



## Pre-election media Monitoring

3-16 July, 2012

The following are the key findings of the media monitoring for the period of 3-16 July:

- Other than the First Channel and Real TV, the government dominates on all the channels in terms of the allocated time, while the Coalition Georgian Dream comes second.
- Time distribution among subjects is equal on the First Channel, while it is the most disproportionate on the Real TV.
- From the five channels where the most time is allocated to the government, more than 40% of direct speech was observed on Rustavi2 and Imedi channels, yet less than 30% of direct speech - on Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel.
- In case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, direct speech on Rustavi2 and Imedi is comparatively less. However, almost the equal distribution of direct and indirect speech was marked at Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel.
- On the First Channel, almost all the subjects except the government has more than 50 per cent of direct speech.
- In terms of the tone of coverage the First Channel, Kavkasia and Maestro are marked with more neutral coverage than other channels.
- Rustavi 2 and Imedi show almost the same figures regarding the tone of coverage. The government, Christian-Democratic Movement and the President got positive tone on both channels, specifically 45-61%. The negative tone for the Coalition Georgian Dream is more than 53%.
- The Ninth Channel was marked with more negative than positive tone of coverage. The coverage of government representatives was 30-51% negative of all the time.
- The highest negative coverage, 65%, of the Coalition Georgian Dream was observed on Real TV. Positive coverage in case of the government and the president is more than 40%.

- On the First Channel the journalists' speech about the subjects, other than 3 subjects, was 100% neutral.
- Journalist's tone distribution on Rustavi 2, Imedi, Ninth Channel and Real TV is the same as the general tone distribution.
- Journalist's tone on Kavkasia and Maestro is mostly neutral. On the both channels the government was allocated 18% of negative tone on each of the two channels.
- On Real TV journalist's tone towards the Coalition Georgian Dream is higher (69%) than the general share of negative tone (65%).

## **Methodology and Analysis**

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

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

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

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

time is also evaluated. Attention is paid to the text of a journalist or a respondent, and also to the overall context of the news item.

Tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects is given in two ways: evaluation of total time allocated to the subjects on a given channel based on the tone, and tone of coverage/mentioning of subjects by a certain journalist. The coverage tone is given in percentage. In the first case, 100 per cent equals the total time of talking about a subject on a particular channel, and also the time of talking about this subject by journalists. The subjects, to which less than 1 minute was allocated in each case, are not represented on the diagrams, because it may lead to an erroneous impression, say, for example, a subject who was mentioned for 2 seconds without a negative tone, would have a 100 percent negative or positive tone.

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

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

Based on these components, the results of monitoring of news releases are provided for the period of July 3 - 16 per channels.

### **The First Channel**

*Time allocated to subjects was evenly distributed on the First Channel. Coverage seems to be more neutral towards the presented subjects. News headlines are also neutral and descriptive on the First Channel. In terms of the coverage of presented respondents, except for rare cases, they were always balanced. As for the fact-based coverage by a journalist, on the First Channel the coverage was always supported by facts.*

During the monitoring period (3-16 July) the time allocated to subjects was equally distributed among the subjects and there was no significant difference observed in percentage. It is worth mentioning that in terms of time allocation, 17% was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream, which is topping the chart, while on all other channels the biggest time share is not less than 28%. The Christian-Democratic Movement (17%) and the government (11%) are among the top three along with the Coalition Georgian Dream (See the Diagram: Time 1).

If we look at the first 6 subjects in terms of time allocated for direct and indirect speech, the share of direct speech prevails – it is always more than 60% except for the government with only 22% of direct speech (See the Diagram: Speech 1).

In terms of tone during the time allocated to subjects it is worth mentioning that the coverage of the subjects is mostly neutral. The most neutral tone was granted to the president and the Christian-Democratic party – 48% and 19%, respectively. The government was reported to get 13% and the Coalition Georgian Dream – 6%. According to negative tone, the most negative tone was given to the government (23%) and the United National Movement (15%). The Coalition Georgian Dream was negatively reported in 4% of cases (See the Diagram: Tone 1).

According to journalist's tone, it should be mentioned that it was neutral towards all subjects except for the three: Coalition Georgian Dream, the government and the United National Movement. Even in this case neutral tone does not fall lower than 96% (See the Diagram: Tone J1).

During the monitoring, the news items are monitored as a whole, and we pin down the general impression regarding one specific subject. It shall be noted that the reports on the First Channel are mostly neutral towards the presented subjects. However, there are cases when the news items tend to be more positive towards government representatives or opt to be more negative towards the government or the Coalition Georgian Dream. It should be noted that the general positive impression is conditioned by the direct speech of subjects and presented facts (e.g. report of 16 July "Insurance Policy Cards" in which Saakashvili heartily shakes hands with a pensioner and thanks her) and negative impressions is created by respondent's comments (e.g. 12 July report "Labor Party Briefing" in which Paata Jibladze negatively talks about Ivanishvili as well as the government thus creating a negative impression on both subjects). Journalists' content/text is mostly neutral.

Headlines of news items on the First Channel can be described as neutral and descriptive.

According to presented respondents, the reports on the First Channel, except for rare cases, are always balanced presenting interviews of various parties involved in the story.

As for fact-based reporting (respondents' comments, shots, indication of source of information) the reports on the First Channel are always presented.

During the monitoring period of 3-16 July one mistake was reported: In the story of 9<sup>th</sup> July "OSCE Resolution" a journalist said that OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has a new President - Riccardo Migliori. Simultaneously there was a background of Parliamentary Assembly hall shown where MPs were greeting a new President. Following that there was a Chairperson's comment with wrong indication of the name and title of the Chairperson (Matea Mecachi, member of OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Member). Nevertheless, based on a story that person must have been a new Chairperson.

## **Rustavi 2**

*According to the time allocation, the government, the Coalition Georgian Dream, the President and the Christian-Democratic Movement are among the top four. 3 main tendencies were observed on Rustavi 2: 1) the reports which are more balanced and impartial are comparatively short; 2) often there are reports the general impression of which tends to be more positive, especially towards the President, the government and the Christian-Democratic Movement; 3) Also, frequently there are cases where the Coalition Georgian Dream representatives are presented in a negative context. Report headlines are mostly informative and neutral. Sources in reports are mostly balanced.*

According to time allocated to the subjects during 3-16 July the government, the Coalition Georgian Dream, the President and the Christian-Democratic Movement are among the top four. The government was allocated 28% of the total time allocated to the subjects, the coalition - 18%, the President and the Christian-Democratic Movement - 15% and 14%, respectively. All other subjects received 6% or even less (See the Diagram: Time 2).

In terms of direct and indirect speech it is interesting that in case of the government, which was allocated the most time (1 hr. 25 min.), direct and indirect speech is evenly distributed (46% of direct speech, and 54% of indirect one). The Coalition Georgian Dream was given 39% of direct speech out of total 56 minutes. The rest of the subjects with more than 10 minutes of coverage are reported to have more than 60% of direct speech (See the Diagram: Speech 2).

Tone used during the time allocated to subjects is reported to be diverse. Significant share of positive and negative tone is observed. It's worth mentioning that the government was

dedicated 52% of positive and only 5% of negative tone. Positive tone prevails in case of the President (61%). The Christian-Democratic Movement is reported to have a big share of positive tone – 45%. The coalition Georgian Dream which comes the second with regards to the allocated time (almost 1 hr) has 58% of negative tone (See the Diagram: Tone 2).

The same can be said with regards to journalist's tone. The government, the President and the Christian-Democratic Movement were granted the most time with positive tone (the government and the Christian-Democratic Movement got 30%, the President – 41%), the Coalition Georgian Dream – 63% of negative tone (See the Diagram: Tone J2). For instance, in the news item of 6 July about the critical response in the European Parliament regarding the Georgian Dream a journalist reported: "Tina Khidasheli complained about the knowledge of English of media outlets. Although, logically, the media could also have a claim regarding the knowledge of maths of the leader of the Republican Party". In the story of 16 July "Controversial Statements" a journalist says: "After stepping down from a podium and being deprived of a prompter and a specially written speech, Bidzina Ivanishvili got back to the previous version and his genuine opinion".

As for general opinion, during 3-16 July three tendencies have been reported:

1. Balanced and informative reports are comparatively short.
2. Frequently there are reports with general impression being prone to be positive towards the President and the government, and sometimes towards the Christian-Democratic Movement. For instance, in 12 July report "Rehabilitation Works in Kobuleti" where the President was talking to a foreign tourist and children were chanting the President's name. He stopped and started to shake their hands and to hug them. The President was greeted by the visitors from the beach. Moreover, a journalist positively describes the construction process thus creating a positive background.<sup>1</sup>

In the news item of 6 July "Prime Minister in Terjola" Vano Merabishvili is portrayed in a positive context – the way he talks to local rural population 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.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> To see the video please follow a link:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBv5ehIyU&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>2</sup> To see the video please follow a link:

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=36yUwPF\\_mDY&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=36yUwPF_mDY&feature=youtu.be)

During July 3-16 Rustavi 2 was reporting on the activities of the Christian-Democratic Movement every single day and mostly in a positive context. 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). In all the above stories the Christian-Democratic Movement is presented in a very positive way.

3. Frequently there are the reports where the Coalition Georgian Dream members are shown in a negative context – either the respondents are negatively talking about them or negative shots are used. For instance: 12 July report “Contradiction in Karaleti” shows one of the coalition leaders Kakhi Kaladze fighting and swearing. All the citizens interviewed in the report are negatively speaking about the coalition. Journalist's tone is often negative and blames directly Kaladze and his surroundings for confrontation. Facts of fighting are frequently shown in the report thus creating negative background for the coalition.

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 negatively shading Bidzina Ivanishvili. In the same report a journalist vividly creates negative impression on Ivanishvili's candidate, a son of 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 a journalist makes impression even more negative.<sup>3</sup>

News headlines are mostly informative and neutral. No extremely positive or negative tone in headlines during the monitoring period of 3-16 July was observed.

Rustavi 2 reports in terms of sources are mostly balanced. There were only few reports where comments from the coalition representatives seemed to be needed.

## **Imedi**

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<sup>3</sup> To see video please follow the link: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yI3137\\_nukA&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yI3137_nukA&feature=youtu.be)

*In the given monitoring period the findings of Rustavi 2 and Imedi are identical. The same subjects make up the top four. Some reports often tend to be positive to the government representatives and Christian-Democratic Movement. Also, there are reports that often tend to be negative to the Coalition Georgian Dream. Some headlines are reported to be significantly negative. In terms of presented respondents, the news items are more or less balanced. In some reports there was a need for a comment by the Coalition Georgian Dream representatives. Number of news where journalists' conclusions and facts presented in reports do not coincide were reported.*

In the given monitoring period the findings of Rustavi 2 and Imedi are identical. On Imedi channel, as well as on Rustavi 2, the most time was dedicated to the government – 28%. The same subjects are among the top four in the similar sequence: government (28%), the Coalition Georgian Dream (20%), the President (19%) and the Christian-Democratic Movement (12%). Other subjects were allocated 5% and even less (See the Diagram: Time 3).

In regards to direct and indirect speech, distribution in case of the government, which was allocated the most of the time (1 hr. and 1 min.), is more or less even (43% of direct speech, 57% of indirect one). The President and the Coalition Georgian Dream were dedicated almost equal duration (the President - 1 hr. 1 min, the coalition – 1 hr. 4 min). However, the share of direct speech in case of the president is 73%, while the Coalition Georgian Dream – only 34%. As for other subjects, which were covered for more than 10 minutes, share of direct speech is always more than 50% (See the Diagram: Speech 3).

According to time distribution by tone, some subjects were reported to have been granted big share of positive and negative tone. From the total time allocated to the government (1 hr. 44 min) 45% of positive tone and only 3% of negative tone is reported. Positive tone dominates in case of the government as well (58%). The Christian-Democratic Movement also received high indicator of positive tone – 44%. As for the Coalition Georgian Dream, which comes the second in the chart (1 hr. 10 min), got 53% of negative tone (See the Diagram: Tone 3).

According to journalists' tone general tone tendency is repeated here. The President, the Christian-Democratic Movement and the government possess the biggest share of positive tone (38%, 23% and 31%), the Coalition Georgian Dream though – the most negative tone – 52% (See the Diagram: Tone J3).

As for general impression of reports, it is worth mentioning that they tend to be positive towards government representatives, specifically, Mikheil Saakashvili, Vano Merabishvili and David Bakradze. Also, very often reports are positive towards Christian-Democratic

Movement. Frequently Imedi channel reports are prone to be negative towards the Coalition Georgian Dream.

For example, the story of 11 July “New Insurance Policy” reports how Zurab Chiaberashvili and Vano Merabishvili visited the Imerlishvilis family. Chiaberashvili hugs one of the family members, Merabishvili shakes hands with children. Following that they hand over an insurance policy to family members. In the report both government representatives are positively portrayed.

12 July report on the President’s visit to Kobuleti was very positive. It was reported that Mr. Saakashvili visited all the 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 shake hands with 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 local population. Children are chanting “Misha, Misha” and Saakashvili hugs them. Positive tone of the report is supported by a journalist’s comment: “Mikheil Saakashvili unexpectedly visited Rustaveli Street in Kobuleti spurring special feelings of local people”.<sup>4</sup>

For example: 10 July story “Christian-Democratic Movement in Gori municipality” reports on Magda Anikashvili’s visit to Gori, how she talks to the local population, puts on a doctor’s uniform and talks to the patients, she even check pressure to one of them. The local population surrounds her and listens to her. Also, 12 July story reports on Giorgi Targamadze’s visit to Zestaponi - how the Christian-Democratic Movement representatives are involved in household activities; they go to markets and check on prices; they meet the locals in trains. The report shows Giorgi Targamadze who talks about people’s problems keeping his hand around the neck of a kid.

