



Election Media Monitoring of Talk-Shows

July 9 – September 2, 2012

Election monitoring of talk-shows is performed for all the talk-shows on political topics broadcasted during prime time, which are dedicated to political topics. As far as not all the channels have the programs like that, only the following channels and talk-shows fell under the monitoring:

On the First Channel of the Public Broadcaster – “Dialogue with David Paichadze” and “Accents with Eka Kvesitadze”;

On Maestro – “Subjective Opinion”, hosts: Shalva Ramishvili and Diana Trapaidze; “Politmeter” – Nino Zhizhilashvili; “Arguments” – Thee Sichinava and “Us” – Tamar Chikovani;

On Kavkasia – “Spectrum” – Davit Akubardia, “Barrier” – Alexander Elisashvili and Nino Jangirashvili and “Hotline”, which is hosted by Alexander Elisashvili, Dachi Grdzlishvili, Zviad Koridze and Natia Orvelashvili in turn;

On the Ninth Channel – “Akhalkatsi’s Matrix”, “Counseling with Vasil Maglapheridze” and “Eka Beridze’s Main Question”.

Methodology and Analysis.

Election media monitoring of talk-shows consist of a qualitative component only. Only the journalists are monitored based on various components during the monitoring. Subjects of evaluation are the role and involvement of journalists during the program; whether a journalist is a moderator only, who is managing a process, or is s/he trying to state her/his position; whether the talk-shows’ hosts let the guests express their opinions and when s/he interrupts them. Besides, it is also monitored how equal conditions the journalist is creating for the guests; how equally demanding/permissive the questions of a journalist are towards all the guests, and how much the journalist is trying to get in-depth information from the guest through probing. The monitoring is also observing the usage of hate speech in talk-

shows (insulting or abusive phrases/statement) by the journalists/anchors, and their reaction on the cases if their guests are using the hate speech.

The report covers the period from July 9 till September 2, inclusive, and provides the analysis of programs broadcasted during this period per channels.

The First Channel

Two programs became the monitoring subjects on the First Channel. These are: "Dialogue with Davit Paichadze" and "Accents with Eka Kvesitadze". Davit Paichadze's program is broadcasted twice a week – on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and "Accents" are broadcasted only once a week, every Sunday. During the monitoring period only 3 releases of Eka Kvesitadze's talk-shows were covered by the monitoring period, and "Dialogue with Davit Paichadze" was broadcasted 10 times.

Members of the ruling team, also the opposition representatives and experts were invited to both programs. Both journalists are pretty actively involved in the talk-show. They are trying to get exhaustive answers to their question and they give opportunity to the guests to fully state their opinions.

However, in case of Davit Paichadze, often we can easily observe more demanding questions and increased criticism and in frequent cases even some irony as well towards the guests who represent an opposition party or who are opposing the authorities.

Besides, there were moments in case of both journalists when they openly stated their personal opinions in regards to various issues.

Dialogue with Davit Paichadze

Talk-show "Dialogue with Davit Paichadze" is broadcasted on the First Channel of the Public Broadcaster twice a week – every Tuesday and Thursday, at 10 pm. The program is divided into two blocs and there is one, two, or rarely three guests invited in the studio. There were 10 programs broadcasted during the monitoring period. The talk-show lasts on average for an hour.

In regards to the topics, the programs were diverse and mostly were dedicated to the issues of current significance. Among the discussed issues were:

- Seizure of satellite dishes of Maestro,
- Elections (pre-election period, campaign of the parties),
- Researches of NDI
- Role of the church in politics,
- Media monitoring,
- Women's role in politics,
- Lapankuri incident.

Members of opposition and those of the ruling party, experts, and representatives of the government, international and local NGOs and media were invited to the programs broadcasted during the monitoring period. The guests were selected in each program according to the topic. Allocated time was also more or less equally distributed among them.

The host is very actively involved in the program, however, the program mostly is conducted in a dynamic and smooth way, without any heated debated. If the host has invited both sides for discussing a certain topic, he is trying to present the sides equally and to allocate equal time to them. Davit Paichadze almost always tries to get exhaustive information from the guest and asks extensive but explanatory questions, which provides an opportunity to get exhaustive and clear answers from the guest. He does not interrupt the guest rudely, neither does he interfere inappropriately. Besides, he controls the guest not to divert form the topic and to give exhaustive answers to his questions. He often asks the guests to specify the opinion they have expressed.

However, it should be pointed out as well that when the guest of the talk-show is representing an opposition party or has an opposition-like attitude towards the authorities, or has a position that does not coincide with the host's position, it is easy to see that the host is asking a more demanding questions. Besides, there is an increased criticism towards him and in frequent cases even irony is observed as well in his words a facial expression. In such cases the journalist is acting as opponent to his guests than in other cases.

For example, in the program of July 12, which was dedicated to the topic of seizure of Maestro's satellite dishes, where Mamuka Glonti was invited, Paichadze was very demanding towards him and often made cynical comments to his statements. In the beginning of the program Mamuka Glonti thanked the Public Broadcaster for the live

broadcast, which they had when they had a rally on Nutsubidze Street, and said that without their live broadcast he would not have been able to leave the place in healthy state. The journalist laughed on hearing that and said “from our side it was an unintentionally support to you”.

In the same program, when Mamuka Glonti was making an ironical comment to Nino Lapiashvili, who is a co-founder of an NGO “Clean Politics” and who was also invited as a guest, Davit Paichadze told him: “now I understand what Maestro’s journalists have learned from you; how they learned your style to conduct a confrontational interview”.

There was another case of ironical attitude by the host towards Aleksi Petriashvili (Coalition Georgian Dream) on August 30. The discussion was about Bidzina Ivanishvili’s statement about the Georgians living abroad, and about how to enable them to participate in elections.

Aleksis Petriashvili is saying: “I’d say that today there has been an important step taken forward so that the Georgian emigration can vote for the future of their country. For a better tomorrow”. However, Davit Paichadze is interrupting the guest at this moment is asking a question: “Do you think that the Georgian emigration is standing in line, arranged according to their height and ready to vote for the Georgian Dream? Everybody? (And makes a gesture imitating the people aligned according to their height).”

Contents and nature of the journalist’s questions are more depending on the topic of the program and, correspondingly, on how burning the topic is. For example, in the program of August 14, Paichadze was more demanding to Mamuka Andguladze (Transparency International Georgia) than to Gia Nodia, who was a guest in the second bloc. In case of Mamuka Andguladze, the topic of discussion was the research about the Georgian TV broadcasting conducted by the Transparency International Georgia. The anchor was more demanding to this guest and consequently he repeats some questions several times and requests exhaustive answers from the respondent. However, this way the host is not expressing any specific antipathy or sympathy towards any guest.

There were also other cases reported when Davit Paichadze is stating his opinions in regards to a specific issue, which are not supported by anything. For example, in the program broadcasted on July 10, where the results of NDI research were discussed, he is saying: “to the question whether they consider themselves employed, 30% gives a positive answer and the answer of 69% of the respondents is NO. If we imagine that there is 69% unemployment in Georgia – it cannot be so, because the unemployment rate really is not that high”.

“Accents with Eka Kvesitadze”

“Accents” is a weekly talk-show, hosted by Eka Kvesitadze. The program is broadcasted every Sunday, at 8 pm. There are usually two guests invited to the show, and the guests are also invited to join via the phone or from another location. In total, the program lasts for about an hour. In total, there were three programs aired during the monitoring period, and the following topics were discussed:

- election campaign;
- government’s plan for the people affected by the disaster in Kakheti
- Special operation in Lapankuri.

Members of the opposition and those of the ruling team were invited to the talk-show, also the experts, representatives of the government, local self-government and the media. However, the opposition was only represented by the Coalition Georgian Dream. In the third program, which was dedicated to the special operation in Lapankuri and the state insurance program as well, the guests of the talk show were the Minister of Health, a political scientist and two representatives of the media.

As far as there were only three programs of “Accents” broadcasted during the monitoring period, it is difficult to generalize them. Usually, there are several guests invited to the program and mostly it is conducted in a format of debates. Often the host is actively involved in the program and tries to ask exhaustive questions. The journalist is also trying to promote the opinion which is contrary to the opinion stated by the guest, and to act as an opponent.

For example, in the talk show of July 15, in response to Irakli Alasania’s opinion that presumably, nobody would be held responsible for beating people and for the facts of arrests, Eka Kvesitadze pointed out that “people were held responsible for Karaleti incident. 5 people were arrested”.

In the same program she also starts arguing with Akaki Minashvili in connection to Karaleti incident and is saying that “there was one thing revealed in Karaleti, that there was no police there. This is a fact... Why was not a police there?... This is a responsibility of the authorities.”

Besides, in the program of July 22, when Davit Onoprishvili (majoritarian candidate of the Coalition Georgian Dream) expressed his objection to the opinion expressed by Misha Tavkheldidze, who said that despite everything, the currently existing social security system in Georgia is one of the best, though Eka Kvesitadze answered with the following comment: "Mr Davit, but you knew very well that Georgia could not have been Switzerland since 2004?"

There were only several facts revealed when the journalist expressed her own opinion. One of the examples is the program broadcasted on July 15, when Kvesitadze is making an introduction to the question like this: "I need to refer to the NDI again, because we don't have a more reliable organization of more authority in the country. Let's agree that a foreign organization is more unbiased."

