarian people in Beshumi: going to the food scraps" - 5:32; the 7th news item "Shuamtoba" - 14:24. Besides, there is a president's speech shown for 10 minutes in this report on Imedi. None of the channels allocated so much time to the president's speech at Beshumi.

As for Real TV, as far as it was Saturday on August 4 (Real TV does not have a main news release on Saturday evening), this news item was broadcasted on Monday's news release. It should be pointed out that on Sunday, August 5, the CGD had a demonstration in Batumi. This is why most part of the news release was dedicated to the discussion of the Batumi demonstration. Perhaps this is an explanation for having the Beshumi incident as the 12th news item on Real TV - "Rejected Bidzina" (8 minutes). This was a report of only Ivanishvili's visit to Beshumi, and there was nothing mentioned about the President's meeting with the population. There was only one shot of the President when he was seen together with the people.

In the introduction of the reports, journalists at various channels make mutually exclusive summaries of what happened in Beshumi:

The First Channel: "Bidzina Ivanishvili also decided to go to the meeting of Supporters of the National Movement in Beshumi".

Rustavi 2: “Members of the Georgian Dream also went to the Shuamtoba celebration in Beshumi together with the coalition leader. They came to the village exactly when the President of Georgia was there. This is why they went to the gathered people only after Saakashvili left the village”.

Imedi: “Bidzina Ivanishvili failed to find people of Adjara in Beshumi. Leader of the Georgian Dream came to Beshumi on Shuamtoba Holiday, and decided to participate in the activity of the National Movement”.

Maestro: “Bidzina Ivanishvili came to the village together with the members and supporters of the Coalition for congratulating the holiday to the locals. However, as they say, the activists of the National Movement besieged Ivanishvili and did not let him meet with the population gathered there”.

Kavkasia: “According to the agencies, Bidzina Ivanishvili was going to meet with the people in Beshumi. Members of the National Movement blocked his way and did not let him meet with the people”.

The Ninth Channel: “Bidzina Ivanishvili had planned to go to the resort Beshumi in Khulo, where people celebrated Shuamtoba holiday today. Little before his visit, the President’s escort appeared there”.

Real TV: “A day before the demonstration in Batumi, Bidzina Ivanishvili was trying to meet with the President of Georgia. The billionaire tried again to use the public holiday in the mountainous Adjara for his favor”.

All the channels showed the shots of confrontation and disturbances of supporters of two political forces, in different sequence and amount. It is noteworthy that for 33 seconds the people were chanting on Imedi “Go away! Go away!” In addition, all the channels put Ivanishvili’s comment in different context, where he is saying that this incident is a provocation by the authorities. Ivanishvili’s comment where he is saying that the people were taken there on purpose, that they are “sonderkommandos”, that Saakashvili is trying to split the society into two, that Saakashvili is coward – all of these were clipped different way on different channels.

Besides, it was mentioned on the Ninth Channel, Maestro and Kavkasia that there was pressure also on the journalists as well. In addition, only the Ninth Channel aired Sozar Subari’s comment where he is saying that this provocation is planned and arranged by Saakashvili, and people were instructed by Gameoba officers how to chant and do certain things. Kavkasia is the only channel that aired the statement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs about this incident.

Right after beginning the report, the journalist is saying on the First Channel and Imedi that the law enforcement bodies asked Ivanishvili not to go there in order to avoid confrontation at the place of gathering. It was underlined on Rustavi 2 as well, that Ivanishvili did not take into account the advice of police, and went there. There are shots shown on Imedi, Rustavi 2 and Real TV, where Ivanishvili is reproaching Murman Dumbadze, majoritarian candidate of Batumi, that he had not planned this even properly and they were late there. The shots of reproaching lasted for 1 minute on Imedi.

Unlike other channels, journalists on Imedi, Rustavi 2 and Real TV provided a critical analysis of Ivanishvili's words about having the people brought from different regions. All the three channels emphasized that Ivanishvili "failed to find the people of Adjara in Adjara". This is followed by the comments of the local people, who confirm that they are from Adjara and that they always attend this celebration.

It is interesting to see how mutually exclusive description was provided by Rustavi 2, Maestro and Ninth Channel about Bidzina's visit to Beshumi. According to the journalist of Rustavi 2, the coalition members came to the people only after Saakashvili left the village. Before that, they were waiting at one of the houses in Beshumi for 40 minutes. According to the journalist on Maestro, before President made a speech and before having it broadcasted live by the televisions, Ivanishvili had to go to the center on foot because of the blocked road. The journalist on the Ninth Channel is emphasizing that as soon as Ivanishvili appeared, the President left the place by helicopter, and they show the helicopter in the air.

There was a moment in Beshumi Incident, when Bidzina Ivanishvili is putting on a cap with the number of the National Movement. It is interesting that this fact was covered differently by seven channels. The first channel showed a frame for several seconds, where Ivanishvili is wearing this cap, without a journalist's text, and it is not emphasized. A journalist is saying on Imedi, Rustavi 2 and Real TV that Gamgebeli of Khelvachauri advised Ivanishvili to put on the cap of the National Movement. A journalist on Imedi is saying right at the beginning of the report that "in the end, Ivanishvili left Beshumi with the cap of the National Movement". Then there is a compilation of photos in this news item, which shows how Ivanishvili is putting on this cap, and it is greatly emphasized. A journalist of Rustavi 2 is saying that "later Bidzina Ivanishvili still took into consideration the request of Khelvachauri Gamgebeli, and put on the cap of the National Movement himself". This was followed by the video, showing Bidzina with the cap and walking this way. A journalist on Real TV is saying that "he soon did as the local authorities wanted. He changed external political orientation temporarily, and put on the election number of the ruling party so that the supporters wearing the T-shirts of the Georgian Dream would see it."

It is noteworthy that the Ninth Channel did not show any shots where Ivanishvili is wearing the cap of the National Movement, talks to the Gamgebeli of Khelvachauri, and is reprimanding Murman Dumbadze. As far as in its news item Kavkasia used the video aired by the Ninth Channel during the afternoon news release, these shots were not shown on Kavkasia, either. Maestro is the only channel, which showed the shots of Ivanishvili's conversation with Khelvachauri Gamgebeli and where Bidzina's words are clearly heard: "you see, I've put on your cap, see?" and he is putting on the cap, thus emphasizing that Ivanishvili did it voluntarily and not because someone asked him to do so.

Together with the reports on Beshumi Incident, the First Channel, Imedi and Rustavi 2 prepared other separate news items in connection to the President's visit to the celebration. All the three portray the President quite positively. It is also noteworthy that the least time was allocated to this coverage on the First Channel - almost 3 minutes. All the three channels show the footage where the President is meeting with the people, there are people's applauses and ovations, the President is seen when he is congratulating the just married couple, etc. All the three channels show the President's speech but with different duration, and with different parts.

It is interesting that all the channels aired the part of the President's speech, where he is saying: "we want to tell them that there is no way to go back. Georgia and Adjara will move only forward towards to the better future, as we have set the goal altogether... It does not matter who is saying what, or who has what kind of position. The other day I accidentally saw one... a person, a politician, and he was saying that yes, the government built many things, this people did many things, now they should leave and it is time for us to come. I am not going to give you the country that I have built and let you ruin it". The Ninth Channel and Maestro showed only the part of this speech where the President is saying that he is not going to hand over the rebuilt country to others.