For example, 12 July story “6 millions for Javakhishvili: what for did Ivanishvili and Khvedelidze transfer the money?” created negative impression on Ivanishvili and his Georgian Dream for, as reported, they had been involved in financial scandals number of times.

The same day there was a report “Majoritarians 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 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

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<sup>4</sup> To see the video please follow the link:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c4bo1oROtMU&feature=youtu.be>

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.

13 July report “Kaladze and a Weapon: What happened in Karaleti?” is about a conflict among 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.

During the monitoring period of 3-16 July often Imedi reports did not have neutral and informative headlines. There were cases, when significantly negative headlines were reported, that, of course, would give negative shade to the entire story. For instance, 6 July - “Back to USSR: Soviet Dream”; 10 July - “Kaladze’s August” - Russian Position of “Georgian Dream”?; 12 July - “Majoritarian candidates of the Dream - sportsmen, Santa Clause and Tbilisi”; 16 July - “Ergneti of the “Dream”: “Black Hole” - Ivanishvili’s pre-election promise.

It is worth mentioning that in the story of 11 July “Berdzenishvili vs Ivanishvili: Sensational Statement”, which is structured based on Levan Berdzenishvili’s interview on Maestro TV where he was commenting on the appointment of Vano Merabishvili on the position of Prime Minister. At the talk show Levan Berdzenishvili errs and says Ivanishvili while he means Merabishvili. In the beginning of the news an anchor rightly comments that Berdzenishvili is very critical towards the Prime Minister. Nevertheless, news title refers to Berdzenishvili-Ivanishvili confrontation.<sup>5</sup>

As for interviewed respondents, the reports are sometimes balanced and sometimes imbalanced. In some cases there was a need for a comment by the coalition Georgian Dream representative.

With regards to correlation between journalists’ conclusion and presented facts number of cases have been reported. For instance 14 July story “Ivanishvili’s “August” and Ergneti: “Dream” Leader’s Changing Statements”. In the story a journalist says that Ivanishvili called Karaleti population sonderkommandos and miserables. However, following that Ivanishvili never mentions that he ever called them so. His interview is not full; 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

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<sup>5</sup> To see the video please follow the link:  
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k\\_THq5lPjo8&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_THq5lPjo8&feature=youtu.be)

his interview is cut, thus whom he called “sonderkommandos” and what he meant in this particular context is ambiguous.

## **Maestro**

*In terms of time allocation the government and the coalition Georgian Dream are among the top two. General impression of the reports on government representatives is mostly negative. News headlines were informative and sometimes critical. In terms of interviewed respondents, mostly the reports balanced. Number of cases of inconsistency between a journalist's report and a respondents' comment was observed.*

The most time was dedicated to the government – 30%. The second comes the Coalition Georgian Dream (21%). The third and fourth places were shared among the United National Movement and the President (11 % each). All the other subjects were allocated 6 and even lesser percent of total time (See the Diagram: Time 4).

Monitoring of Maestro news revealed that out of four subjects, which were allocated the most of the time, the government (1 hr. 10 min.) has the smallest share of direct speech – 22%. Direct and indirect speech of the Coalition Georgian Dream, the United National Movement and the President were proportionally distributed (See the Diagram: Speech 4).

According to time allocation by tone neutral tone is widely used. It's worth mentioning that on Maestro channel during the monitoring period both positive and negative tones were used towards the top four subjects. Yet, the most negative tone (26%) was used towards the government, the United National Movement and the President got 19% and 18% of negative tone. The Coalition Georgian Dream was given only 4% of negative tone. It is worth mentioning here that local self-government, which was allocated 10 minutes, got 56% of negative tone. As for positive tones, positive coverage of the top four subjects ranges between 6 and 13 per cent (See the Diagram: Tone 4).

According to time allocated by journalists' tone, tendency here is preserved. The most negative tone was monitoring towards the following subjects: the government (18%), the United National Movement (17%), the President (16%), local self-government (47%) (See the Diagram: Tone J4).

Monitoring of reports in light of general impression revealed that the coverage of the government structures, the President, the Prime Minister, Tbilisi Mayor and local self-government is mostly negative. The reason can be presented respondents. For instance, 11 July story “Action 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 government and the United National Party. Although journalist’s text is neutral, the negative comments by respondents interviewed change the overall tone towards negative.

It should be pointed out that 13 July report “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.

Interesting is the coverage of an incident taking place 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 reaction/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.<sup>6</sup>

Maestro news headlines are mostly informative and sometimes critical.

The coverage in terms of presented respondents is mostly balanced. However, it should be noted that imbalanced coverage are those which lack comments/feedback of the government or the Chamber of Control. Yet, such reports are few.

The cases of inconsistency between journalists’ comments and those of respondents have been observed. One of the examples of this is 3 July report “From the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of Interior: then Minister of Defense will manage 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 attorney, though negatively speaking about Bacho Akhalaia never blames him of pounding.

It is worth mentioning that in 16 July report regarding seized antennas owned of Maestro Lasha Tughushi’s interview was repeated twice, slightly changed though, with a 30 second interval. There is an impression that it is not a technical problem but this mechanism is used to make a negative impression stronger.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> To see video please follow a link: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wNXesz\\_STb8&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wNXesz_STb8&feature=youtu.be)

<sup>7</sup> To see video please follow a link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NkNEYSHC9zY&feature=youtu.be>

## Kavkasia

*There are two subjects which were allocated more time than others: the government and the Coalition Georgian Dream. In many cases the coverage is neutral. However, the reports where government representatives are covered tend to be more negative. News reports do not have headlines that makes the monitoring difficult. In terms of the presented respondents, reports are more or less balanced. Coverage is supported by facts and respondents' comments. Cases of inconsistency between journalists' and respondents comments are rare.*

According to time allocated to subjects only two subjects can be singled out as they were dedicated the most of the time: the government (29%) and the Coalition Georgian Dream (24%). All other subjects were allocated 8 or even lesser per cent (See the Diagram: Time 5).

In terms of direct and indirect speech it is worth mentioning that direct and indirect speech of the coalition Georgian Dream is more evenly distributed (53% of direct and 47% of indirect speech), that those of the government, where direct speech is 29%. Direct speech of the majority of other subjects is not less than 50% (See the Diagram: Speech 5).

According to tone mention shall be given to the fact that neutral coverage dominates towards all subjects. The most negative tone was used towards the government – 27%. The President has 17% of negative tone, the Coalition Georgian Dream – 8%. As for positive tone, the most positive tone was used towards the government (8% of 54 minutes) and the president (10% of 11 minutes) (See the Diagram: Tone 5).

According to journalist's tone, the reports are mostly neutral. Only towards the government negative tone was reported – 18% (See the Diagram: Tone J5).

General impression of Kavkasia reports are in most cases neutral; however, where government representatives are covered (the president, the government, leading party) general impression tends to be negative. For instance, in 13 July report regarding seizure of Maestro antennas the sources of information negatively talk about the government and the journalist is repeating their words.

Reports on Kavkasia do not have headlines, therefore no monitoring is possible.

Reports on Kavkasia are more or less balanced. The reports are imbalanced when there is a lack of the comments by the government representatives.

The reports are supported with pictures and respondents' comments. With regards to the inconsistencies between journalists' comments and materials used in reports, the report of 5 July is interesting on the statement made by a Social-Democratic party member about the appointment of Vano Merabishvili for the position of the Prime Minister. The journalist stated that the Social-Democratic Party reckoned that "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 only says that the program presented by the National Movement is completely different from the program developed by them earlier.<sup>8</sup>

During the period of 3-16 July there were number of technical mistakes and errors observed. Some reports lacked identification of respondents. The news item of 7 July on OSCE 10-point document shows a completely different picture.

## **Ninth Channel**

*The most of the time was allocated to the government and the coalition Georgian Dream. The government representatives are covered in negative context. News headlines are for the most part informative. However, sometimes critical and ironic comments towards the government have been observed. In terms of presenting various opinions in the reports, the coverage on Kavkasia channel is more or less balanced.*

On the Ninth Channel time was unevenly distributed among the subjects. The most time was dedicated to the government - 38%, the coalition Georgian Dream - 22%. The President and the United National Movement - 10 and 9 per cent. Local self-government was dedicated 6%. The remaining subjects were given 2 and lesser percent (See the Diagram: Time 6).

According to direct and indirect speech allocation the Coalition Georgian Dream has the most even distribution (52% of direct and 48% of indirect speech) among the subjects that were dedicated more than 9 minutes during the monitoring period. The United National Movement, the president and local self-government share the similar direct speech share - only 35-39 per cent. As for the government, which was allocated the most of the time on this channel (almost 1 hr.) got only 16% of direct speech (See the Diagram: Speech 6).

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<sup>8</sup> To see video please follow a link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g77XSdof-60&feature=youtu.be>

Tone is interesting especially regarding the subjects that were allocated more than 9 minutes – only the tone towards the Coalition Georgian Dream exceeds 90% of neutral tone. In case of the government and the President - neutral tone reaches 46-47 per cent. The government has 51% of negative tone, the President - 42%, the United National Movement – 30% and local self-government – 54% (See the Diagram: Tone 6).

According to journalists' tone here we have the same picture as with general tone. Negative tone share is clearly big towards the following subjects, like: the government (43% of 34 min.) and the United National Movement (40% of approx. 7 min.) (See the Diagram: Tone J6).

During the qualitative monitoring the tendency of negative coverage of the stories regarding the president, the government and local self-government representatives was observed. Negative coverage is enriched by the respondents' comments and journalists' texts.

For instance, 12 July report "Seized Plates: the Prosecutor's Office is Blamed for Fraudulent Activities" leaves negative impression on the Prosecutor's Office, the Interior Ministry and the government as such. A journalist questions the video recorded by the Ministry saying that in the video neither load nor date is shown. The General Director of TV company Maestro blames the Interior Ministry and the Prosecutor's Office for being involved in satellite antennas and they replace with the boxes with a Global TV name on them. Tamar Kordzaia, the member of the group "This Concerns You", describes this fact as a "rude interference into business". Negative is impression on Mikheil Saakashvili. In the end of the report Saakashvili does not respond to a journalist's question regarding the seized antennas.

In the same 10 July report on Akhlagori people negative impression is towards the local self-government and the government, by and large. Elderly respondent made the reports heavy by speaking about houses that, in his words, had been improperly distributed, compensation had not been paid and promised not kept.

For instance, 11 July report "Coordinators Directors" a journalist reports: "From Chakvi Oasis to Bazaleti resort, Order of Honour, money. All these - for national school principles."

News headlines on the Ninth Channel are informative. Although, there are reported critical and often ironical headlines are used towards the government. For instance: 9 July – "Nepotism in government: Brothers Kardava will assist Brothers Akhalaia."

As for presenting various opinions in the news items, the reports are more or less balanced from this standpoint. However, it is worth mentioning that in most cases reports lack comments/feedback of government representatives and government structures.

## **Real TV**

*Among the seven channels at the Real TV the highest percent was monitored towards only one subject - the Coalition Georgian Dream. Two tendencies have been observed: positive reports on the President and the government and clear negative coverage on the Coalition Georgian Dream. Also, there are many cases of negative headlines. Covered reports are sometimes balanced, sometimes not. However, it is worth mentioning that imbalanced coverage is caused mostly by lack of comments by the Coalition Georgian Dream representatives.*

Real TV is the only channel which allocated more than 40% of its total time to one subject and during the monitoring period this subject is the Coalition Georgian Dream. During 3-16 July the Coalition Georgian Dream was dedicated 43 of its time. Time was evenly distributed between the president and the government (21% and 20%). All other subjects were allocated 3% and even less (See the Diagram: Time 7).

According to direct and indirect speech allocation, among the three subjects that were dedicated more than 8 minutes, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest indicator of indirect speech (31% of 1 hr. 43 min.). The president got 74% of direct speech, the government - 42% (See the Diagram: Speech 7).

As for the tone of coverage, the Coalition Georgian Dream got 65% of negative coverage, while the government and the president got 42% and 56% respectively (See the Diagram: Tone 7).

When a journalist is talking about the subjects, it has been observed that in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream journalist's tone is even more negative - 69%. The government and the President are the subjects which have the highest positive tone in light of general tone as well as a journalist's tone (the government 12%, the president 32%). (See the Diagram: Tone J7)

According to general impression of Real TV reports, two tendencies have been reported: on the one hand there are positive reports on the government and the president, and on the other hand there are clearly negative reports on the Coalition Georgian Dream and its

members. In both cases general impression is created by a journalist's text, respondents' comments and used material.

For instance, 4 July report "Intoxication by Chlorine" describes the President's visit to a hospital. In the same news there was another report "New Cabinet of Ministers" where a journalist calls Shashkin "the generator of ideas". Also, the report aired on 9 July "Meeting of Population with the Prime Minister" positively portrays Vano Merabishvili – he hugs one of the local men and "hits a hand" of a child.

In order to give negative shade to the Coalition Georgian Dream Real TV often uses pictures/frames. For instance, 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 report was full of pictures and reports of the Soviet time and the respondents interviewed are often descendants of the ones subjected to 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 can serve as the best example of negative coverage both in terms of journalist's comments and materials 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 at Glass Palace".

Negative tone is created by respondents as well. For example, in the report on July 3 “Surrounding and Frightened Bidzina” the Labor party member Giorgi Gugava calls Bidzina Ivanishvili “Bidzina in Armors” and “A Knight in Glass Flask”.

On Real TV negative headlines are very frequent and all of them are related to the Coalition Georgian Dream. Examples are the following: 3 July - “Surrounding and Frightened Bidzina”; in 5 and 6 July news the first report was “European Failure of the Dream”; 9 July - “Self-satisfied Bidzina” and in the same news program - “Plagiarist Bidzina”; 16 July - “Ivanishvili - Plagiarist or Liar?”.

According to balanced coverage in terms of presenting the respondents, the reports can be said are sometimes balanced and sometimes not. However, imbalanced are the reports where there is a lack of comments from the Coalition Georgian Dream.