The host lets the guests express their opinions as much as possible, and interrupts only when the guest diverts from the main topic. When the guest did not or could not answer the question, the host was trying to get an exhaustive answer to the question through probing or by repeating the question. For example, in the program of July 15, the journalist asked in-depth questions to Akaki Minashvili and reminded him what the initial question was: "I am telling you specifically about this issue, have you heard that the staff members are asked to come and bring the lists?"

Basically, the guests were found in equal positions in all the three programs and the journalist was equally demanding to all of them. Most part of the questions, which the host has asked to the respondents, was expressing the different position. For example, in the program of July 15, the host is opposing Akaki Minashvili with a different opinion: "Mr Alasania said today that he had never said that if they had lost this would have meant that the elections were rigged".

However, "Accents" broadcasted on September 2 should be pointed out, which hosted Zurab Chiaberashvili, minister of health in the first part of the program. The host did seem to be strict to him and was not demanding. The journalist was not expressing opposite opinions and was not asking critical questions.

We should also single out the program of July 22, where the guests were Davit Onoprishvili from the Coalition Georgian Dream and the expert Misha Tavkheldidze. In the beginning of the talk-show, the journalist was more or less conducting the dialogue among the guests. However, soon the conversation became exacerbated among the respondents, they went beyond the questions asked to them, and the host failed to get the program back to its

regular mode. While addressing to the other guest and the Coalition Georgian Dream, Misha Tavkhelidze used improper words several times. For example, he “jokingly” told Davit Onoprishvili: “you have lagged behind...” and the host reprimanded him. However, in general, Misha Tavkhelidze did not take into consideration the journalist’s remarks during the program. Consequently, Eka Kvesitadze failed to ask many questions and the topics of the program could not fully been discussed.

Maestro

There were 4 talk-shows monitored on Maestro: “Subjective Opinion” by Shalva Ramishvili and Diana Trapaidze, “Politmeter” led by Nino Zhizhilashvili, “Arguments” with Tea Sichinava and “Us” hosted by Tamar Chikovani. The first three talk-shows are broadcasted via Maestro every day. However, the program “Us” is broadcasted only once a week.

In most cases, the “Subjective Opinion” hosts the guests who are disloyal to the authorities. Among the invited guests there is a relatively bigger number of the members of the Georgian Dream. During the program both of the journalists are quite actively involved in the discussion. Due to the talk-show’s headline, the hosts do not conceal their subjective opinion and openly state them many times during the program. Shalva Ramishvili states his political sympathies more often and more openly, but Diana Trapaidze is relatively moderate.

As for “Politmeter”, during the monitoring period this talk-show has allocated air time not only to the various opposition representatives, but also to the ruling team as well. Among the talk-shows broadcasted on Maestro, “Politmeter” was the only one visited by the Prime Minister Vano Merabishvili. It is noteworthy that unlike “Subjective Opinion” and “Arguments”, “Politmeter” was also distinguished with the diversity of the opposition spectrum. The host mostly stands out with her criticism towards the governmental also the opposition parties. She tries to act as an opponent to the guests of the program, and state a different position from them. However, she still manages to state her position, though rarely and in a hidden or unapparent way. This was particularly visible when the main topic was about the fact of beating the journalists and seizing the satellite dishes of Maestro.

Members of both: the ruling team, also those of the Coalition Georgian Dream were invited to the “Argument” as guests. Tea Sichinava is actively involved in the program and she tries to get exhaustive answers to her questions. Sometimes she directly or indirectly expresses her own opinion and position, and even the guests of the program are not always put in equal conditions. The host’s attitude towards the pro-government hosts is distinguished with more criticism. However, often the

host is trying to ask additional questions to the guests, probe or give the other party a chance to state their opinions.

As for the program “Us”, there were 7 programs broadcasted in total during the monitoring period. The program was visited by the members of some opposition parties and experts. The journalist and the guests mostly shared one and the same position, which stands out mostly for their critical attitude towards the authorities. The journalist is permissive to them, does not interrupt them, lets them finish their opinion and seldom goes in depth in connection to this or that issue. There are also cases when the host is openly stating her opinions about various topics.

“Subjective Opinion”

“Subjective opinion” is broadcasted every day from Monday through Friday every 8:05 pm on Maestro. Its hosts are Shalva Ramishvili and Diana Trapaidze. The program consists of two parts. There is an invited “co-host” in the first part, and the program is conducted in the form of a dialogue. As for the second part, there is a guest who is sitting in the studio, or there is a live transmission of this invited guest from another location.

In total, 40 programs of “Subjective Opinion” were broadcasted on Maestro during the monitoring period, and each of them lasted on average for 50 minutes.

The topics of the “Subjective Opinion” broadcasted during this period mostly coincided with the topics of the talk-show “Arguments” (hosted by Tea Sichinava) on the same channel, and covered the ongoing issues of current significance. The following issues were discussed in the program:

- Elections (voters lists, election environment, campaign of political parties),
- Researches of NDI and IRI,
- Various issues related to the Coalition Georgian Dream (Karaleti Incident, 80 million GEL that was transferred to the Budget of Georgia by Bidzina Ivanishvili, also Bidzina Ivanishvili’s six-point offer),
- The media (seized satellite dishes of Maestro, principles of “Must-carry” and “Must-offer”, the journalist’s rights and their prosecution),
- “War of August”,

- Debates held at the European Parliament,
- Lapankuri incident, etc.

Rarely there were cases when more than one program was dedicated to one and the same topic. For example, Karaleti Incident was discussed on July 11, 13 and 18, and NDI's researches – on July 9, 10 and 16.

As mentioned above, there is a “co-host” invited to the first part of the program. This person enjoys the status of a host and not of a guest, and is talking in the program. It should be mentioned that in most cases the program's co-hosts are the guests who are disloyal to the authorities. During the monitoring period, the following individuals were “co-hosts”: Iago Kachkachishvili (sociologist), Zaza Shatirishvili (philosopher), Shorena Shaverdashvili (editor of the magazine *Liberali*), Tea Tsulukiani (Coalition Georgian Dream), Irakli Kakabadze (writer/professor), Zurab Karumidze (writer), Tamar Chugoshvili (GYLA's head), and Nino Lomjaria (executive director of ISFED).

Among the guests invited to the second part of the program, there was a relative prevalence of the members of the Georgian Dream. The following individuals were invited from the Coalition: Irakli Alasania, Gia Karkarashvili, Tina Khidasheli, Gia Khukhashvili, Davit Usupashvili, Levan Berdzenishvili, Irakli Tripolski, Tedo Japaridze, Zviad Dzidziguri, Mamuka Areshidze, and Maia Panjikidze. It is also worth mentioning that Tina Khidasheli visited the talk-show twice (on July 27 and August 23), same was the case with Levan Berdzenishvili (on August 10 and 27). Other guests, mostly the experts with opposition-prone attitude, public figures and media representatives. Members of other opposition parties were invited several times only: Jondi Baghaturia (the Georgian Troupe), Giorgi Targamadze (Christian-Democratic Movement), Pikria Chikhradze (New Rights), Davit Gamkrelidze (New Rights). On July 7, also Mamuka Katsitadze (New Rights) was the guest of Subjective Opinion. However, he was represented as the head of the commission for Ensuring Voter List Accuracy. There was nobody among the guests from the authorities, the ruling team or the President's administration during the monitoring period. However, it should be pointed out that on July 11 Giga Nasaridze was the guest of the program, who is not hiding his support to the authorities.

Both of the journalists are quite actively involved in the discussion during the program. Due to the title of the talk-show, the hosts do not conceal their subjective opinion and openly state it many times during the program. Shalva Ramishvili often and openly states his political sympathies and boldly says: “I am Bidzina Ivanishvili's supporter, this is why I am

subjective" (July 24). The hosts also express their clear dissatisfaction towards the state authorities and the government institutions. They have quite a critical attitude to the President of Georgia and the ruling party, which has been reflected quite often in their questions and reasoning.

Examples:

Shalva Ramishvili: "the authorities had two ways: one way was to conduct the relationship with opposition in constructive frameworks somehow, and to ensure that the opposition campaign was performed without danger more or less; and the other way, the one which we are now witnessing: seizing, dispossessing, beating and brutality." July 12

Shalva Ramishvili is talking about Marika Verulashvili and Petre Tsiskarishvili, majoritarian candidates nominated by the authorities: "Marika is a type of person who never irritates anyone. However, Petre is behaving like a hooligan a bit. He used to beat some people before. We remember Petre mostly because we physically abused one of our party members. These are the types of majoritarian candidates". August 3.

In the program of August 21, after an excerpt from the President's speech was aired "I have no doubts that we will win elections, we just need to win it very well". Shalva Ramishvili evaluated this the following way: "He is nervous, can you see it? Let me tell you. There is something going on inside. I don't think that he can have more than 20-35% support. When he sees this and realizes how much he needs to rig, this is what makes him nervous and this is why he is screaming "we should have a great victory"... as he knows what a titanic work he has to perform".

Shalva Ramishvili is saying: "Misha says that he is liberal, but in reality he is "a doer of everything". Misha is a "doer of everything", he says things the way it is advantageous for him, he has arranged the distribution of a thousand-Lari vouchers!..." August 22

Shalva Ramishvili: "We need to discuss this version in any case. I think that the authorities are somehow making the situation tense artificially, so that they can match it to their political PR more or less". August 29.

