

## Election Media Monitoring

**August 16-31, 2012**

The following are the key findings of the media monitoring for the period of August 16-31:

- Other than the Imedi Channel, the Coalition Georgian Dream dominates on all the channels in terms of the length of coverage time allocated.
- Compared to the previous media monitoring findings, the coverage of the President has decreased in terms of the quantity of coverage time allocated.
- Out of all TV stations monitored, only Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel allocated more than one-minute coverage to local non-governmental organizations.
- Compared to the previous media monitoring findings, the coverage of the United National Movement has increased in terms of the quantity of coverage time allocated.
- All but Imedi and Real-TV provided almost the equal share of direct and indirect speech for the Coalition Georgian Dream.
- On the First Channel, all the subjects except the government, to which more than 10 minutes were allocated, have more than 54 percent of direct speech.
- Other than Imedi and the Ninth Channel, the President has a minimum of 69 percent of direct speech on all the channels.
- On the First Channel, Maestro and the Ninth Channel, the Coalition Georgian Dream has 90 percent of neutral coverage.
- On Rustavi 2, Imedi and Real-TV, the President got positive tone for more than 60 percent.
- On Rustavi 2, Imedi and Real-TV, the most negative tone coverage got the Coalition Georgian Dream (29%, 32%, 60%).
- On Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel, relatively higher share of the negative tone coverage was observed towards the same subjects: United National Movement, the government, and the President. However, Kavkasia has lower rates of the negative tone coverage, and the Ninth Channel the highest.

- In terms of journalist's tone, on the First Channel the neutral tone prevails. Nevertheless, it was observed the coverage of the President with 16 percent of positive tone.
- In terms of journalist's tone, on Rustavi 2 and Imedi, high positive tone coverage was detected towards the President (more than 50 percent), and relatively high negative tone coverage - towards the Coalition Georgian Dream (more than 30 percent).
- Journalist's tone on the Ninth Channel is similar to the observed general tone and the government, United National Movement, local self-government and the President received relatively high negative tone.
- On Real-TV, the share of journalist's negative tone towards the Coalition Georgian Dream is higher than the share of general negative tone.

## **Methodology and Analysis**

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

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

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 percent equals the total time of talking about a subject on a particular channel, and also the time of talking about this subject by journalists. The subjects, to which less than 1 minute was allocated in each case, are not represented on the diagrams, 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 August 16-31 per channels.

## **The First Channel**

*Time allocated to subjects was evenly distributed on the First Channel. Tone coverage towards the subjects is mainly neutral. However, the President has 46 percent of positive tone and the government 15 percent. News headlines are also neutral and descriptive on the First Channel. Stories are predominantly neutral towards presented subjects. Although, there were observed few cases the stories shifting to the positive tone coverage towards the President and other representatives of the government. In these cases, general positive tone coverage is a result of the direct speech of the subjects and video frames. In terms of the*

*coverage of presented respondents, stories are predominantly 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 (16-31 August) the time allocated to subjects was equally distributed among the subjects and amounted to 6 hours and 2 minutes. In terms of time allocation, the Coalition Georgian Dream is topping the chart with 18 percent of the total time allocated to subjects. For six successive subjects (the United National Movement, the Christian-Democratic Movement, the President, the government, the New Rights Party and the Labor Party) coverage time were distributed almost equally (10-12%). The rest of the subjects received 5 percent or less (See the Diagram: Time 1).

In terms of direct and indirect speech, distribution is equal as well. Other than the government, none of those subjects that were allocated with more than 10 minutes, has less than 54 percent of direct speech. The share of direct speech for the government makes 41 percent. The highest rate of direct speech has the President (77%) (See the Diagram: Speech 1).

Upon the assessment of the tone of coverage per the time allocated to the subjects, it was revealed that on the First Channel the most positive tone is provided to the President with 46 percent, the government (15 percent), and National Democratic Party (27%). It shall be acknowledged that all but these three subjects were covered with the neutral tone for at least 84 percent of the allocated time. For several subjects the negative tone of insignificant rate was reported: the Coalition Georgian Dream (8%), the government (8%), the President (7%), United National Movement (15%). (See the Diagram: Tone 1).

In terms of journalist's tone, predominantly, all subjects are covered with the neutral tone. Only few subjects have the positive tone – the President (16%), and the government (7%). As for the negative journalist's tone, it was identified only towards one subject – the Coalition Georgian Dream with 6 percent (See the Diagram: Tone J1).

During the present media monitoring, all headlines of news items on the First Channel were found neutral and descriptive.

In terms of the allocation of time per stories, a prevalence of speech or activity of any particular subject was hardly witnessed. However, it shall be stated that those stories for which such facts were observed, mostly covered two subjects – Mikheil Saakashvili, the President, and Vano Merabishvili, the Prime Minister. For example, "Renovated Rabat", a 3 minutes and 36 sec. long story on the renovated medieval fortress in Akhaltsikhe, was aired on August 16th and coverage of Mikheil Saakashvili took 3 minutes and 3 sec. Also, a 2 minutes and 55 sec. long story broadcasted within the framework of the "Presenting

Majoritarian MP Candidate” displayed Mikheil Saakashvili’s speech of 2 minutes and 22 sec.

In terms of the representativeness of respondents per stories, news items of the First Channel are close to counterbalance, and issue/subject coverage includes provision of a variety of opinions as well. Furthermore, within the auspices of the election campaign, these ongoing stories are categorized under the headline “Election Chronicles”, which covers the campaign activities of the election subjects. It is a bit difficult to achieve counterbalance for such mostly short stories in which predominantly only one side or source is presented and pre-election activity of one particular party / subject is covered.

The monitoring includes the overall observation of stories and general impression tracking of stories towards any subject as well. It should be noted that on the First Channel stories are mostly neutral towards the subjects covered in the narratives. However, during the entire monitoring period it were encountered cases of stories transforming the general impression into the positive towards the President and other representatives of the government. It is noteworthy to mention that the positive general impression is being created mainly due to the direct speech by the subjects and the video frames have been shown.

For example, “Renovated Rabat”, a story aired on August 16th covered the opening of the Rabat fortress in Akhaltsikhe and visit of the President. The story expounded the President’s speech that made a very positive impression of the current authorities. The President quoted several lines in his speech from a poem “The Knight in the Panther's Skin”. And, besides, he made a small mistake while reciting a verse about Rostevan, the King of Arabia. It is worth mentioning that the First Channel has removed this piece. During the President’s speech simultaneously was shown the footage of the Rabat fortress and people gathered in addition to the panoramic view from a helicopter and all that magnified already positive impression. The journalist’s tone was neutral itself. However, the overall context was making the positive impression.

“The President in Imereti”, a story aired on August 22<sup>nd</sup> covered the President's visit to the Gordi Village, the Khoni District during which he speaks about transforming this unique gorge into a tourist attraction, developing the infrastructure, and the future plans of the government. The footage of photo materials of the project design, gathered people, the President surrounded by the workers and beautiful panoramic views of the gorge and waterfall is provided. These video frames along with the President’s speech make powerful positive impression towards the President and the government.

During the present monitoring period, stories with the negative general impression trend towards any subject almost was not observed. There were just a few stories with the

negative general impression inclined towards representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream.

As for fact-based reporting the reports on the First Channel are always provided.

Within the frameworks of the election campaign, the news program of the First Channel already for several months provides 8-13 minutes long live television show with the invited politicians, representing mainly the opposition parties. During the monitoring period of August 16-31 the following guests participated in these live television show programs: Zviad Dzidziguri (Coalition Georgian Dream), Levan Kalandadze (New Rights Party), Magda Anikashvili (Christian-Democratic Movement), George Vashadze (United National Movement), George Gugava (Labor Party), Guram Chakhvadze (National Democratic Party). The live TV show usually invites one guest per a show to discuss election programs of parties. Predominantly, a journalist do not interrupts guests to allow them to express their opinions. There were observed only a few cases when a journalist has interrupted a respondent for clarification or in-depth coverage or exceeding the time limits.

## Rustavi 2

*During the present monitoring period, in terms of allocation of time, the Coalition Georgian Dream with 24 percent, and the United National Movement with 20 percent are frontrunners. The President with 14 percent is in the top three. In terms of the direct and indirect speech distribution, the trend tends to be more or less equal. However, the rate of the President's direct speech is considerably high. Stories that inclined to make the positive general impression primarily cover the President and the government. As for the stories the general impression of which tends to be more negative, they mainly cover Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream.*

During the monitoring period of August 16-31, all subjects were allocated in total 13 hours and 52 minutes of airtime on Rustavi 2. The most time was provided to the Coalition Georgian Dream - 24 percent, and United National Movement - 20 percent. The President with 14 percent is in the top three. It is noteworthy to mention that in the second half of August 2012 Rustavi 2 provided live TV shows under the framework of its news program with inclusion of political figures and sometimes in the ways of organizing debates. The duration of live TV shows vary: sometimes 6 minutes, at times reaching even 42 minutes and therefore significantly influencing the quantitative data.<sup>1</sup> (See the Diagram: Time 2).

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<sup>1</sup> For more detailed information about the live TV shows and the invited guests during the related monitoring period is provided in the Rustavi 2 qualitative analysis section.

In terms of direct and indirect speech distribution, the trend tends to be counterbalanced. The Coalition Georgian Dream and the United National Movement received the most in terms of time allocation, with a fair distribution of shares of the direct and indirect speech (the Coalition - 48 percent as of direct; the United National Movement - 57 percent as of direct). The President has a considerably high rate of direct speech - 73 percent. Among the rest of the subjects with more than 20 minutes of coverage, the Labor Party with 77 percent of the direct speech is leading while the government has the least - 42 percent. (See the Diagram: Speech 2).

In terms of the tone of coverage per the time allocated to the subjects, the President has the highest share of positive coverage (71 percent, out of 1 hour and 55 minutes). The positive tone is observed towards other subjects as well: the Labor Party (30 percent, out of 48 minutes), the government (21 percent, out of 1 hour and 34 minutes) and the United National Movement (13 percent, out of 3 hours and 5 minutes), which has an equal indicator of negative tone - 10 percent. The Coalition Georgian Dream received the most time with the most negative tone (29 percent, out of 3 hours and 46 minutes). (See the Diagram: Tone 2).

In terms of time allocated to the subject according to the journalist's tone, it was observed that the President (59 percent, out of nearly 22 minutes) and the government (25 percent out of approximately 31 minutes) attained the more positive tone. As for the negative tone, the Coalition Georgian Dream got the highest ratio - 32 percent out of nearly 1 hour (See the Diagram: Tone J2)

During the present media monitoring, all headlines of news items on the Rustavi 2 were found informative and neutral.

In terms of the allocation of time per stories, a surplus in speech or activity for any particular subject was infrequently witnessed. However, it shall be noted that those stories for which such an excess in both, speech or activity was observed, were mostly covering the President and the government. For example, "Renovated Rabat", a 17-minute long story aired on August 16, granted 9 minutes to the President. Furthermore, "New hotel at Batumi Piazza" a 383-second long story aired on August 18th allocated 238 seconds to Mikheil Saakashvili.

During the monitoring period on Rustavi 2 there was observed a tendency that reports inclining to positive general impression mostly covered the President, the Prime Minister, the Government, the United National Movement and in only a few cases the Christian Democratic Movement. It is worth mentioning that stories with the President frequently show the applause and cheering that creates a positive context. In addition, sometimes in these stories the positive music accompanies the footage that accentuates the achievements

of the current government. The stories with the negative general impression predominantly cover Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream. In such cases it is observed the frequent manipulation with airing the negative stock video footage.

For example, “Rabat Kick Off”, a story aired on August 16, covers the opening ceremony and the President’s participation in the event. In the beginning of the story, the extensive video footage of Rabat fortress with scenes from various angles and the helicopter panoramic view among them is provided. The positive music accompanies the footage and creates the positive context right from the start. The cameras follow the President from the minute he approaches the entrance of the fortress, where the gathered people greet him warmly and he shakes hands and shares kisses with the adults and children as well. Further, Saakashvili delivers a speech, refers to the historical and tourist significance of the fortress, speaks about the current government’s old and new projects, and cites “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin” verses. Similarly to the case with the First Channel, the video frame in which the President incorrectly recites a verse about Rostevan is removed.

“Kutaisi New Airport”, a news item aired on August 28th covers the launch of the Kutaisi Airport. At the beginning of the story, the journalist provides a positive narrative about the Kutaisi Airport, and therefore sets a positive context. Furthermore, over a long period of time the President Saakashvili is shown handling a light aircraft and simultaneously speaking about the advantages of the Airport and the future plans of the government. Upon the landing the President delivers a speech in front of the crowd gathered at the Airport. In general, the story creates the positive impression of the President.

In the “Kakheti Natural Disaster Results” story aired on August 22nd Vano Merabishvili is portrayed in a positive context. Local population cheers him and makes positive comments. “New Tenants of “Military Town”, is another story of the same news release program granting positive coverage of the Ministry of Defense, which provides housing for the military personnel.

As for the Christian Democratic Movement, the total number of stories with the positive general impressions towards them significantly decreased during the second half of August 2012 on Rustavi 2. Only one story clearly articulated a positive context for the Christian Democratic Movement. It shall be stated that journalist’s tone of narration during the “Christian-Democrats meetings” story was neutral, but the footage broadcasted provided positive coverage about the Movement.

It is noteworthy to mention that in terms of the negative coverage in the stories, during the present monitoring period the Coalition Georgian Dream was portrayed negatively in the

most of the stories on Rustavi 2. For example, the story “Ivanishvili’s Candidates”,<sup>2</sup> aired on August 16, is based on the assumption that the Coalition Georgian Dream has nostalgia for the regime of Aslan Abashidze in Adjara. The journalistic narrative included the following: “Again, the former officials of Aslan Abashidze’s government are among favorites of Ivanishvili. Nostalgia for the old regime is still acute at the Batumi event of the Coalition”. The news story publicizes the introduction of majoritarian MP candidates by Ivanishvili in Adjara along with provision of their biographies. The narration emphasizes past linkages between the candidates, Aslan Abashidze and his regime. The narrative follows with citing a newspaper interview with Murman Dumbadze, majoritarian MP candidate for Batumi, in which he advocates for tendering an apology to Abashidze's regime, after which video frames of the Choloki bridge explosion, and armed and masked people are shown.

The “Ivanishvili-Burjanadze Meeting” story aired on August 20, provides a negative impression of Bidzina Ivanishvili and Nino Burjanadze. The narration highlights the relationship and cooperation prospects of Ivanishvili-Burjanadze. Ivanishvili interview footage with him commenting positively on Nino Burjanadze and her political experience is provided. After the emphasis on Burjanadze-President Putin linkages is laid, the narrative leads towards the possible indirect affinity between Ivanishvili and Russia. The stock video footage of Burjanadze standing next to Putin and then of Nino Burjanadze at street rallies, where she is murmuring “Bella Ciao” is provided.

The “Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze”<sup>3</sup> story aired on August 22, illustrates harmonization of positions on issues such as the restoration of the Ergneti market and making identical political staffing appointments for their teams. The video footage of interview with Shevardnadze is shown. The story narration displays those members of the Coalition Georgian Dream that were the leading state officials active during the Presidency of Shevardnadze. The narration is backed up with airing the stock video footage, in which these people sometimes just stand with Shevardnadze or at times the negative video frames of their accomplishments are provided.