Mention shall be given to the fact that in the report aired on 6 July “European Failure of the Dream” a journalist provides false information. A journalist says that when searching Bidzina Ivanishvili through Google search engine, the following phrases pop up: Russian money, Russian Tycoon, Capital Collected in Russia, however no proof of the above-stated have been provided.

## Annexes - Diagrams

Diagram: Time 1

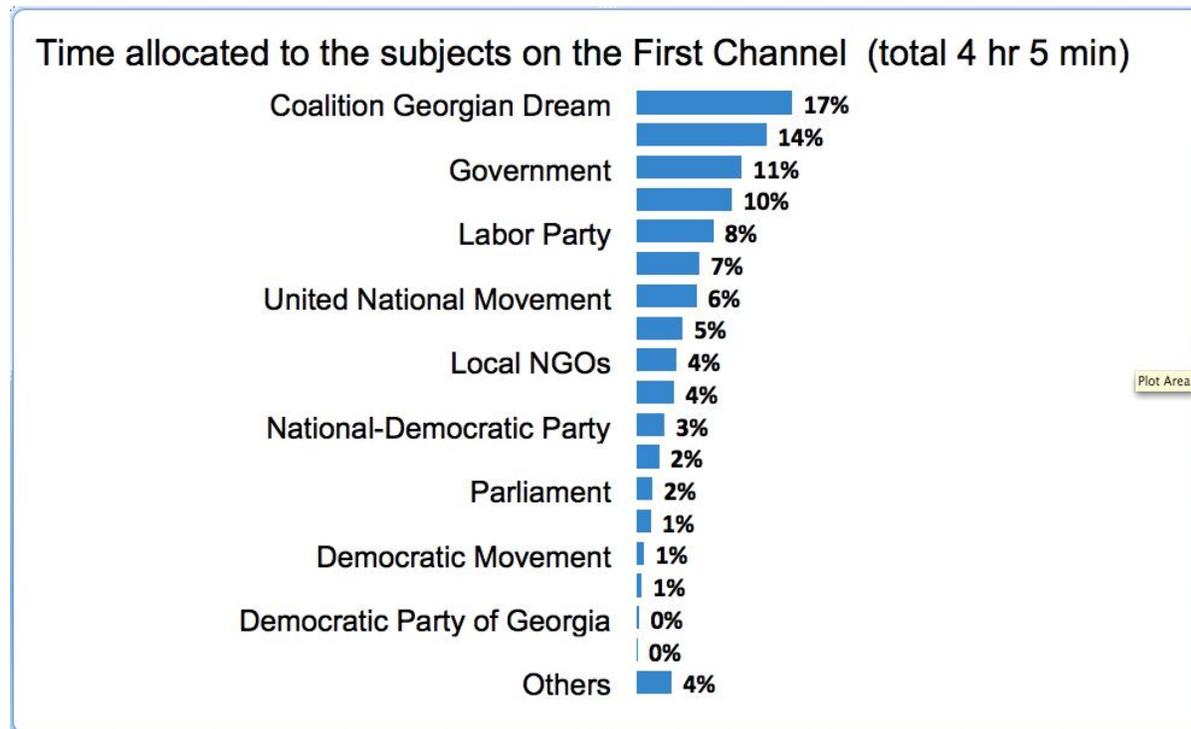


Diagram: Time 2

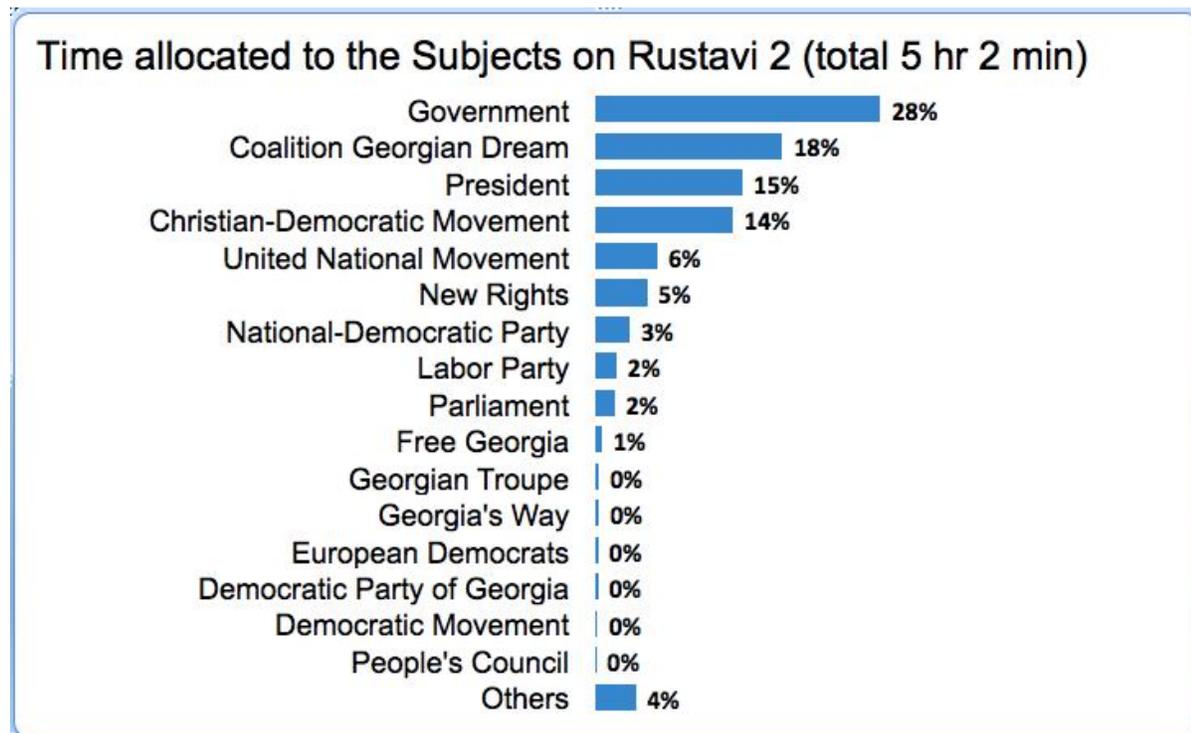


Diagram: Time 3

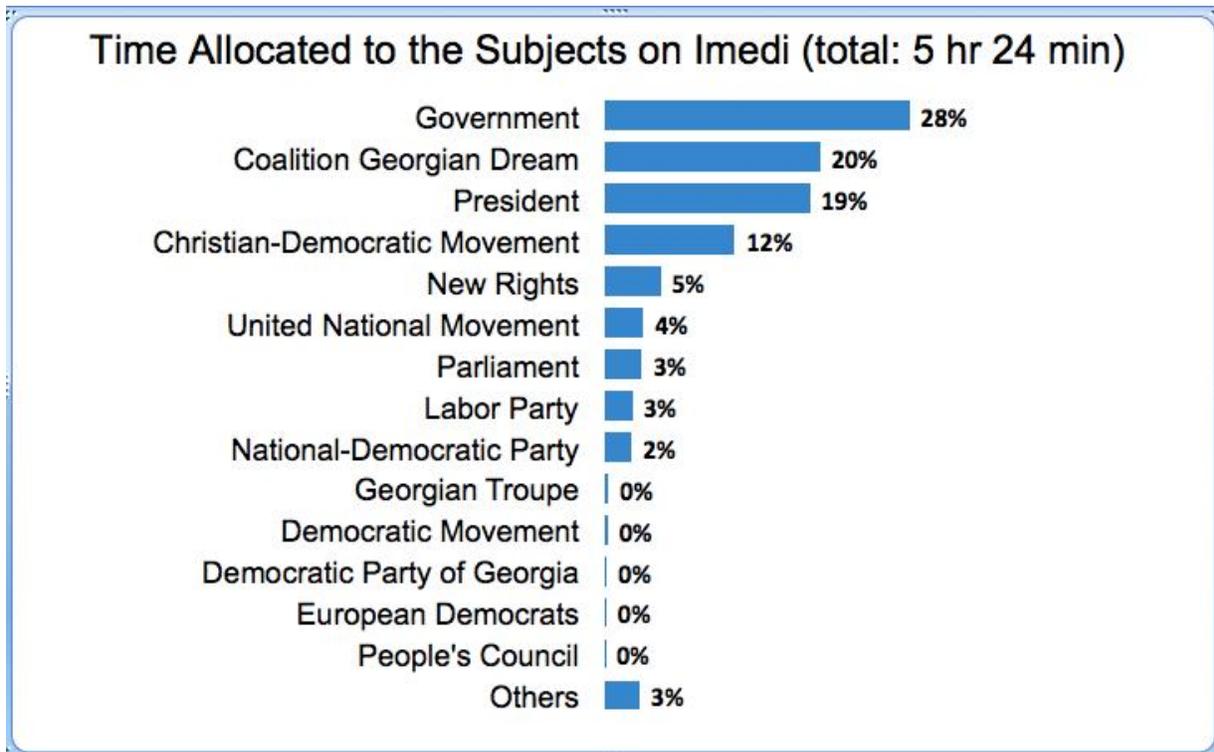


Diagram: Time 4

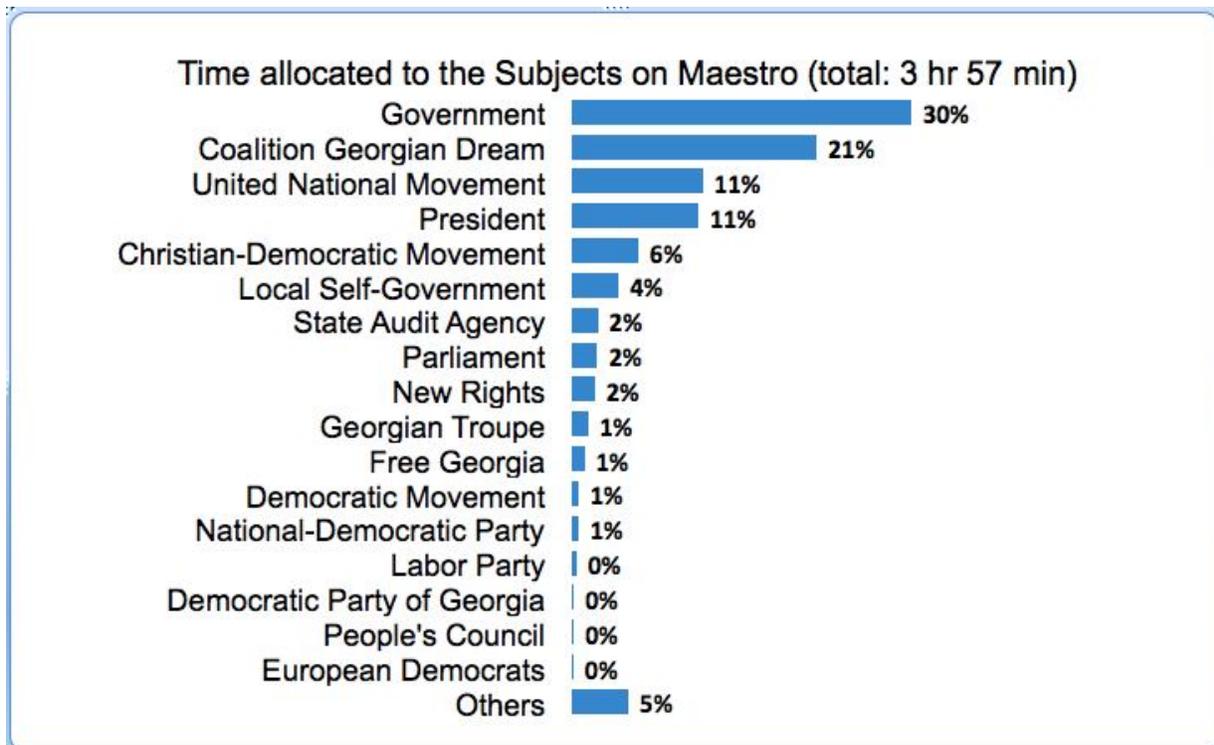


Diagram: Time 5

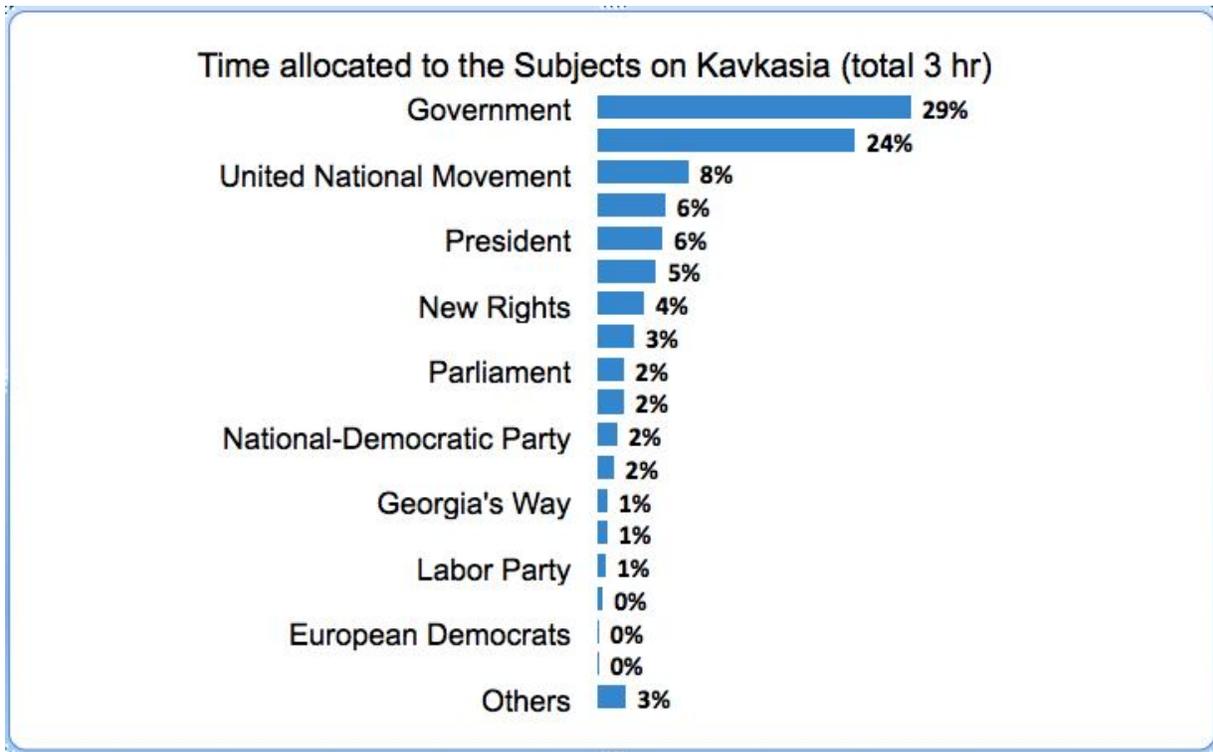


