



## Election Media Monitoring

October 1-13, 2012

It is noteworthy that on the polling day, October 1, almost all the channels broadcasted the main news releases in a special format and these bulletins were quite long, which affected the overall picture of quantitative data.

Following key findings were revealed during the media-monitoring period of October 1-13, 2012:

- The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first on all the channels according to the allocated time. Besides, all the channels allocated more than 40 percent of total time to this subject.
- According to the allocated time, the United National Movement ranks second at all the channels. Compared to the Coalition Georgian Dream, it got twice as little or even less time.
- Compared to other monitoring periods, during this period the coverage of the CEC increased and it was found among the top five subjects at some channels.
- On October 1, only the First Channel and Imedi allocated airtime for talking about all the parties in the context of preliminary results.
- Distribution of direct and indirect speech for the Coalition Georgian Dream is the same almost on all the channels. The only exception is Real TV, where the Coalition has only 37 percent of direct speech.
- On the First Channel, Rustavi 2 and Imedi, the United National Movement has more than 60 percent share of direct speech. The same share is 34 percent or less on Maestro, Kavkasia and the Ninth Channel.
- During this monitoring period, the subjects were mostly covered with neutral tone on all the channels, which at certain extent was due to the long news releases broadcasted on October 1.
- Positive coverage was quite rare at all the channels. However, the share of positive coverage of the Coalition Georgian Dream was higher on Maestro and the Ninth Channel than on other channels.

- Compared to the previous monitoring periods, the Coalition Georgian Dream has relatively lower share of negative coverage on Real TV during this period. However, it should be pointed out that compared to other channels this indicator is still the highest during this period.
- As for the journalist's tone, the pictures of overall tone and the journalist's tone are similar almost at all the channels.

## **Methodology and Analysis**

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

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

It is notable that the President is always counted alone despite whether he is making statements on behalf of the National Movement or not. However, other political figures, such as, for example: Vano Merabishvili, Davit Bakradze, Gigi Ugulava, etc. when they make speeches on behalf of the party and make appeals or nominate candidates, they are considered to be the "United National Movement" and not as the "government" or the "parliament".

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

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

Tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects is given in two ways: evaluation of total time allocated to the subjects on a given channel based on the tone, and tone of coverage/mentioning of subjects by a certain journalist. The coverage tone is given in percentage. In the first case, 100 percent equals the total time of talking about a subject on a particular channel, and also the time of talking about this subject by journalists. The subjects, to which less than 1 minute was allocated in each case, are not represented on the diagrams.

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

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

Based on these components, the results of monitoring of news releases are provided for the period of October 1-13 per channels.

It is notable that only those parties and unions were monitored during this monitoring period, which was registered as election subjects for the Parliamentary elections of Georgia on October 1, 2012, in accordance with the Central Election Commission. Other subjects, such as the government, the President, the parliament, local self-government, local and

international organizations<sup>1</sup>, CEC, Commission for Ensuring the Voters List Accuracy (SIA), observers, the State Audit Service – are unchanged.

## The First Channel

*In total 9 hours were allocated to the subjects on the First Channel during the period of October 1-13. One third of this time is attributed to the news release broadcasted on the polling day only. According to the allocated time, there are two subjects that stand out on the First Channel: the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which almost half of total time was dedicated, and the United National Movement. During the whole monitoring period, it was for the first time when any of the subjects had so big percentage indicator on the First Channel according to the allocated time. Majority of the subjects have quite even distribution of direct and indirect speech. Tone-based evaluation of the subjects shows well that the monitoring subjects are mostly covered with neutral tone on the First Channel, and same thing applies to the evaluation based on the journalist's tone. Headlines of the reports broadcasted on the First Channel are neutral and descriptive. In general, the neutral reports prevail. However, there were some reports about the elections, which left negative impression about the coalition, mostly because of the respondents' comments and the stories about the pressure by the coalition representatives. According to the presented respondents, the news items are basically balanced on the First Channel. As for supporting the journalist's information by facts, the First Channel always provides such facts.*

In total, the First Channel allocated 9 hours and 1 minute to the subjects during the period of October 1-13. It is notable that one third of this time (3 hours and 15 minutes) was dedicated only to the news release broadcasted on October 1. News releases were quite long on the polling day almost on all the channels, which finally affected the total allocated to the subjects and also its distribution as well.

According to the allocated time, there are two subjects that stand out on the First Channel: the Coalition Georgian Dream, which got 49 percent of total time, and the United National Movement, which has relatively less share – 20 percent. It is noteworthy that it was for the time when any subject ever got such a big percentage on the first channel.

The time is quite equally distributed among the remaining subjects. According to the allocated time, the CEC was found among the top three subjects, to which 6 percent was allocated. News releases allocated certain portions of time to all the parties that have been

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<sup>1</sup> The monitoring looks at the coverage of local NGOs only in the elections context.

registered as election subjects for the parliamentary elections of October 1, 2012. However, there are quite big differences between the maximum and minimum times allocated to the parties, and some parties only got 2 seconds. (See the Diagram - Time 1)

It is notable that the majority of subjects have quite equally distributed share of direct and indirect speech. The most equal distribution was reported for the first-ranking Coalition Georgian Dream (direct – 49 percent, indirect – 51 percent). This distribution is the same for the United National Movement and for the CEC, both of them having 61 percent of direct speech. The local NGOs have the highest share of direct speech, which is 66 percent out of the allocated 18 minutes. (See the Diagram - Speech 1)

The tone of the time allocated to the subjects clearly show that the monitoring subjects are mostly covered in a neutral way on the First Channel. The lowest share of neutral tone – 78 percent – was reported for the President, to whom about 16 minutes were allocated in total. 21 percent of this time was dedicated to the positive coverage. As for other subjects, their coverage with neutral tone is more than 92 percent. The Coalition Georgian Dream, to which the most time was allocated (5 hours), also has the biggest share of negative tone as well – 5 percent. As for the positive tone, the Georgian Dream and the National movement got the same share of 3-3 percent of positive coverage. (See the Diagram - Tone 1)

As for the journalist's tone, almost all the subjects are covered only with the neutral tone. The Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest indicator of neutral tone – 93 percent. It has the highest indicator of negative coverage too – 5 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone J1)

The reports broadcasted on the First Channel during this period have neutral and descriptive headlines.

The monitoring observes the reports as a whole, and also tracks overall impression in regards to any particular subject. It is noteworthy that the reports of neutral contents prevail on the First Channel. Cases of positive coverage are rare. There were only several reports broadcasted during the monitoring period, which created positive impression about this or that subject. For example: the report of October 6 “Tbilisoba 2012”, which had a story of how the people celebrated Tbilisoba holiday, and where Gigi Ugulava, mayor of Tbilisi was presented positively. However, it is impossible to speak about any trend in this respect.

As for the overall negative impression, there were some reports related to the conduct of elections during the days right after the elections, where the negative impression was created about the representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream. In most cases these negative impressions were created because of the comments or statements of the respondents. Such reports were about the disturbance to the election commission by the

coalition members, also about the pressure on the commission representatives and their physical abuse as well. For example, there is a negative context created in the report “Tension in Marneuli” of October 5 about the coalition’s activists and members. The report shows the respondents, representatives of the local self-government, who are saying that the Georgian Dream representatives have beaten them up.

In regards to the respondents represented in the news items, the stories on the First Channel are mostly balanced and various opinions are also presented around the covered issue. However, there were news items during the monitoring period (regarding the elections process), which was based only on one source.

As for supporting the journalist’s information with facts, the First Channel always provides such facts.