Annex - Diagrams

Diagram - Time 1

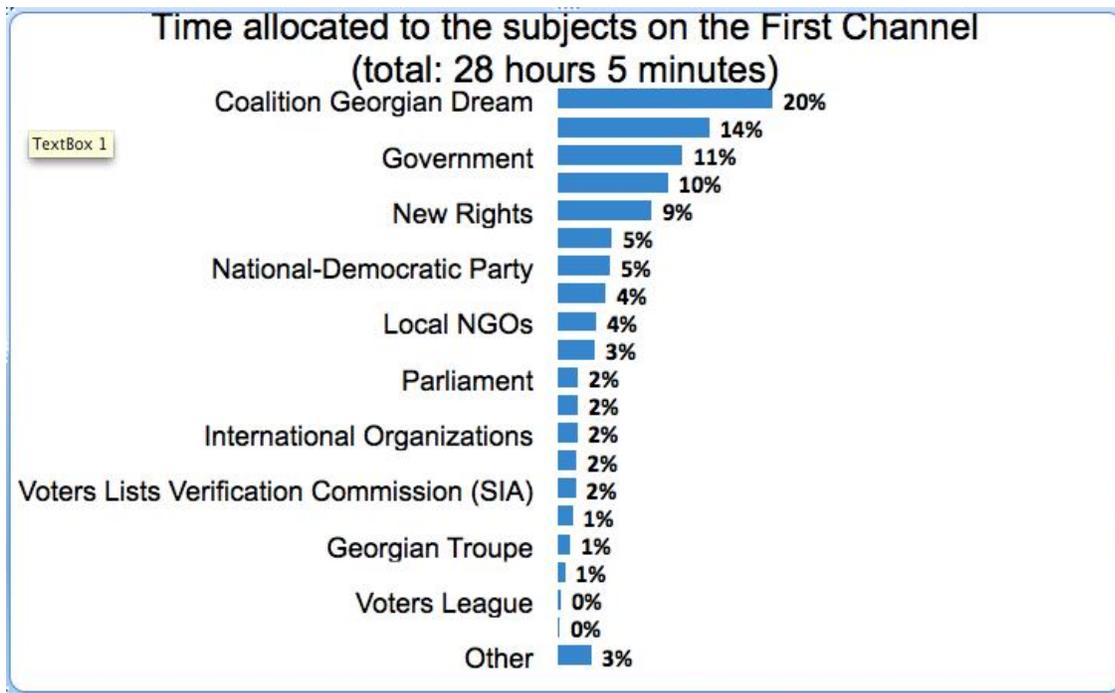


Diagram - Time 2

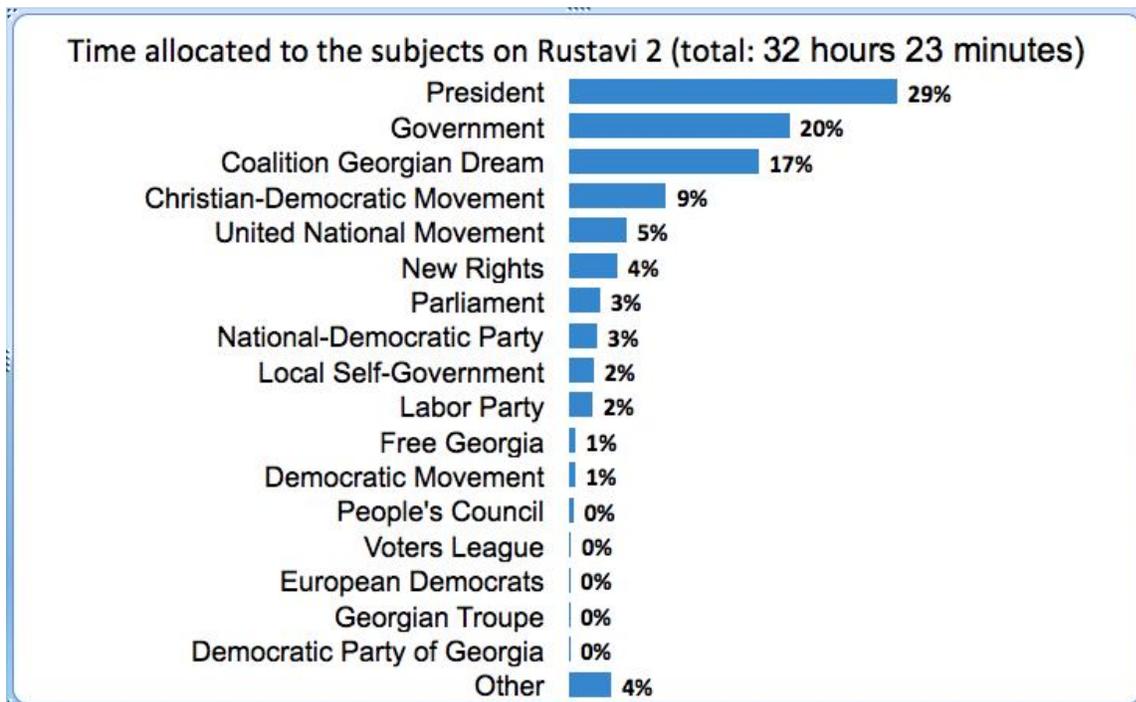


Diagram - Time 5

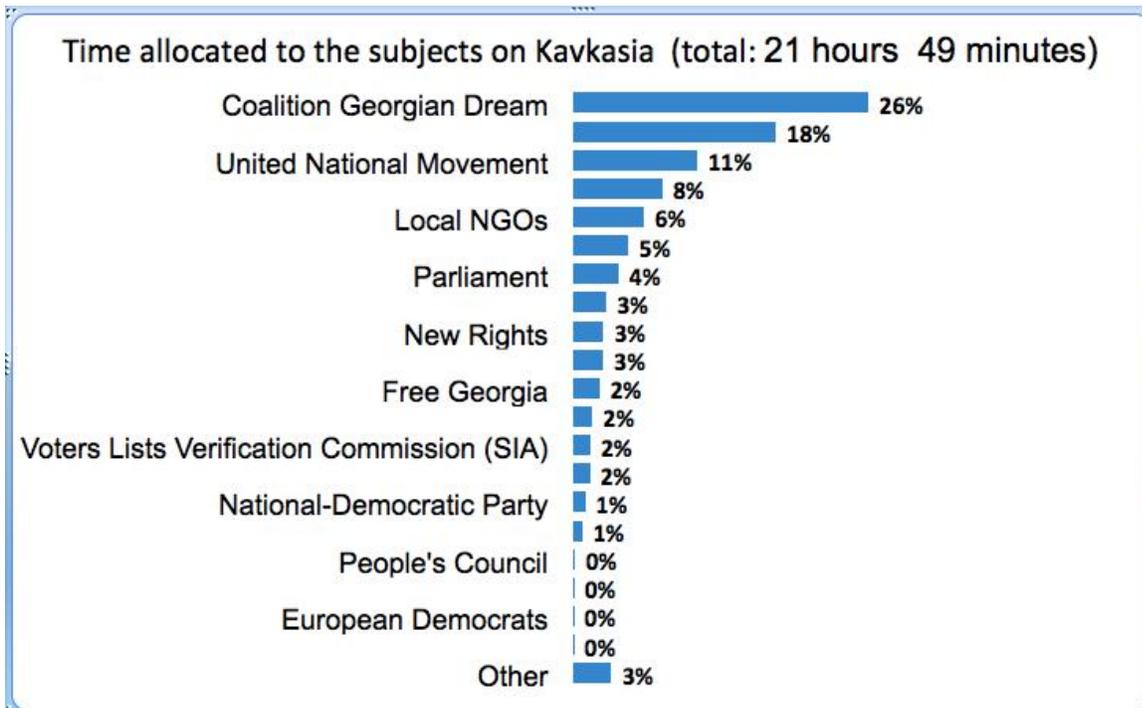


Diagram - Time 6