Diagram: Time 6

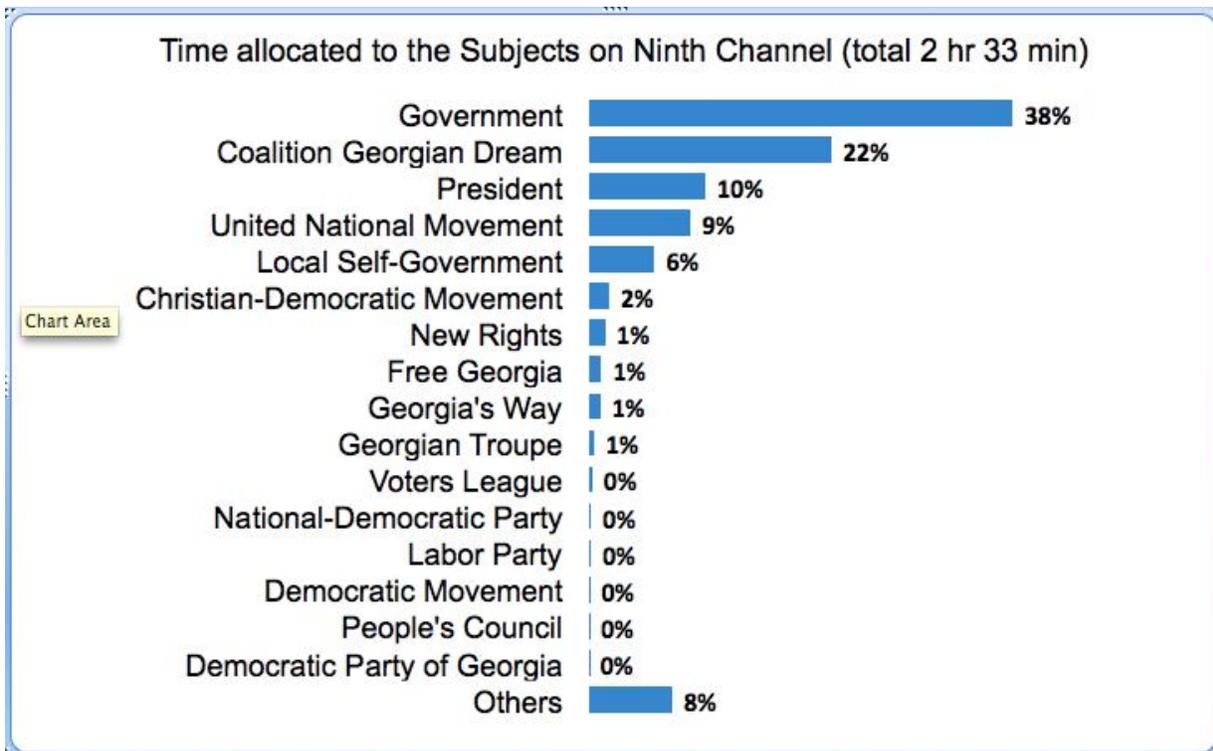


Diagram: Time 7

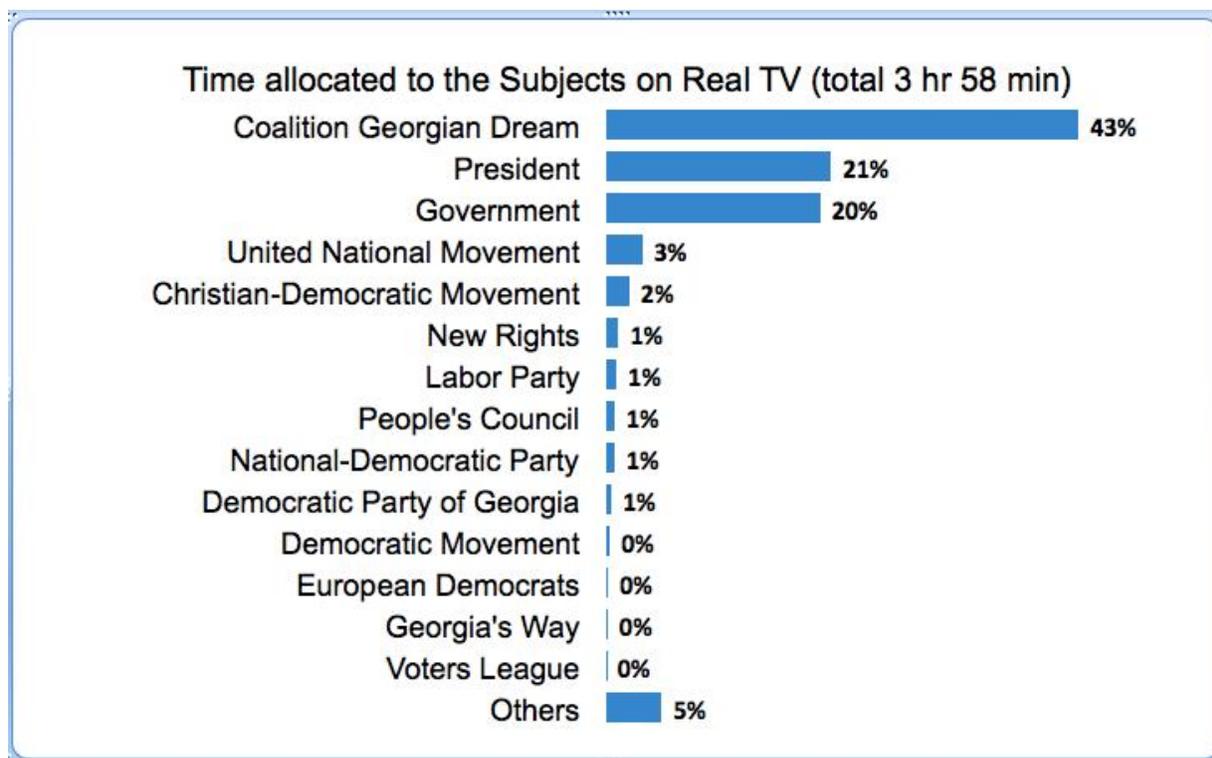


Diagram: Speech 1

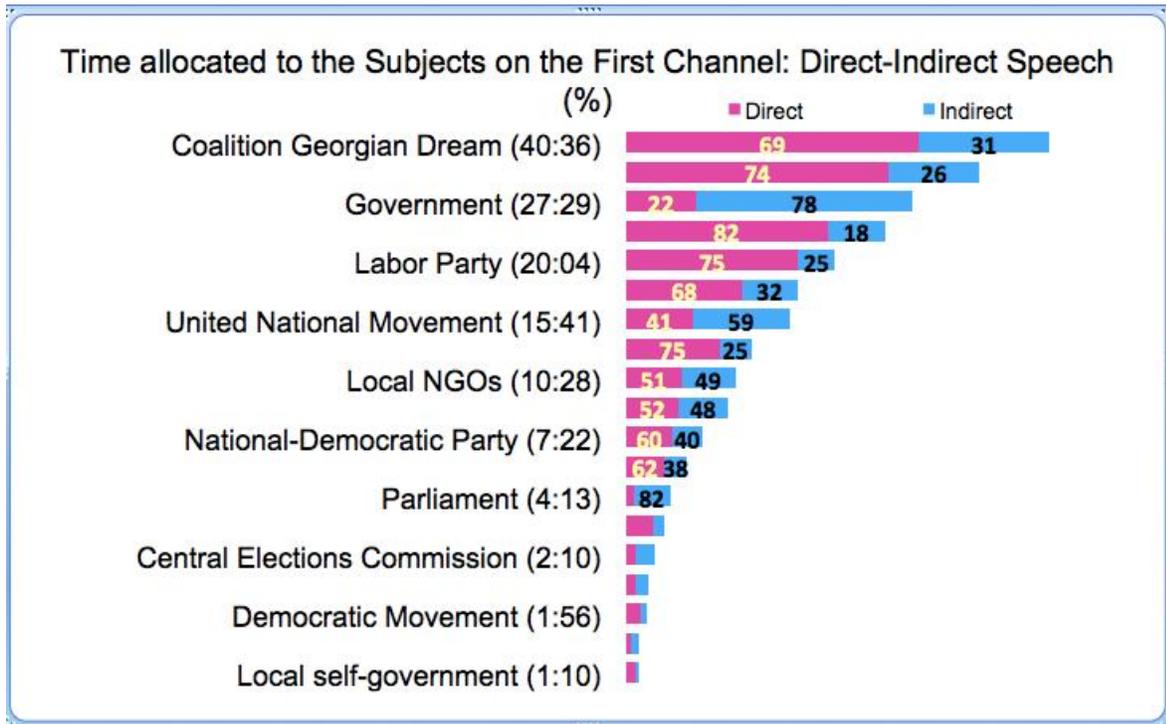


Diagram: Speech 2

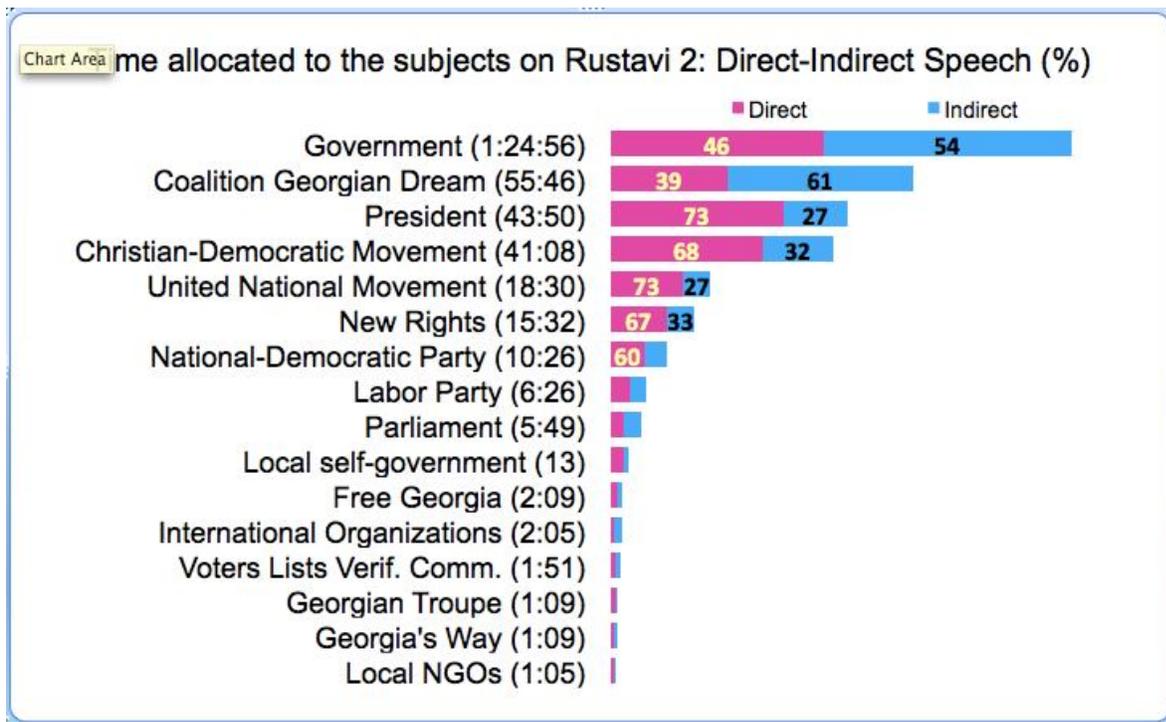


Diagram: Speech 3

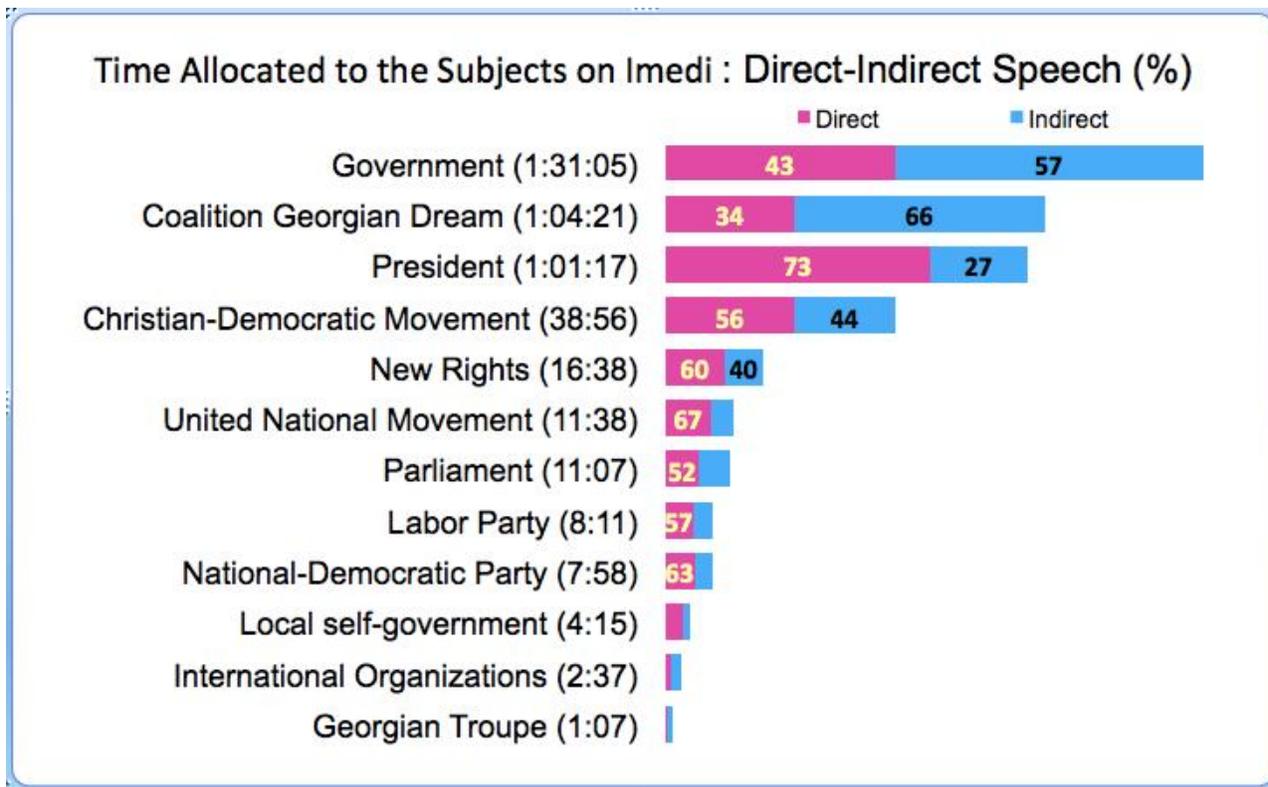


Diagram: Speech 4