Within the frameworks of the election campaign, the First Channel has started to arrange live broadcasts in its news releases with the representatives of opposition parties. During the monitoring period of October 1-13, there were in total 6 live broadcasts like this on the First Channel, and each lasted for 10 minutes. The following guests were invited to these broadcasts: Irakli Alasania (Coalition Georgian Dream), Paliko Kublashvili (United National Movement), Aleks Petriashvili (Coalition Georgian Dream), Gigi Tsereteli (United National Movement), Sergo Ratiani (United National Movement), Amiran Gamkrelidze (Candidate for the Minister of Health from the Georgian Dream).

There is usually one guest invited to these live broadcasts. The journalist mostly lets the guests finish their statement, and interrupts only if s/he wants to ask an additional question, clarify something or if the respondent went beyond the topic of the discussion. The host’s questions to the guests invited to the studio are sometimes less or sometimes more demanding.

## **Rustavi 2**

*During the monitoring period, Rustavi 2 allocated exactly 9 hours to the subjects. Almost one third of this time (2hours and 51 minutes) was dedicated to the news release on October 1. Almost half of the total time was dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. In regards to the Direct and indirect speech, the share of direct speech prevails among those subjects, to which more than 10 minutes were dedicated during this period. The subjects are mostly covered with neutral tone, and this is the case for the overall and for the journalist’s tone as well. Distribution of tones was greatly affected by quite long news release on October 1, when the exit poll results were announced. The headlines are mostly informative and*

*neutral. Overall impression of the subjects is mostly neutral. There are no clearly negative or clearly positive reports observed in regards to any subject. However, there were positive news items about the President and the representatives of the authorities, and there were negative stories about the Coalition Georgian Dream. In regards to the respondents whom in the news items, the reports are more or less balanced. Often the reports only have only one side or one source.*

During the monitoring period, exactly 9 hours were allocated to all the subjects on Rustavi 2. It is notable that almost one third of this time (2 hours and 51 minutes) was dedicated only to the news release of October 1. The news bulletins were quite long on majority of channels on the polling day, which finally affected the total time allocated to the subjects and to its distribution as well.

The allocated time was mostly distributed between two subjects: the Coalition Georgian Dream, to which almost half of the dedicated time was allocated and the National Movement, which got little less – 18 percent. Among the top-four subjects were also: the government (9 percent) and the President (7 percent). As for other subjects, they have 3 percent or less. (See the Diagram - Time 2)

In regards to the direct and indirect speech, those subjects, to which more than 10 minutes were allocated during this period, the share of direct speech prevails in case of all the subjects and it is more than 53 minutes. The lowest share of direct speech was reported for the Coalition Georgian Dream – 53 percent; though the highest share was reported for the observers – 76 percent. (See the Diagram - Speech 2)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, they are mostly covered with neutral tone. In this case too, quite long news bulletin of October 1 had a great impact, as these news releases were mostly announcing the results of exit polls. The President has the highest share of positive coverage with 21 percent. The positive tone was also reported in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream and the United National Movement as well (the Coalition Georgian Dream – 4 percent and the United National Movement – 6 percent). As for the negative tone, mostly it was reported only in regards to one subject, to which the largest share of time – almost 5 hours was allocated: the Coalition Georgian Dream – 8 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone 2)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, the picture is quite similar. In this case too, the coverage with neutral tone prevails. The lowest share of neutral tone is 90 percent, which is used for the Coalition Georgian Dream. The Georgian Dream also has the highest share of negative coverage – 8 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone J2)

During the monitoring period, the headlines of the reports on Rustavi 2 were mostly informative and neutral. There were no headlines for the reports in the news release broadcasted on the polling day on October 1.

The news items on Rustavi 2 were mostly neutral during the monitoring period. However, despite there was not been any clearly positive or clearly negative reports identified, still, there is a continuing trend that the reports, where the overall impression tends to be positive, are mostly about the President, the United National Movement and only in some cases – about the Mayor of Tbilisi. As for the news items, where the overall impression tends to be negative – they are about the representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream, especially during the first week of October.

Statement of Chiora Taktakishvili, representative of the National Movement was repeated 4 times during the long news release on October 1, according to which the National Movement is winning with “stable majority”, which was leaving a positive impression about the party. Besides, the President and the National Movement were represented quite positively in the reports which were dealing with the statements of international organizations and with the articles published by the foreign press, and with the President’s speeches too. This was the case of, for example, the news item of October 3 “International Responses”, where the journalist is reading an article where the recognition of the results by the President and the National Movement is represented as a democratic step. Contrary to this, Bidzina Ivanishvili’s statement, where he is calling Mikheil Saakashvili for resignation, was represented as a non-democratic step.

In some reports the Coalition Georgian Dream was presented negatively, mostly in connection to the elections process. For example, in the news item of October 2, “Incident in Rustavi 2” has negative contents about the Georgian Dream, as far as the report has a story about how the Coalition’s drunken activists were trying to intrude into the building of Rustavi 2. Besides, the news item of October 4 “Pressure on the election commissions” tends to be negative for the Coalition, because the report shows how the Coalition members and supporters interfere in performance of commission members and verbally abuse them.

There were several reports broadcasted during the monitoring period, where the representatives of the authorities and the United National Movement were represented negatively. The news item of October 6 “Intruded IDPs” tells a story of IDPs trespassing on the building. As far as the IDPs are talking about unbearable conditions that had lasted for years, the authorities are shown in a negative context. The news item of the same day, “Protest Anatomy 2”, the discussion is about the movie where Givi Targamadze, a member



of the United National Movement is referred to as “Chief Constructor of Color Revolutions”. The shots used in the movie leave negative impression about Targamadze.

As for presenting various parties and different opinions, majority of the reports are balanced in this monitoring period. Besides, we also come across with the reports during the monitoring period, where it will be difficult to talk about the balance, as there is only one or no source at all.

Since August, Rustavi 2 has had live broadcasts in its news releases, where one or several politicians were invited. Sometimes they were arranged in the form of debates. During October 1-13, the following guests were invited to Rustavi 2: on October 2 – Giga Bokeria (Secretary of the Security Council), on October 3 – Davit Usupashvili (Coalition Georgian Dream), on October 3 – Davit Bakradze (the United National Movement), on October 11 – Amiran Gamkrelidze (the Coalition Georgian Dream).

In these live broadcasts the journalist always lets the guests express themselves fully, and interrupts only if additional or probing question needs to be asked. The journalist’s questions to the guests mostly are less or moderately demanding.

## **Imedi**

*In total, Imedi allocated 8 hours and 55 minutes to the subjects during this monitoring period. Out of this time, 3 hours and 11 minutes are the time from the news release on October 1. According to the allocated time, the Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first. It is notable that unlike other channels, this subject has the highest percentage indicator on Imedi, which is more than a half of total time, and also has a minimum of 54 percent of direct speech. The subjects are mostly covered with neutral tone. In this case too, a quite long news release of October 1 has played a big role. The reports often have non-neutral headlines. It is worth mentioning that one and the same headline, which had negative content about the Coalition Georgian Dream, was repeated many times during three days. The positive reports are mostly about the President, the government and the United National Movement, and the negative reports are about Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream. The emphasis is laid on the past of the coalition members, their mistakes, bad relations among one another and other negative information. During the live broadcasts, where the political figures and experts were participating, the journalists were interrupting some guests, and were especially strict or especially loyal to other guests.*

In total, 8 hours and 55 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Imedi during the monitoring period. Out of this, 3 hours and 11 minutes are the time from the news bulletin

broadcasted on October 1, which had quite a big impact on the total results not only in regards to the time distribution, but also in regards to the coverage tone distribution as well.

The Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first on Imedi, like on any other channel in regards to the allocated time. However, it should be pointed out that unlike other channels, this subject has the highest percentage indicator on Imedi – 52 percent. The United National Movement ranks second with a very big difference – 16 percent. Then comes the President with 8 percent. However, time is quite equally distributed among the other remaining subjects. It is worth noting that except for the First Channel, Imedi is the only channel, which covered all the subjects in the news release on October 1, which were participating in the elections. (See the Diagram - Time 3)

In regards to the direct and indirect speech, the subjects, which got more than 10 minutes on the channel during October 1-13, have at least 54 percent of direct speech. The only exception is the government, which has only 31 percent of direct speech out of about 19 minutes allocated to it. (See the Diagram - Speech 3)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, the subjects are mostly covered with neutral tone. Even in this case, quite a long news bulleting, which was broadcasted on October 1, had a big impact, where the exit poll results were announced. Majority of the subjects have more than 90 percent of neutral coverage. The only exception is the President with 74 percent. The President also has the highest rate of positive coverage – 19 percent. The Coalition Georgian Dream, which in total got 5 hours and 25 minutes, had a neutral coverage of 84 percent, and it also had the highest rate of negative coverage as well – 9 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone 3)

As for the time allocated to the subjects according to the journalist's tone, here the trend of overall tone is repeated. The biggest share of positive coverage was reported for the President (26% out of 9 minutes). The Coalition Georgian Dream has a relatively higher indicator of negative tone (11%), to which the longest time – 1 hour and 40 minutes was allocated. (See the Diagram - Tone J3).

During the monitoring period (October 1-13) some reports on Imedi had non-neutral headlines. It is notable that 11 reports with the headline: “Dream: pressure on election commissions – Elections 2012” were broadcasted in the news release of October 3, also the same report with the same headline was broadcasted 5 times on October 4 and once on October 5. As for other news items of negative headlines, mostly they were about Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream. For example, “New Titan of Tbilisi – Independent: Ivanishvili and Georgian Political Reality” (October 3), “Occupation and Dream: Lukashevich and Volski” (October 4), “Father Elizbar: Cleansing will start – a

church person and the Georgian Dream” (October 4), “Dream, Abashidze and Mamaladze: will the Coalition return the property to the people wanted by the Interpol?” (October 5), “Pressure on local government MPs: Mamedov’s accusation for the Dream’s activists” (October 10), “From Confrontation to the Dream: Dumbadze, Usupashvili, Masalkin” (October 11).

On the other hand, the majority of news items with positive headlines are related to the President, the Prime Minister and the topics of country’s revival: “National Movement in Opposition: support to the formation of the government and controlling the Dream’s promises” (October 3), “Saakashvili’s Way to Democracy: American senators responded to the election results” (October 4), “President: we should not let the law and order go down in the country – assignments for Zguladze and Zodelava” (October 5), “Road Rehabilitation – Mayor of Tbilisi visited the ongoing works in Tsavkisi” (October 5).

As for the overall impression, there is a tendency identified that the positive reports are mostly about the President, the authorities, the government, the National Movement and the Mayor of Tbilisi. For example, the news item of October 4 “Saakashvili’s Way to Democracy: American senators responded to the election results” – is positive for the authorities and the President. The journalist is informing about the contents of the statement where Saakashvili and the authorities are praised.

The news item of October 5 “Road Rehabilitation – Mayor of Tbilisi visited the ongoing works in Tsavkisi” leaves a positive impression about Gigi Ugulava, as far as the report has a footage of building roads in one of the villages and where the Mayor of Tbilisi is talking to the locals gathered around him. He is positively speaking about the achievements of the United National Movement and about how to keep them.

News item of October 8 “Felengauer – “Georgia was safe from war” – democratic elections and avoided Russian aggression” presents Mikheil Saakashvili in a positive context, because it was exactly Saakashvili’s democratic policy that saved Georgia from the war with Russia.

As it is seen from the news headlines, the news items broadcasted by the Kronika during this monitoring period were mostly dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream, its members and Bidzina Ivanishvili. For example, the news item of October 3 “Elections 2012 and Russia: Moscow’s reaction” negatively presents the Georgian Dream. In this story Bidzina Ivanishvili and Dream’s victory is related to Russia. It is emphasized that the official Moscow welcomes the new government. Besides, the experts are negatively talking about Ivanishvili and his coalition. Often the emphasis is laid on the past of the coalition members, their mistakes, bad relationships among one another and other negative pieces of information.

The news item of October 5 “Dream, Abashidze and Mamaladze: Will the Coalition return the property to the people wanted by the Interpol?” negatively presents the Coalition Georgian Dream. The report underlines the fact that after the new government came into power, the officers from Shevardnadze and Aslan Abashidze’s period, who are now wanted by the Interpol, requested their property back. The report has footage of interviews with the coalition members, where they are saying that everybody has the right to fair trial and to protect their right to property. Besides, the report contains recollections of Aslan Abashidze and his government’s past, how they restricted people, what privileges they had, what property held, etc. At the end of the story the journalist points out that Abashidze’s and Mamaladze’s lawyers are the members of the new ruling team, the Coalition Georgian Dream.

The news item of October 5 “NATO, Russia or both at a time? Ivanishvili’s foreign policy” leaves a negative impression on Bidzina Ivanishvili, as far as here the Coalition’s foreign policy and its relations with Russia are underlined. There are excerpts from Ivanishvili’s interviews, where he is speaking about relations with Russia. There is more emphasis laid on the relations with Russia than on the North Atlantic Alliance.

Overall impression of the reports is intensified by the journalist’s text, which often was not neutral during the monitoring period. Below you can find several examples:

- “He [Ivanishvili] already considers himself a Prime Minister, but he does not know for sure whether the Constitution gives him this authority or not” (October 3, the report “Tbilisi’s New Titan” – Independent: Ivanishvili and Georgian Political Reality)
- “However, the leader of a new ruling political power of Georgia has much bigger plans with Russia, despite he has not received congratulations from Putin yet... (There are Ivanishvili’s words included in the report, where he is saying that nobody has called yet)... He is waiting for settling relations with Russia” (October 5, news item “NATO, Russia or both at a time? Ivanishvili’s foreign policy”)
- “Ivanishvili also pointed out that he staffed the new government within a record-hitting time, in 15 minutes” (October 8, “Dream’s government: nomination of candidates”)

In regards to the respondents presented in the reports, the news items are more or less balanced. We also come across with reports which are difficult to judge from the standpoint of balance, because there is only one or no respondent at all.

As for the live broadcasts in Kronika, during October 1-13 there were 9 live broadcasts like this in the news bulletins on Imedi. Representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream prevailed among the guests during these live broadcasts: on October 5 – Davit Usupashvili (the Coalition Georgian Dream) and Davit Bakradze (the United National Movement), on October 9 – Davit Usupashvili (the Coalition Georgian Dream), on October 10 – Thee Tsulukiani and Irakli Gharibashvili (the Coalition Georgian Dream), on October 11 – Amiran Gamkrelidze and Murman Dumbadze (the Coalition Georgian Dream), October 12 – Nodar Khaduri (the Coalition Georgian Dream).

In case of the first 5 live broadcasts, the journalist would let the guests fully express themselves and interrupted only to ask probing questions. In other 4 cases the host was interrupting more and did not let the respondents speak. However, we can say that all the guests were in more or less equal situation. Mostly, the journalist was moderately demanding to the guests. There were cases when the host was asking more demanding questions. For example, in the live broadcast of October 11, when Amiran Gamkrelidze (the Coalition Georgian Dream) was speaking about the pension reform, the journalist interrupted him several times and requested him to tell the exact amount of money.