Both, the negative or the positive context is observed and journalist’s tone contributes to that along with the general impressions of stories, the video footage and statements of opinions of respondents. The examples are as follows:

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

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oGBby0UFDnY&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>3</sup> To see video please follow the link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oy9GnSKbecI&feature=youtu.be>

- Journalist: “Considering that Mr. Otar Khupenia’s name is associated with the unpaid pensions and the ‘*Dead Souls*’, it is less relevant today what mode of transport is used by him”. (“Old Faces”, a story aired on August 18th)
- Journalist: “The economic team governing Georgia during the most corrupt and the worst period for our country is favored by Bidzina Ivanishvili today and leads the economic platform of the Coalition Georgian Dream”. (“Old Faces”, a story aired on August 18)

As for the discrepancy between the journalistic narrative, statements of opinions of respondents, and the video footage, there is only the small number of such cases and information provided in the stories is mostly backed up with the video footage.

In terms of the representativeness of statements of opinion and sides in the stories, the stories are mostly balanced during the monitoring period. However, in the story coverage of the Coalition Georgian Dream it is reported the lack of comments from the side of members of the Coalition.

From the second half of August 2012, within the framework of its news program, Rustavi 2 launched live TV shows, in which one or two politicians are invited. In terms of time allocation the live TV show is quite long – sometimes it lasts for up to 42 minutes. These live TV shows are aired either in the middle or at the end of the news program. The live TV show sometimes has a format of the debates. During the present monitoring period there were observed 9 such live TV shows on Rustavi 2 and the followings were invited as guests: Levan Vepkhvadze (Christian-Democratic Movement), Akaki Minashvili (United National Movement), Zviad Dzidziguri (the Coalition Georgian Dream), Shalva Natelashvili (the Labor Party), Zurab Kharatishvili (Central Election Commission), Tina Khidasheli (the Coalition Georgian Dream), Goka Gabashvili (United National Movement), David Gamkrelidze (the New Rights), Inga Grigolia (Christian-Democratic Movement), Chiora Taktakishvili (United National Movement), Eka Beselia (the Coalition Georgian Dream), Mamuka Katsiadze (the New Rights), Pikria Chikhradze (the New Rights) , Petre Tsiskarishvili (United National Movement), and Tea Tsulukiani (the Coalition Georgian Dream).

During the live TV shows, a journalist mostly allows guests to express their opinions and interrupts only for clarification or changing the subject in a conversation or upon exceeding the time limits. Predominantly, the journalist was asking tough questions. However, four cases were observed in which the journalist tolerated towards some guests and was less likely to oppose. For example, in a live TV show aired on August 16, a journalist repeats tough comments of the previous respondents and demands an answer. However, after Dzidziguri responded with the sharp reply and accusatory statement, a journalist redirects

Dzidziguri's difficult question on the transformational countrywide changes, implemented during the last eight years, to Akaki Minashvili.

## Imedi

*In the present monitoring period, Imedi, unlike all other channels monitored, allocated to the President the most time coverage. However, it shall be mentioned that there is no significant difference between the percentage rates of the subjects making the top four. In terms of the direct speech, the President has the highest share. Observed stories frequently did not have neutral headlines. Reports that tend to be positive mostly cover the President and the government, as well as the Christian-Democratic Movement, while stories that tend to be negative predominantly cover Bidzina Ivanishvili, the Coalition Georgian Dream, and Nino Burjanadze. In terms of the representativeness of respondents per stories, the news items are close to counterbalance. In imbalanced stories there was a need for a comment by the Coalition Georgian Dream representatives. In terms of the discrepancy between journalists' conclusions and facts presented in stories, such cases were observed during the present monitoring period. The story footage and music manipulation was observed.*

During the present monitoring period, the subjects were allocated in total 10 hours and 37 minutes of airtime on Imedi. Imedi, unlike all other channels monitored allocated to the President the most time coverage – 20 percent. However, there is no prominent difference between the percentage rates of the subjects making the top four: the United National Movement (19%), the Coalition Georgian Dream (17%), Christian-Democratic Movement (16%). (See the Diagram - Time 3)

In terms of direct and indirect speech distribution, the President is the frontrunner with the highest share of 78 percent (out of 2 hours and 8 minutes). The local self-government comes with higher share of the direct speech – 81 percent, but the time allocation for coverage of the subject is only 15 minutes. Other than the Coalition Georgian Dream and the government, the remained subjects got at least 57 percent share for of direct speech. And, the Coalition Georgian Dream has 36 percent out of 1 hour and 48 minutes, and the government 37 percent out of 69 minutes. (See the Diagram: Speech 3)

In terms of the tone of coverage per the time allocated to the subjects, significant share of the positive coverage was observed towards several subjects. These subjects are as follows: the President (76 percent out of 2 hours and 12 minutes), the local self-government (46 percent out of 15 minutes), the United National Movement (28 percent out of 2 hours and 27 minutes), the government (22 percent out of 1 hour and 12 minutes), and the Christian-Democratic Movement (18 percent out of 2 hours and 2 minutes). In terms of the negative

tone, the highest percentage was observed towards the Coalition Georgian Dream (32 percent out of 2 hours and 3 minutes), and the Christian-Democratic Movement (63 percent out of nearly 10 minutes). (See the Diagram: Tone 3).

In terms of time allocated to the subject according to journalist's tone, the general tone trend is repeated. The more positive tone coverage was observed towards the following subjects: the President (52 percent, out of nearly 21 minutes), the government (20 percent out of approximately 30 minutes), the United National Movement (19 percent out of nearly 38 minutes) and the Christian-Democratic Movement (7 percent out of nearly 36 minutes). As for the negative tone, considerably high rates got the Coalition Georgian Dream received (37 percent, out of nearly 49 minutes), and the Christian-Democratic Movement (68 percent out of nearly 6 minutes) that exceeds the share of the negative tone in the general tone (See the Diagram: Tone J3)

During the present media monitoring, frequently headlines of Imedi news items were not neutral. Stories with the negative headlines predominantly covered the Coalition Georgian Dream. For example, "Tent of White Dream: Meeting the Past" (aired on August 16), "Dream and Drug Addicts: Video Footage of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia" (aired on August 16th), "Majoritarian MP Candidates Rejected by Ivanishvili?! Is the Adjara Branch of the Dream falling apart?" (aired on August 16), "Dream and Drug Addicts: No to Drug Addiction" (aired on August 16), "Nino and Bidzina: Dream Meeting" (aired on August 20), "Nino and Bidzina: Briefcase - Historical Parallels" (aired on August 20), "Nino and Bidzina: Dream Meeting - Any Updates from Ivanishvili's Coalition?" (aired on August 20), "Dream Refuses to Enter Debates - What does Ivanishvili Stand for?" (aired on August 21), "Nino and Bidzina: Made in Kremlin? Expert Assessments" (aired on August 22), "Bego Ivanishvili and Criminal's Brother" (aired on August 27), "Ivanishvili Dream Team: Back to the Past?" (aired on August 27), "Ivanishvili and Housing Partnership of Homeless: Misappropriation of Entrusted Estate Funds in the Amount of 450,000 Rubles?" (aired on August 28).

Even in case of Imedi, if judging from the viewpoint of time allocated in the report, any subject's speech or activeness was less observed. However, it is noteworthy that mostly the President was dominating even in the news reports, where such facts were reported. For example, in the news report of August 16 "Renewed Rabat", which lasted for 990 seconds, 581 seconds were allocated to the speech of Mikheil Saakashvili. Besides, the news report of August 25 "President in Batumi: meeting with the students" lasted for 10 minutes and 56 seconds, and out of this time 10 minutes and 20 seconds were allocated to the President.

There was a tendency observed during the monitoring period, that the positive reports were made basically about the president, the government, the National Movement and the

Christian-Democratic Movement, and the negative reports – mostly about the Coalition Georgian Dream and in some cases – about Nino Burjanadze. It is noteworthy that this tendency was revealed right at the beginning of the monitoring and has not changed for the next four months. On the contrary, this tendency became even stronger as the elections got closer.

For example, in the report of August 16 “Renewed Rabat”, which was broadcasted live for 17 minutes and 30 seconds, showed the opening of Rabat Fortress in Akhaltsikhe and President Saakashvili’s visit there. Too much time is allocated to the footage of Saakashvili’s entering and meeting with population. It is notable that unlike the First Channel and Rustavi 2, Mikheil Saakashvili’s speech was fully broadcasted (the program was live), including the quotes from “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin”, where the President made mistakes. Despite this, the overall impression of the report was clearly positive towards the President and the team of the current government.

In the news report of August 21 “President in Kakheti: Saakashvili visited the disaster-affected villages” the President is again shown in a positive context. There is a footage showing people, who bless him and praise him, and Saakashvili warmly meets and greets them.

In the news report of August 28 “International Airport of Kutaisi: the first liner on the runway of the highest standards” shows how the President is flying the plane, who is also talking to the population of Kutaisi about the airport construction and other future projects. All this creates and leaves a positive impression about the President among the people.

At least one news item was dedicated to the Christian-Democratic Movement and their election program – “Fair Tariffs to People” in every news release of Imedi in the second half of August. Correspondingly, there was the news items observed, which created a positive impression on Christian-Democratic Movement. For example, the news item of August 17 “Christian-Democratic Movement – Fair Tariffs to People: election campaign – meeting with people”, where Giorgi Targamadze was shown in a positive context, washing a car himself, and respondents positively speaking about him.

The negative news items broadcasted via Kronika during the monitoring period, were mostly related to the Coalition Georgian Dream and its members, Bidzina Ivanishvili and Nino Burjanadze. For example, there were three news items in the news release of August 20 that were dedicated to Burjanadze and Ivanishvili, where both of them were presented in a negative context. The first report “Nino and Bidzina: “A Dream Meeting” – speaks about the meeting between Ivanishvili and Burjanadze and about possible cooperation between them. The report emphasizes Burjanadze’s linkage with Russia and presents him as “Clear Favorite” of Putin. Some shots are also shown to prove this, where Burjanadze is meeting

with Putin; there is also some footage from street rallies, where Burjanadze is singing a song "Bella Ciao". By referring to Burjanadze's links with Russia, the news item also makes reference to Ivanishvili's possible linkage with Russia, which is also supported by the comments of the experts shown in the report.

The next story "Nino and Bidzina: a bag - analogue to the past"<sup>4</sup> starts by presenting the journalists: "as it seems, Nino Burjanadze and Bidzina Ivanishvili have already met before. However, now the dream meeting has taken place openly, without any conspiracy. After a three-round meetings with Vladimir Putin and unsuccessful rallies of Bella-Ciao, the chairperson of the People's Council was officially received at the court of the Georgian Dream's Leader". The report is again about Burjanadze, Putin and Ivanishvili. There is manipulation with footage and music to show Burjanadze's handbag during her official meetings very ironically, which is also accompanied with the journalist's negative texts. Parallel to a sharply negative representation of Burjanadze, the journalist and repeating shots emphasize her possible cooperation with Ivanishvili. Thus, the news item is leaving negative impression about both of them. Below there is one of the shots from the news item, which was repeated several times.



A third story "Nino and Bidzina: A Dream Meeting - what is going on in the coalition?" talks about the opinion of coalition members about a meeting between Burjanadze-

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<sup>4</sup> To see the video please follow a link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7-Fyy4slBGE&feature=youtu.be>

Ivanishvili. Various members of the coalition are making different comments, and this leads to a negative impression about the coalition.

The stories are more or less balanced according to the respondents provided in these reports. However, there are news items in this monitoring period, which are difficult to evaluate from the viewpoint of balance. Unbalanced reports are relatively few, but it is worth mentioning that their majority is about the Coalition Georgian Dream.

During this monitoring period there were discrepancies between the journalist's opinion and the facts provided in the news item. For example, in the report of August 17 "Dzagania's Statement": Labor party members about the majoritarian candidates of the Dream" the journalist is saying that the Labor party members are blaming the Georgian Dream in being anti-nationals. This time Shalva Natelashvili's party is criticizing the majoritarian candidates of the Georgian Dream in Tbilisi and called them the politicians of criminal past". Then Dzagania's statement is made where he is talking about the majoritarian candidates of "Nazi Dream". The term "Nazi Dream" also makes reference to the National Movement too (In Georgian the word "ნაცი" means a Nazi and a national movement member at the same time). Especially, if we take into account the following part of Dzagania's statement: "as instructed by American Bosses, these forces were divided for the elections so that then to unite again in the Parliament and continue robbing and ruining of this country". Correspondingly, the summary made in the beginning of the report about the Georgian Dream only, does not correspond to the statement at all.

Like the First Channel and Rustavi 2, Imedi started to have live broadcasts in the second part of August, and quite much time was dedicated to it, about 15-25 minutes. Political figures were participating in these live broadcasts. There were 4 live broadcasts in the news releases on Imedi during the monitoring period, and two of them was done in the form of debates, with a few guests, and as for the other two – there was only one respondent in each.

When there were live broadcasts in the second half of August, the journalist almost always let the guests express their opinions completely and interrupted only when the respondent went beyond the topic of the discussion. The questions asked by the journalists to the guests were mostly demanding. There was only once case reported in the news release of August 20, when the journalist was stricter to Victor Dolidze, member of the Coalition Georgian Dream and asked relatively more questions to him.

## **Maestro**

*The most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream on Maestro during the monitoring period. Besides, the United National Movement and government were among the top-three, and the President ranked fourth. In case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, United National Movement, President and the Christian-Democratic Movement, share was direct and indirect speech was almost equally distributed. It is also notable that the Coalition Georgian Dream and the President have exactly the same indicator of direct speech. Majority of news items leave a neutral overall impression concerning the subjects on Maestro. However, in case of governance representatives, the negative coverage is observed, but in a more critical lights. In frequent cases, such negative impression was created as the result of the respondents' comments, and not by the journalist's texts or frames. The news reports are in most cases quite balanced from the viewpoint of the presented respondents and different opinions. Rarely there are cases when the journalist's words/opinions are irrelevant to the material presented in the report. There was almost no case of manipulation with shots and music.*

During the monitoring period, in total 5 hours and 17 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Maestro. The longest coverage time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream (25%). Besides, the United National Movement (17%) and the government (13%) were among the top-three. The president ranked four (10%). It is interesting that from the viewpoint of the allocated time on Maestro and Kavkasia, the same subjects are among the top six and their order is also the same. It is noteworthy that out of the monitored seven channels, more than 1 minute – 6-7 percent of the time allocated to the subjects – was allocated for the coverage of local NGOs<sup>5</sup> on Maestro, Kavkasia and Ninth Channel only (see the Diagram: Time 4 and the Diagram: Time 6)

Observation on direct and indirect speech revealed that in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, the United National Movement, the President and the Christian-Democratic Movement, the direct and indirect speech was distributed almost equally. It is also worth mentioning that the Coalition Georgian Dream and the President have exactly the same indicator of direct speech (Coalition – 48%, out of about 1 hour and 20 minutes; the President – 48% out of about 31 minutes). Out of those subjects to which more than 9 minutes were allocated, the government has the lowest percentage of direct speech (29% out of 42 minutes). (See the Diagram: Speech 4)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, there is quite a little coverage with positive tone on Maestro. The biggest positive tone was used for the President (10% out of about 32 minutes). The negative tone was observed in case of several subjects: local self-governance (31% out of about 12 minutes), the president (21% out of

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<sup>5</sup> The monitoring looks at the coverage of local NGOs only in the elections context.

about 32 minutes), government (18% out of about 43 minutes), the United National Movement (13% out of about 1 hour). As for the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which the largest share was allocated (1 hour and 28 minutes), it was covered with neutral tone during 91 percent of the allocated time, and only 4 percent positive and 5 percent negative tone was reported (see the Diagram: Tone 4)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, here we observe somewhat the same trend as it was in case of the overall tone. While speaking about the journalist's tone, the largest share of negative tone was revealed in regards to several subjects: the local self-government (28% out of about 4 minutes), the United National Movement (18% out of about 24 minutes), the President (15% out of about 10 minutes), and the government (8% out of about 18 minutes). Coverage of subjects with positive tone by the journalist is very rare – there was 7 percent of positive tone observed for the President, and 2 percent for the local self-government (see the Diagram: Tone J4)

The reports on Maestro mostly had descriptive and neutral headlines. However, there are headlines observed with the contents that are critical to the government, president, local self-government and the National Movement, which leave negative impression about these subjects. For example “left unemployed: 102 employees of Kopitnari Airport were laid off after the construction of the new airport started” (August 16); “Landslide-affected households: people of Ganmukhuri are requesting compensation from the authorities, though in vain” (August 20); “Election campaigning: election posters of only the National Movement appeared in Tbilisi” (August 22).