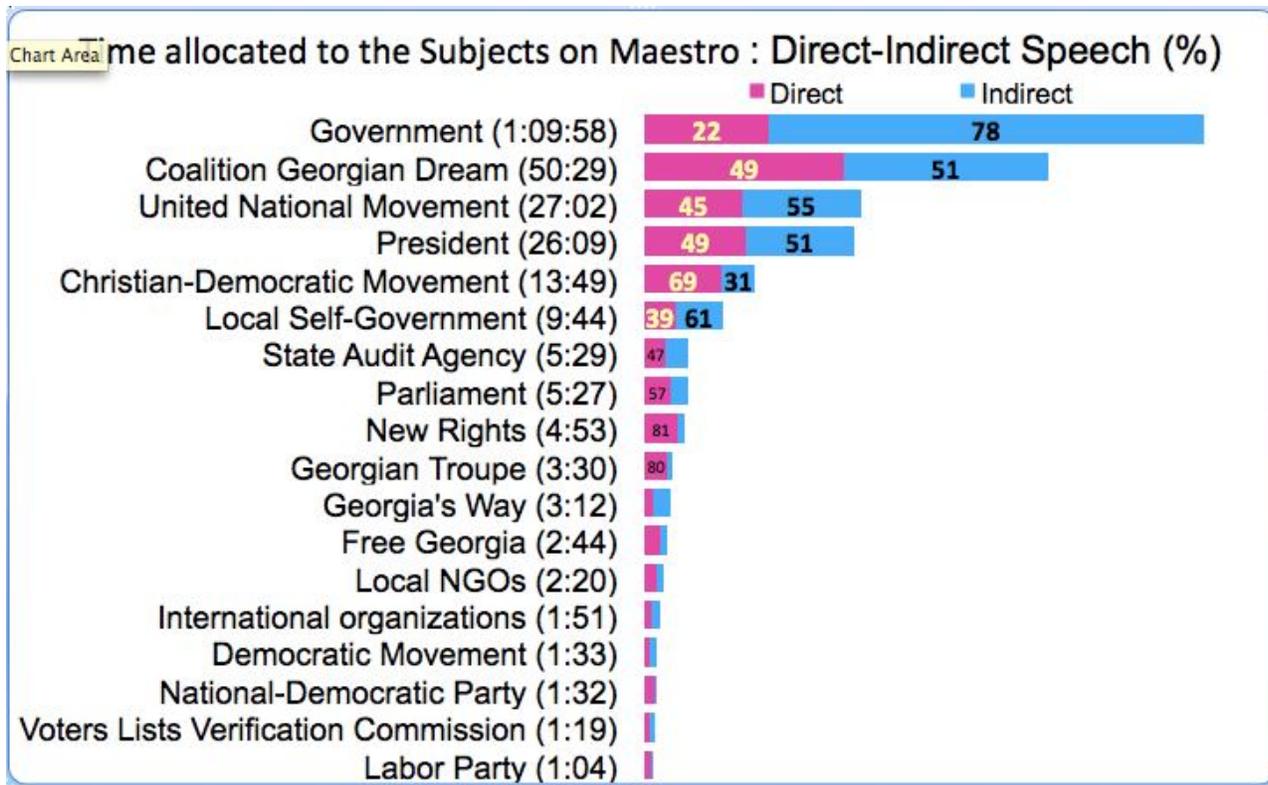


Diagram: Speech 5

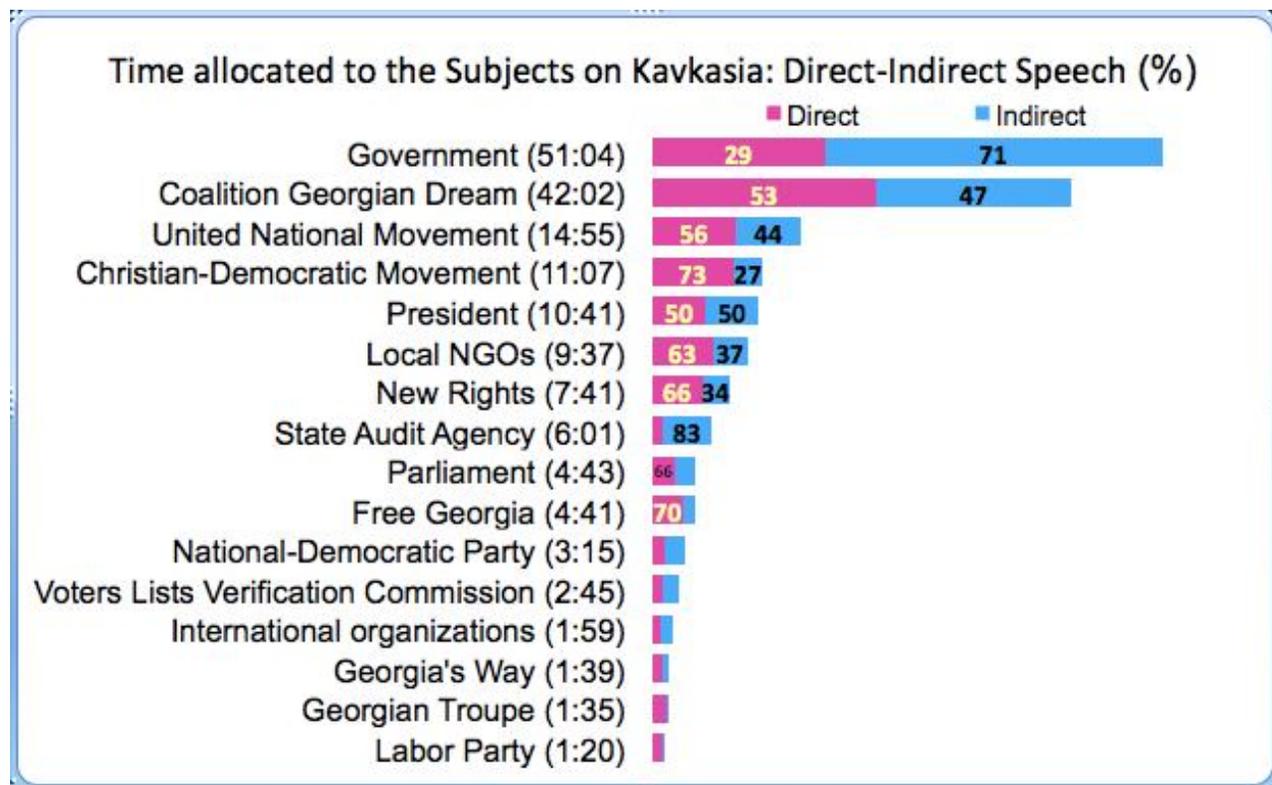


Diagram: Speech 6

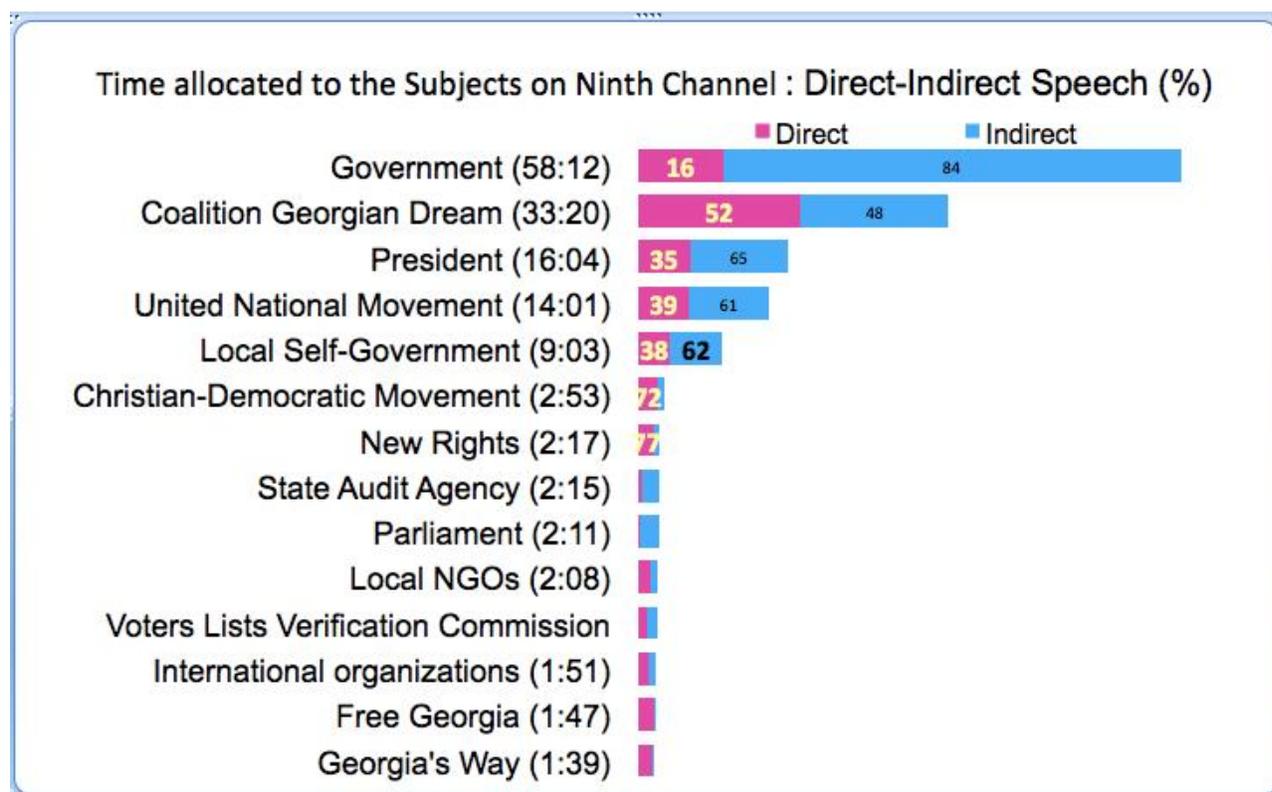


Diagram: Speech 7

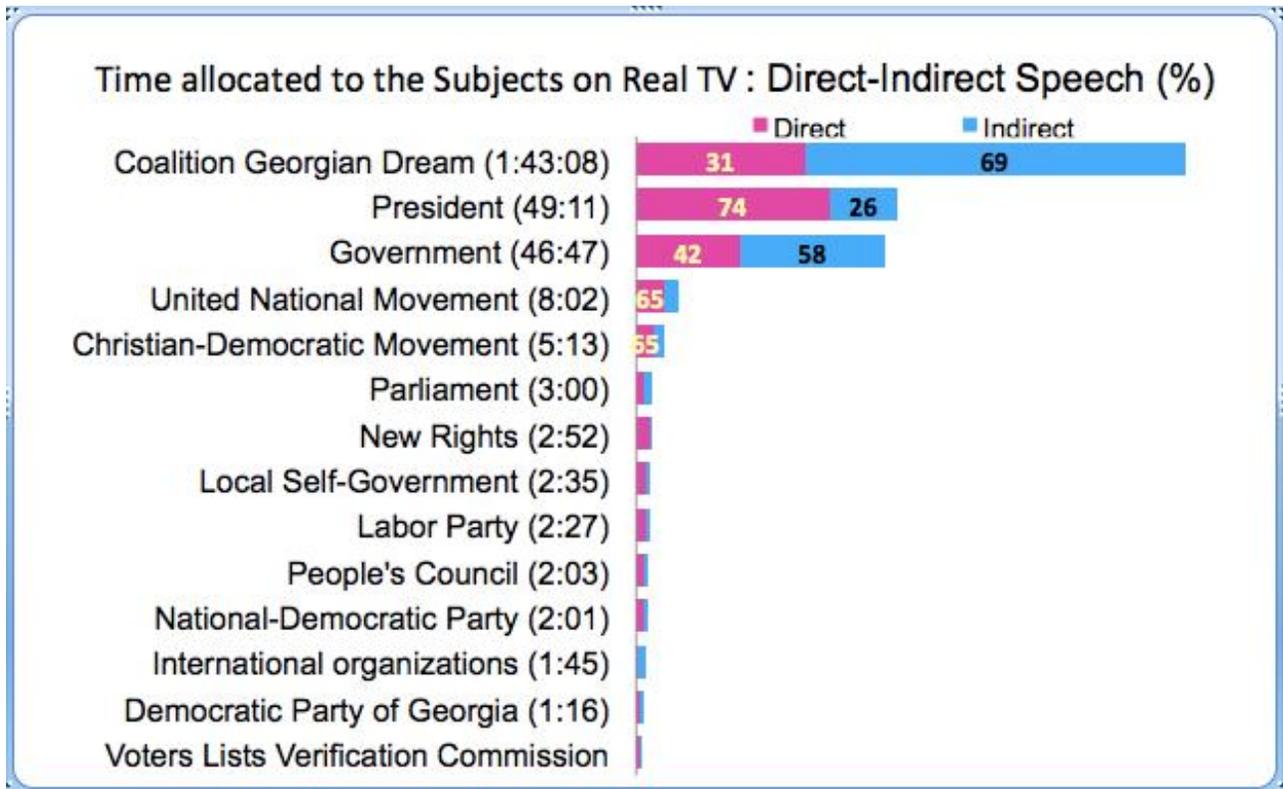


Diagram: Tone 1

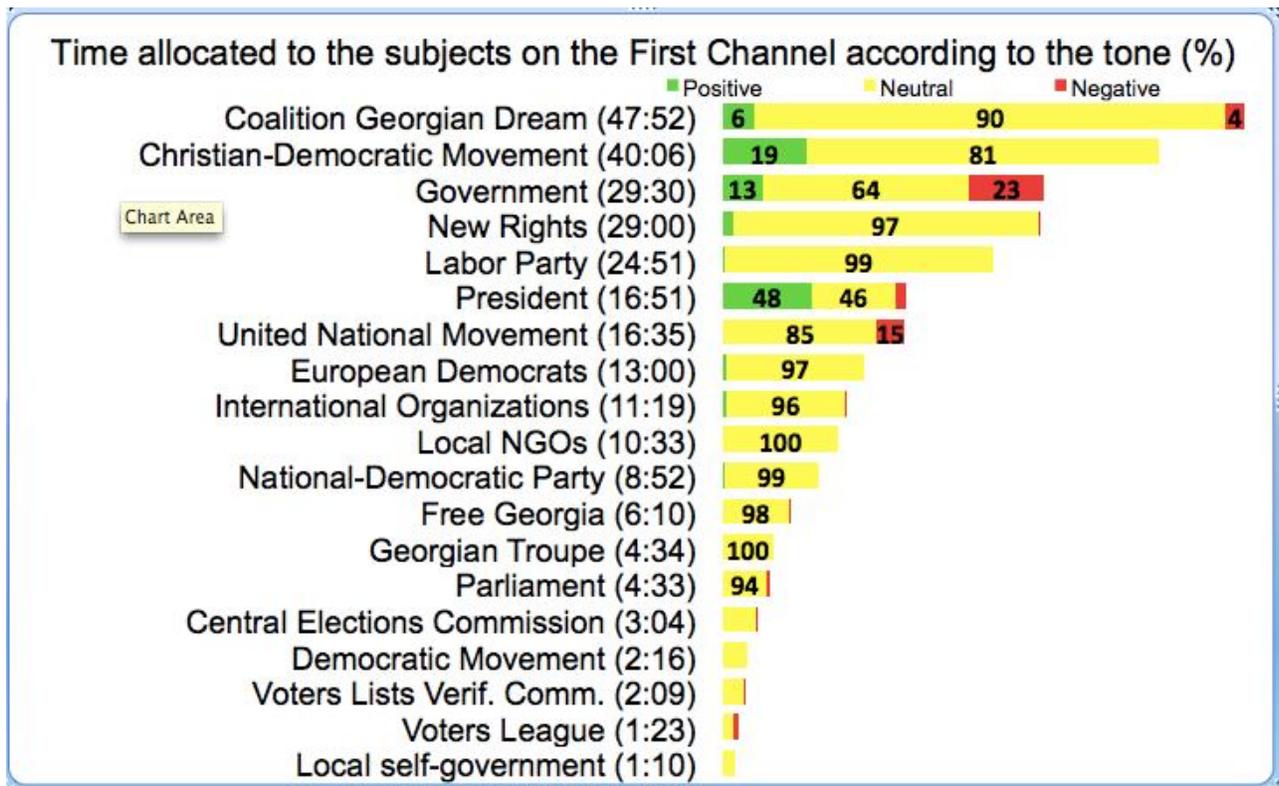


Diagram: Tone J1

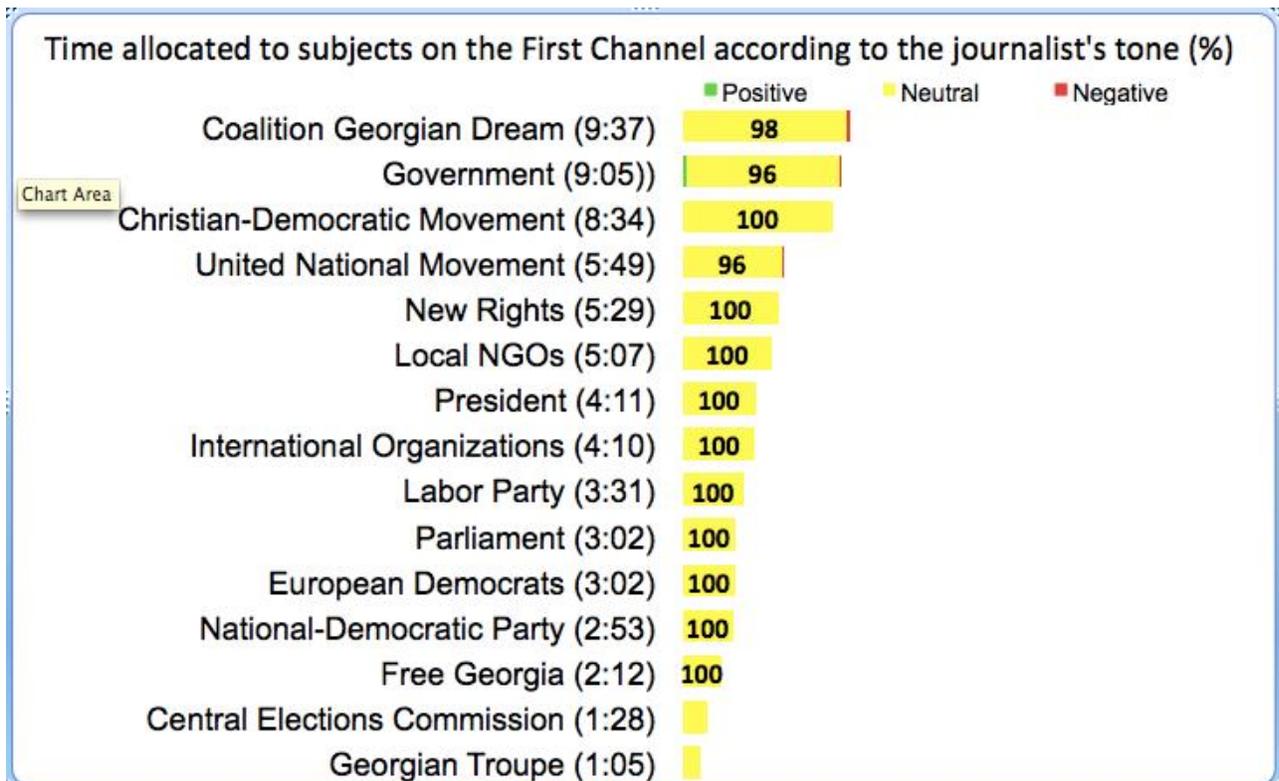