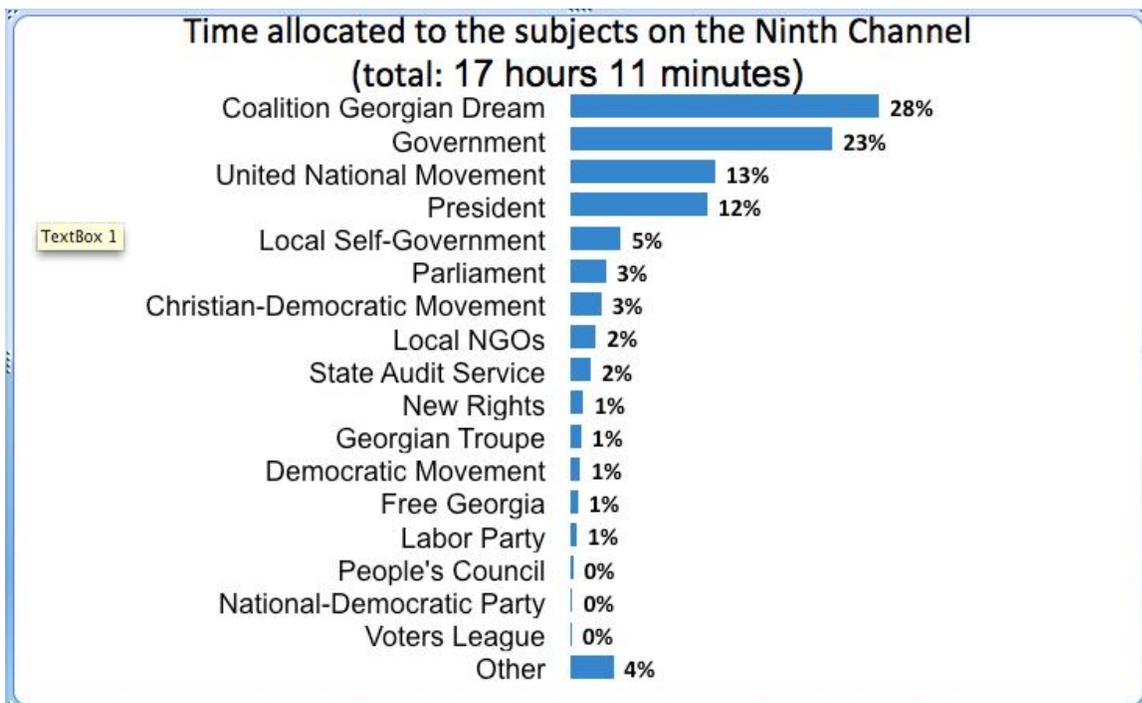


Diagram - Time 7

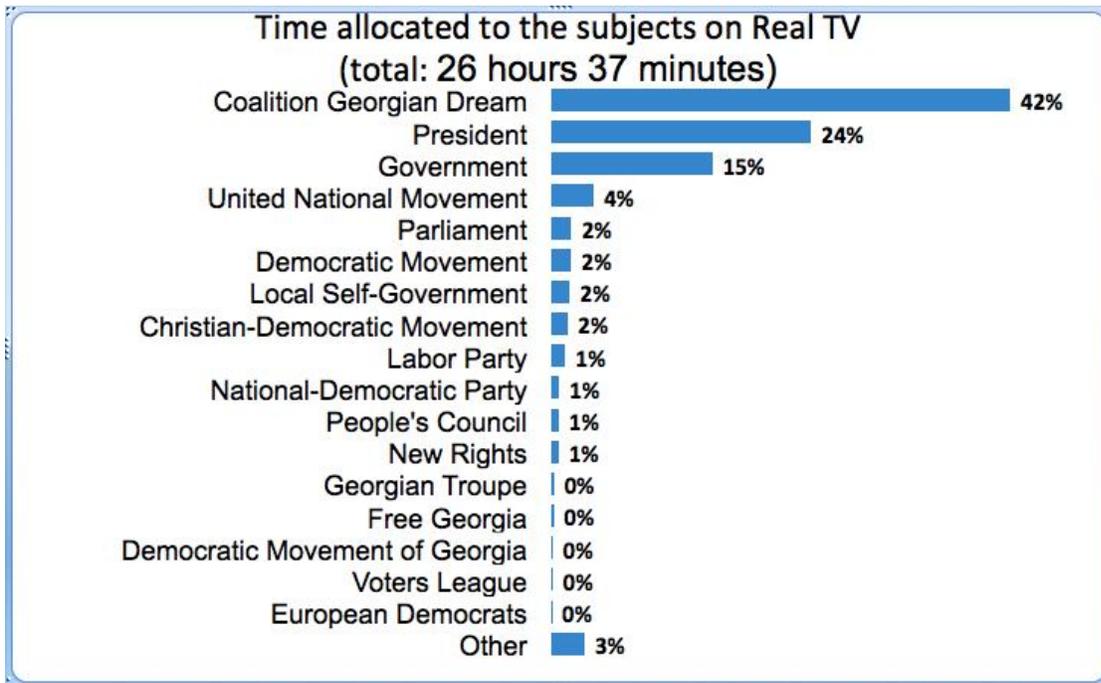


Diagram - Speech 1

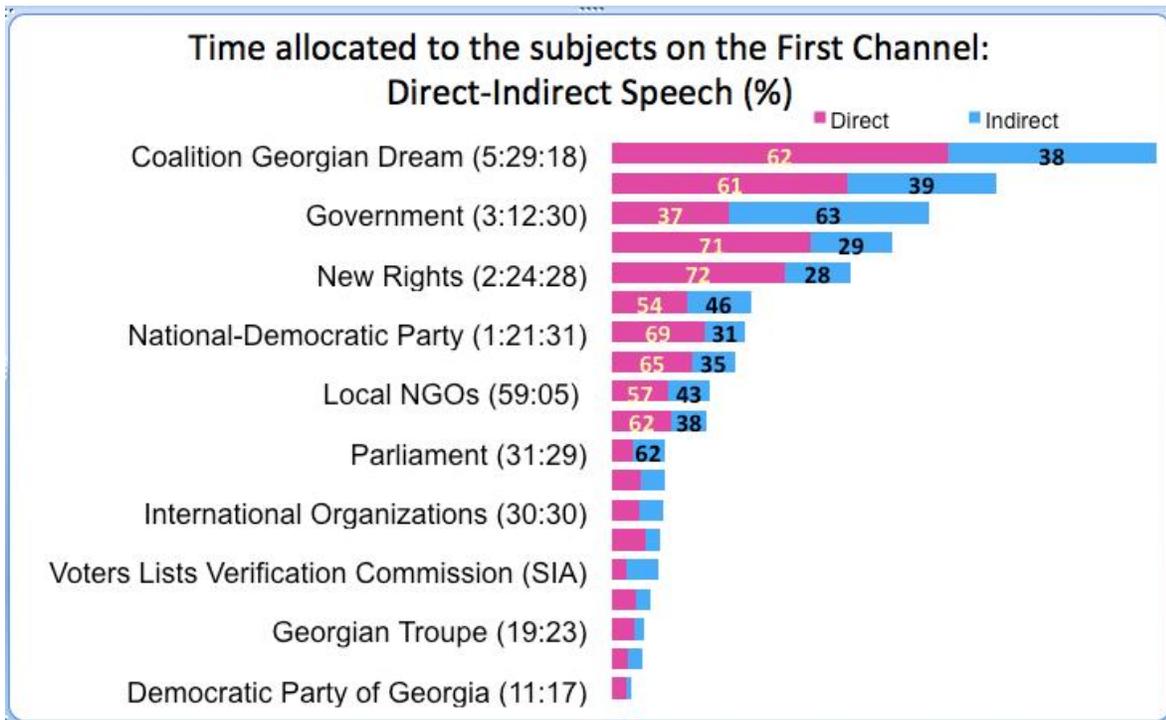


Diagram - Speech 2

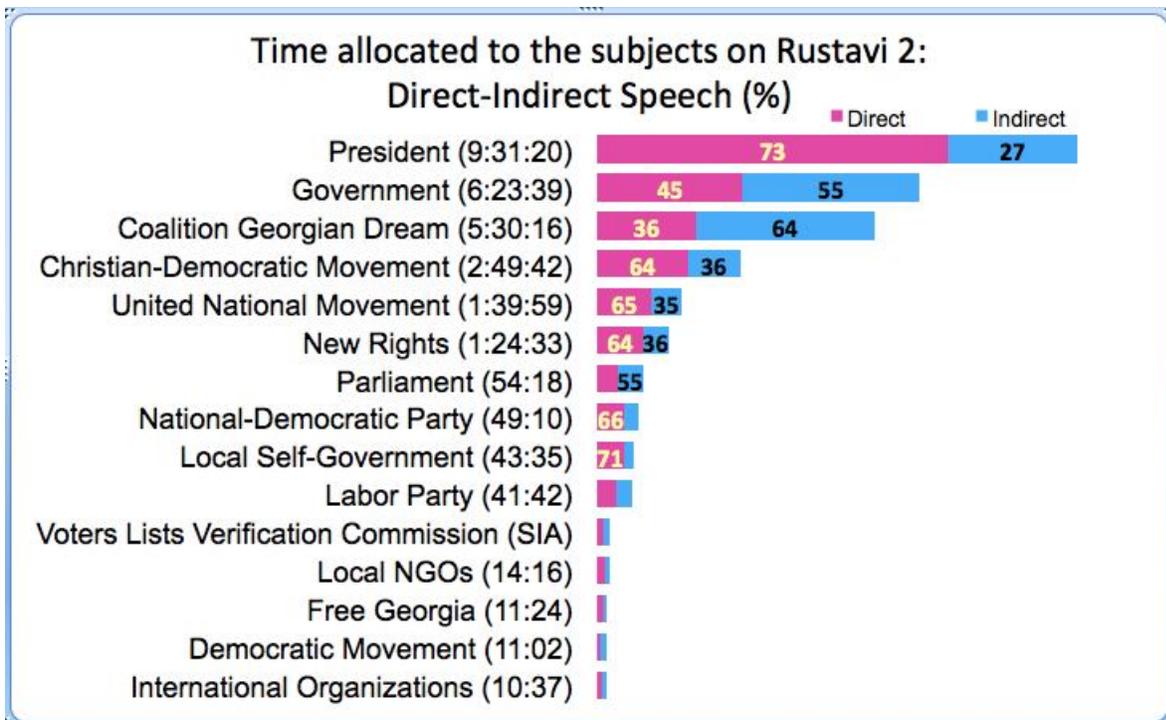