It is notable that in the live broadcast on October 5, when Davit Usupashvili (the Coalition Georgian Dream) was answering to the journalist's question about the violations by the supporters of the Coalition Georgian Dream and saying that on the contrary, these were provocations by the United National Movement, in parallel to this there was footage where the Dream's supporters are introducing into the precinct, which presents Usupashvili in a negative context.<sup>2</sup>

## **Maestro**

*Maestro allocated 5 hours and 57 minutes in total to the monitoring subjects during October 1-13. As it is the case of other channels, quite much time was allocated to the news release on October 1 on Maestro, which is 2 hours and 51 minutes. Significantly big portion of the total time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. Direct and indirect speech is differently distributed among the subjects. The government, the United National Movement and the President have the lowest share of direct speech, and the local NGOs, and international organizations have the highest rate of direct speech. As for the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, here and also in case of the journalist's tone mostly the neutral tone prevails. Coverage with the most positive tone*

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<sup>2</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RXmT8D4jGg&feature=youtu.be>

*was reported in case of the Georgian Dream, and the highest rate of negative tone was reported for the government and the United National Movement. The reports on Maestro have descriptive and neutral headlines. However, there are some headlines with negative contents in regards to the representatives of the authorities, which leaves a negative impression about these subjects. Whole range of reports was prepared on the election violations and other topics, where the authorities were presented negatively. The news items about the Coalition Georgian Dream were mostly positive. In regards to the presented respondents, the reports are more or less balanced. However, there are some reports where we feel that the comments of the representatives of government structures, CEC and the National Movement were needed.*

Maestro allocated 5 hours and 57 minutes to the subjects during October 1-13. Like it was on other channels, quite much time – 2 hours and 51 minutes were allocated to the news release on Maestro on October 1. According to the allocated time, the Coalition Georgian Dream ranked first with its 45 percent. The United National Movement ranks second with 17 percent. As for other subjects, they got 8 percent or less. However, the allocated time is quite equally distributed among them. (See the Diagram - Time 4)

Distribution of direct and indirect speech differs from subject to subject. The Coalition Georgian Dream, to which the most time was allocated – 2 hours and 40 minutes, has equally distributed shares of direct and indirect speech: 46 percent for direct and 54 percent for indirect. The largest share of direct speech was reported for the local NGOs (72 percent) and international organizations (71 percent). Relatively lower share of direct speech was observed in case of the National Movement (34 percent), the government (31 percent) and the President (38 percent). (See the Diagram - Speech 4)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the time allocated to the subjects, here mostly the neutral tone prevails. The most positive coverage was reported in case of the Georgian Dream – 18 percent. The biggest share of negative tone was reported in case of the government (17 percent) and the United National Movement (15 percent). (See the Diagram - Tone 4)

As for the journalist's tone, here we see a similar picture. On the background of neutral coverage, the negative tone was revealed in regards to two subjects. These are: the government (18%) and the United National Movement (14%). Comparatively bigger share of coverage with positive tone by the journalist was reported in case of one subject: the Coalition Georgian Dream – 5 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone J4)

The news items on Maestro mostly had descriptive and neutral headlines. There were reports in connection to the elections, which were about the violations during elections and

probable fraud at various precincts; the reports were also related to the post-elections events and caused more or less negative associations about the authorities. There were no sharply negative or positive headlines observed, but there were headlines with negative contents. For example, “New documentation: with the widespread information the high-ranking officials are leaving the country” (October 6), “Unofficial expenses: visits of high-ranking officials to strip-clubs were funded from the Tbilisi Budget” (October 8).

Some part of the reports broadcasted on Maestro during October 1-13 is neutral. However, in regards to the topics, which are related to the electoral violations or to the representatives of authorities, overall impression about them is critical or negative, whereas the reports about the Coalition Georgian Dream are more positive.

As for the reports broadcasted about the elections (e.g. news items of October 1: “Violations in the regions”, “Elections in Adjara”, “Vakhtang Khmaladze’s Statement”; news item of October 4: “Immigrant’s choice: hundreds of immigrants living abroad were deprived of their right to vote”), there are some news items with overall negative impression regarding the National Movement and the authorities, as far as the majority of electoral violations are related to them. We also come across with the negative stories about the candidates of the National Movement as well. In majority of these reports negative impression is created due to the words of the respondents. After the elections, the authorities were portrayed negatively in some reports. Among them is the report of October 6 “New documentation: according to the widespread information, high-ranking officials are leaving the country”; the news item of October 8 “Interview with a colonel: Nikoloz Janjghava starts a legal fight to prove his innocence”, where Nika Janjghava is saying that his detention and also the incident at Lopota Gorge was a pre-election provocation planned by the authorities; the news item of October 9 “Treasury Funds: where did the non-transparent expenses go from the President’s and the government’s reserve funds?!” , where the emphasis is laid on unpurposeful spending of money by the authorities; the news item of October 10 “Leaving the country: who has left and who is staying in Georgia”.

One of the examples of negative coverage of the National Movement is the news item of October 3 “9-year rule: governance by the National Movement 2003-2012”, which chronologically shows the facts happened during the rule of this party. It is notable that the events or facts, which the National Movement, the President and the government claim to be their achievements, are listed only. Main emphasis (accompanied with heavy footage) is laid on negative events, such as: murder of Robakidze, Girgvliani and Vazagashvili, death of Zurab Zhvania, raiding the demonstration of November 7, war of 2008, dispersal of the demonstration on May 26, entry of SWAT team to the precinct in Khashuri during the elections of 2012, etc. At the end of the story the reporter is saying that Saakashvili admitted

to the defeat and this way he finished to rule of the National Movement. At this moment there is a footage which shows Saakashvili throwing the ballot-paper into the ballot box and making a gesture with his hand as if he is giving up.<sup>3</sup>

During the monitoring period we come across with positive reports about the Coalition Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili on Maestro. Mostly this positive impression is created by the coalition representatives or their supporters with their comments (for example: news items of October 1 about the assembly of supporters). There were reports on the polling day and afterwards about the coalition meetings and their celebration of victory, where everybody has positive attitude towards the Coalition, and where the statements of coalition leaders also create positive impressions (e.g. news item of October 1 “Dream – Emotions – Bidzina Ivanishvili addressed the supporters”). News item of October 5 “Businessmen at Ivanishvili’s: more than 200 businessmen attended the meeting with Bidzina Ivanishvili” positively presents Bidzina Ivanishvili, because the businessmen are talking about him in a positive context and they express hope that business will start to flourish in Georgia in this period.

However, there were several reports which showed the Coalition negatively. For example, the Coalition representative Luka Kurtanidze is discussed in a negative context in the news item of October 1, which reports about the statement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs about some people beaten up by Luka Kurtanidze; because according to the statement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, he is blamed of beating up some people. Besides, the news item of October 3: “Incident in Terjola: supporters of the Georgian Dream broke the door of the District Commission” is negative to the Georgian Dream, because the respondents are saying that the coalition representatives are exercising violence and try to intrude into the precinct forcedly.

In regards to the presented respondents and different opinions, the news items are more or less balanced on Maestro. We encounter the reports, where the activities of only one subject is discussed and it is difficult to speak about the balance. However, we also see the reports where we feel that the comments are lacking from the side of official state structures, the CEC, or the representatives of the National Movement, and also sometimes their positions is lacking as well. However, in some reports the journalist pointed out that it was impossible to get any comment.