In total, the majority of news items on Maestro leave an overall neutral impression about the subjects. However, in case of the United National Movement, president, government, or the representatives of the local self-government, negative coverage is observed, but in a more critical light. It is also noteworthy that often such negative impression is created as the result of the respondents’ comments and not because of the journalist's texts or frames.

The news item of August 17 “Anticipating the Assistance” tells a story about the dissatisfaction of one of the families affected by the disaster in the village Baga, Bazaleti district. The dissatisfaction was caused as the family and their co-villagers could not get the assistance allocated by the state. The journalist is trying to contact the representatives of local authorities, but they do not answer to the questions in full, and they redirect them to other people. In total, the report leaves a negative impression about the local self-government of this district.

The story of August 21 “Who Ruined Batumi Stadium” shows an excerpt from the President's speech, where he blames Aslan Abashidze of ruining the stadium in Batumi. Then there are respondents who are neutralizing these words and say that this stadium was

ruined during Saakashvili's rule. The journalist also repeats this and points out that the stadium was ruined in order to let the foreign investors build the hotel Kempinski. In the next part the respondent is saying that the topic of stadium becomes very topical before every elections and a new design is prepared. However, nothing has been done since 2006. Despite the journalist is mostly repeating the words of the respondents', there is an overall negative impression created about the president who is not keeping his promise.

Rabat Fortress opening ceremony was also covered on Maestro on August 16 in the news item "President in Akhaltsikhe: the President opened a restored Rabat Fortress". The news item got only 1:51 minutes, which was relatively less time, compared to other channels. The journalist's tone was neutral in the report, although there was an overall positive impression created about the president because of his speech and his meeting with people. It should also be noted that Maestro showed that part of Saakashvili's speech, where he is making mistakes while reciting a passage about King Rostevan from the poem "The Knight in the Panther's Skin". However, there was no emphasis laid on this by the journalist.

In regards to the respondents and different opinions, the reports on Maestro are mostly balanced. However, it should also be noted that the unbalanced reports are mostly about those topics, where there is a clear need of the comments by the representatives of the government, the United National Movement and the local self-government. Besides, in some cases the journalist is saying that they tried to but could not contact the respondent.

There are rare cases on Maestro when the journalist's words/opinions are irrelevant to the material presented in the report: the respondents' comments and frames. There were no cases of manipulation with footage during the monitoring period.

## Kavkasia

*The most time on Kavkasia was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. According to the allocated time, the next subject got less than a half of the time compared to it. Out of those subjects, to which more than 10 minutes were allocated, the majority has more than 61% of direct speech. The exception is the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which the share of direct and indirect speech was quite equal. The reports are more or less balanced. However, there are cases when the story is based on one source only. In case of unbalanced reports often there is a lack of the comments by the representatives of the government, the National Movement and the local self-government. In most cases, the news reports leave an overall neutral impression about the subjects. The reports are mostly supported by footage and respondents' comments. As for the irrelevance between the journalist's opinion and the material presented in the report, we hardly see the cases like this.*

In total, 5 hours and 9 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Kavkasia during the period of August 16-31. The most time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream (28%). It is noteworthy that according to the allocated time, the next subject got less than a half of the time compared to it. Besides, the indicators for those subjects that ranked second, third and fourth, are similar to one another: United National Movement (12%), the government (11%), the President (10%). It's interesting that out of the monitored seven channels, more than 1 minute was allocated to the coverage of local NGOs<sup>6</sup> only on Kavkasia, Maestro and the Ninth Channel – which is 6-7 percent of the time allocated to the subjects (see the Diagram – Time 5)

In regards to the percentage-based distribution of direct and indirect speech it is notable that in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which largest share of time was allocated, the share of direct and indirect speech is almost equally distributed (the direct speech 49%, indirect – 51% out of about 1 hour and 27 minutes). Out of those subjects, to which more than 10 minutes were allocated, the majority has more than 61 percent of direct speech. Among them, the President has the highest indicator (69% - out of 31 minutes). The lowest share of direct speech according to the allocated time, was reported for the United National Movement, ranking the second (41% out of about 38 minutes) and the government, ranking the third (29% out of about 33 minutes). (See the Diagram – Speech 5)

As for the tone-based evaluation of subjects, it is noteworthy that the most positive tone was reported for the President (44% out of about 32 minutes). The Christian-Democratic Movement was covered positively during 9% of the allocated time on Kavkasia during the monitoring period. The relatively large share of negative tone was reported for the United National Movement (18% out of about 42 minutes) and the government (13% out of about 34 minutes). As for the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which the most time was allocated (1 hour 41 minutes), it was covered with neutral tone for 92 percent of allocated time, and only 3 percent of positive and 5 percent of negative tone was reported (See the Diagram – Tone 5)

Distribution of time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone mostly creates a neural picture. In case of the United National Movement the relatively more share of negative tone was reported (16% out of about 16 minutes), an in case of the President – the highest indicator of positive tone (13% out of about 7 minutes). (See the Diagram – Tone J5).

The news items on Kavkasia did not have headlines during the whole monitoring period, thus it was impossible to monitor them.

In regards to the sources used in the reports, or the diversity of presented opinions, the reports were more or less balanced on Kavkasia during the monitoring period. However,

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<sup>6</sup> The monitoring looks at the coverage of local NGOs only in the elections context.

there are cases when the reports are based on one source only. In case of unbalanced reports we observe the lack of the comments of the representatives of the government, the National Movement and local authorities. Like other channels, reports about the election campaign became more frequent on Kavkasia, though it is difficult to speak about any balance in this reference.

In general, there is an overall neutral impression created about the subjects in the reports. However, there are many news items like this, where the overall impression about this or that subject tends to be more positive or more negative. In this respect we should point out that the general impression tends towards negative mostly in case of the United National Movement, the government, the authorities, the President and the local self-government. This impression is created mostly by the comments of the respondents provided in the news items. However, there were reports during the monitoring period, where the positive impression was created about the President.

In the report of august 24 about kidnapping the local youth in Lapankuri, a journalist is saying that for a person living in Lapankuri, it is not a credible version as if the youth were kidnapped by the armed grouping who have come from Dagestan, and he considers that it was all orchestrated by the government. After that there are two respondents shown in the report, who confirm what the journalist had said. One of them is saying that "there was no Lezgin or Russian kidnappers here. There was nobody here. This was arranged by this government... why? Because apparently they are afraid of these elections... these guys belong to the National Movement". This report is not very long, but leaves a negative impression about the government and the National Movement.

In the news item of August 17 about opening the Rabat Fortress in Akhaltsikhe, there is a very positive impression created about the President. The journalist's text is neutral, but beautiful shots of the castle is shown, also the gathered people and the President, which creates a positive impression. It is interesting that they did not show the part of the President's speech, where he made a mistake while reciting a part from the poem "The Knight in the Panther's Skin".

The President is also positively represented in the report of August 28 dedicated to the opening of a new airport in Kutaisi. Here as well, there is a positive impression created as the result of the President's speech. However, the report does not show the shots of piloting an aircraft by Saakashvili, which was shown for quite a long time in the reports on Rustavi 2 and Imedi.

The reports are mostly supported by the footage and respondents' comments. As for irrelevance between the journalist's opinion and the material shown in the report, we hardly see the cases like this during this monitoring period.

## The Ninth Channel

*The time allocated to the subjects on the Ninth Channel was quite unevenly distributed. The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first with 30 percent, which significantly exceeds the second-ranking subject – the Government. Out of those subjects, to which more than 10 minutes were allocated, the most equal distribution is provided to the Coalition Georgian Dream and the local NGOs. The government, the United National Movement and the President have a relatively low share of direct speech. Critical and ironical headlines are quite often observed on the Ninth Channel regarding the President, the government and the ruling team. In the news items the President, the government, the United National Movement and other officials are mostly covered in negative context as the result of the respondents' comments also the overall context and the journalist's text. As for representing various opinions in the reports, in this respect the news items are more or less balanced. However, it is also worth mentioning that in most cases the reports do not have the comments of the government or representatives of various state structures and the United National Movement. There were cases when the journalists' words and the material shown in the reports were inconsistent.*

In total, 5 hours and 9 minutes were allocated to the subjects of monitoring during the monitoring period, which was distributed quite unevenly. According to the allocated time, the Coalition Georgian Dream was ranking first with 30 percent, which significantly exceeds the indicator of the second-ranking subject – the government – 18%. The United National Movement and the president ranked three and four with 15 and 13 percent. It is also noteworthy that out of seven monitored channels, only the 9<sup>th</sup> Channel, Kavkasia and Maestro allocated more than 1 minute to the coverage of local NGOs<sup>7</sup> – which is 6-7 percent of the time allocated to the subjects (See the Diagram – Time 6 and Time 4).

As for the distribution of direct and indirect speech, out of the subjects to which more than 10 minutes were allocated, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the most equal distribution (51% direct out of about 1 hour and 15 minutes), and the local NGOs (54% out of about 15 minutes). As for the government, the United National Movement and the President, which ranked second, third and fourth, they had a relatively low share of direct speech (government – 18% out of 46 minutes; National Movement – 28% out of 37 minutes; President – 33% out of 32 minutes). It is also noteworthy that compared to all other channels, the government has the lowest share of direct speech on the Ninth Channel. (See the Diagram - Speech 6)

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<sup>7</sup> The monitoring looks at the coverage of local NGOs only in the elections context.

In regards to the tone-based coverage of the subjects, there is an eye-catching prevalence of negative tone on the Ninth Channel towards four subjects: President (56% out of about 32 minutes), local self-government (48% out of about 9 minutes), the United National Movement (46% out of about 40 minutes) and government (39% out of about 47 minutes). As for the positive tone, the positive coverage is rare on the Ninth Channel. Out of those subjects to which more than 10 percent was allocated, positive tone was reported only to several subjects: President (5% out of about 32 minutes) and the Coalition Georgian Dream (6% out of about 1 hour and 24 minutes). It is also worth mentioning that the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which the most time was allocated, was covered with neutral tone during 90% of time (See the Diagram – Tone 6)

Distribution of time allocated to the subjects based on the journalist's tone is similar to the general tone. Share of negative tone is quite big exactly towards those subjects, which had a big share of negative coverage from the viewpoint of general tone. Local self-government (57% out of about 6 minutes), United National Movement (53% out of about 21 minutes), the government (38% out of about 26 minutes) and President (38% out of 15 minutes). (See the Diagram – Tone J6)

In regards to the story headlines, quite often the headlines with critical and ironical headlines are observed on the Ninth Channel about the President, government and the ruling team. For example: "Function of Buckwheat: government no longer speaks about unsuccessful agro-projects" (August 17), "Advertisements in microbuses: only the commercials of the National movements are seen in microbuses" (August 20), "Preparing for "cool" rigging? President is sure he wins the elections" (August 20); "Leninism in Georgia: Rurua considers Migliori's statement nonsense" (August 23), "Minister's business interest: Paata Trapaidze still controls business share" (August 24), "Unfinished projects in Rustavi: projects opened by the President has not continued yet" (August 25); "Archil Gegenava's strange promise: the candidate promises shabby houses to the people" (August 31)

Observation on the overall impression created by the reports during the qualitative monitoring revealed a tendency on the Ninth Channel that the president, the government, the United National Movement and other officials are covered in a negative context in the news items as the result of the respondents comments, also due to the general contents and the journalist's text.

For example, the opening of Rabat Fortress was covered by the Ninth Channel as well. The report of August 16 "Celebration in Akhaltsikhe"<sup>8</sup> starts with the journalist's words: "and

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<sup>8</sup> To see video please follow the link: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDfnLbur\\_V0&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDfnLbur_V0&feature=youtu.be)

now we have new phrases from Mikheil Saakashvili. While making his speech today, Mikheil Saakashvili said that the Rabat Fortress was a revival crown... This may be a castle where King Rostevan had his crown. However, I do not think that Nestan-Darejan could have been locked up here, because it is not a Kajeti Castle. You can now listen to the President saying this and other important phrases". After that they show a part of the President's speech, where the President made mistakes while reciting some lines of the poem "The Knight in the Panther's Skin", and this was broadcasted in full. There was another report on the same topic broadcasted the next day, on August 17 with the headline "President and "The Knight in the Panther's Skin" – Saakashvili: "King Rostevan had a crown in Rabat".<sup>9</sup> The journalist finished the story with the words: "why the President's administration clipped the President's recital of the poem? See the President's free essay on the motifs of the "The Knight in the Panther's Skin". And they again repeated the President's mistake.

The report of August 31 "Archil Gegenava's strange promise: the candidate promises the people unsafe houses" is build on the pre-election promise of Archil Gegenava, majoritarian candidate of the National Movement, where one of the promises dealt with the "houses that were not safe to live in". During the whole news item there was an irony observed towards this promise and its author as well. Majority of the respondents' is smiling at the words inscribed in the majoritarian candidate's campaign poster. However, there is also a comment by the PR manager of the majoritarian candidate, but the overall impression still looks ironical.

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

- A journalist: "As it seems, the authorities do not want to hear that the people are dissatisfied in Kakheti. The President refrains from speaking with a people who are in need". (August 16, the report "one month since the disaster")
- A journalist: "Hate speech has now become an inseparable part of Saakashvili's speeches". (August 21, the report "mandatory conscription: the youth are talking about the conscription because of political considerations")
- A journalist: "Total admiration with the figure 5 of the National Movement. Clear and hidden advertising of the number five is now getting hilarious". (August 28, the report "contributed FIVEs: the members of parliament and ex-ministers" have made contributions")

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

As for presenting various viewpoints in the reports, from this viewpoint the news items are more or less balanced. However, it should be pointed out that in most cases the reports do not contain the comments of the representatives from the government, various state structures and the United National Movement.