It is noteworthy that Diana Trapaidze is relatively more reserved. She does not state her political opinions that openly and frequently, and she tries to be relatively more objective. However, this does not change the overall impression about the talk-show. Attitude of journalists towards the issues does not change and their attitude can still be observed very easily.

Shalva Ramishvili was distinguished by his special activeness during the whole program. As it was mentioned above, the opinions of guests in the first bloc are not very different from those of the hosts. This is why the conversation in this bloc is not conducted in a form of an intensive questions and answers. The format is freer: the journalist and the guests too openly and clearly speak about their positions or opinions. Consequently, the journalist asks fewer questions in the first bloc and merely states its attitude towards various issues.

There are cases when Shalva Ramishvili is so involved in the discussion of an issue that he hardly lets his co-host or his colleague speak and state their positions. For example, on July 24, when the co-host of the program Shorena Shaverdashvili told Shalva Ramishvili during their arguments: “will you let me speak? Or do you want that you will say things and I will not? If you let me, I’ll tell you”. There are moments when the journalists and their hosts speak at the same time and do not let one another speak.

Majority of the guests have critical attitude towards the authorities even in the second bloc. As far as the guests’ opinions in most cases coincide with the position of hosts, and their questions do not stand out with their critical contents except rare cases.

In this part of the program the hosts state their opinions at a less extent and they let the invited guest to answer to the questions asked, and express their opinions. However, Shalva Ramishvili is still active in this part as well. Questions are mostly asked by Diana Trapaidze, and Ramishvili is actively presenting his opinions. There are cases when the hosts interrupt the guest and do not let him/her finish the idea. There are also cases when Trapaidze is asking a question but instead of the guest Ramishvili is giving the answer.

There were cases during the monitoring period, when the program was hosted only Shalva Ramishvili or Diana Trapaidze alone. These programs were a bit more quiet. Diana Trapaidze more or less used to let the guest state his/her opinion and their dialogue was carried out quite smoothly. Similarly, the program hosted by Shalva Ramishvili alone was carried out without heated debates.

“Politmeter”

Politmeter is broadcasted every day from Monday through Friday at 22:20, anchored by Nino Zhizhilashvili. The program consists of three parts, in each of them there is one guest in the studio. Usually, there is a live transmission and two more guests are introduced in the

second part of the talk-show, who are representing different sides and the program is now moving to a format of debates.

In total, there were 40 programs of “Politmeter” broadcasted on Maestro during the monitoring period. Duration of the programs ranged between 1 or 2 hours, but mostly it lasted for an hour and half.

The topics discussed in Politmeter during the monitoring actually covered all the issues of current significance in full. Many topics were discussed during these 40 programs:

- Elections (programs of political parties, ratings, OSCE in Georgia),
- Seized satellite dishes of Maestro,
- Karaleti incident,
- Bidzina Ivanishvili’s fine,
- Seizure of Cartu Bank,
- Human rights,
- Beshumi incident,
- War of August,
- Speeches of Mikheil Saakashvili,
- Appointment of Vano Merabishvili as a Prime Minister,
- Lapankuri incident,
- Principles of Must-carry and Must-offer,
- Sociology researches, etc.

It is noteworthy that programs of “Politmeter” allocated space to various representatives of opposition, also to the ruling team as well. For example, first part of the program of July 18 was dedicated to the election programs of the United National Movement and that of the Georgian Dream. The program of July 17 dedicated its one part to the majoritarian candidate of the Georgian Dream in Gurjaani and its action plan, and the program of August 13 was dedicated to the majoritarian candidates of the National Movement and their future plans.

In fact, the issues related to the Coalition Georgian Dream were dominating among the topics dedicated to the opposition, however, relatively small part of the programs was still dedicated to the Christian-Democratic Movement, New Rights and Democratic Movement – United Georgia.

“Politmeter” was distinguished with the diversity of guests as well. The parties were represented in quite a balanced way and the respondents were selected in accordance with the topics of the program. It is also interesting that “Politmeter” was the only one among the talk-shows broadcasted on Maestro during the monitoring period, which hosted the Prime Minister Vano Merabishvili and a leader of the Labor Party Shalva Natelashvili. Besides, one and the same respondents were relatively seldom invited to various programs.

It is noteworthy that unlike “Subjective Opinion” and “Arguments”, the talk-show “Politmeter” was also distinguished with the diversity of opposition representatives. Other than the members of the Coalition Georgian Dream, the following guests also visited the program: New Rights, Christian-Democratic Movement, Georgian Troupe, Democratic Movement – for the United Georgia, Labor Party, National-Democratic Party, Free Georgia, Voters League, People’s Council, Democratic Party of Georgia.

At the end of the program Nino Zhizhilashvili was reading out the comments on Facebook about the program’s topic and the guests. In most cases the comments were against the authorities.

Nino Zhizhilashvili is mostly distinguished with her equal criticism towards the governmental and opposition parties as well. However, when the respondents are representing the authorities or are loyal to the government, Zhizhilashvili is asking more demanding questions and is probing more.

Nino Zhizhilashvili mostly presents both sides in her program. However, if there is no other party represented in the program, she specifies the reason for absence or is sorry about this, and she tries to act as an opponent to the program’s guest and state a different position. Nino Zhizhilashvili is always actively involved in the program, asks quite critical and demanding questions and requires specific answers from the guests. Mostly she lets the guests express their opinions. However, she sometimes interrupts them, when the guests try to avoid answering, and if they start to speak about another topic, or if one of the guests is answering for a longer time than needed, and the other guest of the program remains without function.

In the program of August 22, which was dedicated to the critical statement expressed by the Christian-Democrats towards the Georgian Dream, the journalist is interrupting Vepkhvadze and repeats several times: “your position, which you have expressed today, also your attack were analogical, exactly identical to those of the National Movement”.

Nino Zhizhilashvili is trying to be a moderator only and to let the audience get objective information while watching her program. However, she still expresses her position, though rarely and unapparently or indirectly. For example, in the program of August 7, Zhizhilashvili is saying: “the public has seen the president’s tears twice. Both of these events took place during the election campaign. First case was in 2008 during the Presidential elections, and second – now, before the parliamentary elections. It is noteworthy that these shots were disseminated by the President’s Press-Service, so, the President wanted his tears to be seen by the public”.

In the program of August 22, while speaking about the attitude of the President towards the Christian-Democrats, Nino Zhizhilashvili is telling Levan Vepkhvadze: “the President is taking a care of you a little, but at the same time he is a little angry with you, and also he is caring for you with love a little, and is angry with love as well, and cares for you a little”.

In the program of August 8, Nino Zhizhilashvili is very actively opposing to Gia Tortladze. In some cases her questions are ironical: “how will you part from the politics? Will you be able to do it like you parted from the mountains?” This question sounded ironical in that context. Tortladze answered that he was still keeping on doing many things at the same time. “This means that some of them are not fully performed” – answered Zhizhilashvili.

In the same program Zhizhilashvili starts a dialogue with Gia Tortladze, who is actively criticizing the opposition at the same time, namely, Ivanishvili and the Georgian Dream. He is saying that Ivanishvili is trying to buy everybody with his money. Zhizhilashvili’s answer: “Mister Gia, how do you know that he bought with money? Where do you have information from about this? Same way, there are rumors also about you that Mikheil Saakashvili has bought you with money and that you are an opposition that has been appointed to the Parliament. This way, we may also believe this, but I don’t really believe it”.

In the program of July 11, the host’s attitude and position towards the issue was clearly seen in regards to the seizure of Maestro’s satellite dishes, where the journalist could not hide her anger and negative attitude to what had happened. Topic of the program was related to the channel that this journalist is representing, i.e. Maestro. We should also point out that she based her opinion on certain sources – “Mr Gia, I’d like to assure that Maestro is the most

balanced channel; this is my personal position. According to the recent researches of OSCE, TV-air of Maestro is the most balanced one". July 11

In regards to the host's attitude, the guests are almost always in equal positions; and despite their political opinions the host is not trying to discriminate any of them, or, conversely, to promote them or to give them preference among others.

She expressed unequal attitude towards the guests when the topic was about the fact of beating the prisoners and seizing of Maestro's satellite dishes.

In connection to the journalists, the host invited Luba Eliashvili and Keti Khatiashvili who blamed those journalists in the incidents related to the journalists, but then Zhizhilashvili asked questions to Keti Khatiashvili many times about whether some of the journalists were representatives of an organized group, and whether these actions were organized by the authorities. It seems as if Zhizhilashvili wanted Khatiashvili to blame the authorities in these incidents, or have them mentioned at least. However, Khatiashvili stubbornly kept talking about unprofessionalism of journalists, but the host of the program clearly did not agree with her.

Similar thing happened on July 19 in connection to the satellite dishes of Maestro, when there were two sides invited to "Politmeter": Vasil Maglapheridze and Nika Chitadze. The latter was loyal to the authorities. Although the topic was about nomination of majoritarian candidates for Tbilisi by Ivanishvili, Maglapheridze raised the issue of satellite dishes, and asked a question to the opponent. Zhizhilashvili joined and asked Chitadze many times, whether he liked the fact of seizing the dishes or not.