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<sup>3</sup> Please follow the link to see the video:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ObGZGp35vT8&feature=youtu.be>



During the monitoring period there were several technical defects on Maestro. There were cases when the respondents were not identified, or identified mistakenly. There are no cases of manipulation with frames.

## **Kavkasia**

*In total, 4 hours and 17 minutes were allocated to the subjects on Kavkasia. Unlike other channels, Kavkasia broadcasted its news release on the first of October in an ordinary format and it lasted only for 34 minutes. The longest time was dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. The share of direct and indirect speech is more or less equally distributed. The coverage of subjects was mostly done in a neutral way both in case of the overall tone and the journalist's tone as well. Together with the reports that created neutral overall impressions, on Kavkasia we also see the reports of negative contents towards the United National Movement, the authorities and the government, which mostly refer to the events developed on the polling day or afterwards. Often the negative impression is created only as the result of the respondent's comments. The reports are more or less balanced, however, there are also other news items, where none of the respondents is represented.*

In total, Kavkasia allocated 4 hours and 17 minutes to the subjects. Unlike other channels, the news release was broadcasted on Kavkasia in an ordinary format and lasted for 34 minutes. Despite this, the results are not different from other channels. On Kavkasia, like on other 7 channels, the Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first according to the allocated time; and by the way, with quite high indicator – 40 percent. The United National Movement and the government rank second and third with similar percentage indicators (the National Movement – 14 percent, and the government – 11 percent). Other subjects got 8 percent or less. (See the Diagram - Time 5)

In regards to the percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech, in case of the majority of subjects, this data is equally distributed. The lowest share of direct speech is reported for the United National Movement – 33 percent, and the highest – for the local NGOs – 60 percent. (See the Diagram - Speech 5)

As for the tone-based evaluation of the subjects it should be pointed out that the subjects were basically covered with neutral tone on Kavkasia. In case of some subjects there was negative coverage observed, and among them the United National Movement has the highest indicator – 18 percent. The share of negative coverage has been reported also for the government – 11 percent, the President – 11 percent and the Coalition Georgian Dream – 4 percent.

As for the positive tone, little coverage of positive tone was also reported for the same subjects. (See the Diagram - Tone 5)

Results of the journalist's tone are similar to the picture of overall tone. The subjects are mostly covered with neutral tone. As for the negative tone, it was reported in case of four subjects: the government - 14 percent, the United National Movement - 11 percent, the President - 9 percent and the Coalition Georgian Dream - 3 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone J5).

During the whole monitoring period the reports did not have headlines on Kavkasia, this is why no respective observation was made.

Together with the reports of overall neutral impression, during the period of October 1-13, there were also other reports with negative contents about the United National Movement, the authorities and the government. Such news items mostly referred to the polling day and other events developed in subsequent days. This impression is often created by the comments of the respondents who are presented in the reports. During this period, the news items were dedicated to the following topics: attempts to rig the elections by the National Movement, leaving the country by the government members, unlawful actions of the government, etc.

Moreover, there were news items telling a story that the projects, which initiated by the President or the government, were closed after the elections and were not continued. For example, in the story of October 11, which was about the President's project "Smiling Georgia" and other governmental projects, there was a negative coverage of the fact that the governmental projects were suspended after the elections. Especially negative context was provided for the project started by the President "Smiling Georgia", as the people were left without artificial teeth or treatment.

It is notable that there was a report in the news release of October 6 where the video was shown about Givi Targamadze's meeting with Russian opposition representatives. The talk was about arranging a coup in Russia. It should be underlined that the story is quite balanced; statements of the other party are presented, for example, those of Davit Darchiashvili and Nika Chitadze, who are evaluating this event from different angle. There is also Tsiskarishvili's comment, who is speaking about Targamadze with negative tone. In total, the news item presents a member of the United National Movement negatively, but this because of the topic and not because of the channel's tendentiousness.

In regards to the sources used in the news items and presented opinions, the news items on Kavkasia are more or less balanced during the monitoring period. Like other channels, often

there are some news items on Kavkasia, when it is difficult to speak about any balance, or where none of the respondents is presented.

## The Ninth Channel

*The Ninth Channel allocated 5 hours and 17 minutes to the subjects during the monitoring period of October 1-13, out of which 2 hours and 25 minutes is attributed to the news release broadcasted on October 1. According to the allocated time, the Coalition Georgian Dream ranks first. The local NGOs have the biggest, and the United National Movement and the government have quite little share of direct speech. As for the tone-based coverage of subjects, there is an eye-catching and relatively big share of positive coverage of the Coalition Georgian Dream during this period, which is due to the speech of respondents and not that of the journalists. There was coverage of Bidzina Ivanishvili's broad appeal on the polling day, also footage of many people in the streets with flags, etc. In case of overall and journalist's tone, there was negative coverage used for: the National Movement, the government, the authorities, the President and the local authorities. As for presenting various opinions in the news items, in this respect the news items are more or less balanced. However, we need to point out that in most cases the reports do not contain the comments of the representatives of the government or the United National Movement. There are cases observed on the Ninth Channel when the journalist's opinions are irrelevant to the materials used in the news items, or when the journalist's assumption is presented as a fact.*

In total the Ninth Channel allocated 5 hours and 17 minutes to the monitoring subjects during the monitoring period. Out of this time 2 hours and 25 minutes were dedicated to the news release on October 1, which was quite a long program. 44 percent of total time was allocated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. The second and third subjects got similar percentage: the United National Movement (15%) and local NGOs (13%). Other subjects got 7 percent or less. (See the Diagram - Time 6)

As for the distribution of direct and indirect speech, the Coalition Georgian Dream and the President have quite equal distribution. However, it should be pointed out that the time allocated to them is very different: Coalition Georgian Dream - 51 percent direct and 49 percent indirect out of 2 hours and 20 minutes, President - 48 percent direct and 52 percent indirect speech out of 21 minutes allocated to it. The local NGOs have the biggest share of direct speech - 69 percent. The United National Movement and the government have quite low share: the National Movement - 25 percent direct and the government - 23 percent. (See the Diagram - Speech 6)

In regards to the coverage tone, as compared to other channels, there was clearly a bigger share of positive tone used in regards to the Coalition Georgian Dream, on the Ninth Channel - 22 percent. We see relatively more negative tone in regards to the national movement (24%), the government (33%), the President (21%), the local self-government (34%) and the authorities (75%). (See the Diagram - Tone 6)

Distribution of time allocated to the subjects is similar in case of the journalist's tone and here the tendency looks like the overall tone, especially in case of the negative tone. It is notable that in case of the Coalition Georgian Dream, positive coverage by the journalist is at minimum - 2 percent. However, the share of negative tone is quite big exactly in regards to those subjects, which also had a big share of negative coverage from the viewpoint of overall tone. These are: the government (39%), the United National Movement (22%), the President (34%) and the authorities (62%). (See the Diagram - Tone J6)

In regards to the report headlines, the critical and ironical headlines are less observed on the Ninth Channel during this monitoring period, and mostly the headlines of neutral contents prevail. However, we can identify several headlines with critical and ironical contents about the president, the government and the local authorities: "increased authority: the President subordinated two agencies in three days" (October 8), "fight for self-government: President starts to strengthen his power in the regions" (October 8), "Disappeared minister: there is no information at the ministry about the whereabouts of the Minister of Justice" (October 9), "Unpurposeful expenses of Defense: the experts request studying the expenses of the defense budget" (October 13), "Spending of budgetary funds: Georgian Dream is accusing the Gamgebeli of Kharagauli" (October 13).