There are cases on the Ninth Channel, when the journalist's words and the material presented in the report are inconsistent.

## Real-TV

*The time allocated to the subjects on Real-TV during the period of August 16-31 was distributed quite unevenly. The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first with 34 percent. The top four is also made of: the Government - 20 percent, the President - 18 percent and the United National Movement - 12 percent. Out of those subjects, to which more than 10 minutes was allocated, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest percentage of direct speech. In regards to the headlines on Real-TV, it is worth noting that we often come across with descriptive and short headlines. Compared to the previous periods of monitoring, now the headlines of negative contents was observed more frequently, and this was mostly the case of the Coalition Georgian Dream.*

*The reports are sometimes balanced, sometimes - not. However, we need to point out that the majority of unbalanced reports are caused by the lack of the comments of representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream, or by the lack of the respondents of different opinions.*

In total, 5 hours and 43 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Real-TV during the period of August 16-31. This time was quite unevenly distributed among the subjects of monitoring. There are 4 key subjects that catch our eyes, to which the most time was allocated on Real-TV. However, there are quite big differences among the percentage indicators. The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first with its 34 percent. It is noteworthy that during the whole monitoring period, the Coalition always had more than 40 percent allocated to it, but this indicator was decreased in this particular period. Among the top-four subjects are: the government with its 20 percent, the President - 18 percent and the United National Movement with 12 percent. Other subjects got 4 or less percent. (See the Diagram - Time 7)

As for the percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech, out of those five subjects to which more than 10 minutes were allocated, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest percentage indicator of direct speech (40% out of about 1 hour and 56 minutes), and the President - the highest (83% out of about 1 hour and 3 minutes). In case of the government

and the United National Movement, the share of direct and indirect speech is quite equally distributed (See the Diagram – Speech 7)

As for the tone-based coverage of subjects, here the share of coverage with negative tone stands out for the Coalition Georgian Dream, which ranked first according to the amount of the allocated time. The share of negative coverage is 60 percent from out of 2 hours and 9 minutes. High rate of negative coverage was also reported in case of the Democratic Movement – United Georgia – 67 percent out of about 6 minutes. As for the positive tone, quite a big share of positive tone was reported for the following subjects: the President (64% out of about 1 hour and 5 minutes), local self-government (51% - out of 14 minutes), the government (34% out of about 1 hour and 13 minutes) and the United National Movement (26% out of about 46 minutes). (See the Diagram – Tone 7)

While evaluating the subjects according to the journalist's tone it is revealed that in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, the journalist's tone has a bigger share of negative tone – 74 percent (out of about 1 hour), than in case of overall tone. Similar picture is created in case of the Democratic Movement – 73 percent of negative coverage from out of 3 minutes. The government and the President are the subjects, which have the highest share of positive tone: president (48% out of about 7 minutes) and the government (23% out of about 27 minutes). (See the Diagram – Tone J7)

In regards to the headlines of stories on Real-TV we should say that we often come across with descriptive and short headlines. Compared to the previous monitoring period, now less headlines with negative contents were reported, though such headlines were mostly used in regards to the Georgian Dream. For example, the story of August 24 "Ivanishvili's American" and "Kaladze's Rhetoric"; "State Lady Nino" (August 21); "Dexterous Khmaladze" (August 22); "Foresighted Kukava" (August 23); "Criminal Brothers in the Dream" (August 27); "Renegade Alasania" (August 31).

Overall impressions tend towards positive or negative in the reports of Real-TV. Reports with neutral overall impression are rare. Besides, the majority of positive news items are made about the president, the Prime Minister, the government and in some cases to the National Movement and Mayor of Tbilisi. For example, the reports of August 16 "Restored Akhaltsikhe" and "Renewed Rabat Fortress" – both reports leave a positive impression about the President and the ruling team. The first report presents a big part of the President's speech, among them, all the lines of the poem recited by Saakashvili correctly or with mistakes. There is footage of gathered people, just married couple, beautiful views of the castle. The second report has a beautiful shots with a pleasant music, which intensifies the positive impression even more.

In the news item of August 17 "Prime Minister in Kakheti" reports about the Prime Minister's visit to the disaster-affected village. Merabishvili personally gives state assistance to the population, jokes too, and creates positive atmosphere among the people gathered around, also for the viewers as well. The journalist's opening statement is also positive and the respondents also support this impression.

On the other hand, much time is dedicated to the coverage of Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream on Real-TV, and the overall impression remains clearly negative. There are cases of clipping, or manipulation with shots and music; in addition, the opposition representatives are mentioned with ironical and cynical epithets, often by the journalists as well.

For example, the news item of August 20 "Javakh in the Dream", which tells a story of how Bidzina Ivanishvili nominated those majoritarian candidates who are distinguished with pro-Russian orientation and are also members of 'scandal' and 'odious' groupings. There were some shots shown from the archive, and a negative impression is created about the Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili.

The story of August 31 "Renegade Alasania" speaks about Alasania's affiliation with 'Culinary' gang, participation in military operations and unsuccessful special operations planned by him at various times. There are some shots from cartoons, also the shots from the archives, including the respondents' comments, which are clipped so that it is unclear whether they are talking about Alasania negatively or not. The report also emphasizes the hard times in Georgia when Alasania and his family had a careless life on Broadway in the US, and also mentions the amounts transferred to his bank account. In total, the news item leaves a clearly negative impression about Irakli Alasania.

Overall impression is even more intensified by the journalists' texts, which were often unneutral on Real-TV during the whole monitoring period. For example:

- A journalist: "shots which clearly show how disgustingly they are injecting drugs in feet and hands in a room, where one of the walls is covered with orthodox icons – this does not mean anything for the Georgian Dream". (August 16, the report "Drug Addiction and Dream's Policy")
- A journalist: "These are their exemplary members and what they can do! Protection of criminals, drug addicts and old spoilt public officials – this is a hobby of the Dreamers." (August 16, the report "Drug Addiction and the Dream Policy")
- A journalist: "For Ivanishvili, it is among his way of doing things to bribe policemen; the billionaire likes doing such things." August 16, the report on "Drug Addition and the Dream's Policy")

- A journalist: “There are 46 days before the elections, 46 ways for the Georgian Dream to feel “high” (August 16, story “Drug Addiction and the Dream’s Policy”)

As for the balance of stories according to the presented respondents, in this period 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 comments of the representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream, when their opinion would be important due to the contents. It is also noteworthy that we come across with not only the unbalanced reports, where the lack of comments by various sides is felt, but also the reports where there is balance regarding the respondents affiliation, but there is no diversity of presented opinions.

We observe discrepancy between the journalist's opinion and the comments or frames shown in the report. Like the previous monitoring period, on Real-TV we often come across with the cases of manipulation with frames and music, which are used mostly while preparing the negative reports about the Coalition Georgian Dream.