Diagram - Speech 3

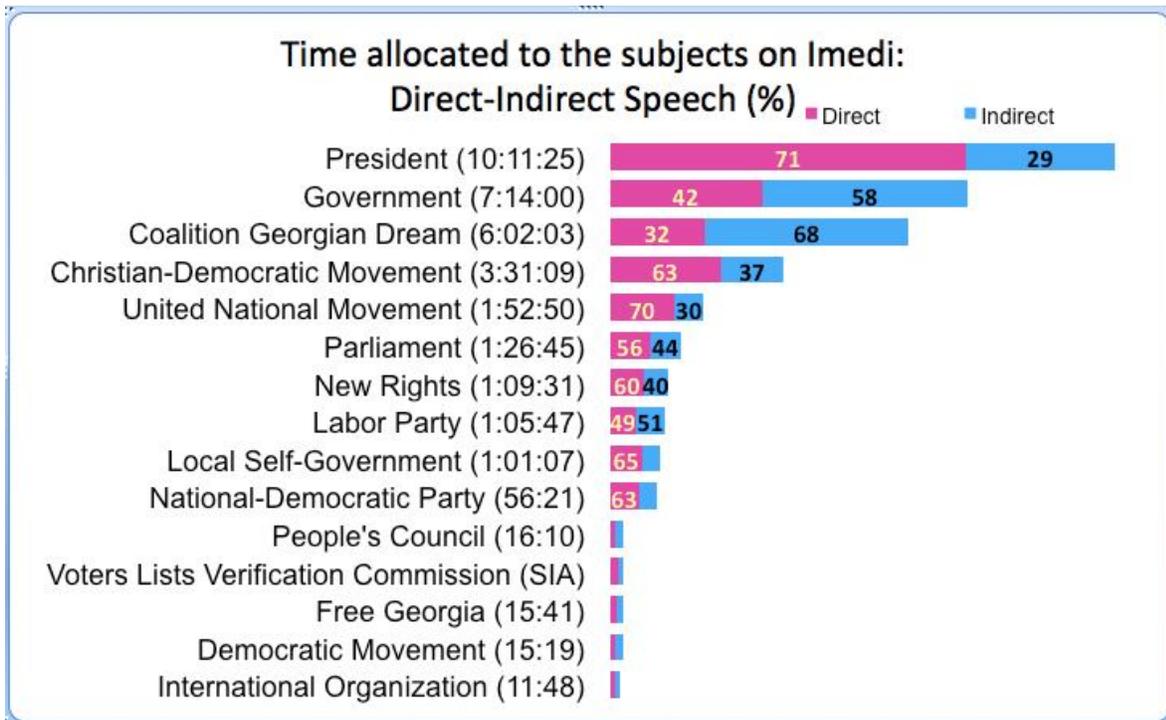


Diagram - Speech 4

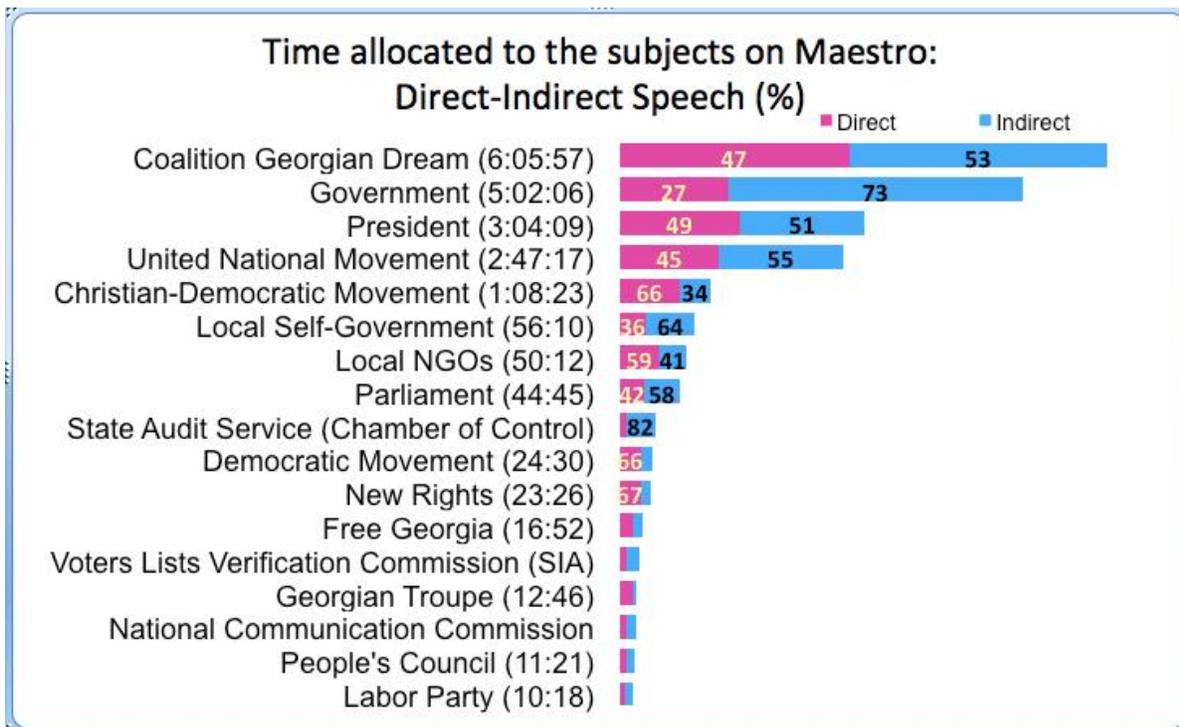


Diagram - Speech 5

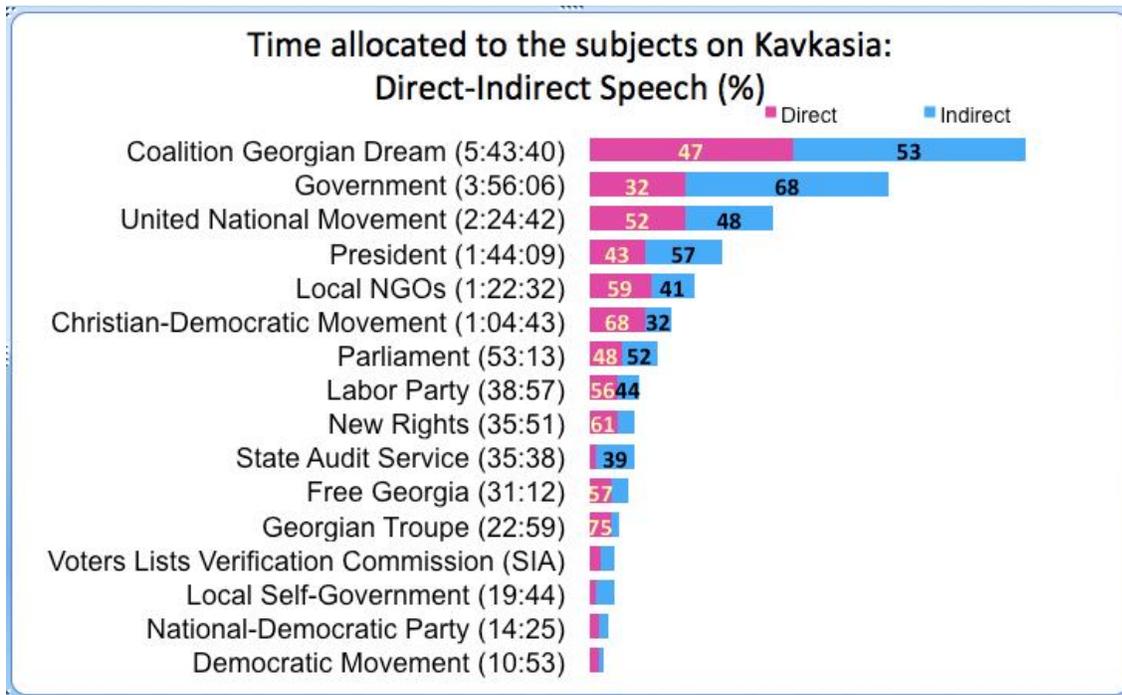


Diagram - Speech 6