Another example is provided below about how Nino Zhizhilashvili is insisting and asking Nika Chitadze to answer to one and the same question about the fact of seizure of dishes, whereas this topic is different from the main one.

19:28 Nino: "Let's talk about seizure of Maestro's dishes [addressing Nika]."

19:58 "If you have these questions about why we were distributing the dishes... I can answer to you partially."

20:35 "I am interested in this question too. By the way, do you like it or not?"

21:15 "Do you think that the court is free in this country Mr Nika?"

22:00 *"What is your position, do you like seizure of dishes, or don't like it... if you could give me the answer Yes or No"*

22:10 *"The court has already clarified, seized them; do you like this or not?"*

22:20 *"Compassion is accepted, but I'd like to get the answer, do you like it or not?"*

[I like it – answered Nika Chitadze]

22:44 *"I did not plan to talk that much about Maestro's dishes, but we kept on speaking".*

The host is trying to get in-depth information and repeats the question to the guest with the purpose of getting an exact answer. He often uses the phrases "more specifically?", "For example?", "Who do you mean?" which is done for securing the exhaustive answer from the guest.

The host often refers to the sources; asks questions based on various documentation and always names the particular source of information.

"Arguments"

"Arguments" is broadcasted every day from Monday through Friday at 8 pm and it is hosted by Tea Sichinava. Basically, "Arguments" is represented in a format of debates and there are two guests invited in the studio.

During the monitoring period, in total 39 programs of "Arguments" were broadcasted on Maestro. The programs last for 40 minutes on average, but there was one case on August 31, when only 13 minutes were allocated for the "Arguments" due to the channel reorganization. The broadcasted programs were diverse from the viewpoint of topics, and basically covered the ongoing issues of current significance.

Following topics were discussed:

- Elections (voters lists and election environment)
- Debates taken place in the European Parliament
- Findings of NDI researches

- Seized satellite dishes of Maestro
- Karaleti incident
- Political parties
- Bidzina Ivanishvili
- Disaster in Kakheti
- Media (principles of “Must-carry” and “Must-offer”, media environment)
- “War of August”
- Issue of territorial integrity
- Lapankuri incident, etc.

From the viewpoint of the guests, almost all the programs, which were broadcasted during the monitoring period, were balanced and diverse. Not only the members of the ruling party, but also the members of the Georgian Dream were invited, representatives of other parliamentary and non-parliamentary opposition, public figures, media representatives and experts. In general, two sides were equally represented in the studio, i.e. two respondents of different positions. Time allocation is also more or less equal among the students, and it depends on the duration of the program or the number of guests.

As far as in general two sides are invited to the “Arguments”, the program is conducted in the format of debates and discussions. Topics of talk-shows are almost always about the ongoing events of current significance. In most cases the journalist is actively involved in the program and is trying to get exhaustive answers to the questions.

The host was trying not to state her own opinion in the program and to keep neutrality; however, sometimes she still expressed her opinion and position directly or indirectly. For example, in the program of July 13 Tea Sichinava is telling Tea Tutberidze (Liberty Institute): “Can you tell me, why is a member of Eredvi Municipality at this meeting now? Why should the minister’s sister, minister’s father have a desire to disrupt those kind of meetings with population, which the activists of the Georgian Dream had in Borjomi?” In the same program, in response to Tea Tutberidze’s argument that the members of a public officer’s family have the right to attend the opposition meetings, the host indicated: “no, Tea, not to attend, but to have an attempt to disrupt such meeting, this is what we are talking about.”

In the program on July 19, Tea Sichinava is responding to the issue of prosecuting the journalists of Info 9, and practically is stating her opinion while saying: “let me ask the producer, if possible, if a video can be found on the server, which Ms Maia can see, and to remind the public in which conditions the staff members of Info 9 in this case have to work. This is persecution, I will not refrain from saying that it is interference in professional activity, and it is not responded. This is why I am asking this question.”

In the program of August 2, when Sozar Subari is talking about fixing the polling day on October 1, and discusses this date in the context of symbols, Tea Sichinava is saying: “the symbols, in general, is something that the government likes more”. Besides, the host was stating her opinion when the topic was about the seizure of Maestro’s dishes in the program on July 11: “these harmless dishes turned out to be very dangerous in this country”.

It should be pointed out that the guests of the program are not always in equal condition. The host’s attitude towards the pro-government guests is distinguished with more criticism, than towards the pro-opposition respondents. The host would often start polemics with such guests and acted in severe opposition to them. For example, in the program of August 24, when the topic was about the opinions of the international communities invited by the authorities, and where following guests were invited: Victor Dolidze (Coalition Georgian Dream) and Giorgi Kandelaki (United National Movement); and Kandelaki had to have a discussion not only with the second guest, but also with the program’s host too. At the same time, in the talk-show of August 27, Tea Sichinava is saying in reference to Giga Nasaridze (leader of “Georgia in not for Sale”): “Audit Service is benevolent to you. I don’t know why Ms Natia Mogeladze feels sympathies towards you, Giga.”

In the program of August 28, Tea Sichinava is more permissive to Irakli Melashvili (Coalition “For Freedom of Choice”), who poses doubts to the integrity of the Chamber of Control, and accuses the National Movement of violation of the law. Contrary to this, the host’s questions are more demanding to Tea Tutberidze (“Liberty Institute”).

The host does not always let the guests finish that they are saying and interrupts them in order to ask additional questions, probe, or let the other side state its opinion. For example, in the program of July 23, when Vakhtang Balavadze (United National Movement) was speaking about turning the disaster of Kakheti into politics, Tea Sichinava probed: “and is the Georgian Dream doing it? Does the Georgian Dream politicize this issue?”

Other than probing, the journalist is also trying to get specific and exact answers from the respondents. In the program of July 26, Tea Sichinava asked additional probing questions to

Kakhi Kaladze for getting a more precise answer: “before turning to the part of political evaluation, which we will necessarily discuss and which is also one of the important and interesting topics, before this I’d like you to talk about the legal details exhaustively once again, as far as the fact is there and your accounts have been seized; and once again let me ask you, Mr Kakhi, was there any money transferred to your account in Georgia from foreign accounts?”

The program’s host mostly chooses a different position from the guests and at certain extent tries to act in opposition to them. In the program broadcasted on August 23 Kakha Kukava (Free Georgia) is saying: “neither has water been supplied to any of the villages, nor gas”, to which the host is answering from the position of the state: “the authorities will do it in the nearest future.” In addition, in the program of July 12, when Mamuka Glonti (co-founder of “Maestro” is asserting the lawfulness of the TV-company Maestro’s actions, the host is opposing him with the official version disseminated by the Prosecutor’s Office: “but you have bought the dishes of the same company from which Global has bought.” Sometimes the host is trying to present two different positions in regards to one issue and hear the guest’s evaluations in this connection.

During the program the host often mentions to certain information sources and refers to official documents too.

“Us”

“Us” is broadcasted every Saturday evening at 11 pm and it is hosted by Tamar Chikovani. Usually, there is only one guest in the program, and the program is conducted in the format of a dialogue between the host and the respondent.

There were 7 programs broadcasted on Maestro during the monitoring period. Average duration of every program was 45 minutes. Following topics were discussed in “Us”:

- Elections (voters lists and election fraud),
- Social and political problems in Georgia,
- Political environment in Georgia,
- Russia and territorial conflicts, etc.

During the monitoring period, mostly the members of certain opposition parties and experts visited the program: Gia Zhorzholiani (leader of the Social-Democratic Party), Gogi Khutsishvili (conflictologist), Vakhtang Khmaladze (Coalition Georgian Dream), Soso Tsiskarishvili (Independent Experts Club), Vakhtang Dzabiradze (a lawyer), Koka Guntsadze (Voters League) and Ramaz Sakvarelidze (a psychologist).

The journalist and the guest, mostly share one and the same position, which stands out mostly with its critical relationship towards the authorities. However, the host or the respondents never refer to hate speech.

Guests of the talk-shows mostly are the pro-opposition people. The host is permissive to them, does not interrupt, lets them finish their opinions and seldom asks probing questions. In frequent cases the journalist agrees with the respondent's opinions and shares their position. Neither are the questions strict. The host practically never acts in opposition of the guest and does not protect the interests of another side, on the contrary, she mostly agrees with the invited guest.

Tamar Chikovani is not actively involved in the program and, correspondingly, the journalist's time share in the total program is less than one third of the time allocated to the respondent. However, during the program the host openly states her opinion and boldly expressed her personal opinions. For example, in the program of July 21, Tamar Chikovani is expressing her opinion about the fact of seizure of Maestro's satellite dishes: "when the politicians are telling me on TV that the dishes were taken away from Maestro or Global TV because allegedly, distributing these dishes for free - although it was not meant to be free - and such campaign would be a vote-buying. This is an absolute stupidity, if you ask me, because I would be able to watch every channel with these dishes".

The host of the talk-show openly states her political position as well; mostly she criticizes the authorities and shows sympathies towards the opposition.

Before the elections, when there is something like social or alike, the authorities remember that there is a problem, or unemployment and so on..." July 14.

"During the last eight years, the authorities wrote a legend that worked well and impacted people. Today we have a successful government and an unsuccessful society of 'losers'. This is because they are advanced, they are educated, they have reached success with their efforts and you could not do that because you are untalented and stupid, as it seems". July 14

“The National Movement offered its four-point declaration to the political parties in order to say NO to violence. It is a bit strange, because so far, we, the opposition parties have not seen violence yet.” July 21.