## Annex – Diagrams

Diagram - Time 1

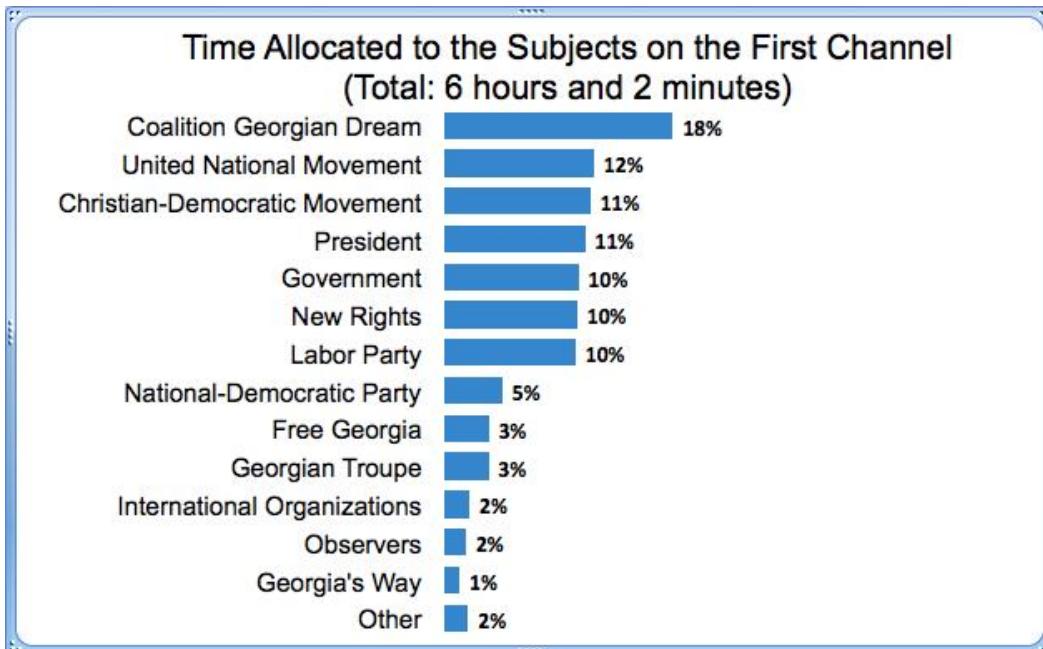


Diagram - Time 2

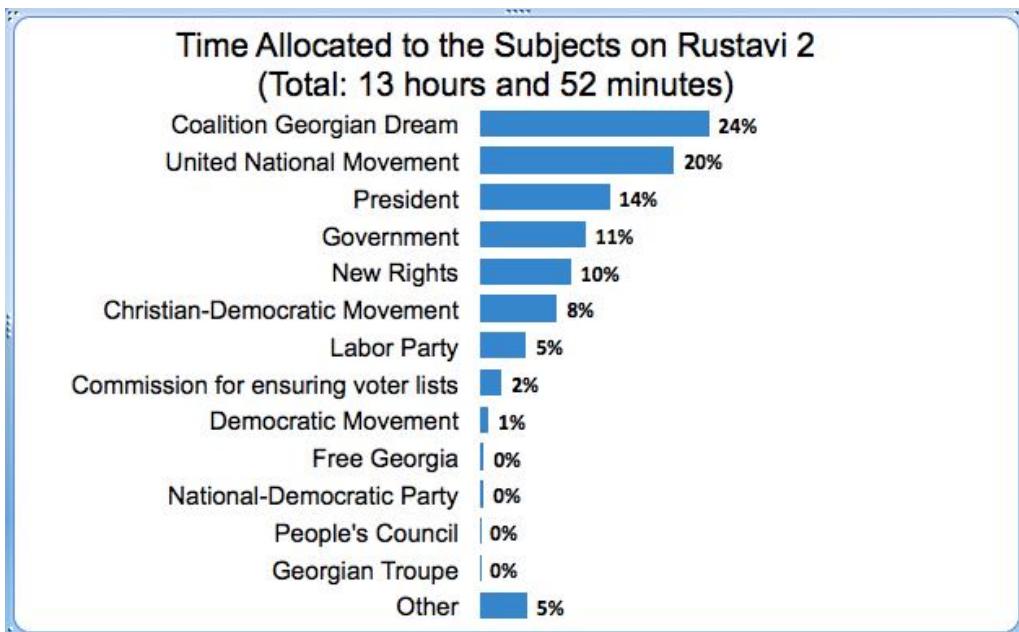


Diagram - Time 3

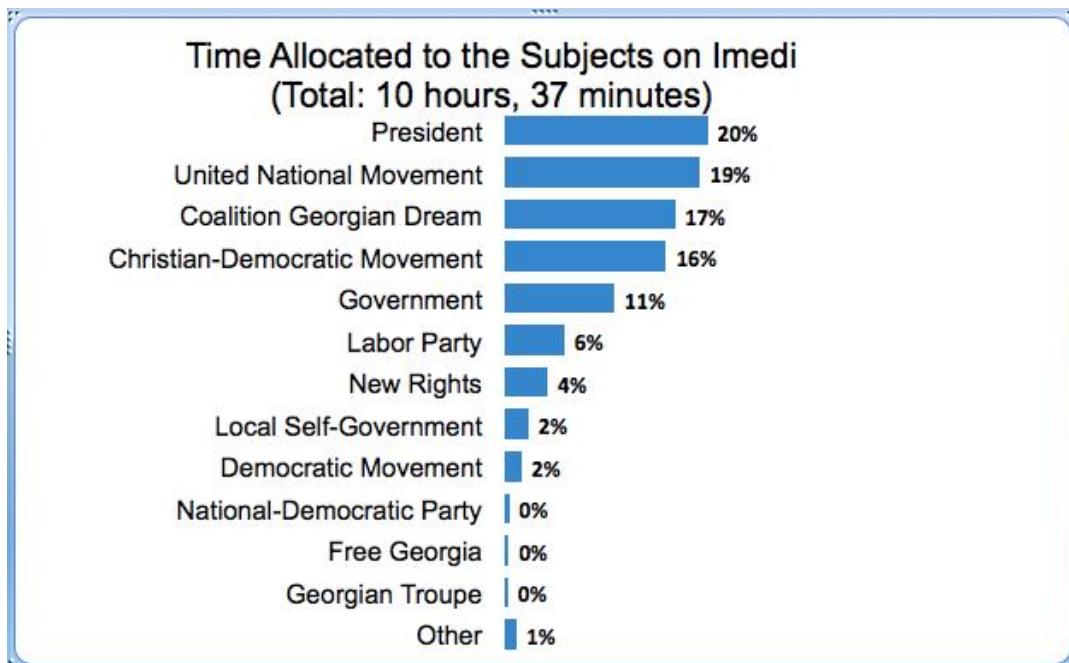


Diagram - Time 4

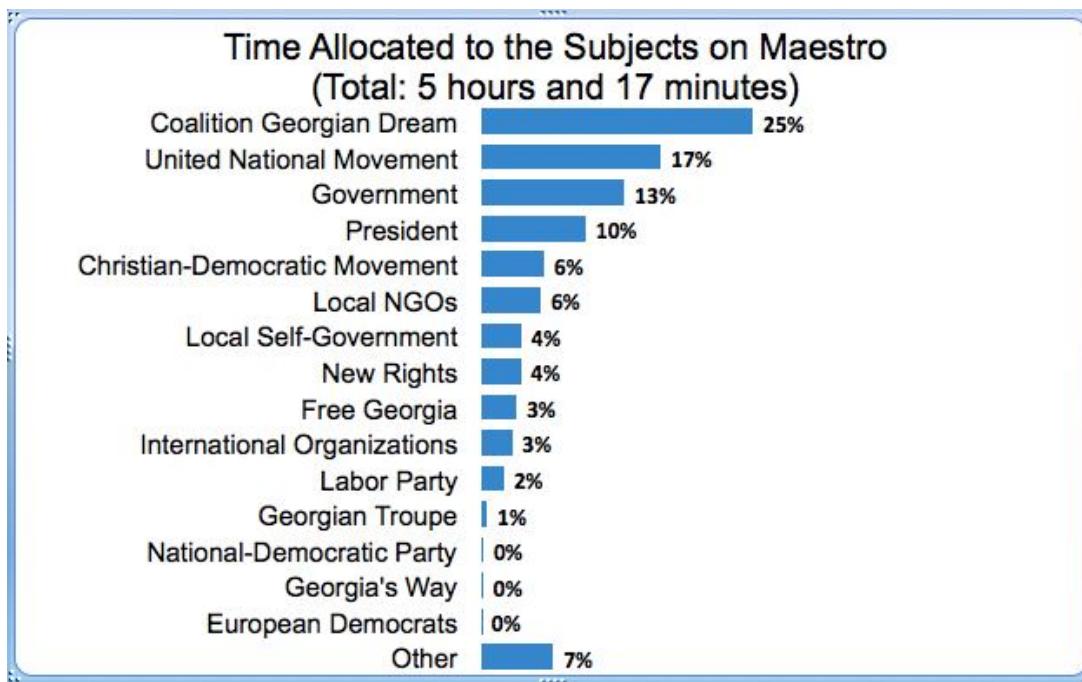


Diagram - Time 5

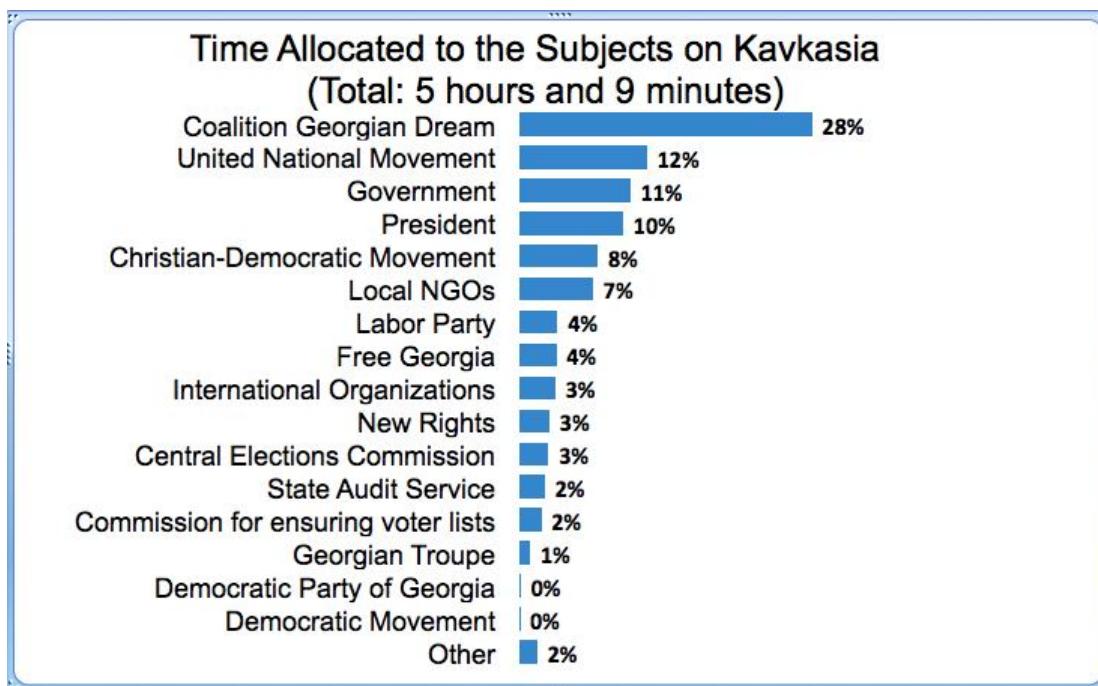


Diagram - Time 6

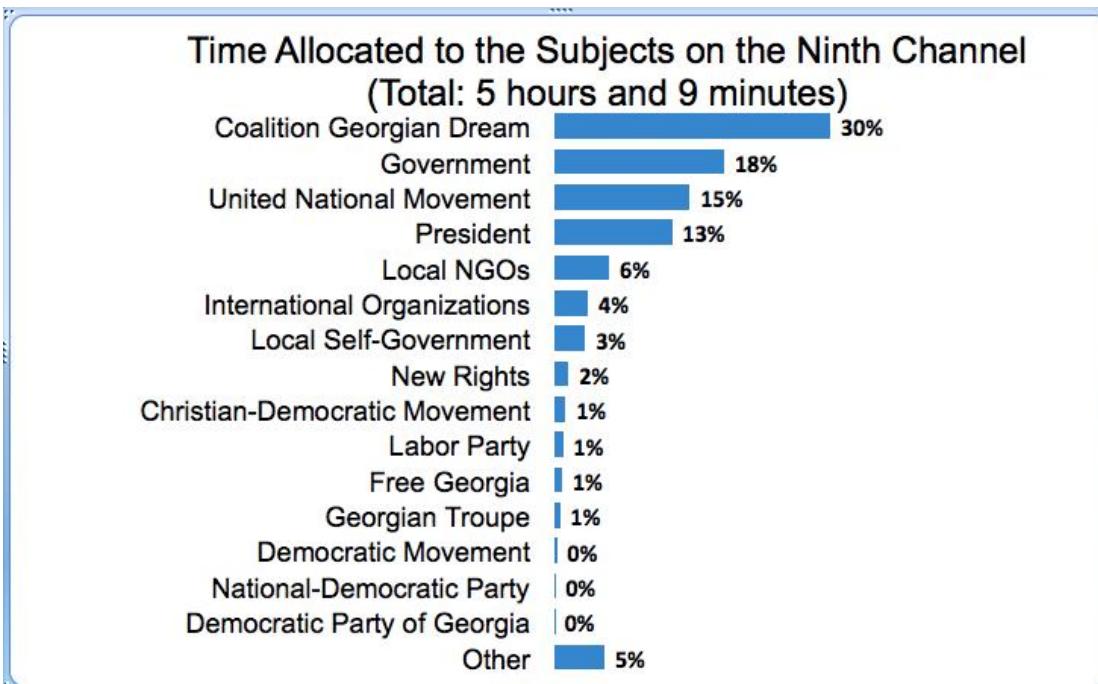


Diagram - Time 7

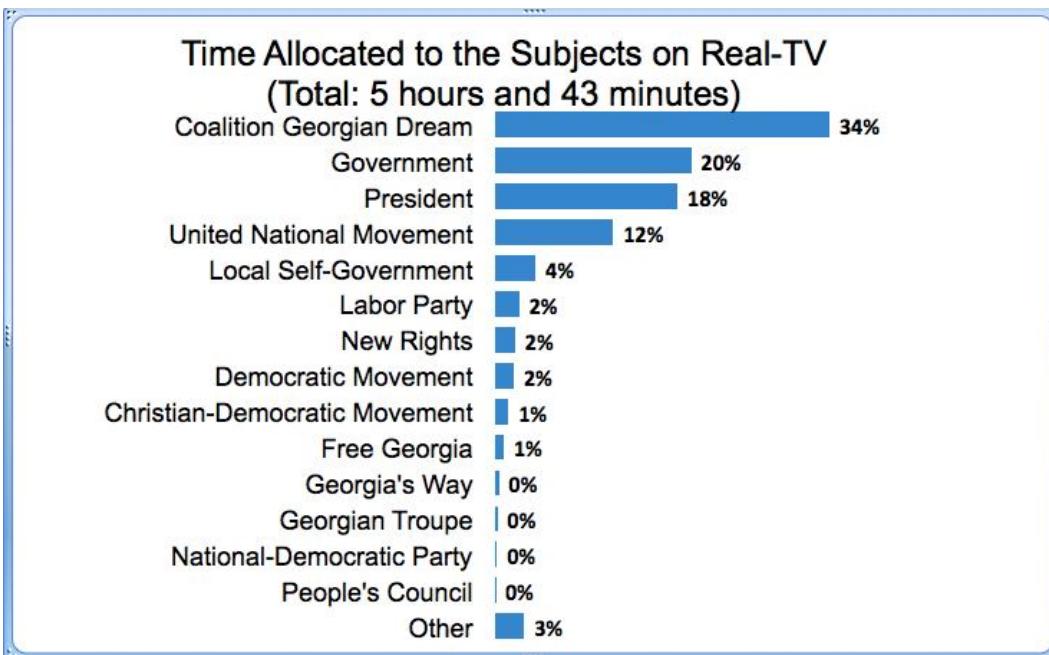