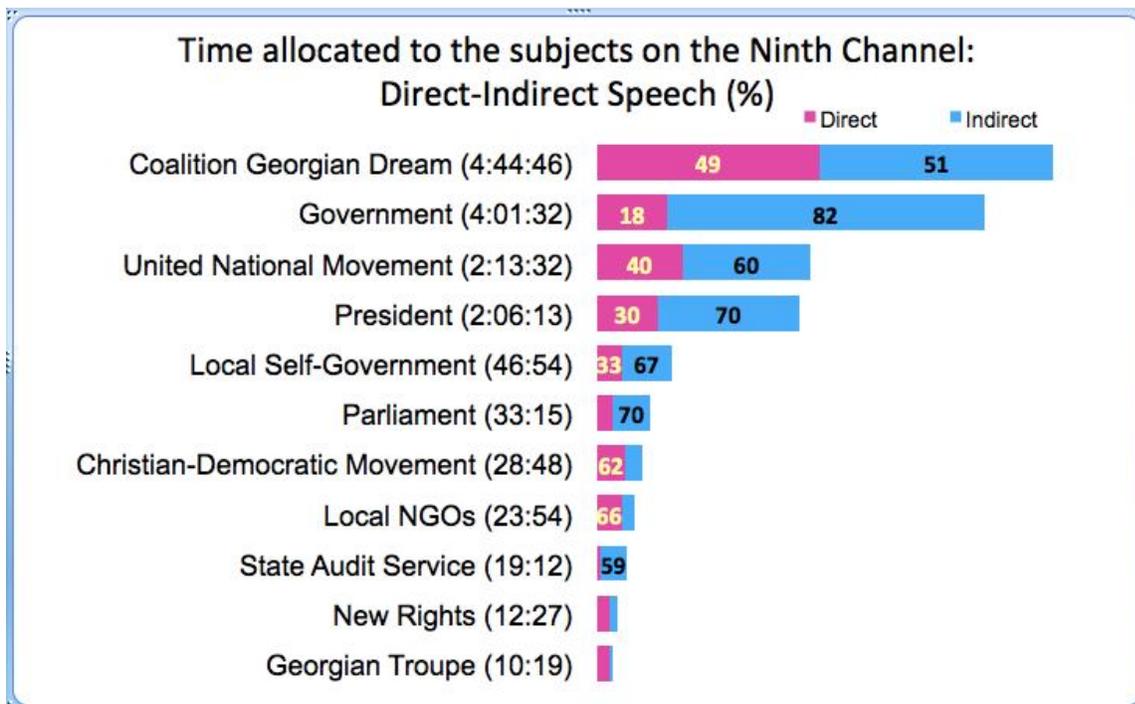


Diagram - Speech 7

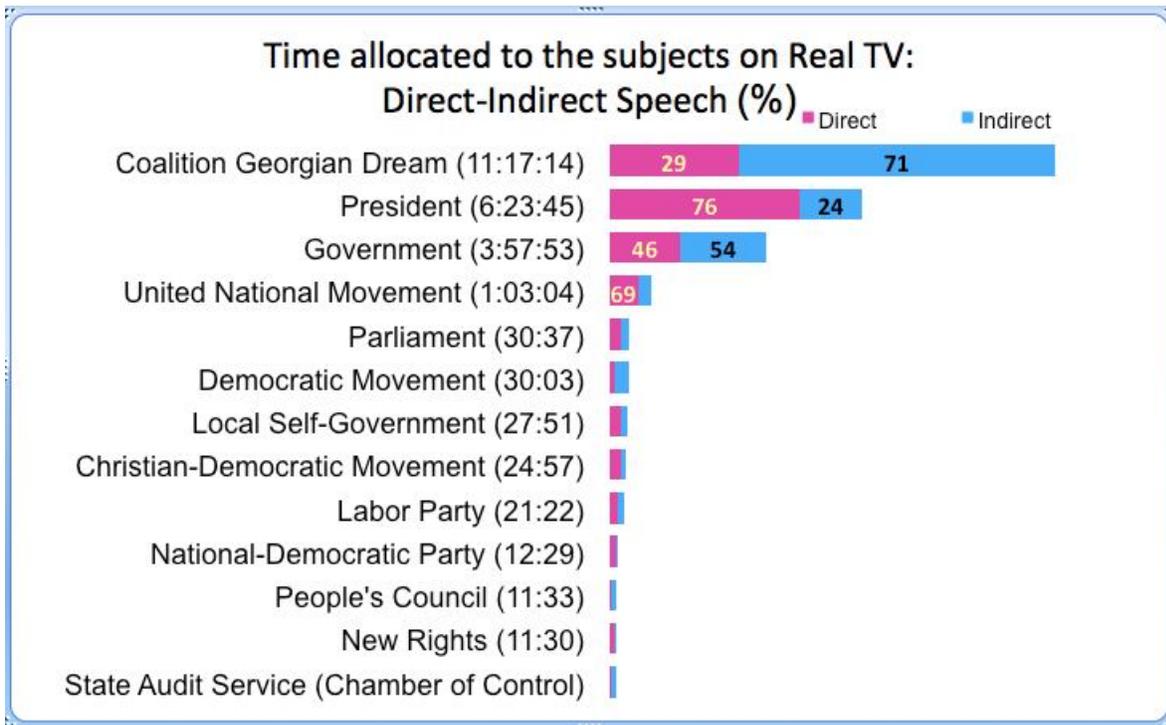


Diagram - Tone 1

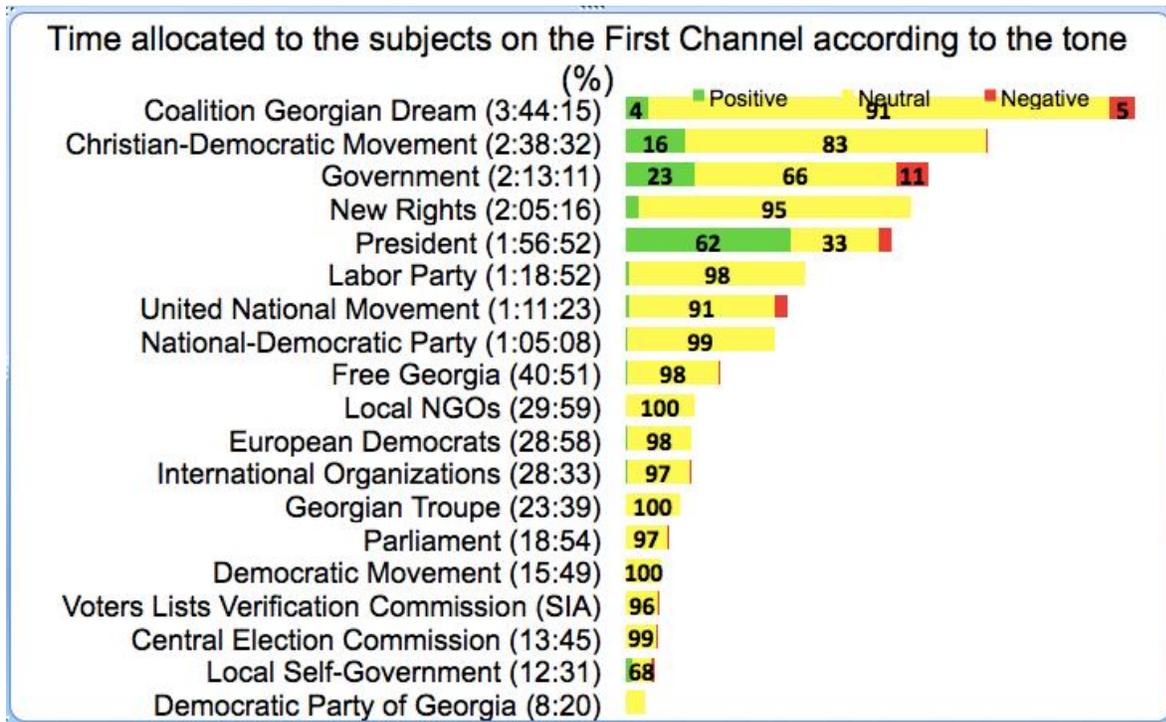


Diagram - Tone J1

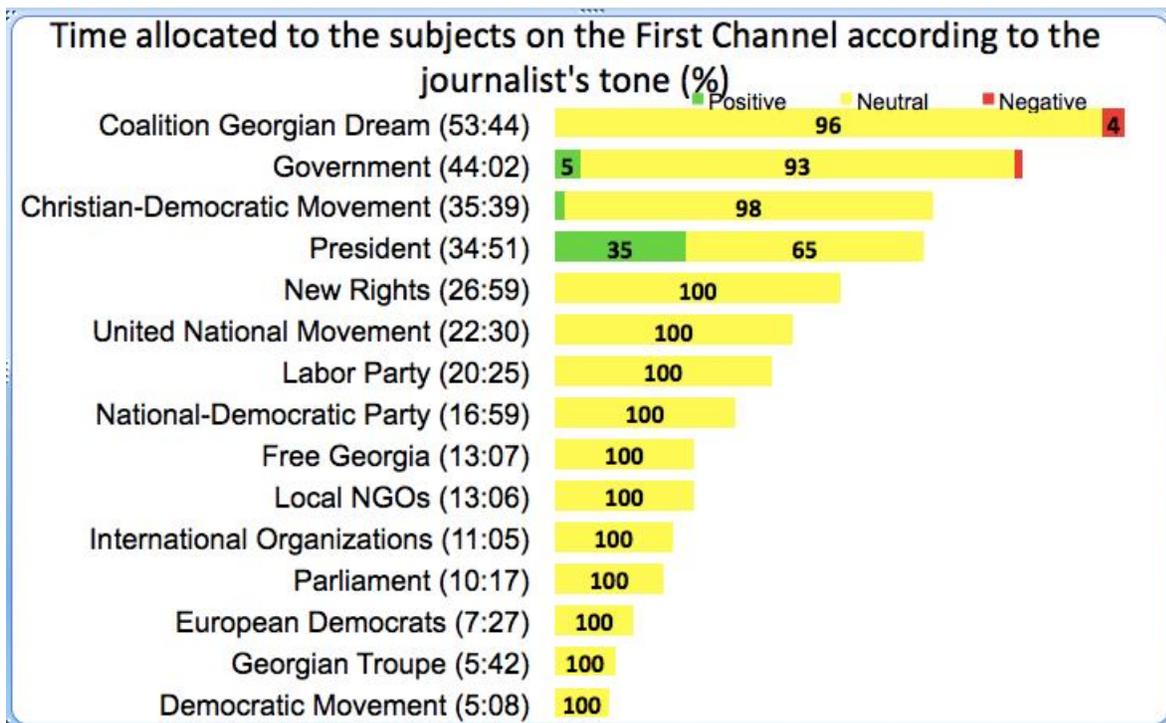