Kavkasia

There are three talk-shows monitored on Kavkasia. These are: “Spectrum”, hosted by Davit Akubardia, “Barrier” hosted by Alexander Elisashvili and Nino Jangirashvili and “Hotline” led by four different hosts in turn: Alexander Elisashvili, Dachi Grzelishvili, Zviad Koridze and Natia Oroelashvili.

Guests of the programs “Barrier” and “Hotline” are mostly media representatives or experts. Representatives of political parties rarely visit these programs and when they do, the opposing party members prevail in those cases. The same applies to the program “Spectrum”, in which mostly the representatives of opposition political parties participate. However, we should point out that the hosts often say that the members of the ruling team do not accept their offer to visit them. There were only a few cases during the monitoring period when the respondents were the members of the ruling team in the talk-shows broadcasted in this channel.

Davit Akubardia regularly states his position, opinion and political sympathies. He is very active during the program and often starts polemics with the guest if he has a different opinion. In addition, he often expresses insulting phrases and hate speech in regards to the representatives of the authorities and the government. However, if the guest shares the same opinions with the host, Akubardia enables him/her to freely talk live on TV and state his/her opinion in full.

Same can be applied to Alexander Elisashvili. In both of the programs “Barrier” and “Hotline” he often states his position, often ironically and cynically. The host is more demanding towards the representatives of the authorities. He more often asks probing and additional questions to them.

“Spectrum Studio”

“Spectrum Studio” is a talk-show on Kavkasia hosted by Davit Akubardia (the exception was on August 24-28, when the program was hosted by Alexander Elisashvili). The talk-show consists of 3-4 parts and there is one guest invited to the studio per each part. The audience can also go live via the phone during the program.

In total, 40 programs of “Spectrum Studio” was broadcasted on Kavkasia during the monitoring period. Each of the programs lasted of 2 hours on average. However, the talk show may last for more than 2 hours. For example, the program of August 16 lasted for 3 hours and 5 minutes.

The “Spectrum Studio” discussed the following topics during this period:

- Elections,
- Political Parties,
- NDI researches,
- Activities of the Coalition Georgian Dream,
- Karaleti Incident,
- Justice (events taken place in Ksani and Gldani prisons),
- Agriculture,
- Ecology and environment protection, disaster in Kakheti,
- “War of August”,
- Evaluations of OSCE Delegation.

While discussing these topics, the negative attitude towards the ruling team and the authorities was noticeable, though rarely. For example, is the gas pipeline for sale – what is the real attitude of the Georgian authorities towards Russia? Didgoroba – holiday celebrated only by the National Movement; pressure of the authorities on Georgian sportsmen and Georgian sport.

The guests were mostly represented by the opposition representatives and in a few cases by the members of the ruling team. There were also the experts, representatives of the media and those of the NGOs. Although the Coalition Georgian Dream was prevailing among the guests, still, there was more or less diverse representation of the opposition: Christian-Democratic Party, New Rights, Conservative Party, Free Georgia, Traditionalists, Greens Party, and Georgian Troupe. There are frequent cases when one and the same respondent visits several programs.

The talk-show "Spectrum Studio" on Kavkasia responds to the current political events. The guests represented in the program almost always represent an opposition party or disloyal opinions towards the authorities. However, the host points out that the representatives of the authorities are not willing to participate in his program. There were only several programs hosted by Akubardia, where the guests were the majoritarian candidate of the National Movement was the guest and also an expert too, who did not really have critical dispositions towards the authorities. The program's host regularly states his opinions, among them the negative attitude towards the authorities and its representatives. At the same time he is positive to the opposition.

Format of the program is more flexible. The dialogue is not conducted in the mode of questions and answers, but instead, both sides (host and guest) merely exchange ideas and share their own opinions to one another. It is clear from Akubardia's speech that he does not like the Georgian authorities and often criticizes it. He uses the phrases such as "Vanichka" (diminutive of Vano), "Mishist", etc. and refers to the governmental agencies and to some other organizations as "Kantora" (soviet-type bureau), and they refer to the authorities as - "Soviet authorities". Neither does he conceal his sympathies towards the leaders or members of different opposition parties.

Akubardia mostly invites those guests to his programs, who express the opinions that are acceptable to him; this is why the host mostly agrees with them, lets them fully express their opinions and the attitude towards them positive too. However, if the guest states an opposing opinion, Akubardia's behavior changes too.

For example, in the program of August 29, Akubardia's guest was a military expert Giorgi Tavdgiridze in connection to the topic of special operation in Lopota, who pointed out several times that the special operation was right and necessary and that the government did the right thing. The program's host did not agree with that and he was interrupting him during the whole program, was expressing his own opinions and assumptions, and was giving advice and suggestions to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In total, he talked more than the guest.

Sometimes there is different attitude observed towards the guests in the programs of "Spectrum Studio".

For example, in the program of August 22, Jondi Baghaturia, leader of the political party Georgian Troupe was invited as a guest in connection to the topic of admitting new members to the party. Baghaturia diverted from the topic and started to present the election program

of the party, but Akubardia asked him to talk about the topic and promised that he would allocate some time to him in another program for his election campaign: "Jondi, now you are abusing my air-time... this event is now seen as an election campaign, and once again I promise you Jondi that we have no problem, we will officially allocate air-time to you."

However, unlike Jondi Baghaturia, on August 29, when Akubardia invited Paata Zakareishvili, Georgian Dream's majoritarian candidate in Tskaltubo to "Spectrum" to speak about the special operation in Lopota, most part of the program was dedicated to the talks about Tskaltubo.

The program's host is mostly very actively involved in the program and despite he asks questions less, he still often states his opinions.

Examples:

"I think Saakashvili did something disgusting when he had Mengrelians meet Bidzina Ivanishvili in Svaneti". July 31

"Why do these guys have a trouble because of this Gamgebeli, I'm sure some coward and stupid person was making them to go and buy corn. Sorry, but who the hell this Gamgebeli is? How could they take a loan because of him?" August 2

"He is forcing his idea on the West saying that he is a beacon of Democracy. But here he acts like Turkmenbashi. This guy [speaking of Saakashvili] has undertaken two incompatible things". August 9

"I am not afraid when I am saying these words: in fact, with the victory of the Georgian Dream, the Georgian society will win and I, of course, want to have the Georgian Nation victorious today." July 26

The program's host sometimes states not only his position or political opinions, but also makes various and quite hard statements and conclusions based on his logics. For example, in the program of August 16, Akubardia is saying: "I guess the political battle and political life has entered a bad phase and as I observe, I may be exaggerating, but actually I am not, I feel that the National Movement is heading to a civil war. This is my opinion. I have read books about much passion, I know much, where and how things have started. By the way, it started exactly this way in Spain in 1936." (1:08)

There are cases in Akubardia's programs when he is less involved in the program and gives complete freedom and time to the guest. For example, in the program of August 16, the host did not interrupt the guest – Irakli Machavariani for about 30 minutes and has not said anything except affirmation exclamations.

It is notable that Davit Akubardia invited a majoritarian candidate of the National Movement to the program of August 14, that he emphasized especially: "I addressed the great National Movement officially yesterday and they did not send any of their majoritarian candidates. Today as if the heaven blessed us and we will have Mr Giorgi Vashadze, Mr Nukri's opponent in the second block, and I am happy to have something like a competition at certain extent." The host very mobilized, was listening to the guest attentively. The questions were not too demanding and critical or too loyal. Severe discussion also took place between them, and both of them – the guest and the journalist talked aloud at the same time and stated different position. Akubardia often commented on Giorgi Vashadze's words and tried to act in opposition. However, at the same time let him talk about his plans.

The host of the talk show "Spectrum Studio" Mr Davit Akubardia often uses abusive, insulting and derogatory phrases towards the representatives of authorities. For him the following phrases are common: "idiocy", "kajoba", "cretinism". Examples:

"That Roland Akhalaia, that monster in Samegrelo. He's a monster, people, a monster, trust me." (July 31, 3:57)

"It looks like a situation when a man puts a cushion behind his back on a couch; Misha has put the people behind him like this. They are standing like owls, without any emotion, they have no emotion. It's a shame; this man is using you as a background, people, c'mon!"
August 16

On hearing such phrases by the guests, the host is either laughing or following up to what they were saying. For example, in the program of August 13, there was person who called the studio and went live and he talked negatively about Guram Donadze, a founder of the TV-company "Real -TV": "This is a television of Missis Gurgena Donadze. This Donadze should be thrown to prison to rot there, instead of having a television." Akubardia laughed much about it. In the program of August 15, a person called to the studio and said about Saakashvili: "that immoral hippopotamus, that pig." Akubardia laughed at it too. Only once, in the program of August 10, a person called to the studio and called "rascal" to Mr Targamadze, a leader of Christian-Democrats, but the call was off immediately and Akubardia asked the audience to be politically correct.

As for announcing the topic of the program and then following it, Akubardia seldom announces a topic in advance, and main topic of the discussion is shaped only during the program. Even in case when the host announces the main topic of discussion in advance, the conversation often goes beyond that and is dedicated to subjective discussion of historical facts, or sometimes the politics of neighbor countries.