It is notable that the news items, which were broadcasted on October 1-6, inclusive, did not have headlines.

During the qualitative monitoring on October 1-13, inclusive, there are reports prevailing on the Ninth Channel where the overall tone is negative, and where the authorities, the government, the President, the United National Movement, local authorities and the Central Election Commission are highlighted in negative context. This is provided by the respondent's comments, also by the overall context of the story and the journalist's text as well.

The news items broadcasted during the first half of October, which negatively presented the authorities, the government, the United National Movement and the CEC, were mostly related to the events developed on the polling day and afterwards. The news items mostly contained stories about the attempts of the ruling party to rig the elections with various tools at various places. Besides, often there are other reports, which speak about the projects

started by the government, such as the construction of Lazika, or the programs such as “Smiling Georgia”, where the authorities or the projects are negatively presented by the journalist and also by the respondents as well.

In this period the stories also covered various state-owned companies, among them the TV-companies. The emphasis was laid on the property that was unlawfully taken away from them and on the imposed fines. The facts such as the ministers and their surroundings, who have left the country, were also discussed.

During the monitoring period, there were relatively rare cases of broadcasting the news items with positive overall impression on the Ninth Channel. However, in these cases they were about Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Coalition Georgian Dream. These news items contained broad appeals and speeches of Bidzina Ivanishvili, where he is speaking positively. There is also footage of his meeting with the Patriarch and praying at the icon. The news items broadcasted on the polling day contained footage of many people, applauses, flags, etc.

There are news items on the Ninth Channel, where the negative impression concerning a particular subject is intensified by the journalist’s text. The examples are:

- “What new plots the National Movement is making for maintaining the media outlets they had appropriated by force” (October 4, news item #7)
- “Where are the deserting high-rank officials? Zurab Adeishvili is the only minister who left eh office and staff and sneaked out of the country... see the deserting high-rank officials and public officers who had left Georgia, and who were associated with terror a week ago” (October 9, news item “Disappeared minister: there is no information at the ministry about the whereabouts of the Minister of Justice.”)
- “Mikheil Saakashvili made his decision yesterday, which has already been evaluated to be a bargain” (October 9, news item “Change in the staff: Discussions are underway about Kapanadze’s candidacy as a head of the General Headquarters”)
- “Mayor of Tbilisi to take away some functions from the Ministry of Internal Affairs” (October 10, news item “Police of the Mayor of Tbilisi: Gigi Ugulava is creating his security service”)

As for presenting various opinions in the news items, in this respect the reports are more or less balanced. However, we need to point out that the less balanced reports do not contain the comment of the representatives of the authorities, government, the United National Movement, the local self-government and the Central Election Commission. Besides, we

also come across with the reports where it is difficult to evaluate any balance, or where the no respondent is represented at all.

There are cases observed on the Ninth Channel, when the opinions made by the journalist does not correspond to the materials used in the news item, or when the journalist's assumption is provided as a fact, which in certain cases aggravates and intensifies the picture.

## Real TV

*The report provides the results of news releases broadcasted on Real TV only from October 1 till October 5, inclusive, because after this the channel stopped news broadcasting. Consequently, in total, the least time - 2 hours and 41 minutes were allocated to the subjects on this channel, as compared to other channels. Almost half of this time was dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. As for the percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech, the Coalition Georgian Dream has the lowest share of direct speech, whereas the president has the highest. As for the tone-based coverage, on Real TV there is a prevailing neutral tone in case of the majority of subjects, both in case of overall and the journalist's tone. Only one subject is covered negatively: the Coalition Georgian Dream. In regards to the headlines of news items, neutral and descriptive headlines were observed on Real TV. Overall impressions are mostly neutral in the news items. However, there are negative reports about the Coalition and positive reports about the representatives of authorities. However, there are no clearly negative reports observed any more. The news items are sometimes balanced, sometimes - not. In case of imbalance, there is a lack of comments by the Coalition representatives.*

This report provides the results of monitoring of news releases on Real TV during October 1-5, inclusive, as far as after that the channel stopped news broadcasting. Consequently, this channel allocated the least time to the subjects compared to other channels - 2 hours and 41 minutes. The most time - 46 percent was dedicated to the Coalition Georgian Dream. Twice as little time was allocated to the second-ranking United National Movement - 20 percent. The president was found among the top-three subjects with 11 percent. As for other subjects, they had 6 percent or less. (See the Diagram - Time 7)

As for the percentage distribution of direct and indirect speech, the most equally distributed indicators were reported in case of the United National Movement: 51 percent direct and 49 percent indirect. The lowest share of direct speech was reported for the Coalition Georgian Dream - 37 percent, and the highest - for the President - 70 percent. (See the Diagram - Speech 7)

As for the tone-based coverage of subjects, there is an eye-catching prevalence of neutral tone in case of majority of subjects on Real TV. It should be pointed out that during this period we do not come across with a large share of positive coverage in case of any subject. There is quite a big share of negative coverage only in case of one subject only: the Coalition Georgian Dream – 35 percent. (See the Diagram - Tone 7)

The journalist's tone regarding the subjects is quite similar to the overall tone. Negative coverage is observed only in case of one subject: the Georgian Dream – 33 percent. As for the positive coverage, as it was the case of overall tone, even in case of the journalist's tone these cases have been minimized. (See the Diagram - Tone J7)

During this monitoring period, news releases of only 5 days were observed on Real TV. No news program was broadcasted in the evenings since October 6. In regards to the news headlines, the situation has changed on Real TV. The news items, which were related to the elections (mostly on October 1), did not have any headlines at all. As for other days, the reports only had short and descriptive headlines. For example, "Ivanishvili's Press-Conference" (October 2), "President with Diplomats" (October 4), "Incident in Akhmeta" (October 5).

The situation has changed on Real TV even in regards to the impressions as well. During the monitoring period, the evening news releases of this channel was distinguished with clearly negative coverage of the Coalition Georgian Dream and clearly positive coverage of government subjects. However, the news items broadcasted on October 1-5 left more neutral impressions about the subjects. Still, there were negative stories about the Coalition Georgian Dream, but sharply negative texts of the journalists were not observed as before. As for the president and government, there were several positive news items about them during this period too, but here too, significant differences were observed in regards to the coverage style.

For example, in the news item of October 1, which contained the comments of the representatives of the VGD about exit poll results, it is underlined that the Coalition is celebrating the victory early, only based on the primary results of the exit polls of the Voters League, which was funded by Ivanishvili. The news item contains Bidzina Ivanishvili's statements and the journalist is highlighting how mutually exclusive statements he is making.

The news item of October 3 "Ivanishvili's Ministers' Cabinet" discusses probable candidates of ministers, and every candidate's past experience and political way are overviewed in a negative context. The journalist is underlining that many of them are the politicians of Shevardnadze's regime, or has a pro-Russian orientation. The news item also speaks about

Ivanishvili's ultimatum, where he is calling for Saakashvili's resignation. Then the story shows how Ivanishvili is changing this statement after a negative evaluation by the international community.

For example, the news item of October 4 "CNN on Georgia" and "American Senators' Statement", presents the president and the government positively, in one case, while presenting the CNN's article, and in the other case - while covering the statement of American senators.

As for the balance of news items according to the presented respondents, during this period the news items were sometimes balanced - sometimes not. There are many reports, where only one subject's activities are covered, and it is difficult to speak about the balance of sources. However, it is notable that some part of unbalanced stories is conditioned by the lack of comments of representatives of the Coalition Georgian Dream.