Diagram - Tone 2

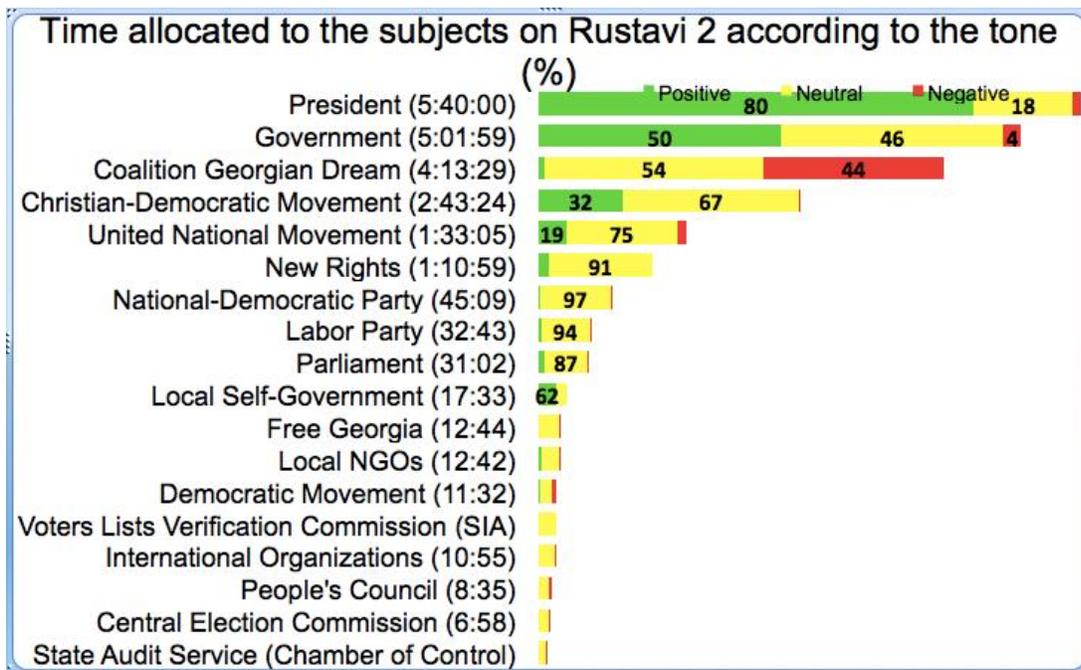


Diagram - Tone J2

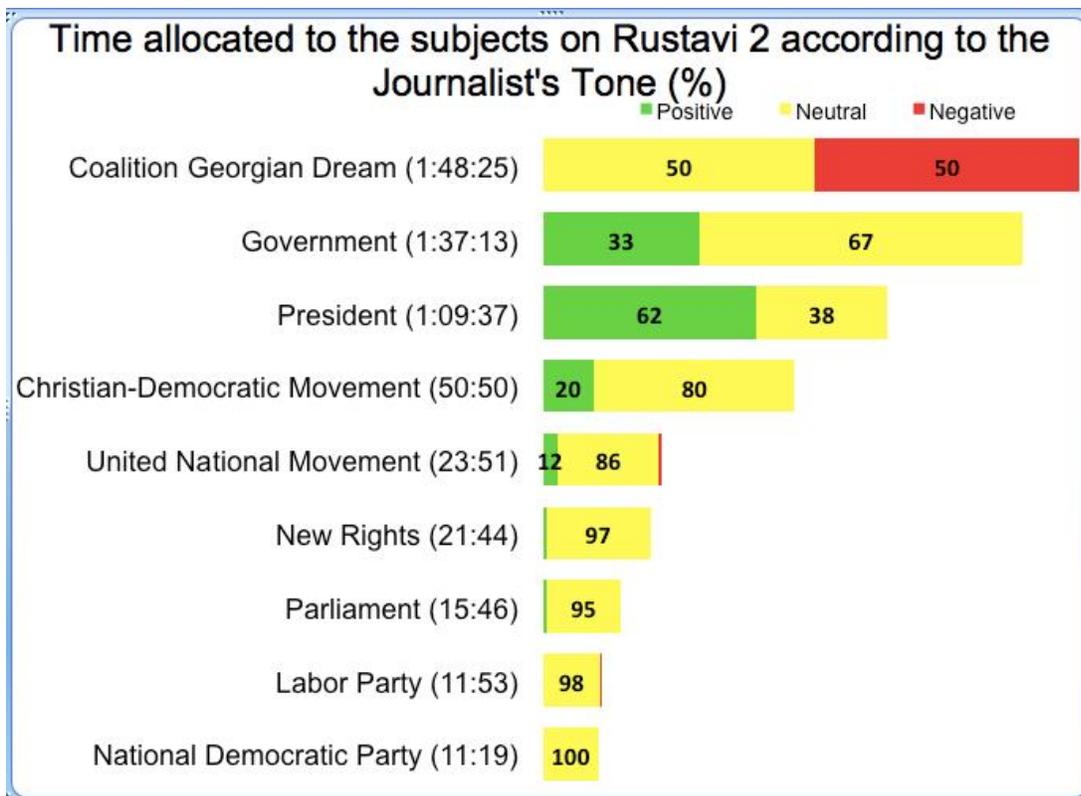


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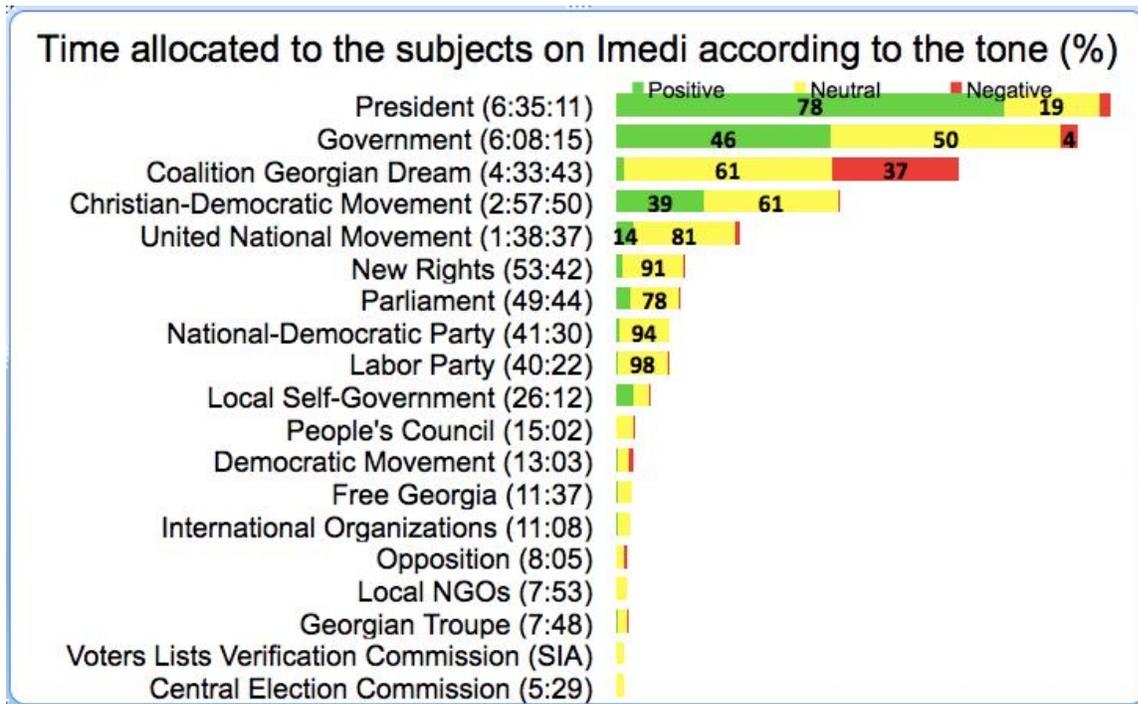