While speaking about various topics, the host quite seldom mentions the source of information and often speaks about the facts, the origins of which he does not specify. Despite this, he proves to the audience that he knows about these facts for sure. For example:

“Presumably, the costs were at least 40 million. They sold the building of the Department Store at Liberty Square for 10 million to somebody. They sold it 4 years ago.” July 16.

“They have fired about 100 people at Telasi, and the reason was that they were seen at the opposition rally. UNM Coordinators were appointed to their places.” August 3

“By the way, about 10 thousand students were expelled from the institutes because of non-payment of tuition fee”. August 15

“Barrier”

“Barrier” is broadcasted on Kavkasia every Tuesday and Friday evening at 11:30 pm. Its hosts are Alexander Elisashvili and Nino Jangirashvili in turn. The program is made in the format of debates: there are four guests invited to the studio, who represent two different sides.

There were 13 programs of “Barrier” broadcasted on Kavkasia during the monitoring period, out of which the shortest one lasted for 1 hour and 13 minutes, and the longest one – for 1 hour and 43 minutes.

Following topics were discussed in “barrier”:

- Seizure of Bidzina Ivanishvili’s property
- Karaleti incident
- Relationships between Ivanishvili and the government
- Seizure of Maestro’s satellite dishes

- NDI's researches
- Media (persecution of journalists, election media environment)
- Elections (election environment, evaluation of OSCE and Council of Europe)
- Lapankuri incident, etc.

During the monitoring period the following guests were invited to "Barrier": representatives of the media and NGOs, independent experts, members of political parties. Mostly, the media representatives prevailed among the respondents (journalists and media experts). Some of them were even invited to several programs. For examples, the journalist Ia Antadze visited the programs on August 14 and 28,, and Lasha Tugushi (editor-in-chief of the newspaper 'Resonance') visited the programs on August 24 and 31, and Natia Koberidze on July 10, and on August 14 and 24 (producer of the TV-company 'Peak'). There was a scarcity of political parties observed among the invited guests; however, members of the Coalition Georgian Dream prevailed among them. There was the only case when Davit Darchiashvili - representative of the United Nation Movement was invited to the program of July 27.

In most cases, both sides are invited to the program and then the debates and polemics take place between them in regards to specific topics. However, there are cases, when according to the program's host, the representatives of the authorities do not agree to participate in the program, consequently, there are no debates taking place among the invited guests. Besides, in some programs the guests are mostly represented with experts and journalists who state their own opinions in reference to various issues. There are frequent cases when the topics are changed during the program, especially if the debate gets exacerbated between the position and opposition.

In most cases the host is actively involved in the program and tries to enable both sides to express their opinions and state their positions. If any of the sides is talking and does not give a chance to the opponent to state his position, the host gets involved and lets the other side speak. It is notable that the host is more demanding to the representatives of the authorities. It more often asks them probing and additional questions, if they do not get a satisfactory answer from them. There are cases when he starts debating with them and states his position.

Sometimes the host expresses his opinions in regards to various issues. In absolute majority of cases, these are pro-opposition opinions and express critical attitude towards the authorities.

For example, in the program of July 20, where the main topic was election program of the authorities, Aleko Elisashvili is saying: "Georgia will not flourish with this program, not even mentioning the integration. Georgia did not unite, vice versa, it did not unite at all. If you ask me, the authorities should be blamed for this."

"I may be very naïve, almost stupidly naïve, but I think that these things would not emerge itself in Karaleti. These spoilt guys on the perch beat the journalists" July 13

"They are voodooos; presa.ge and Real.TV are the biggest voodooos. I'm even scared to say their name." July 13

It is noteworthy that in some cases the hosts were actively involved in the discussions and debates, same as guests. Their position is always pro-opposition. For example, in the program of August 28, Nino Jangirashvili is acting in opposition to Maia Orjonikidze and Tea Tutberidze - "You know what it looks like? Let's objectively look at all these things: if there is a government supporter, it does not matter where he is doing his business or where he has made his money - he is good. But if there is somebody in opposition and is trying to change the authorities - he is bad?" If both sides are not represented in the program, the host tries to represent the opinions of the other side, and in frequent cases it happens if this second side is opposition and not the authorities.

Besides, there were cases when the debates became severe and the host could not regulate the situation. During several minutes the sides were talking at the same time, and the host did not interfere in polemics. Besides, there was a case when the host was requesting the host to moderate and to enable the guests speak.

"Hot Line"

"Hot Line" is broadcasted in the air of Kavkasia every Monday, Wednesday and Thursday, at 11:30 pm. It is hosted by Alexander Elisashvili, Zviad Koridze, Dachi Grdzlishvili and Natia Orvelashvili in turn.

There were 15 programs of “Hot Line” broadcasted on Kavkasia during the monitoring period. Their average duration ranged between 1 hr 25 min to 1 hr 50 min.

Following topics and issues were discussed in the programs:

- Penitentiary system of Georgia,
- Media,
- Disaster in Kakheti,
- Elections (election environment, spending of administrative resources, PR campaigns, probability of fraud, voters lists, rules of conduct of political parties),
- Observers missions in Georgia,
- Probability of civil war,
- Lapankuri incident, etc.

There were only a few representatives of political parties among the respondents invited to “Hot Line”. Usually, there is one or two guests in the program. Mostly the experts, journalists and NGO representatives prevail in the show. However, members of the United National Movement (on July 23 – Gia Roinishvili and on August 20 – Chiora Taktakishvili) and those of the Coalition Georgian Dream (on July 26 – Nodar Khaduri and on August 20 – Tina Khidasheli) were invited to the talk show several times.

In the first block of the program, the hosts presented main events of the day, made evaluations and informed the audience about various useful information for the program. They expressed their opinion and stated their position. In this bloc the audience are calling and stating their opinion about the discussed issue. The hosts also read the comments posted on the Facebook and broadcast the specially prepared news items.

There are guests invited in the second part of the program. After the guests enter, activeness of hosts is minimized in most cases and they become only moderators. They ask questions and do not really state their opinions. The journalists do not interrupt the guests and let them talk until they finish. Often the guests are in equal position. However, it is noteworthy that the dynamics of talk-shows change based on who the host is and who the guests are.

The journalists express even more activeness towards those guests who are loyal to the authorities, and the questions are also more demanding. Although the guests fully state their positions in all the cases, in such cases the guests are comparatively in unequal situation. Among the hosts, Aleko Elisashvili and Dachi Grdzlishvili are more distinguished with their determination to boldly state their position and state their opinions than Zviad Koridze and Natia Orvelashvili.

Elisashvili and Grdzlishvili are more active. They are distinguished with severe questions and polemics with the guests who are disloyal to the authorities. They express much irony, cynicism and sarcasm. There are also cases of using hate speech. In the program of August 9, they are using the words during their discussion about the people who work in the penitentiary system, such as: torturers, beasts.

For example:

Dachi Grdzlishvili: "on rambling in the village – this minister, who has been praised much by our president, he turned out to be a little lazy, and he repeated the texts he had brushed up in nine villages." July 18

Aleko Elisashvili: "it's a shame when the government is seizing the dishes, and with such a hilarious cause." July 25

Aleko Elisashvili: "Today he [Zurab Kharatishvili] did something that will remain as a spot in his personal biography, if we speak frankly, and not only this, he also seriously damaged the biography of the Central Election Commission. Well, it is very clear now, and this does not need much discussion." This was a political decision; do we need to be very philosophical about it?! Frankly speaking, it is like this". August 20.

Aleko Elisashvili: "He [President] has not said anything good, let me say now, when presenting Giorgi Baramidze, the majoritarian candidate, he said "I have no doubts in victory, I don't think about it at all, but we need to have a glorious victory and not just an ordinary victory". According to him, the National Movement should win because his unclean rival does not intend to do something with his unclean hand outside the country, or neither do his subordinates have to do anything in the country. This is what a politically correct and worthy speech he made." August 20

Aleko Elisashvili: "There was a fat patrol police officer in Bakhmaro, distributing T-shirts with #5." August 20

Dachi Grdzlishvili: "Like it was the case of the stuff for fighting fall webworm... I'm upset, he said he thought it was a fall webworm – can they say so now?! What's the logic behind that? And with this laughter and irony we will have a result – that he learned something. Beating openly, really. Because this is not stepping one's foot on the other quietly... passed by and sprayed something. Now you can argue whether it was good for people, or what did they say? (Laughing)... soon they will announce that this is good for bronchitis, and say that the thing which is a poison for the fall webworm is a medicine for asthma, and then will spray it everywhere." August 22

There were cases when the journalists disseminated not only the insulting words, but also the unverified information to the audience as if it were the fact.

Aleko Elisashvili: "These guys... Giorgi Arveladze. Why is not he satisfied with a whorehouse he has opened at the Republic Square, and be a pimp? It is confirmed and this is why I'm saying this... he has accumulated 14 million and nobody holds him responsible." July 18

In the talk-shows, the journalists ask additional questions to the guests in order to get exhaustive answers from them on particular topics.