Diagram - Speech 1

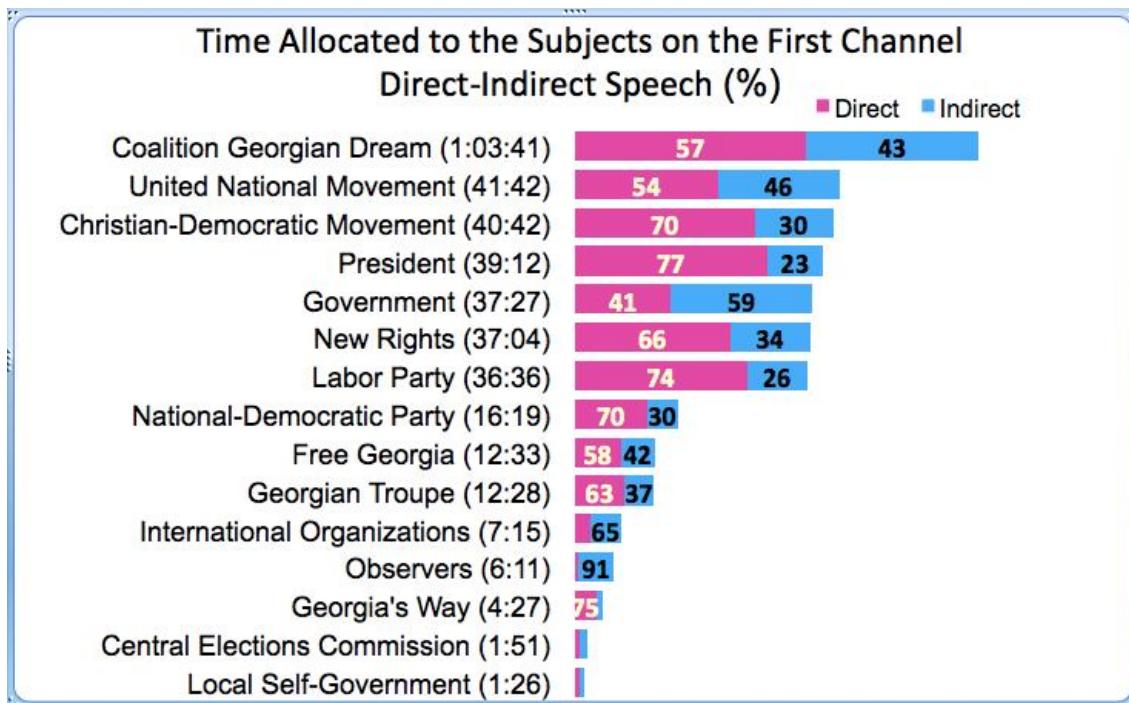


Diagram - Speech 2

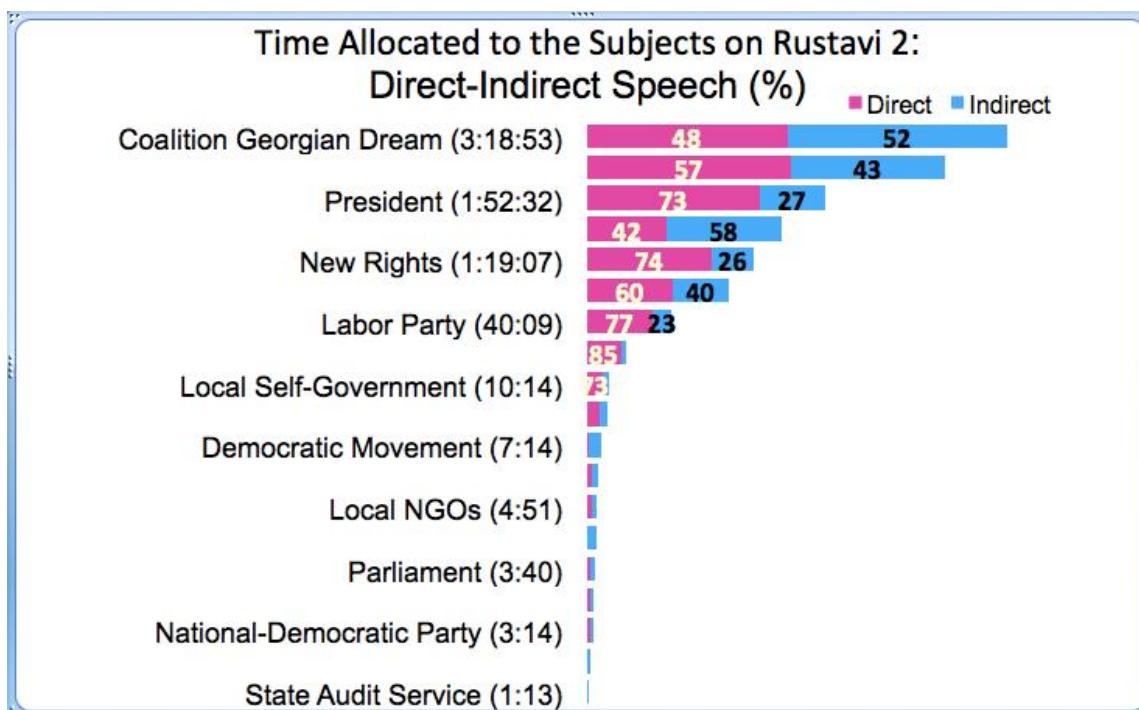


Diagram - Speech 3

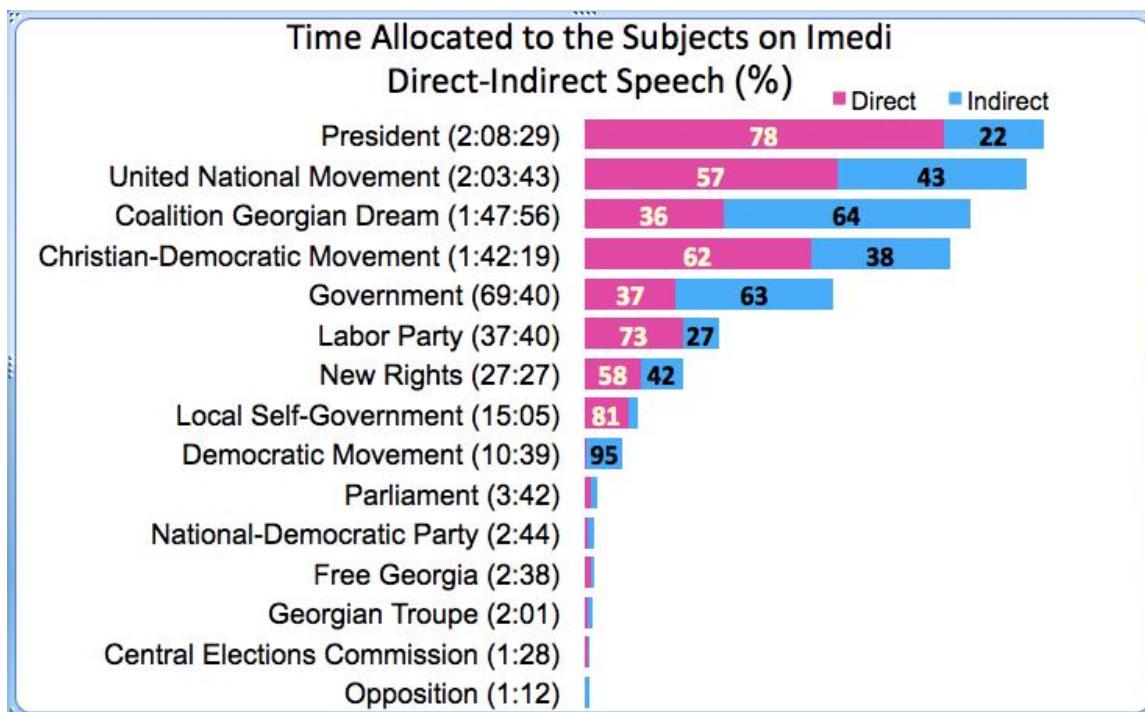


Diagram - Speech 4

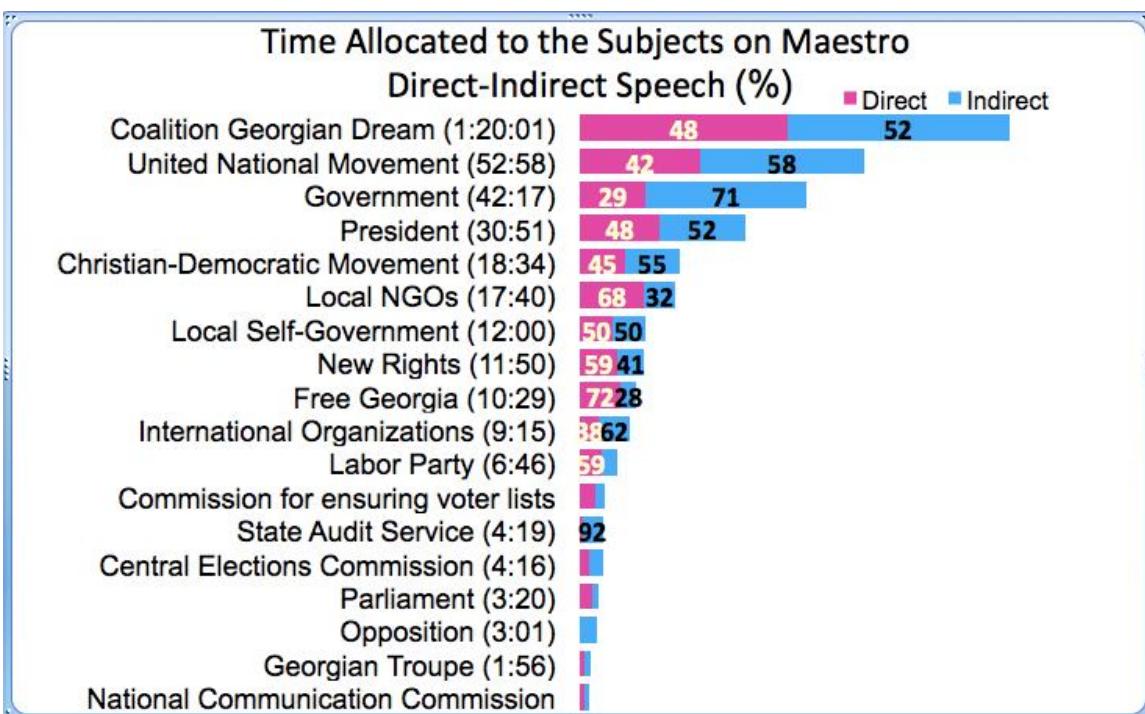


Diagram - Speech 5

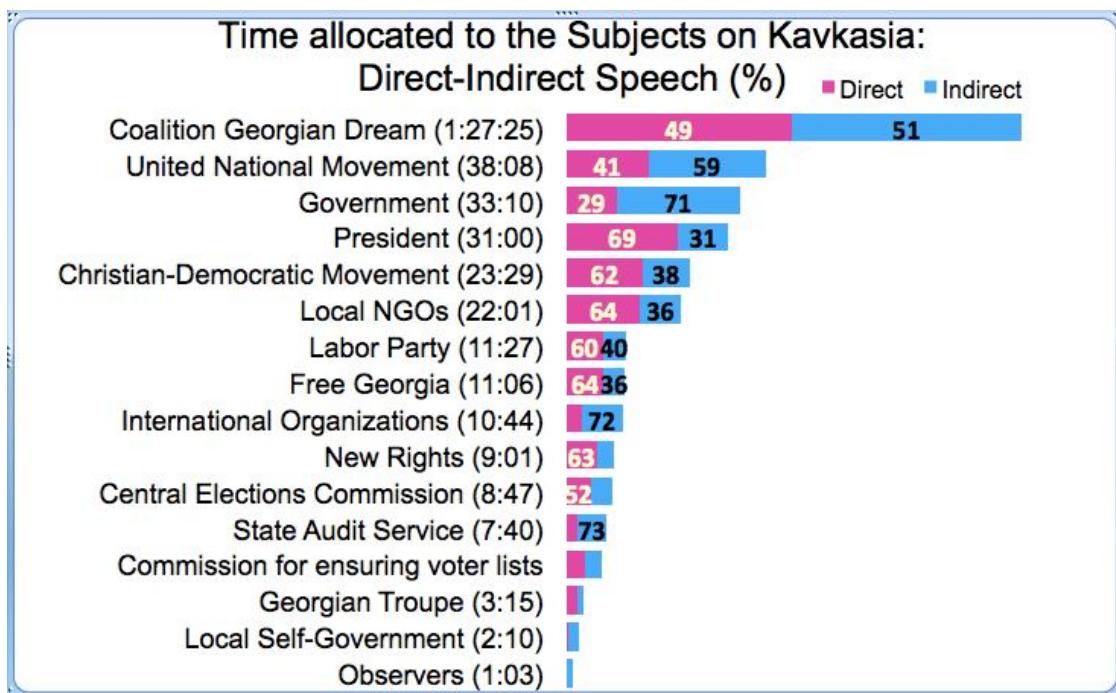


Diagram - Speech 6

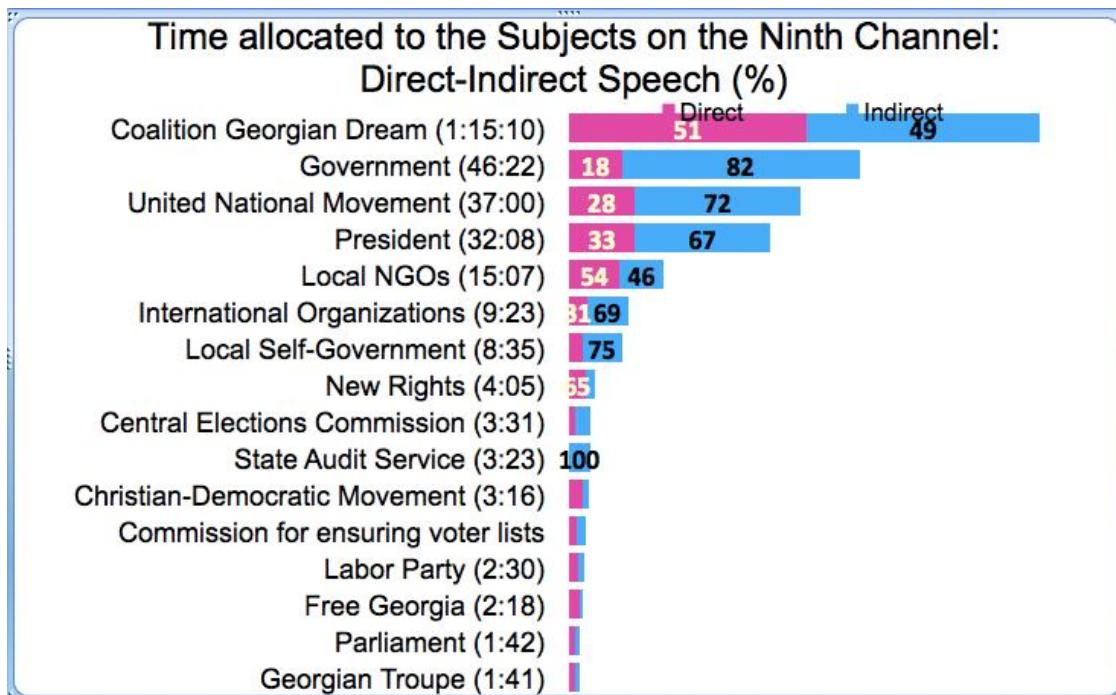


Diagram - Speech 7