Diagram: Tone 2

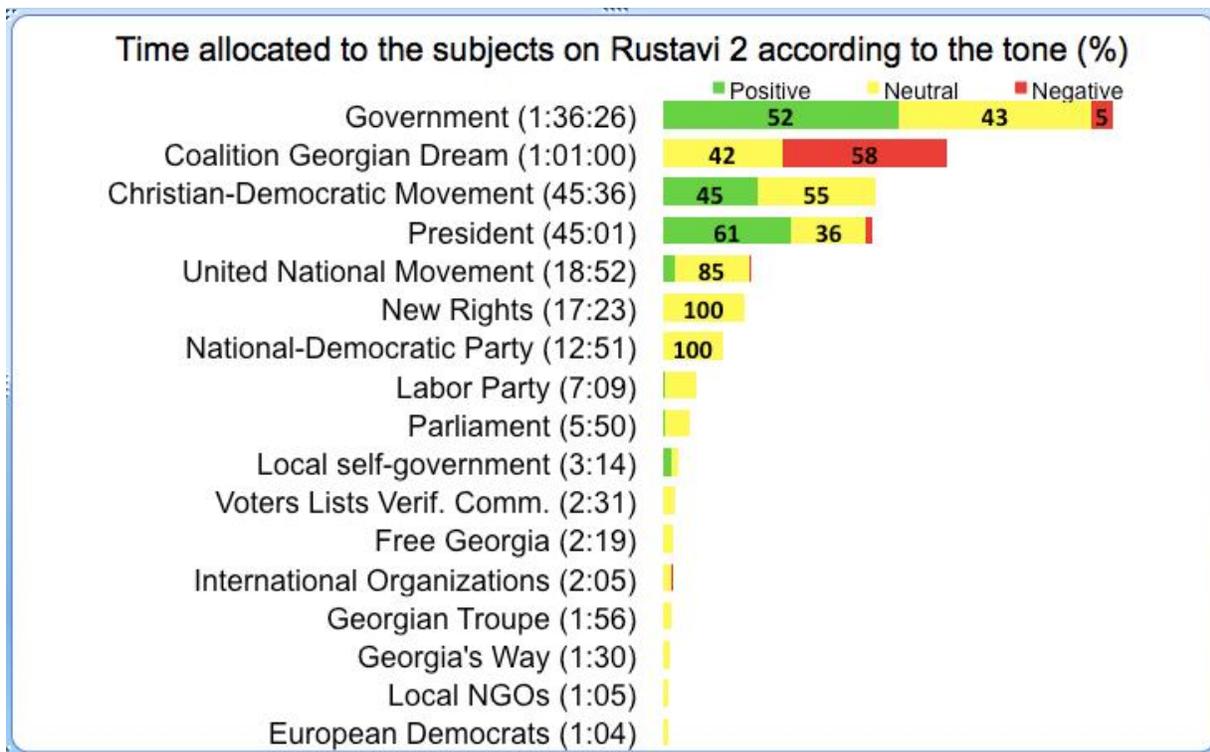


Diagram: Tone J2

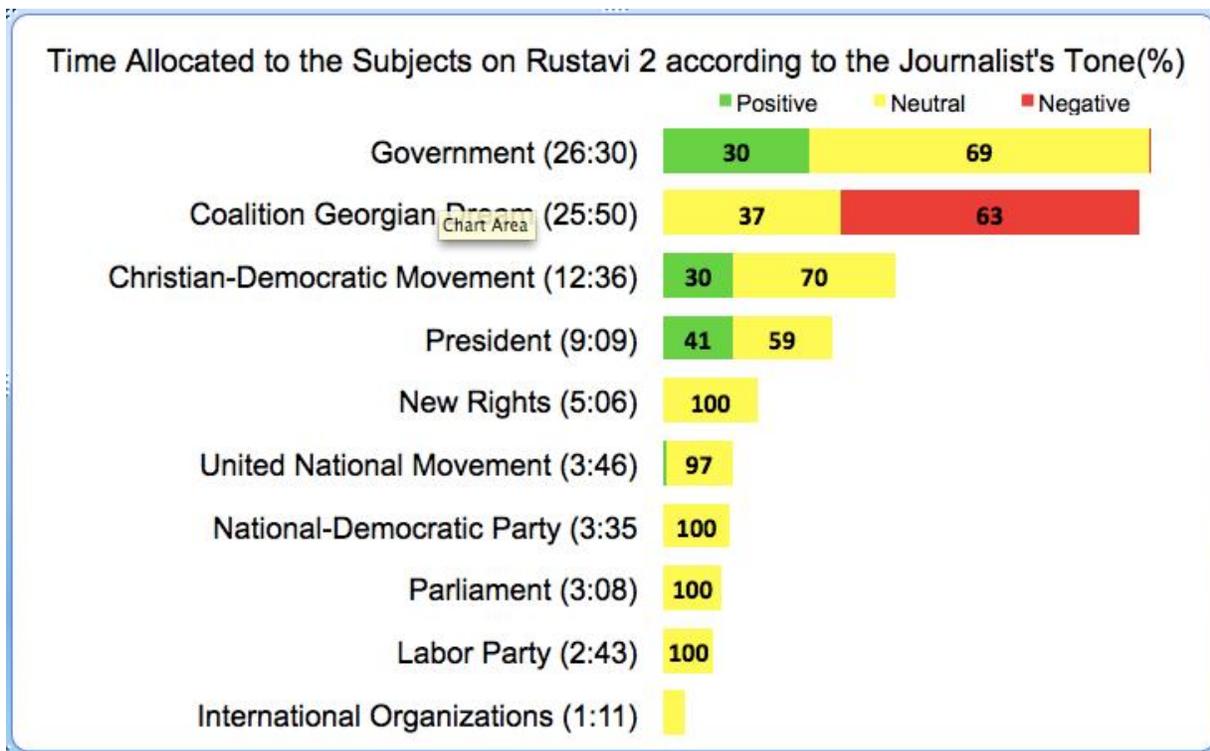


Diagram: Tone 3

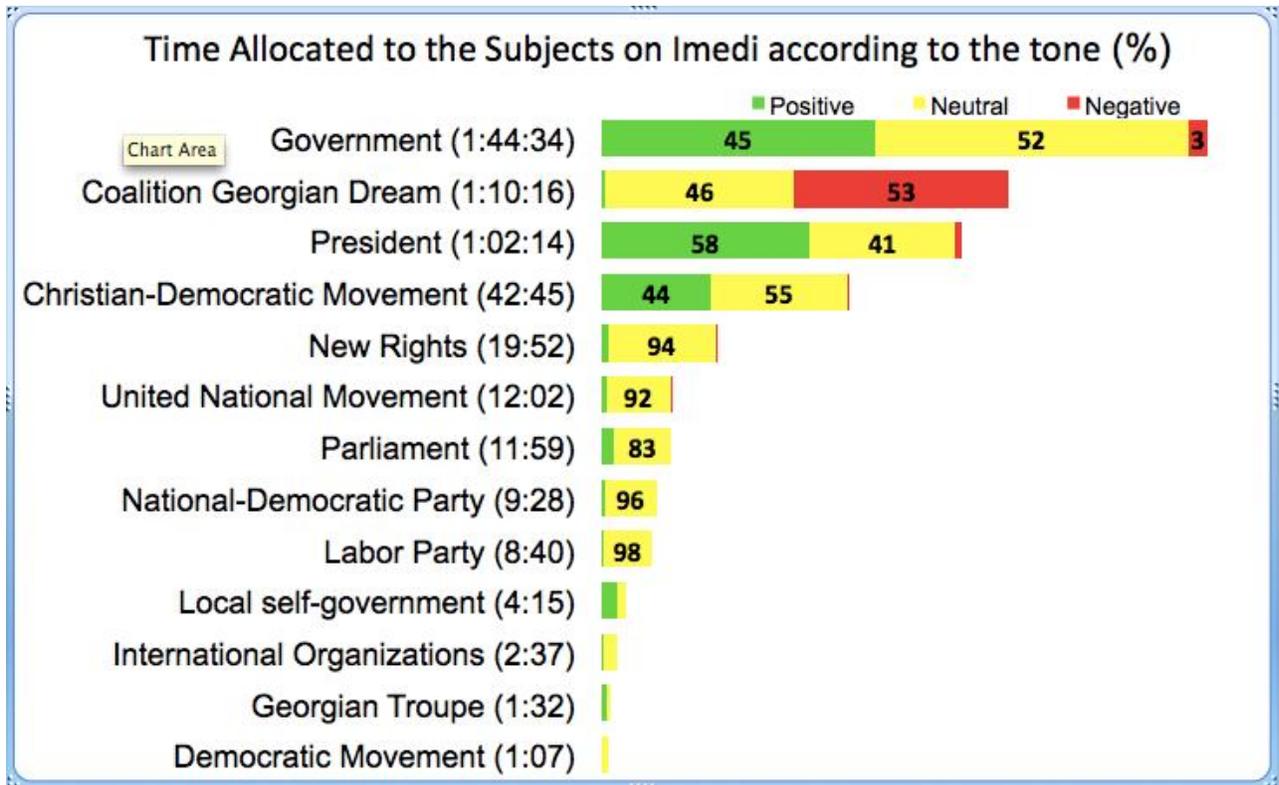


Diagram: Tone J3

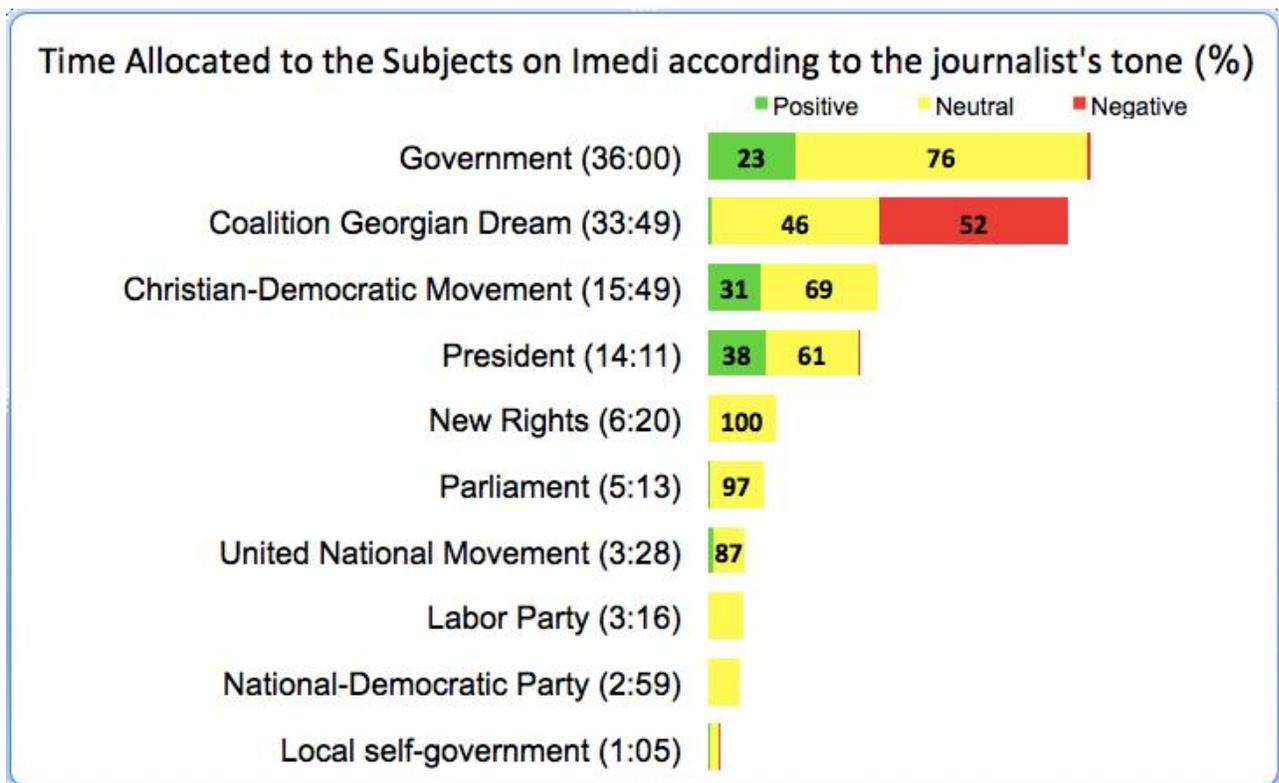


Diagram: Tone 4

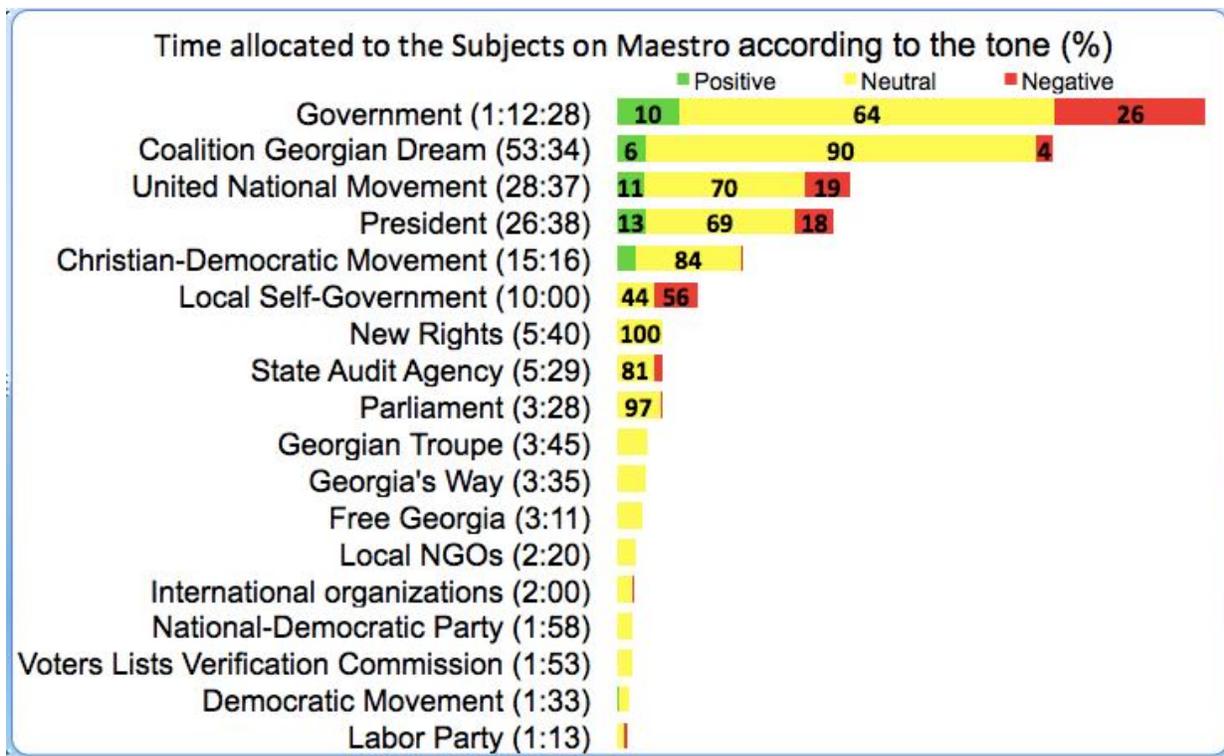


Diagram: Tone J4