Zviad Koridze: "Did he bring any results? Or what was he supposed to do? What was his main task?" July 30

Zviad Koridze: "And what the Georgian Dream should lobby?" July 30

However, it is noteworthy that too much probing questions are asked to the guests who are loyal to the authorities. For example, in the program broadcasted on July 16, which was anchored by Natia Orvelashvili and Zviad Koridze, and where Nino Lapiashvili (organization "Clean Politics") and the journalist Luba Eliashvili were invited, there was an attempt for getting in-depth information only in case of Nino Lapiashvili. The guest has a different opinion and the majority of questions are asked to her. For example, Natia Orvelashvili asked her twice – in order to get answer from her – what the fact of beating a journalist meant.

We need to point out the program broadcasted on August 20, where Tina Khidasheli, representing the Georgian Dream and Chiora Taktakishvili, representative of the National Movement were invited to the second part of the program. As the hosts said, the debates were not planned and this was decided to have debates only after both of the opponents wished so after Tina Khidasheli's speech was over. However, the result was that Tina

Khidasheli had more time to speak than Chiora Taktakishvili, as far as she spoke for a half an hour before the opponent went live and joined them. The debates turned out to be quite sharp. Mostly the guests were speaking in the program, and the hosts did not ask them questions. The opponents were answering to the each other's questions and allegations themselves. Besides, the host's attitude towards the representative of the authorities was clearly more critical. Instead of getting in-depth information from the guest, the hosts would cynically interfere in the conversation of the guests.

Aleko Elisashvili: "When Ms Chiora? Please tell me exactly, when the unemployment rate is halved".

The Ninth Channel

Three programs were monitored on the Ninth Channel. These are: "Akhalkatsi's Matrix", "Counseling with Vasil Maglapheridze" and "Eka Beridze's Main Question". All the three talk-shows are broadcasted every business day during the week. It is notable that nobody from the government, President's administration or a ruling team participated in any of the monitored talk-shows. In all the three cases the guests were mostly those people who were disloyal to the authorities. Correspondingly, the majority of topics were selected with bias, and mostly they are about the discussion of the President, the ruling team and the government in a negative context.

Unlike Gogi Akhalkatsi and Vasil Maglapheridze, Eka Beridze very rarely states her opinion and position in the program. Her questions are quite demanding. Vasil Maglapheridze is the one who most often states his position in the program, which is also accompanied with irony and cynicism towards the authorities and the President. While speaking with the invited guests, Akhalkatsi does not state his position openly, but if we observe his rhetoric questions and response to what the guest has said, his attitude can be seen. Sometimes his position is also revealed during the program. Gogi Akhalkatsi has a monologue for several minutes in the beginning and end of the program (a remark and a statement for the day), where the host's position is more clearly revealed and also the irony is often felt too.

"Akhalkatsi's Matrix"

"Matrix" is a talk-show of the Ninth Channel, which is broadcasted every Monday through Friday at 7 pm and it is hosted by Gogi Akhalkatsi. During the monitoring period, there were

36 programs of “Matrix” broadcasted on the Ninth Channel. Each of the program lasted for about 50 minutes.

The programs were dedicated to the following topics during the following topics:

- Elections,
- Coalition Georgian Dream and Ivanishvili’s statements,
- Seizure of Maestro’s satellite dishes,
- Lapankuri incident,
- Persecution of journalists,
- International and local NGOs during the pre-election period,
- Sociology researches, etc.

Out of them, majority of the programs was about the Coalition Georgian Dream, Bidzina Ivanishvili and other issues related to him. It is notable that the majority of topics mostly discussed the government and the ruling team in a negative context. For example, we can specify the following topics of the talk-shows: 3T concept of the Ministry of Defense – problems within the army; problems of high mountainous regions; Georgian peculiarities of lawfulness; massive seizures – libertarianism in today’s Georgia; situation at the universities – real purpose of “Summer Job”; prisoners’ problem – inadequate sentences; questions in regards to the state insurance program, etc.

Usually, “Matrix” is divided into two-three parts, which are dedicated to the same topic. There is only one guest represented in each of these parts. The invited guests are mostly those people who are disloyal to the authorities – opposition representatives, experts who are sympathetic to the opposition, or representatives of an NGO criticizing the authorities. As the result, mostly the similar opinions are represented in the program and there are no heated debates arranged.

While talking to the invited guests, Akhalkatsi does not clearly state his position. However, his attitude can be felt while observing his rhetoric questions and reactions to what the guest had said. Sometimes his position is also revealed during the program too.

For example:

In the program of July 20, Akhalkatsi is saying: "I will not pose any doubts in regards to the philanthropy of Bidzina Ivanishvili. I will not try to look similar to Nika Rurua in this case and I will not say that the things he had done need to be done anew. However, there is some implication in this, and I think, and not only me, that there is some game elements in this."

"It is easy to see that in Georgia the police and the National Movement are merging little by little. In the next part they will be wearing the T-shirts of the National Movement and hunting down the population with batons. Don't miss it!" August 13

In the program of August 21, Akhalkatsi is asking a rhetorical question with a smile to Vazha Beridze, a political researcher, who has been talking about the role and inactivity of the western world and, namely, the US: "If it is so, does it mean that we have fallen in the trap?" Have we fallen in the jaws of the National Movement and there is no relief? Or maybe there is. It is necessary that the US decides how things develop here? Are we really facing such situation?"

In the program of August 30, he is talking about the audit service: "everybody knows that the audit service is a performer of the government's will. This is not an audit service as such, as an audit service should be."

Akhalkatsi is not interrupting the guests and lets them finish. The guests are provided with a level field in his program and the host mostly has a friendly attitude with the guests. It should also be pointed out here as well that the host is less critical towards the pro-opposition guests, and correspondingly, his questions are more loyal, than demanding. However, sometimes the host's questions contain certain sharpness and enable the public get information.

Sometimes Akhalkatsi does not ask probing questions to the guests and does not state different opinions. However, sometimes he is opposing the guests with the arguments of the other party and tries to make the discussion more interesting. Sometimes the host is absolutely neutral depending on what the topic is in that program bloc. However, sometimes the guest also expressed supportive tone towards some guests. For example, this was the case with Nodar Javakhishvili, President of Bank Cartu, who was a guest several times; and towards Soso Jachvliani too; whom he wished success in the program of July 19: "good luck, Mr Soso. You know that I am supporting you in your activities and same way; I'll be your supporter in this too. Unfortunately, I am not a voter from Gldani, and I cannot vote for you."

In the beginning of the program and also in the end Gogi Akhalkatsi has a monologue of several minutes (a remark and a daily statement), during which the host's position is more clearly expressed and the irony is also often felt. For example, in the remark of the program of July 16, Akhalkatsi talked about the advantages and negative results of the construction of hydro-power station on the river Tergi. It is clear from his talk that the journalist has a negative attitude towards this fact. He provides quotations from Ilia Chavchavadze's "Letters of a Traveler": "Looking at the pipes on Rike nobody will think that the "action and only action can give strength and live to the country". We will attract the tourists; how can we compare an ordinary mountain-river and an 8-km long pipe erected as a monument of human stupidity."

As for the hate speech, insulting or derogatory expressions, the host does not use them and often does not have any reaction if the guests use such expressions. However, in the program of August 3, leader of the Greens Party Giorgi Gachechiladze was saying that in Georgia, the forests with the area of 200 thousand hectares have been leased for a lease period of 49 years to "the Chinese, some East-Indians, somebody, who knows". Akhalkatsi reacted to that with the following comment: "he is an owner, and it does not matter whether he is Chinese or Spanish."

"Counseling with Vasil Maglapheridze"

"Counseling" has been broadcasted since July 26, every day from Monday through Friday, at 8 pm and it is hosted by Vasil Maglapheridze. Usually, there are two hosts presented in the studio at the same time. There was only one case on August 15, when there was only one guest - Gia Maisashvili, founder of the Leaders School was invited to the program.

In total, there were 26 programs of the "Counseling" broadcasted on the Ninth Channel during the monitoring period. Usually, each program lasts for 45 minutes on average. Following topics were discussed in the program during the monitoring period:

- Elections (pre-election environment and the campaign)
- Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili
- President and the Georgian authorities
- Seizure of Maestro's satellite dishes
- Lapankuri incident

- “War of August”, etc.

Besides, there were a series of programs where the majority of topics were selected tendentiously and mostly discussed the President, the ruling team and the government in the negative context. For example, there were topics presented in the talk-show, such as: peacockization of ministers – Saakashvili’s attitude towards the ministers and people; “President in the capacity of a player-arbiter”, whom and why Mikheil Saakashvili is threatening during the election period; peculiarities of the National Stonefall; evaluation of Mikheil Saakashvili’s ability to quote Vepkhistaosani (The Knight in the Panther’s Skin), division of the public – announcing the people as betrayers and good citizens by the authorities.

It is a notable fact that the despite topics discussed in the studio, most part of which was dedicated to the authorities and the President, none of the invited guests were representing the government, the President’s administration or a ruling party during the monitoring period. Guests of the studio in most cases were the experts, media representatives and public figures. Some of them visited the program several times: for example, a journalist Ia Antadze (July 26, 13 and August 30), also Marina Muskhelishvili, director of the Public Research Center (July 27, August 9 and 29). It should be pointed out that unlike other talk-shows on the Ninth Channel, opposition representatives were less represented in “Counseling” compared to other programs.