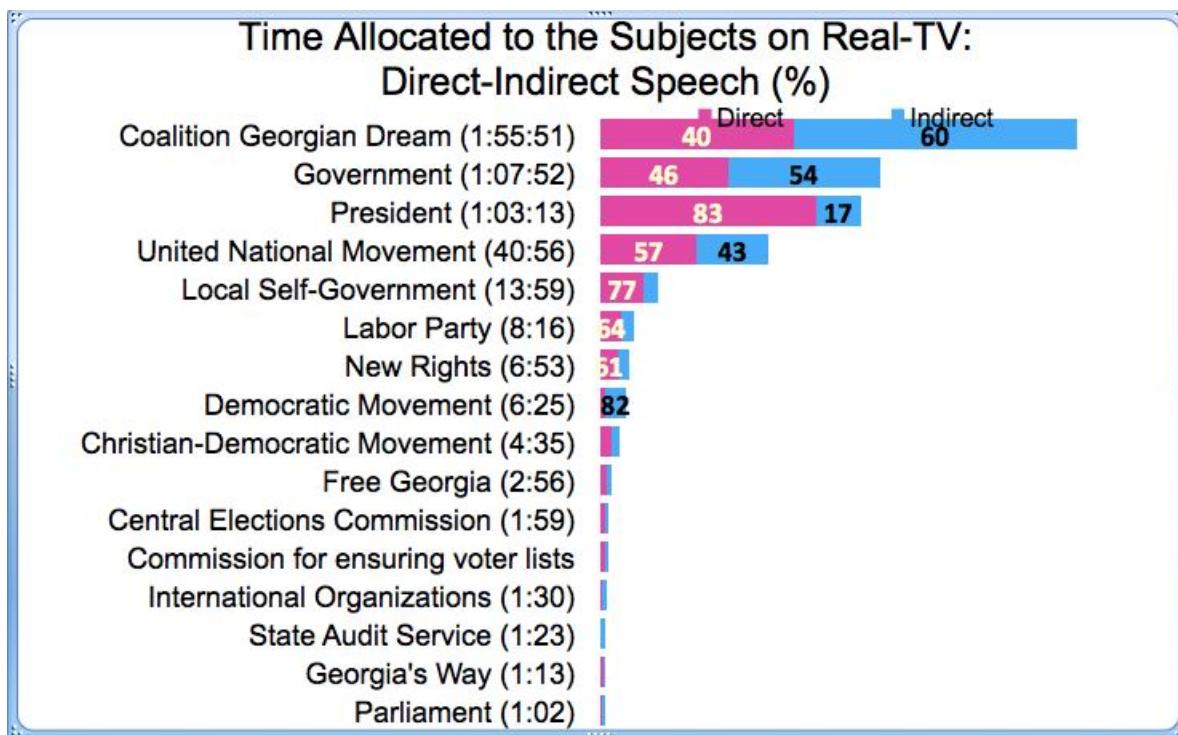


Diagram - Tone 1

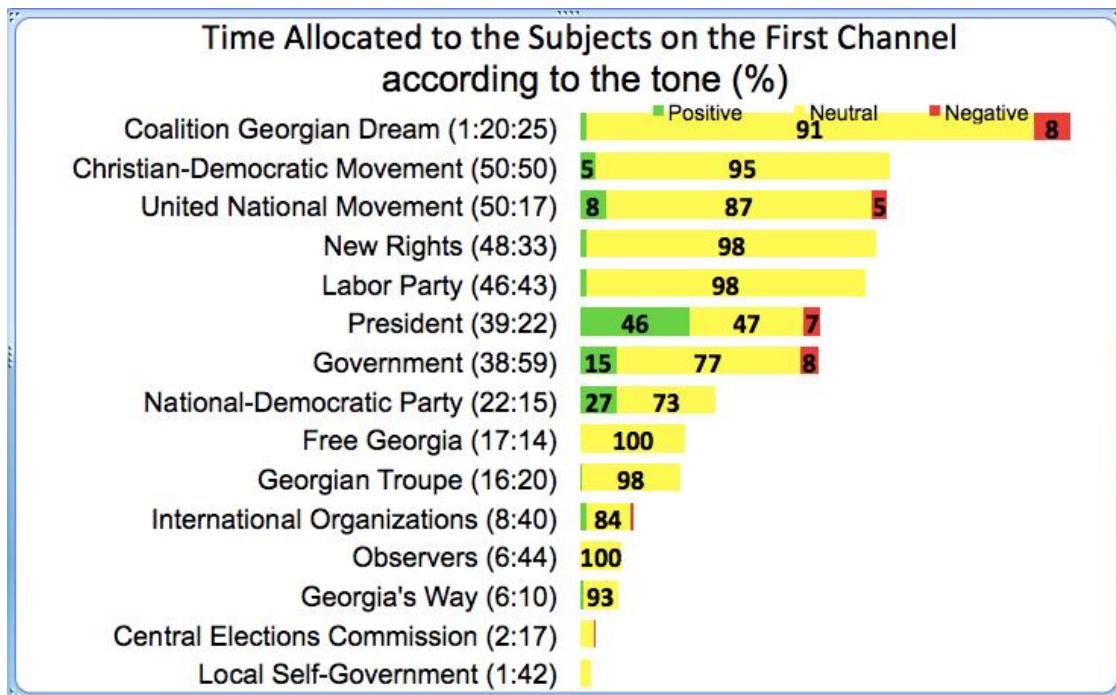


Diagram - Tone J1

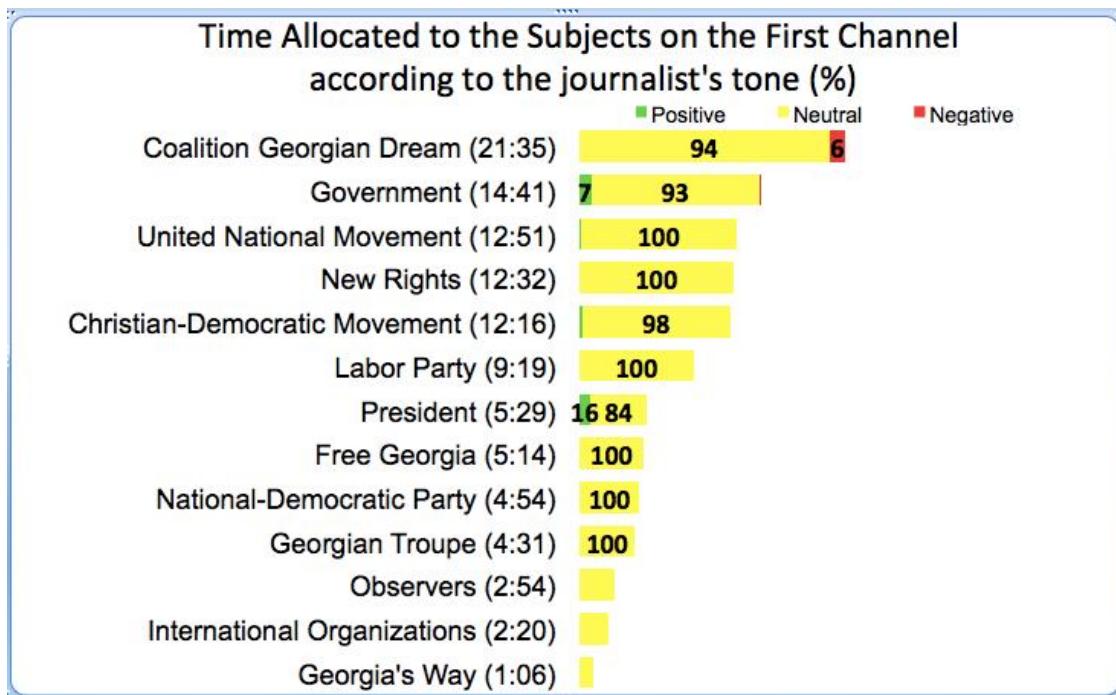


Diagram - Tone 2

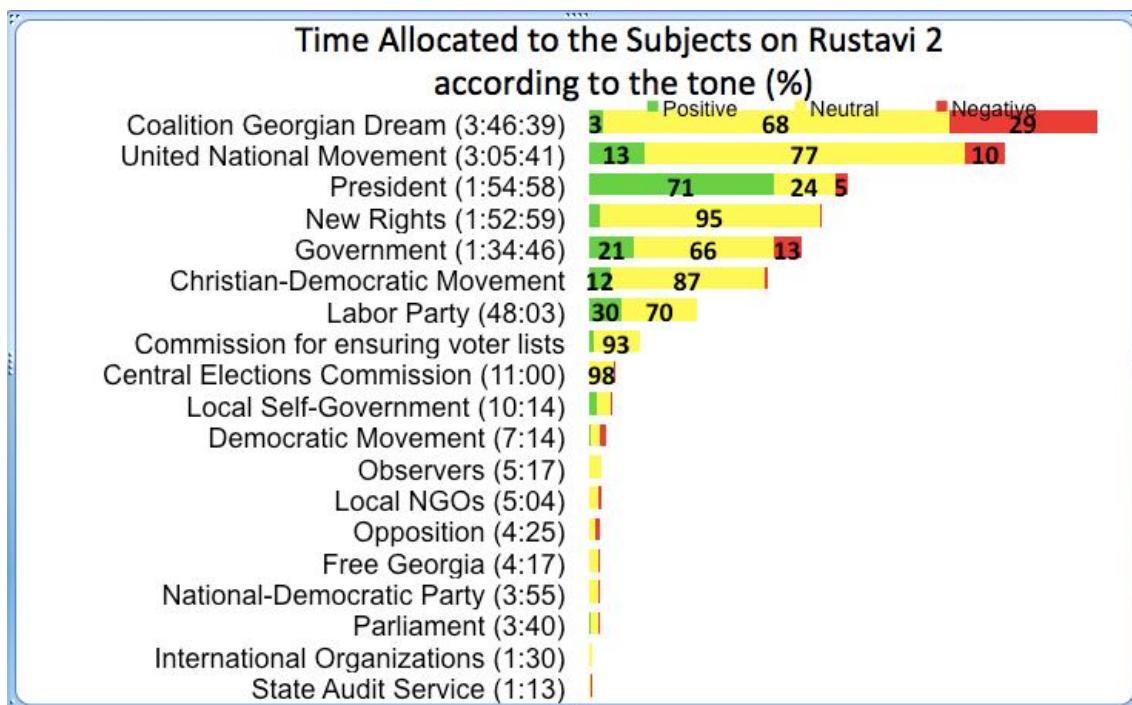


Diagram - Tone J2

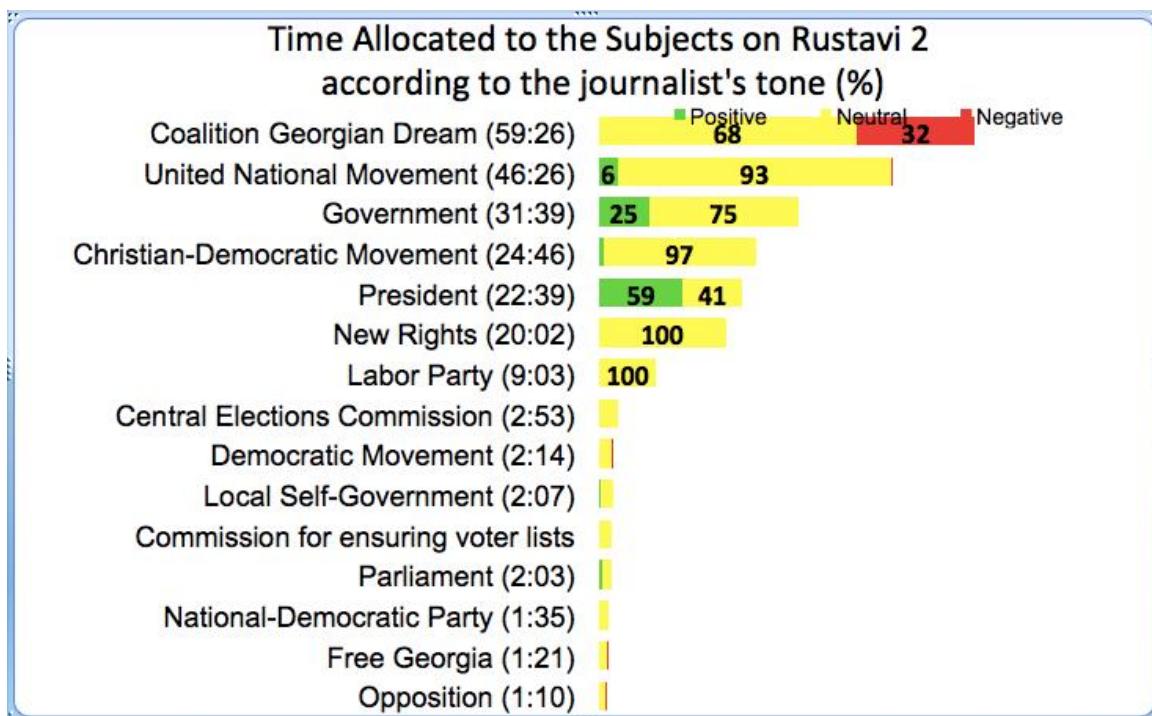


Diagram - Tone 3

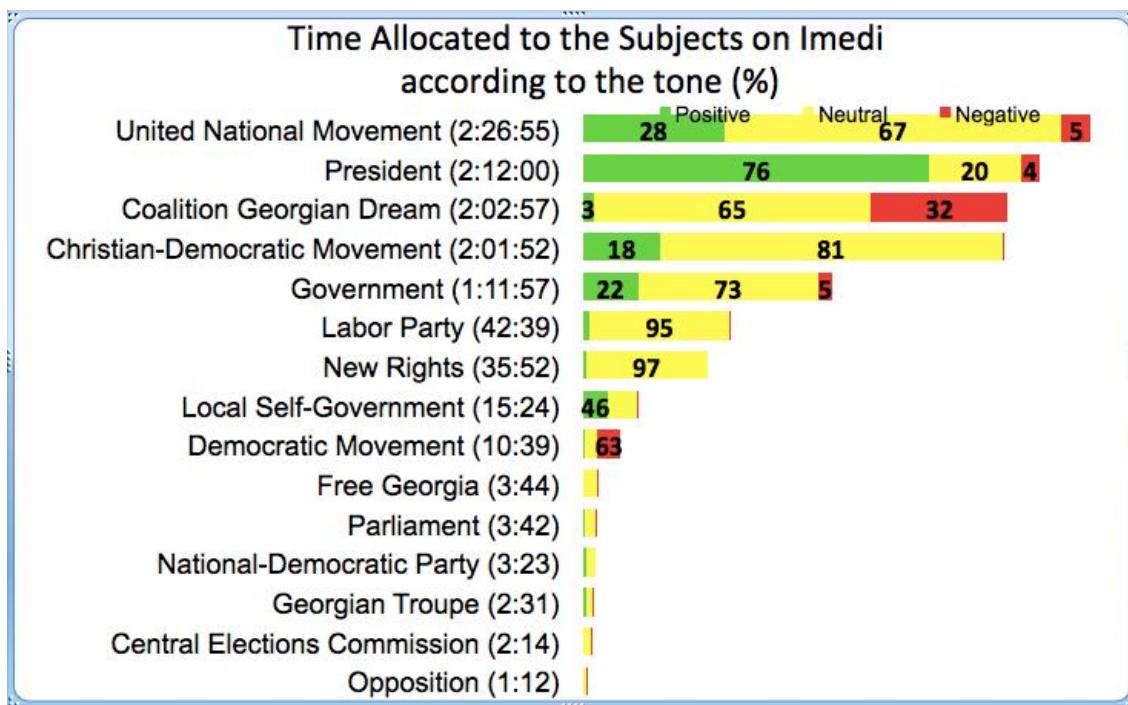


Diagram - Tone J3

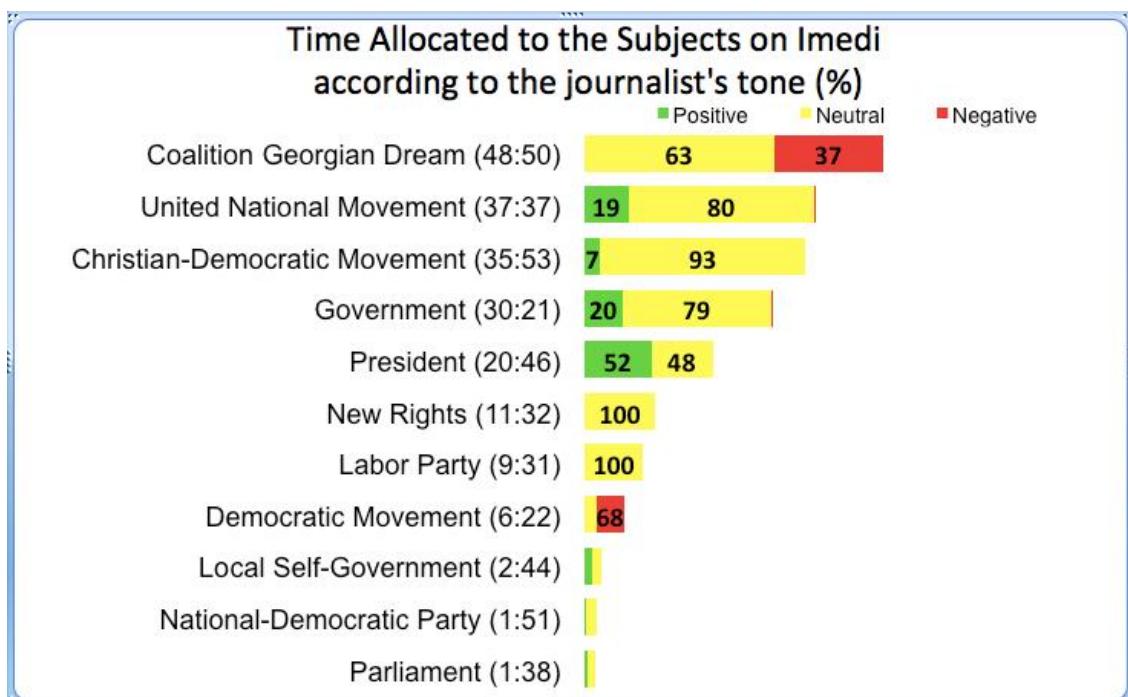


Diagram - Tone 4