Diagram - Tone J3

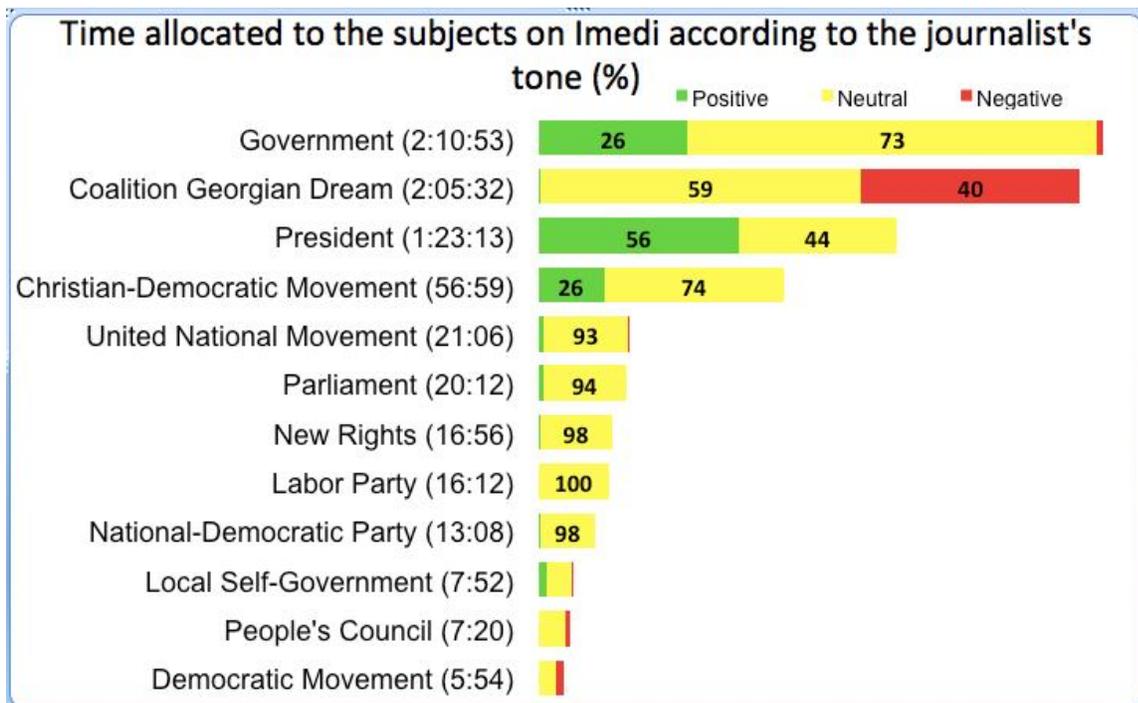


Diagram - Tone 4

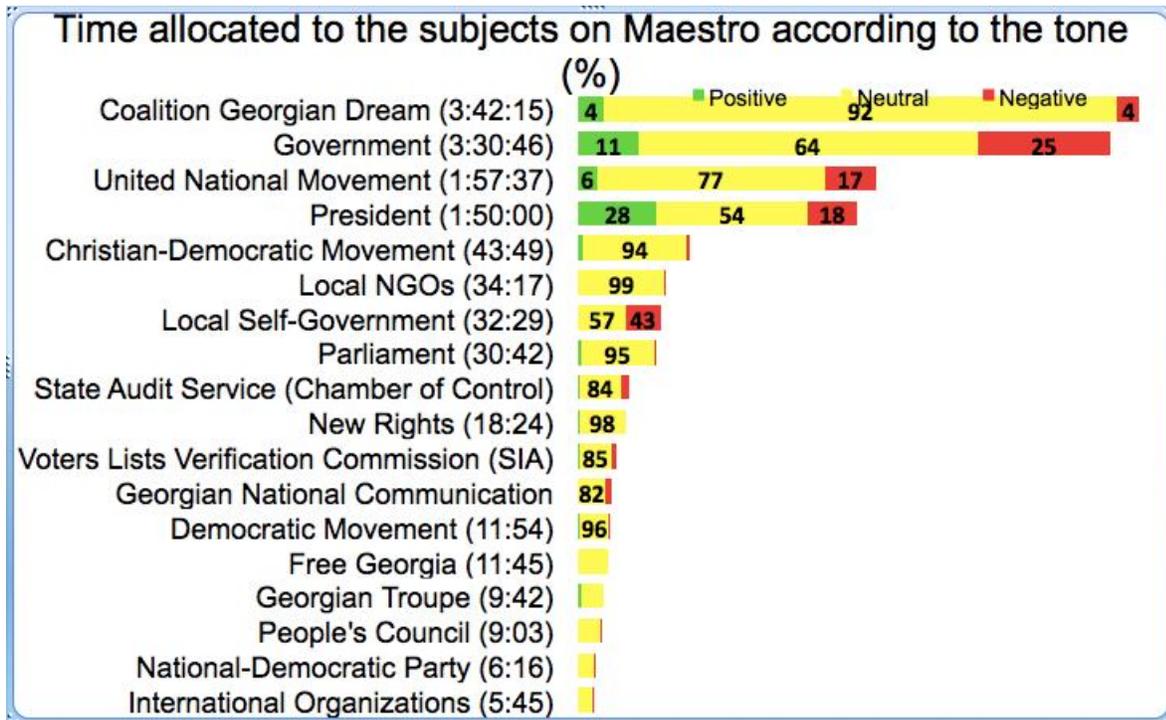


Diagram - Tone J4

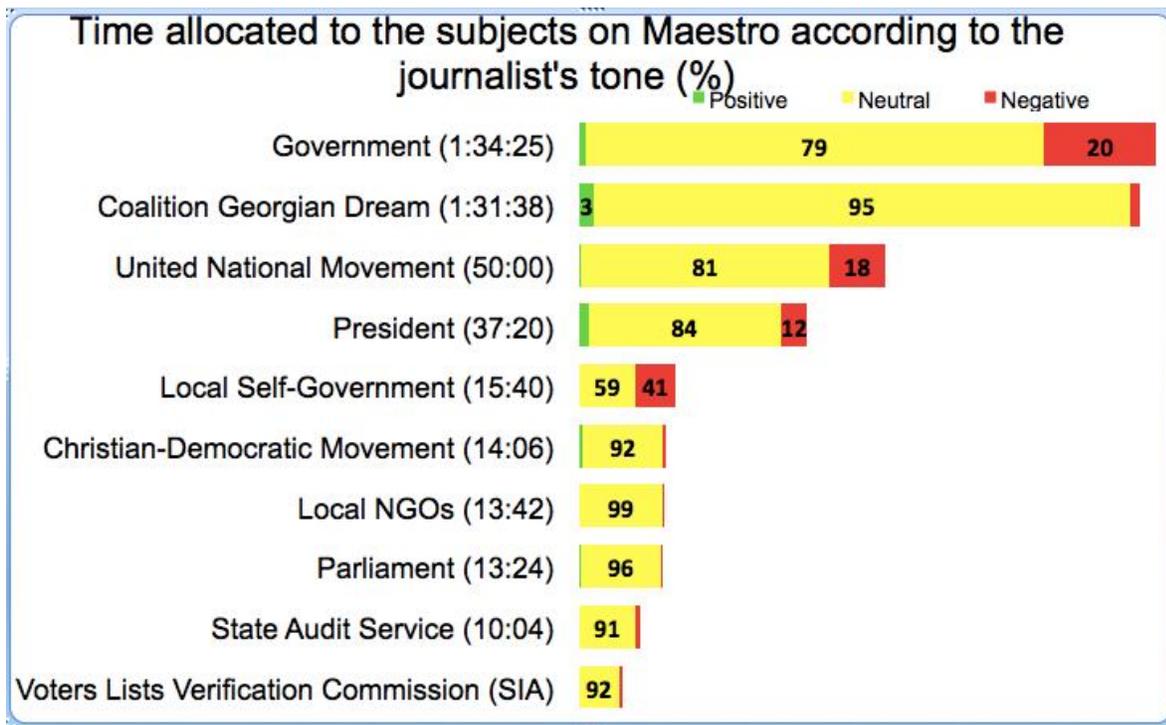


Diagram - Tone 5

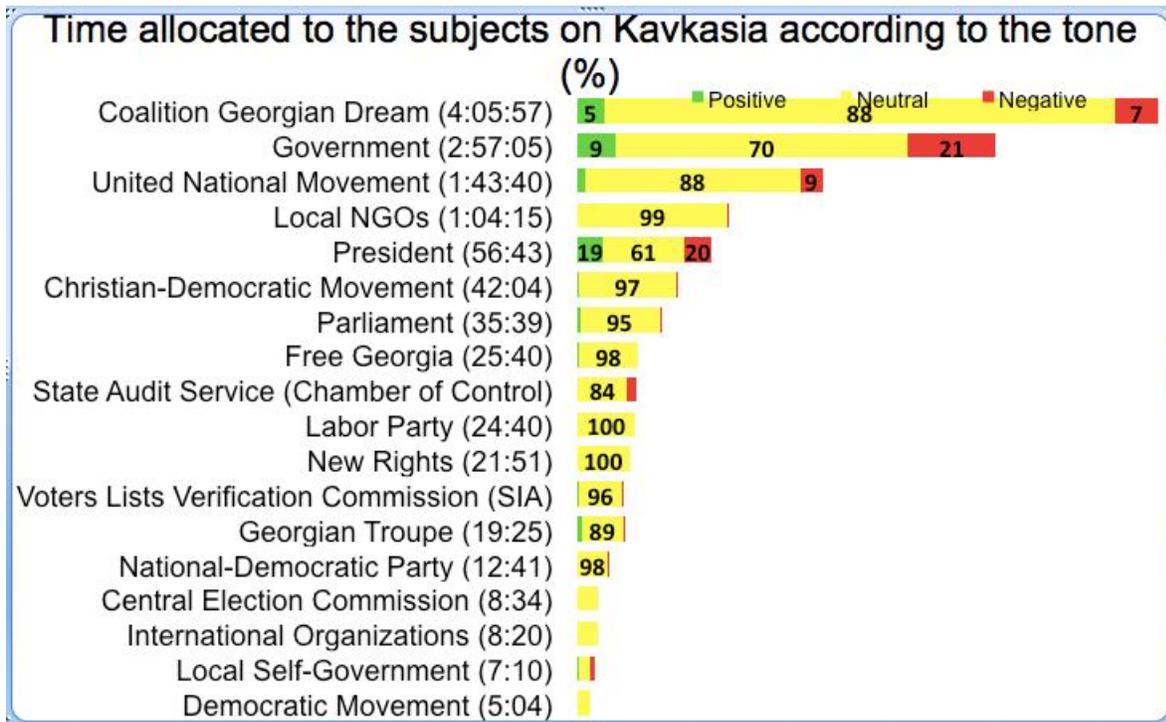


Diagram - Tone J5

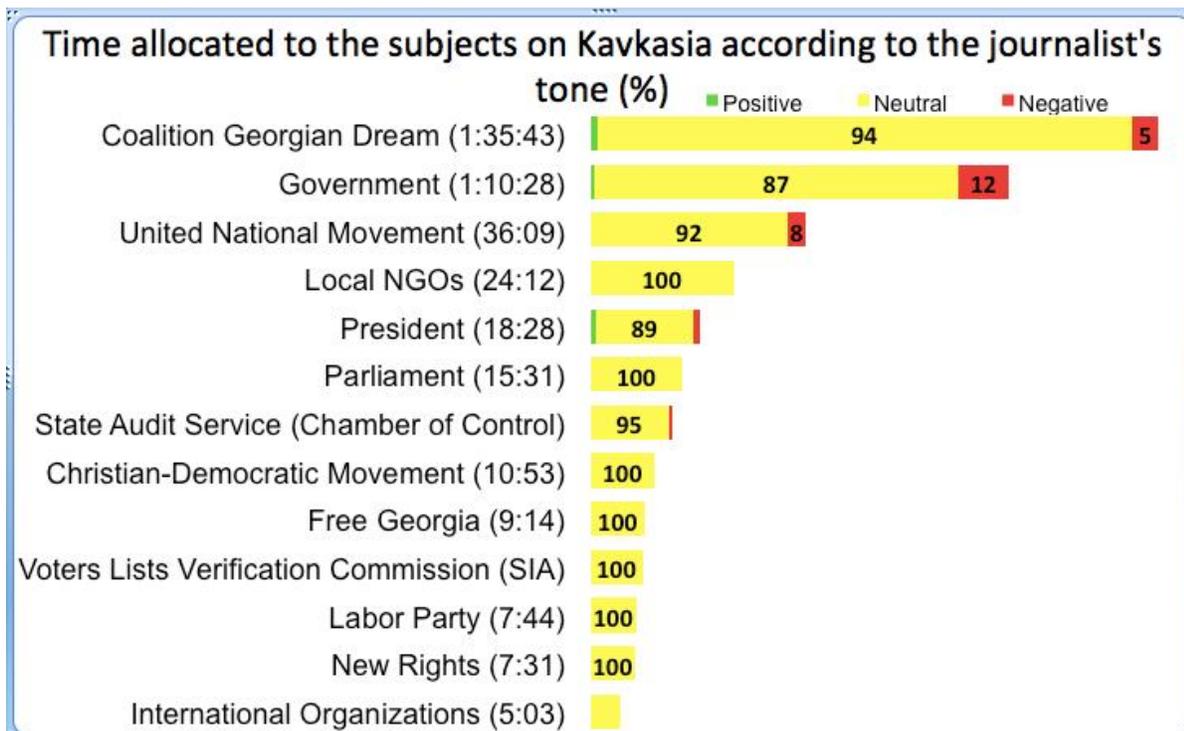