There are cases on Real TV, when the journalist's opinions are irrelevant to the materials used in the news items. However, such cases are rare during the monitoring period and do not represent a trend.

There were no more live broadcasts during the news releases on October 1-5.



**Annex - Diagrams**

Diagram - Time 1

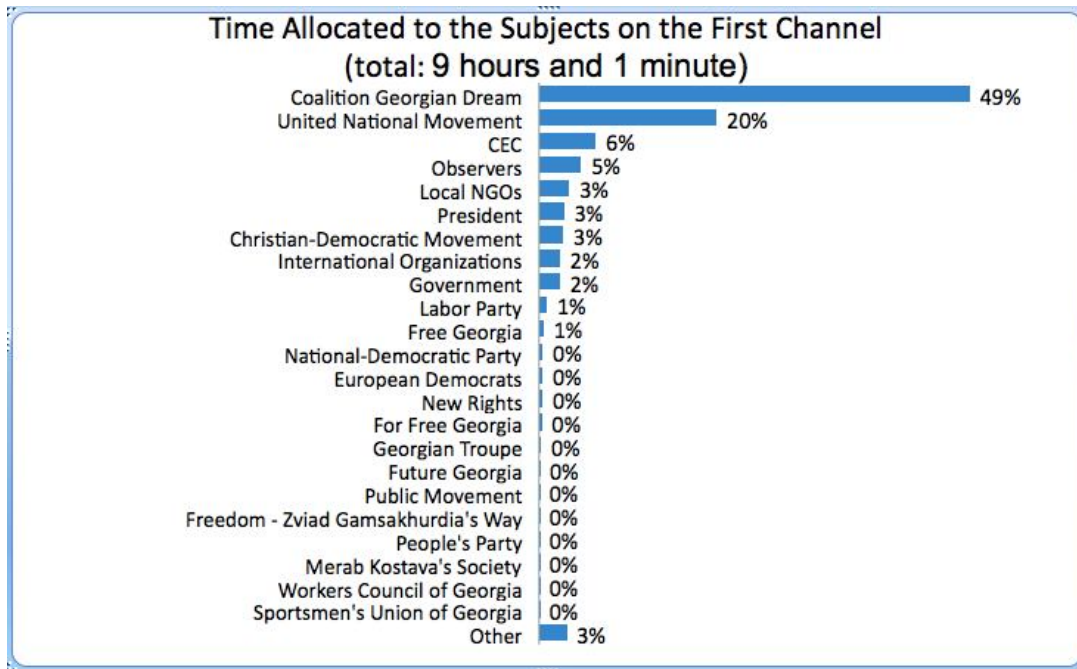