There are two guests invited at the same time to the program, but despite this, the format of the program is not the debates, as far as the guests, and also the hosts, have common opinions and positions. In all the programs the guests express the positions which are similar to the host’s ideas. The program is taking place smoothly and without sharp discussions. Despite the fact that Maglapheridze’s programs almost always are dedicated to the criticism of the authorities and the president, members or supporters of the government or the ruling party are never represented in the studio. Besides, the host almost never tries to protect the interests of the other side in front of the invited guests, or to promote their ideas. Conversely, in most cases he agrees with the guests in the studio.

Consequently, he is quite permissive to his guests and the questions are not burning. The host always lets the guests state their positions and finish their ideas. If the host touched upon any interesting issue, he asks additional questions, probes, extends the topic and tries to get in-depth information.

However, there was Paata Veshapidze, editor of the newspaper “24 Saati” (the 24 Hours) invited to the program on August 7, and a poet Rati Amaglobeli, and Vasil Maglapheridze’s too permissive attitude was clear towards Rati Amaglobeli. He would often start polemics with Paata Veshapidze and interrupted him before the guest finished. Moreover, when the guest was stating his opinion, the host was interrupting and saying that it is not so and expressed his opinion.

Besides, when Gia Maisashvili was visiting the program on August 15, the journalist often interrupted him. When Maisashvili was going to start talking about three types of economic arrangement of the world, the journalist interrupted him both times. Then Maglapheridze himself asked him a question about these models, but as soon as Maisashvili started talking, the host interrupted and changed the topic.

The host is very actively involved in the program. Sometimes the involvement is so intensive that he speaks longer than the guests. Maglapheridze often states his opinions. His talks and ideas are in most cases accompanied with irony and cynicism about the authorities, its representatives and the President of Georgia. The questions are often rhetoric.

For example, in the program on August 1, the host is asking Gia Gorgodze: “Gia, as you see, the restaurant-witch-hunt of Mikheil Saakashvili was renewed and from Sushi-Bar we have come to the Buddha-Bar. What does it mean? These youth have overdone it, haven’t they? Just to say, why doesn’t a president has a right for cultural recreation and entertainment or having fun during the working hours?”

In the program of August 21 the host is asking the guest: “I would like to ask you a question, to which I’d like to get your answer after the commercials, and if you know something about it, tell me during the pause, so that I don’t look unknowledgeable. Have you been to Buddha-Bar and how important the existence of Buddha-Bar is for agriculture?”

The program of July 26 is noteworthy, which was dedicated to the attitude of Mikheil Saakashvili towards the ministers. They showed the video where the President is saying to the ministers “why are you walking like peacocks”. The host named this video as “Peacockization of Ministers”.

The author presented the topic like this: “Despite the seizures are booming in Georgia, and the authorities want us to talk about the seizures all the time... despite its Seizable Excellency Government wants us to speak about the seizure, let’s talk about peacocks.”

The program of August 14 was dedicated to the strategies of political parties. Mostly the strategy of the National Movement was discussed. Vasil noted many times that the strategy of the ruling team was clearly a war strategy, whereas the strategy of the Georgian Dream was the strategy of peace. They showed many videos of Saakashvili's speeches, but they have not shown any video about Bidzina Ivanishvili or any other party. Only Saakashvili and the National Movement were discussed in the program.

"Thus, this is a part of their PR?..." The second party is clearly heading towards an absolutely different strategy... we are looking at two different strategies, both of them are very stubborn strategy... and see, what kind of strategy there is in parallel to this... clearly pacifist... We may say that we are looking at two strategies. Conditionally speaking, of them is aggressive, a war party, and the other one is a clearly peace party, as strong as the first one..."

"As we see, we have two models to choose from. One is - aggression, another one - peace. Conditionally speaking, one of them is a way of war, which the government has called the front-line of the elections, and the other one is a way of peace. Thus, we will see which of these two options matches the taste of the Georgian voters."

Likewise, the program of August 10 was also exceptionally ironical and cynical, which was dedicated to the story told by Mikheil Saakashvili during one of his speeches, about how he travelled to Poti in August 2008. The tone of conversation was cynical and ironic, both from the side of the host and the guests too.

"Today we have a special Counseling, which we decided to summon unexpectedly because of the aircraft-fable told by the President yesterday, which upset a big part of the public" - with this word Maglapheridze started his program. During the whole program the journalist was often using the expressions such as: "the president does not walk, the president flies in fact", or "I wonder, you [addressing the guest], you have expressed with your fable - all the details matter in the fable. See, the airplane is covered behind the clouds and then goes from cloud to cloud; I mean the airplane of ours, our good people, what symbols are these airplanes that are flying there fast?"

During the whole program, there were subtitles on the screen according to what they were discussing: "President's fables", "President does not walk, the President flies", "Fable on the tomato who was grown in the air," "Fable about the spoilt son of a public officer and a poor minister", "fable about the devil's wheel and a diligent student," "Tall, Generous, Gracious."

“Eka Beridze’s Main Question”

“Eka Beridze’s Main Question” is broadcasted every day from Monday through Friday at 10:00 pm and it is hosted by Eka Beridze. Usually, “Main Question” is divided into two or three parts, which are dedicated to a one particular topic and only one person is represented in each of them.

In total, there were 28 programs of “Main Question” broadcasted on the Ninth Channel during the monitoring period. Each program lasts for 45 minutes on average. The programs broadcasted during the monitoring period were mostly dedicated to the following topics:

- Elections (voters lists, date of the polling day, pre-election environment, election campaign, violation of human rights)
- Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili
- President
- Lapankuri incident
- International and non-government organizations
- “War of August”
- Sociology researches, etc.

Among these topics, the majority was dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream, Bidzina Ivanishvili and other issues related to him. Besides, there were frequent cases of discussing the ruling team, the government and the President in a negative context.

Like the “Matrix”, the “Main Question” was not distinguished with diversity of guests. None of the 28 programs represented anybody from the ruling team, the government or a local government, and the host has never provided an excuse to explain this. Besides, the opposition was not represented fully, either, because a vast majority of the invited guests belonged to the Coalition Georgian Dream and there was only one case when a representative from the Voters League was represented. We may say that during this period the coalition parties were almost fully represented: in these 28 programs, about 30 guests were the members of the Georgian Dream, and almost all the respondents were supporters

of the coalition or had pro-opposition dispositions. Besides, in some cases one and the same people from the coalition were invited several times.

Other guests of the program, mostly were the international and local non-government organizations, journalists or media experts, political researchers, economists, independent experts or representatives of the Cartu Bank. However, as we have pointed out above, the pro-opposition respondents prevailed among them.

Despite this, the host almost never states her own opinion and does not support any of the sides. In her questions she does not express her personal opinions and she does not clearly state her position. In her program Eka Beridze tries to be neutral, and the journalists is mostly asking critical and sharp questions to the invited guests. She also provides opposing arguments and tries to present the issue from different angle. She listens to the guests attentively and enables them to give exhaustive answer to her question.

She also tries not to get ambiguous answers from the guests, and tries to get the respondents to the clear and understandable answers by asking additional questions. She interrupts the guest only when the answer is less clear and ambiguous, and asks additional questions.

For example:

“Do you think Mr Zaza [Zaza Papuashvili, “Georgian Dream”] that you understand the problems of people better, than those people who have been in politics for a long time? What would you like to say by this? July 26

“We know that the program of the National Movement is similar and the Georgian Dream is accusing them of plagiarism. However, how are you going to prove that your program is realistic, and their program is populist-like?” August 1, the guest Davit Usupashvili, the Georgian Dream.

“What will you do differently, that none of the previous authorities could not manage to do?” August 3, the guest Irakli Alasania.

“You personally and also the coalition leader guarantee us that this will be temporary. What kind of guarantee is discussed? What kind of agreement is there with Burjanadze?” August 15, the guest Luka Kurtanidze.

“Don’t you think that it was a mistake that you did not wait until the number was officially assigned to you, and you assumed that it was your number?” August 21, the guest Maia Panjikidze.

The host is trying to state an opposing idea as well in regards to the discussed issue. For example, in the program of July 30, when Soso Jachvliani was talking that he cannot recognize a main square of Mestia, Beridze is expressing a different opinion: “However, there were hotels built in Svaneti, Mr Soso, and the airport too”.

When there is a guest who does not represent any side and plays a role of an evaluator, Beridze presents several positions to this person and asks for the evaluation. For example, she asked the following question to a political researcher Archil Gegeshidze on August 9: “If we discuss this topic in the light of Georgian-Russian relations, there are two approaches in Georgia: according to the first one, it is impossible to have a dialogue with Russia in these circumstances regardless who the head of the Georgian government is. This is the approach of pro-government experts, or that of the government representatives. There is also another opinion, according to which if there is a new government in Georgia, it is possible, and there is a potential for improving the current situation. What do you think, which opinion is rights? Which of them is more objective?”

It is noteworthy that Eka Beridze does her best to refrain from stating her own position. However, there were several cases during the monitoring period, where the journalist’s attitude was revealed towards a specific fact directly or indirectly. For example, in the program of August 31, Beridze is telling Ivanishvili: “nevertheless, Mr Bidzina, in 2008, the results of elections was approved for Saakashvili, although it was really doubtful.”

In the program of August 14, where Irakli Kakabadze was invited, the host is asking a question to him: “as for the permanent myth about the Russian threat – as soon as the opposition gets stronger, it will be connected to Russia... in this particular case, when it deals with the coalition, the Georgian Dream and its leader – does this legend work in the US?”