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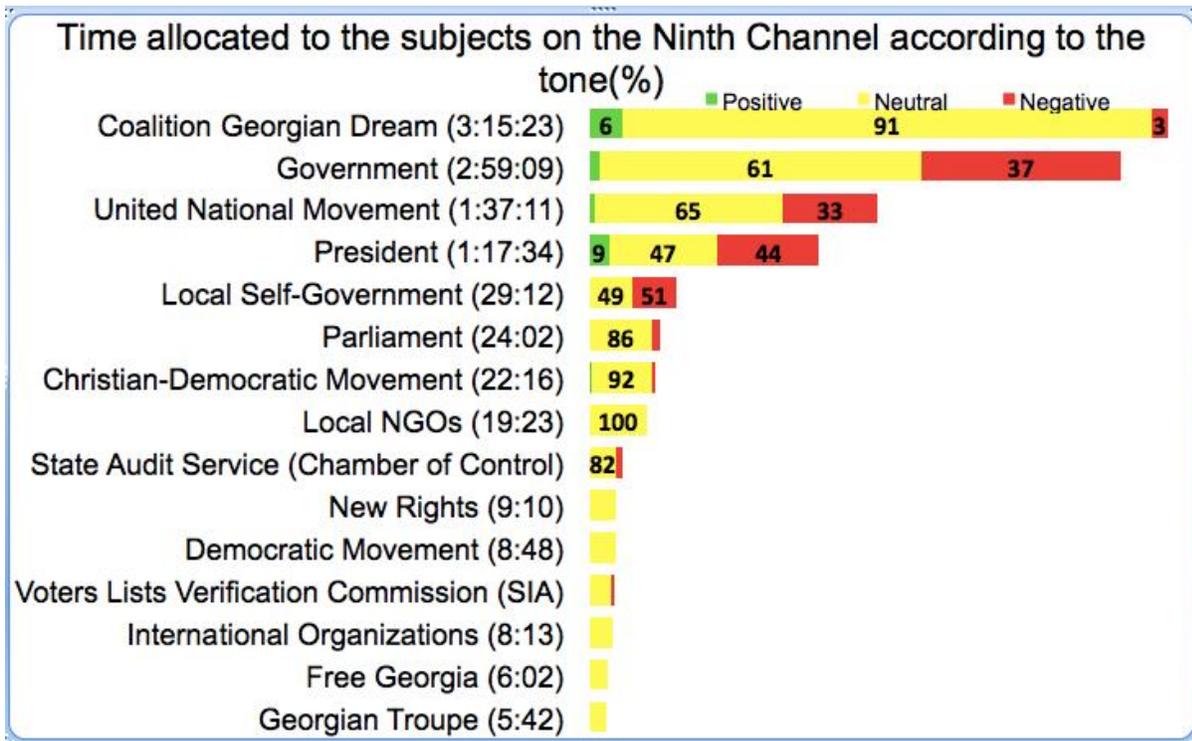


Diagram - Tone J6

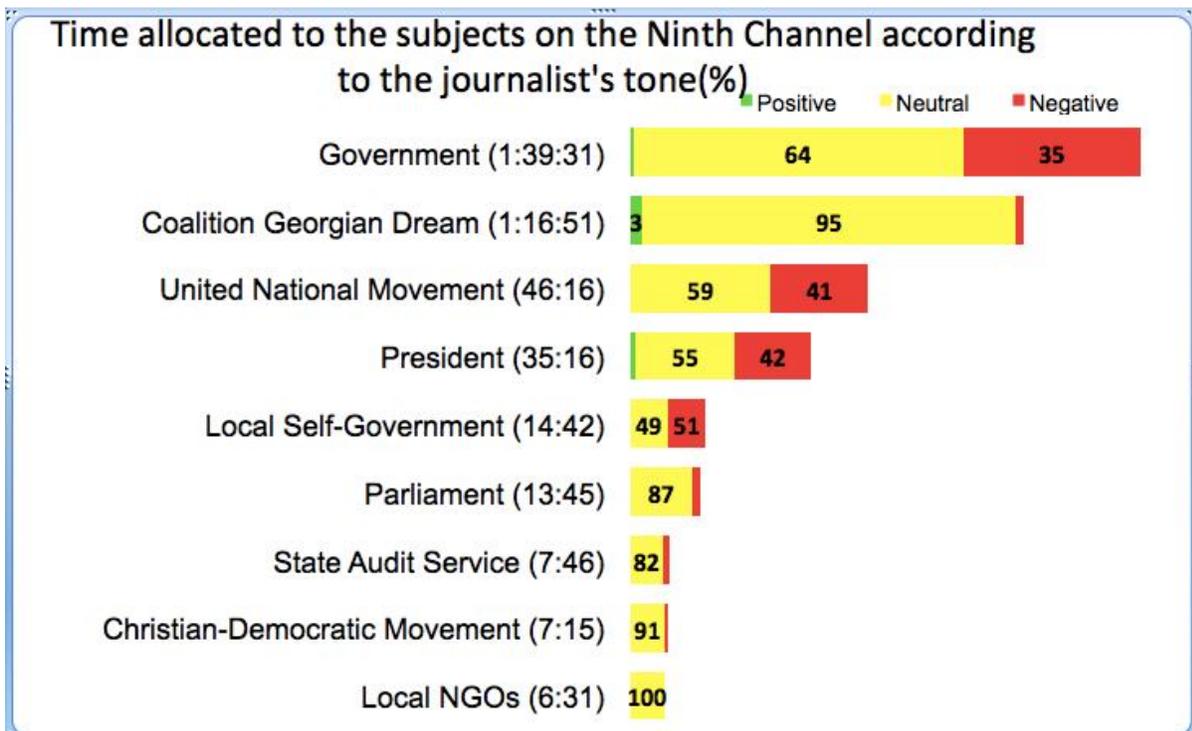


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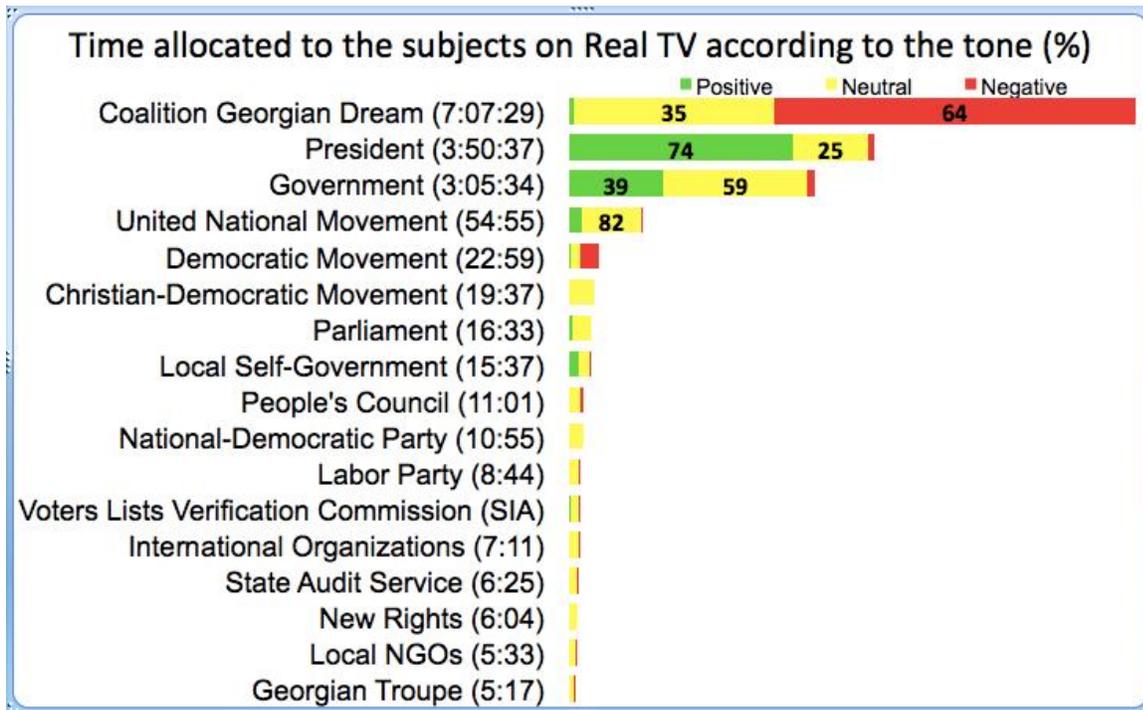


Diagram - Tone J7