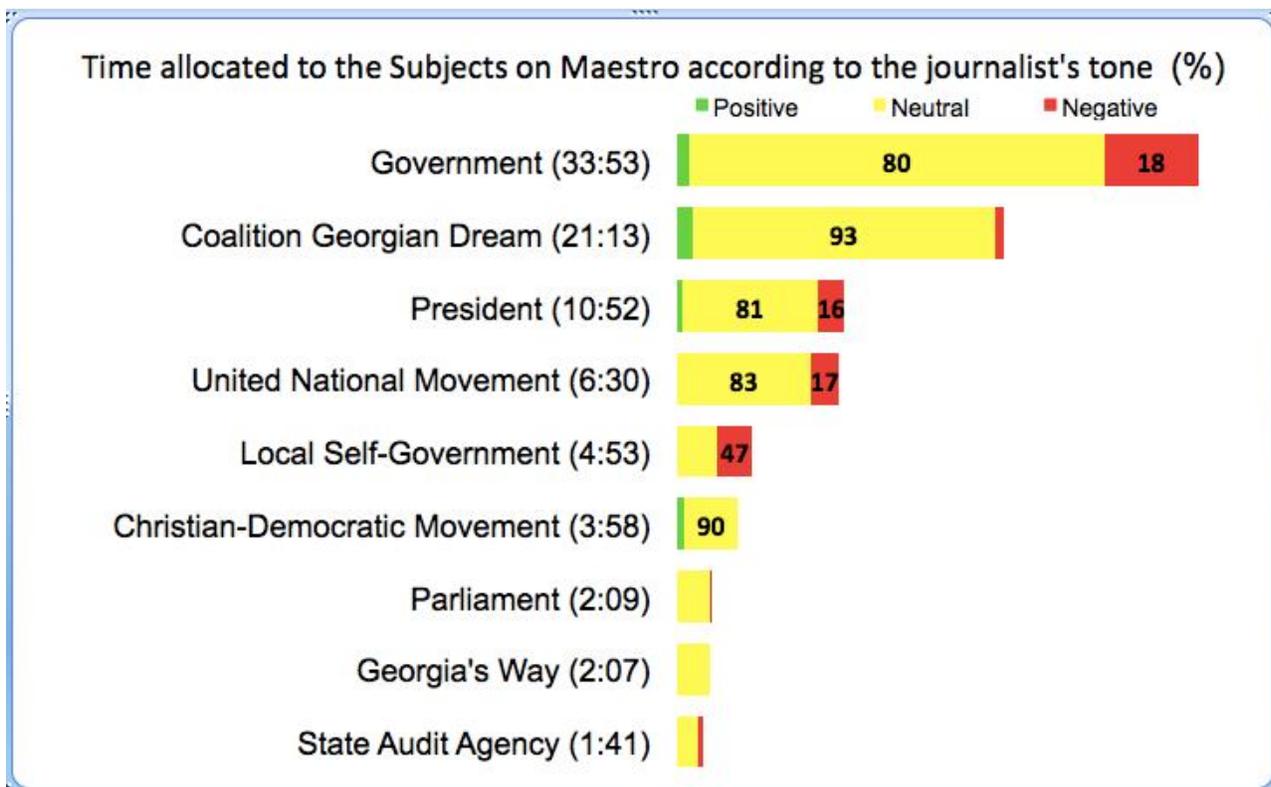


Diagram: Tone 5

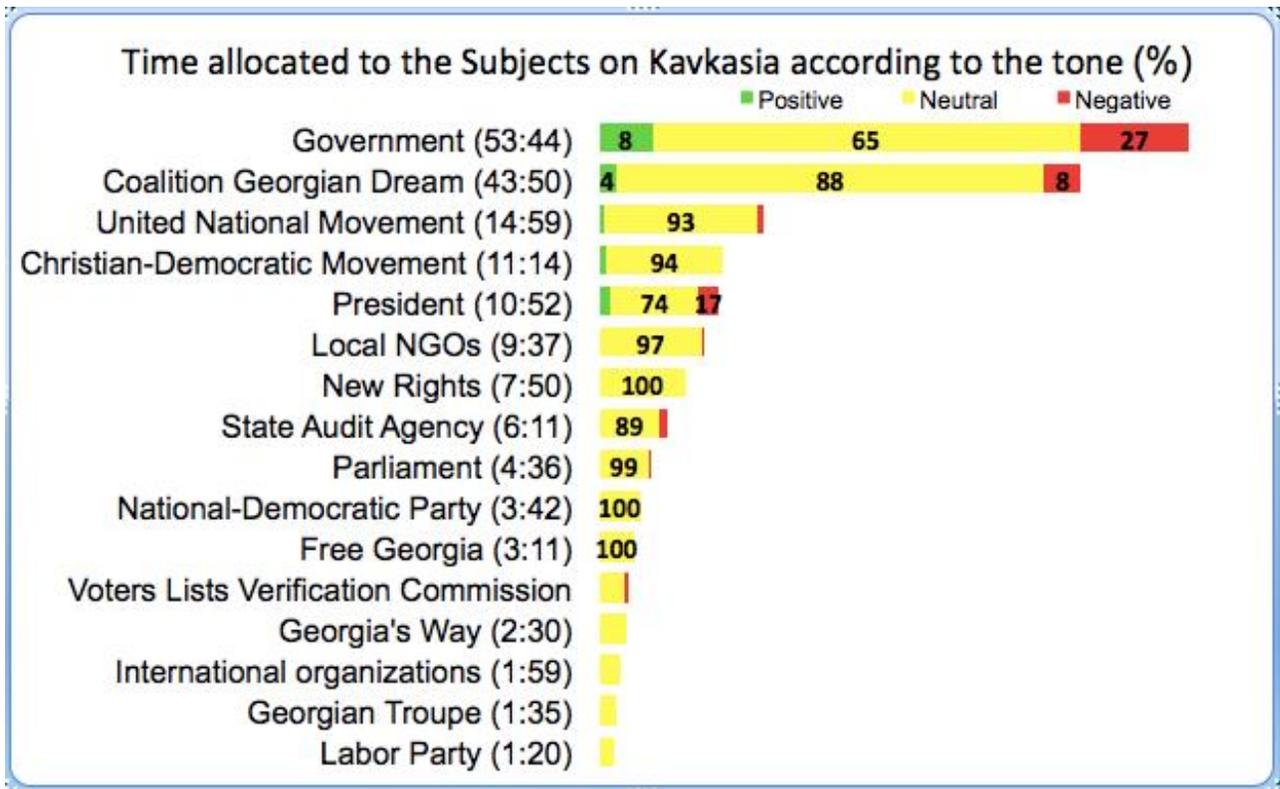


Diagram: Tone J5

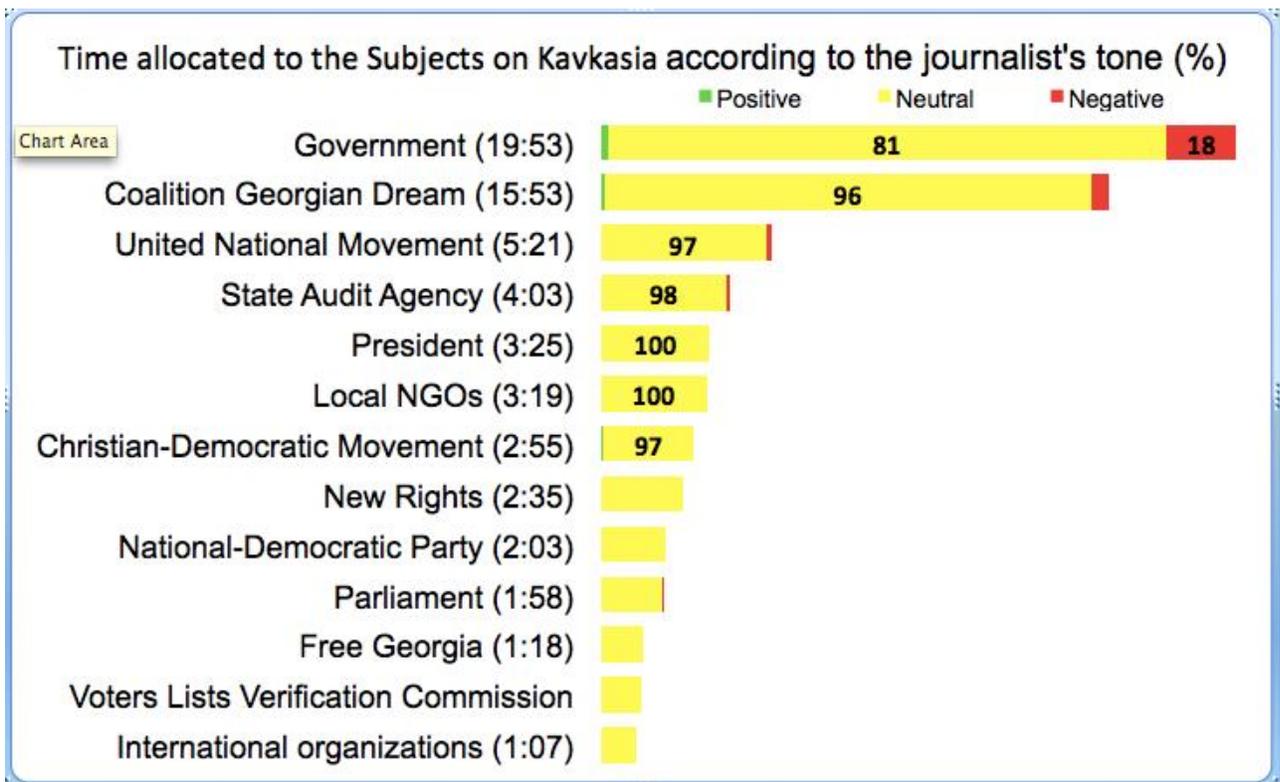


Diagram: Tone 6

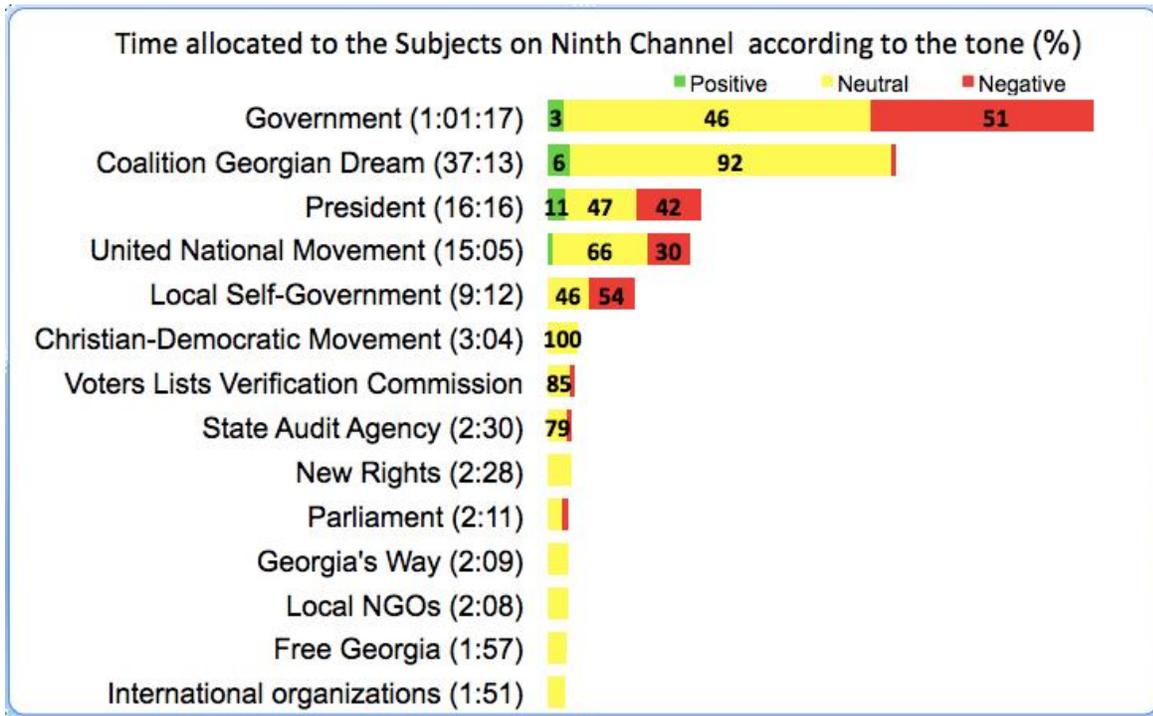


Diagram: Tone J6

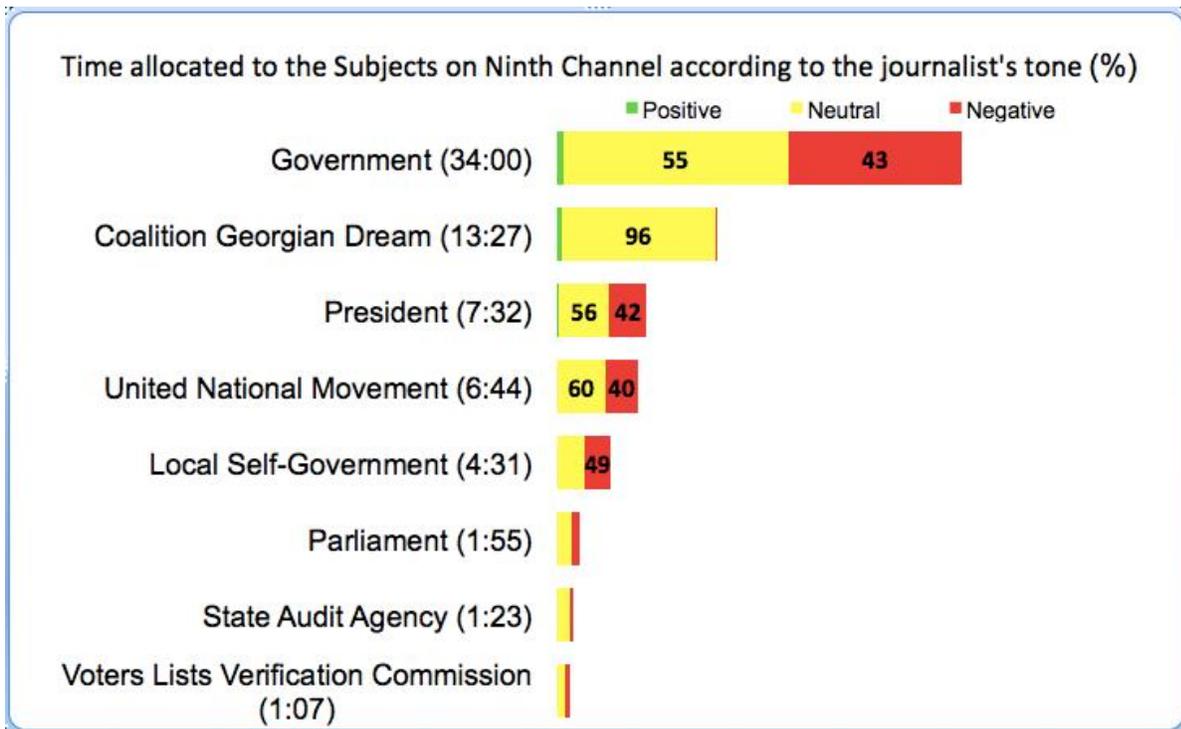


Diagram: Tone 7

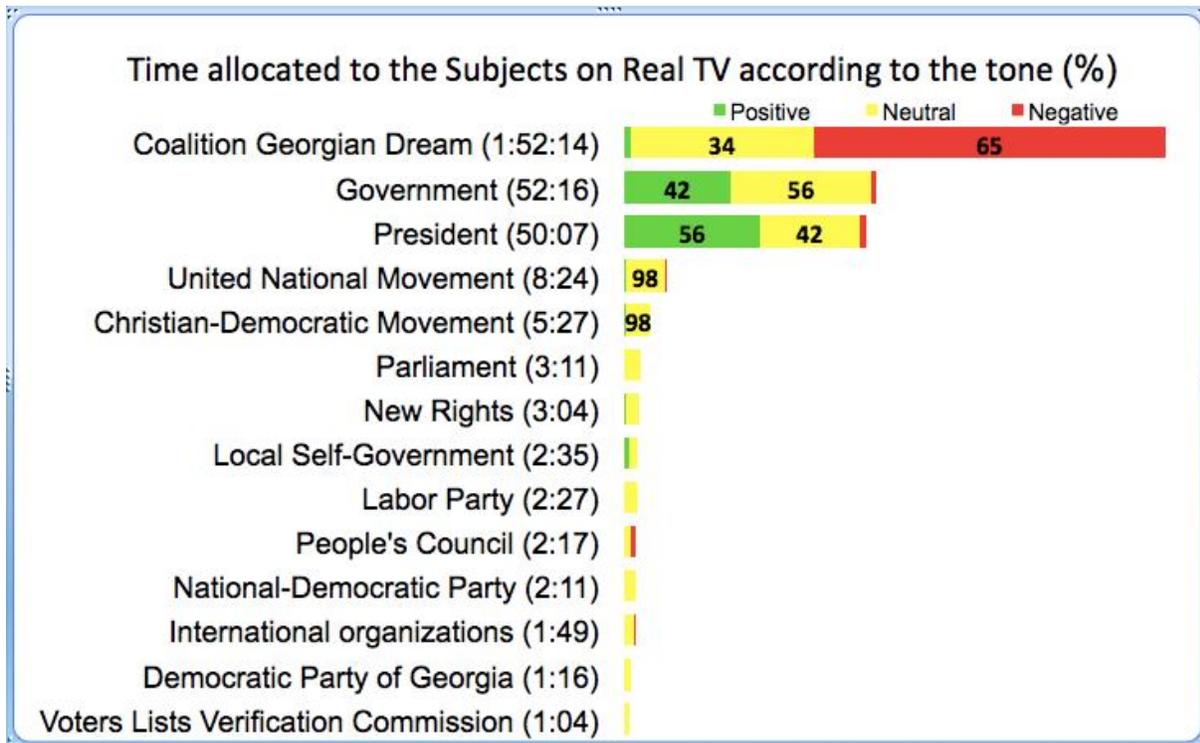


Diagram: Tone J7.