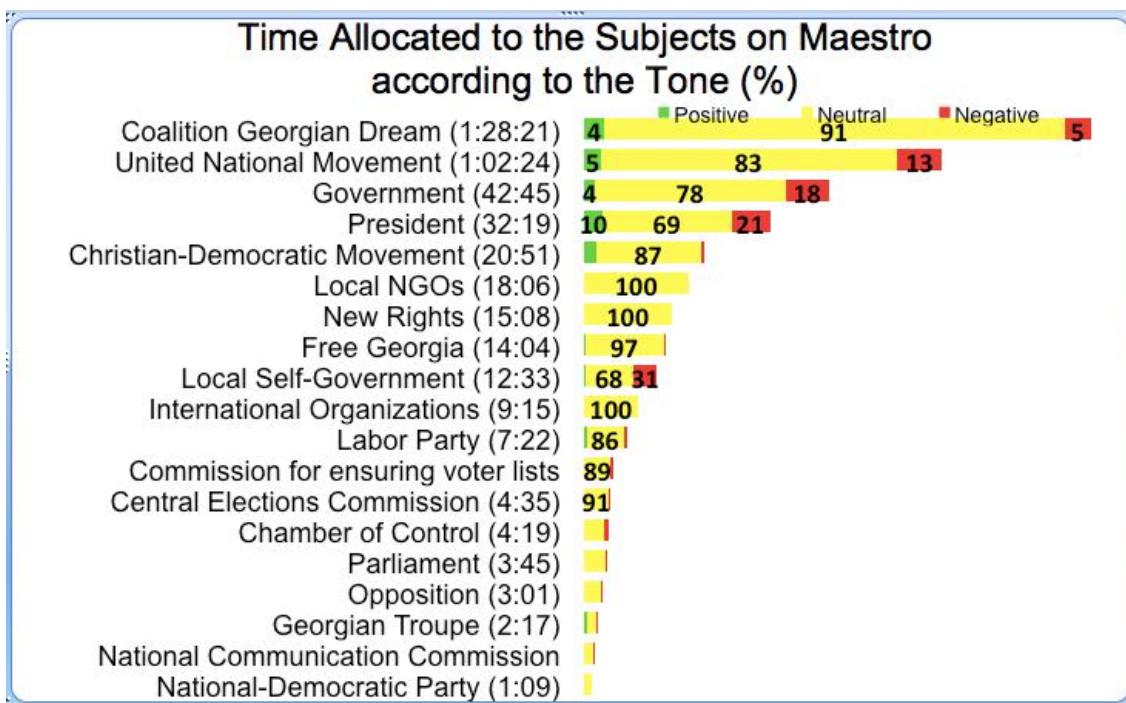


Diagram - Tone J4

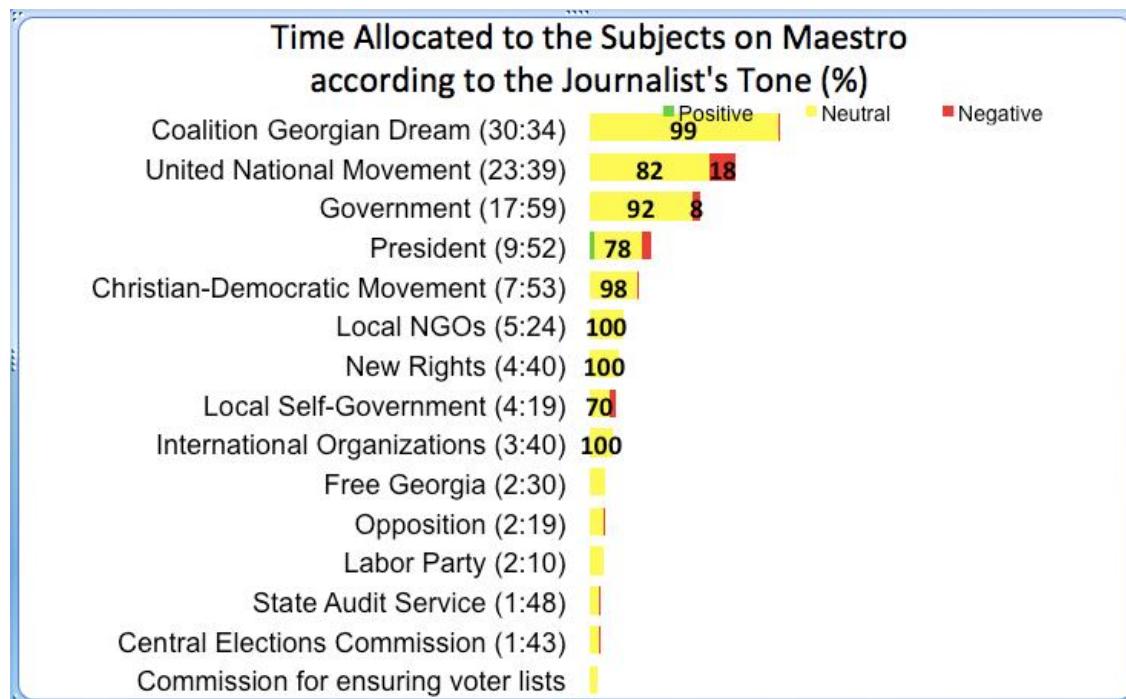


Diagram - Tone 5

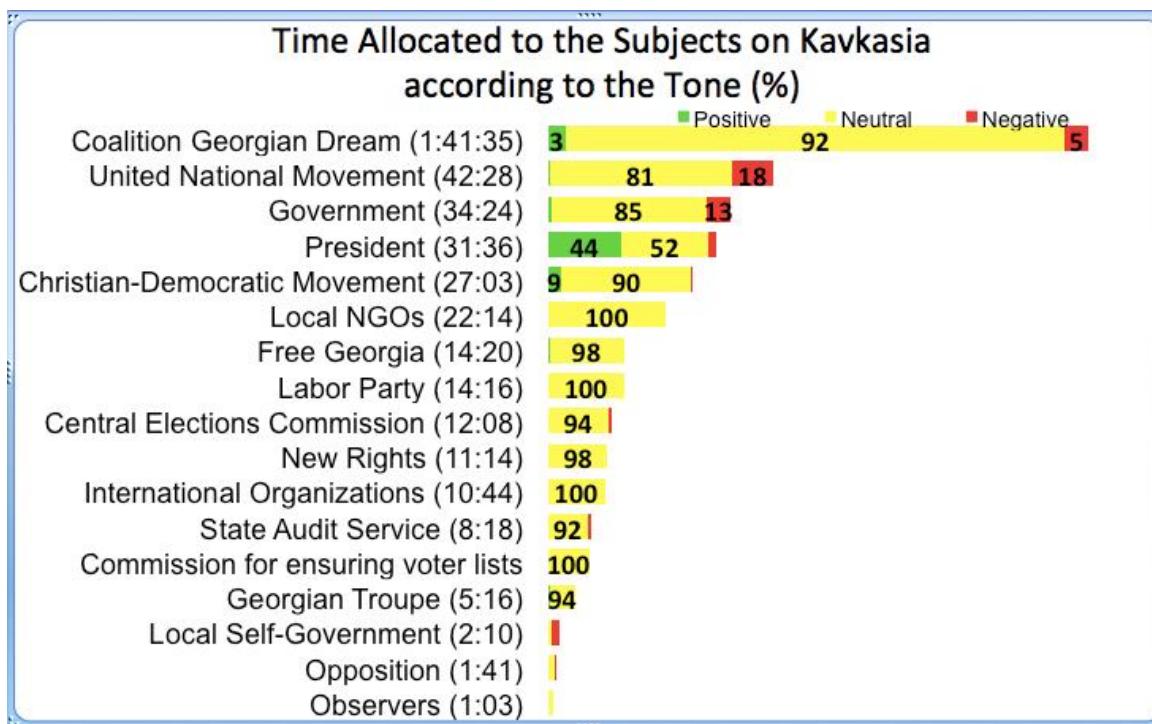


Diagram - Tone J5

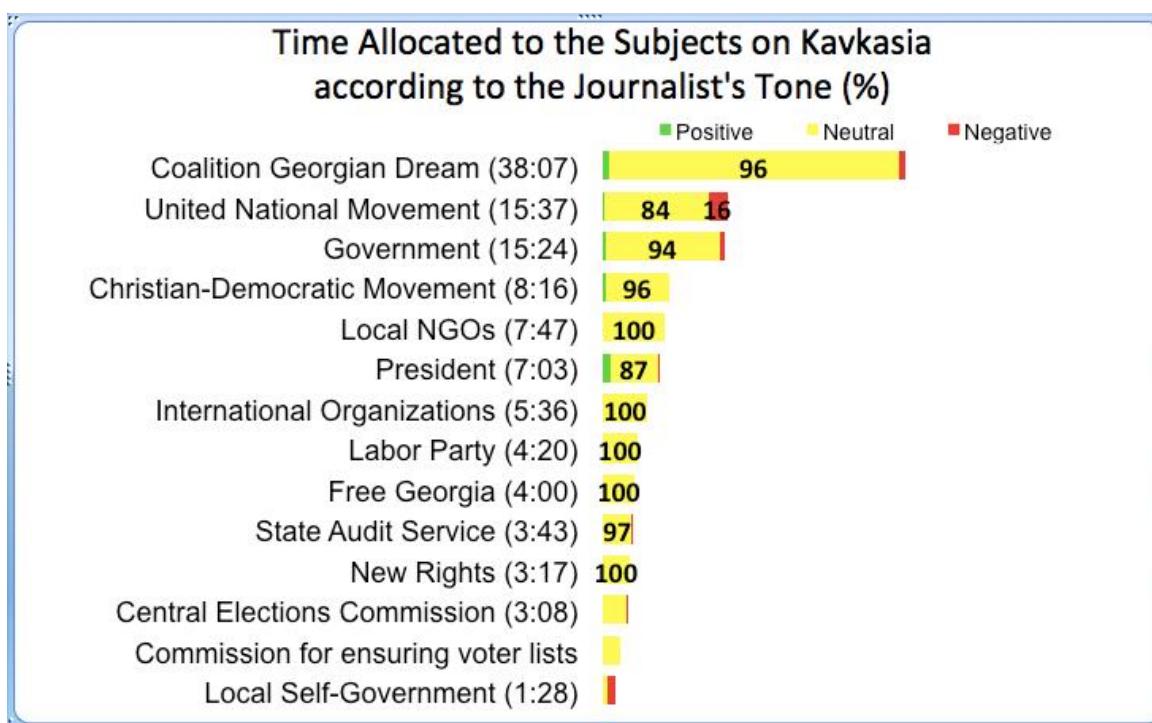


Diagram - Tone 6

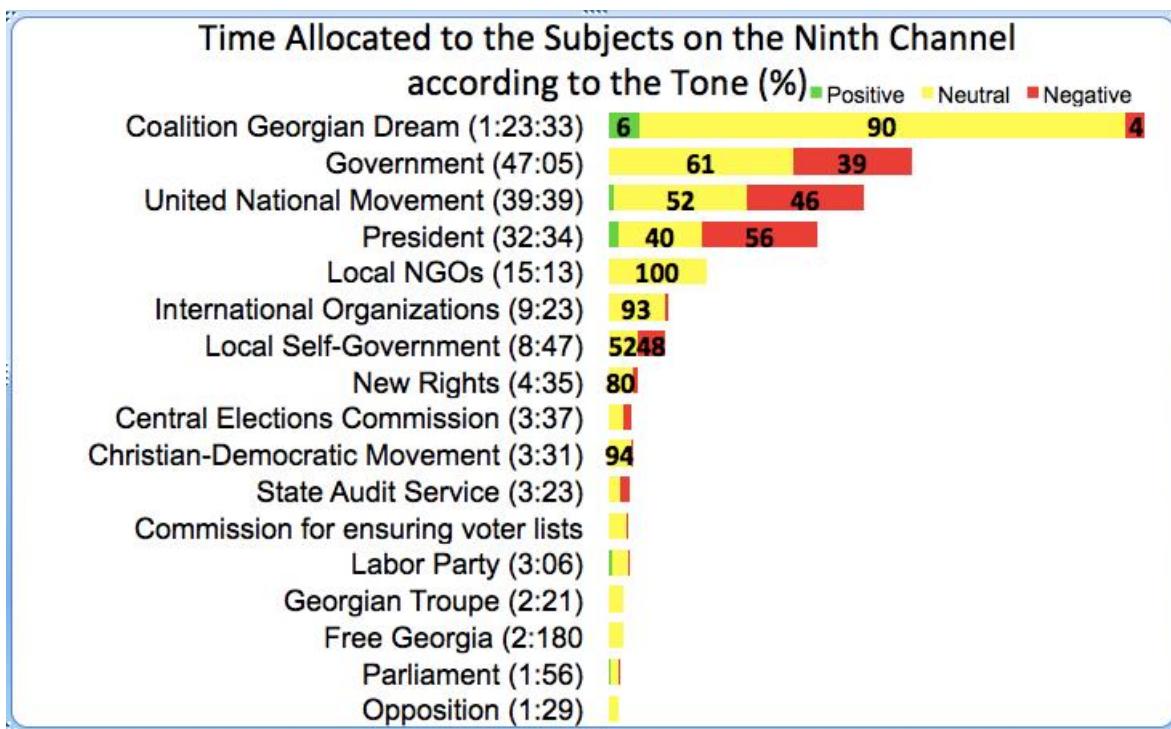


Diagram - Tone J6

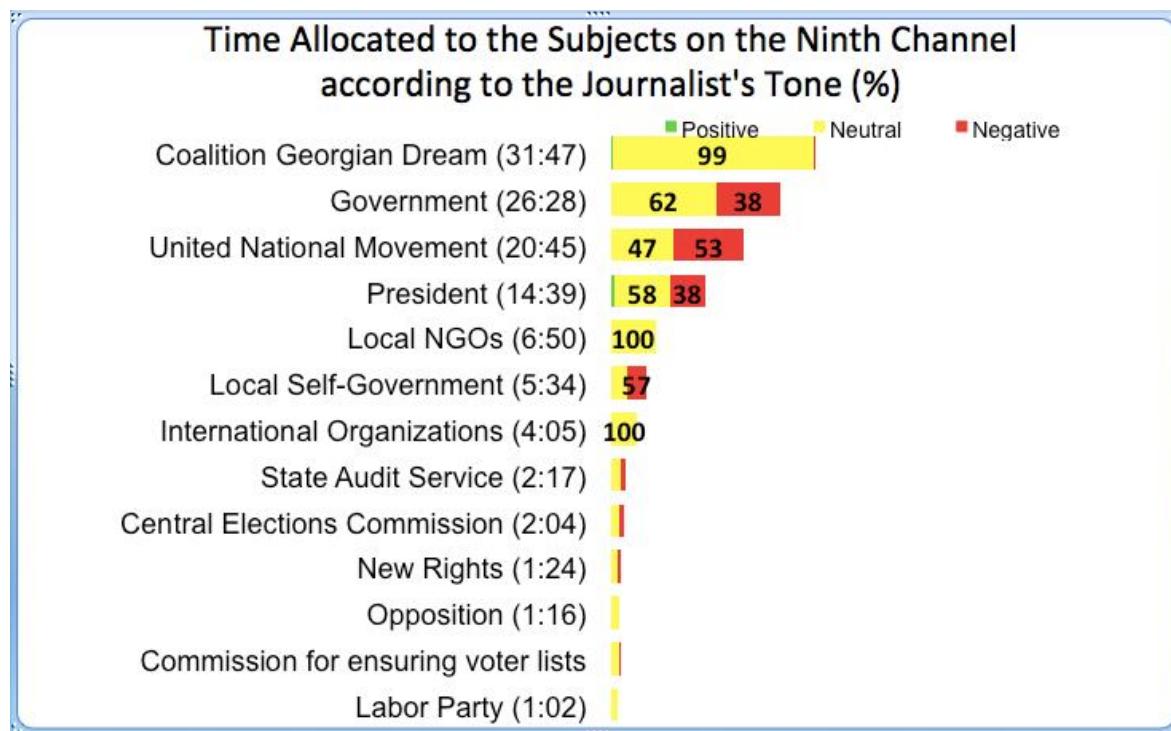


Diagram - Tone 7

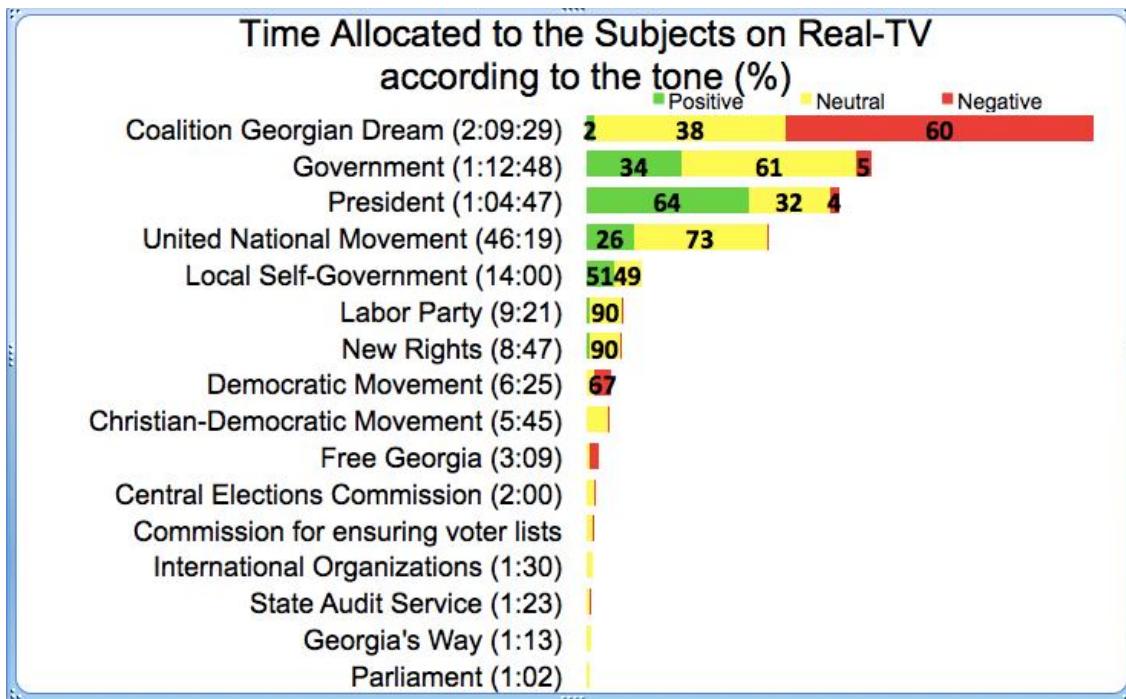


Diagram - Tone J7