Diagram - Time 2

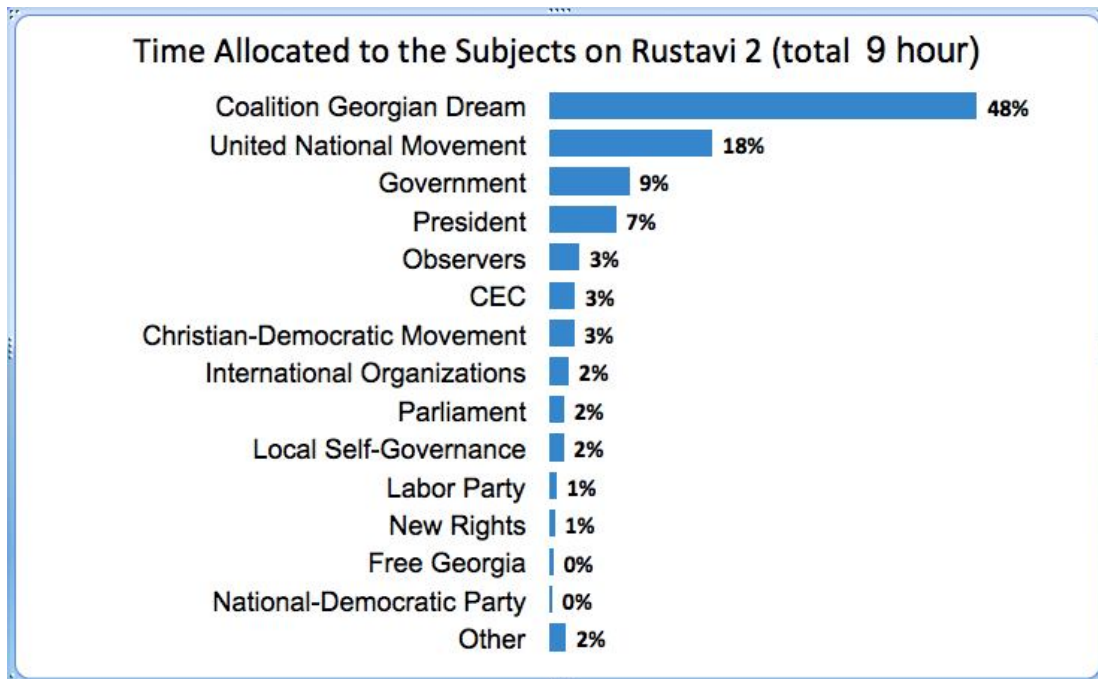


Diagram - Time 3

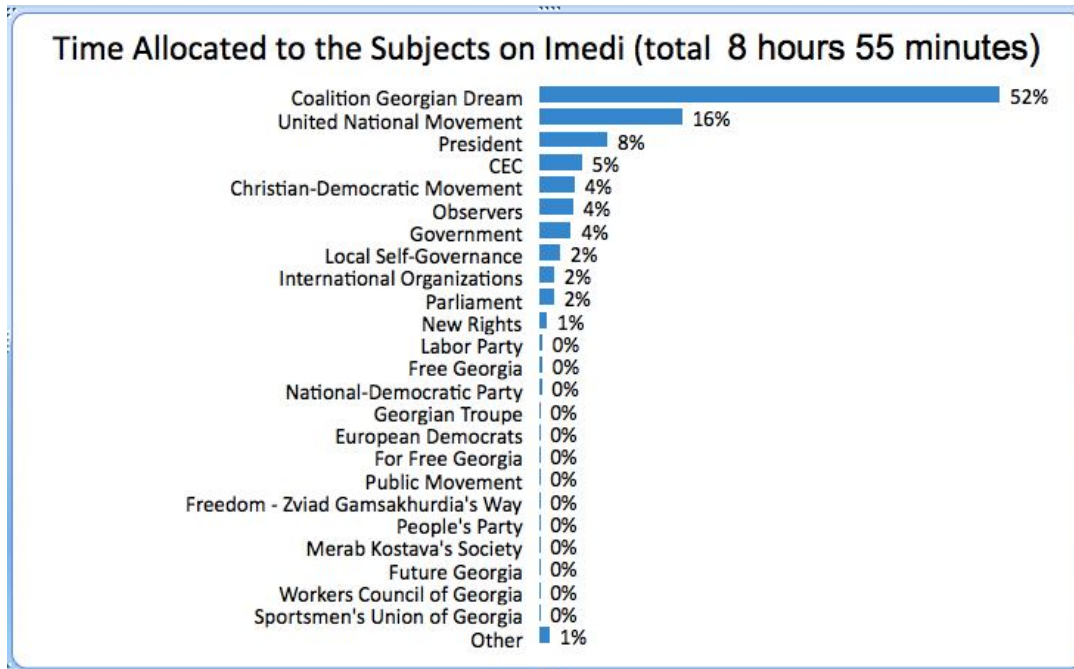


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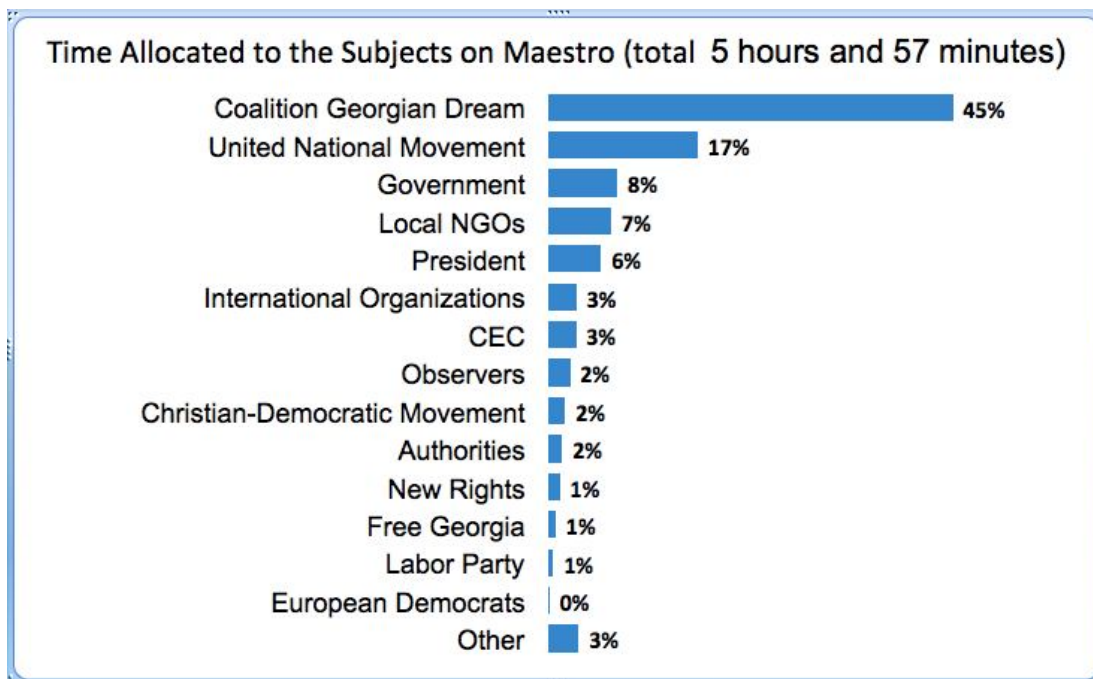


Diagram - Time 5

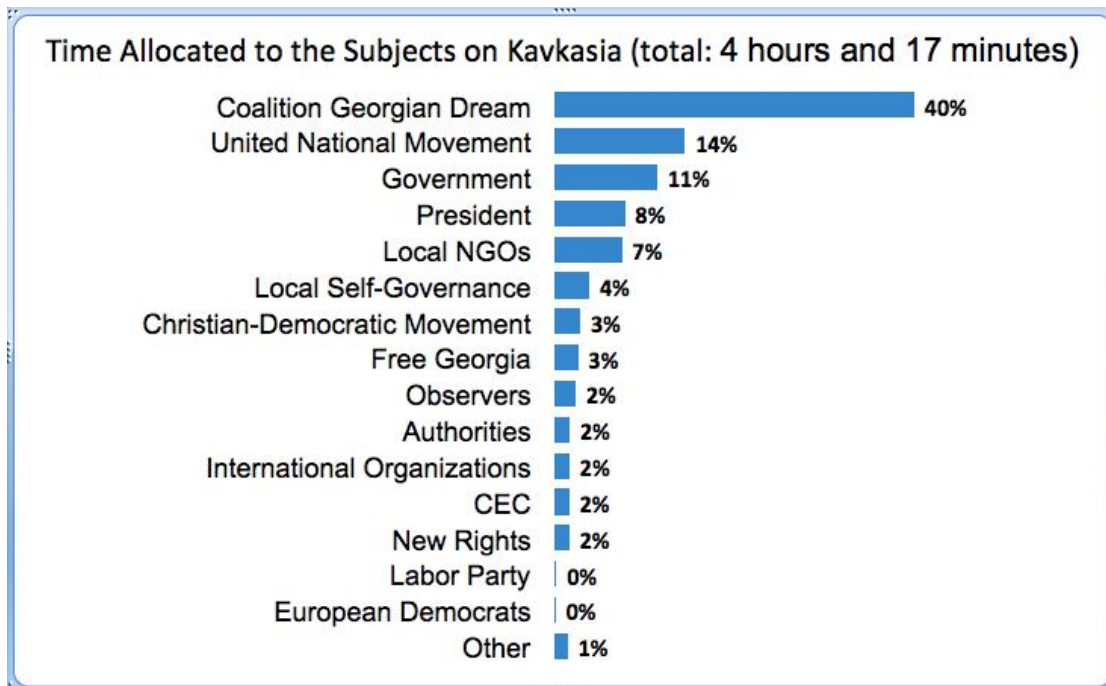


Diagram - Time 6

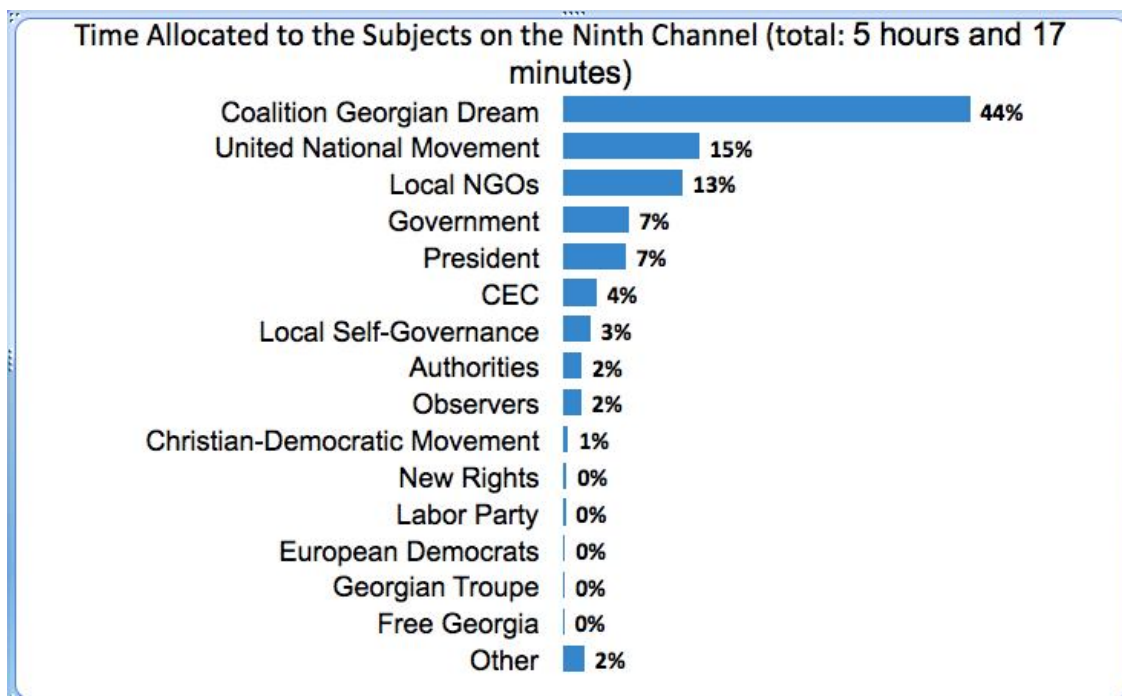


Diagram - Time 7

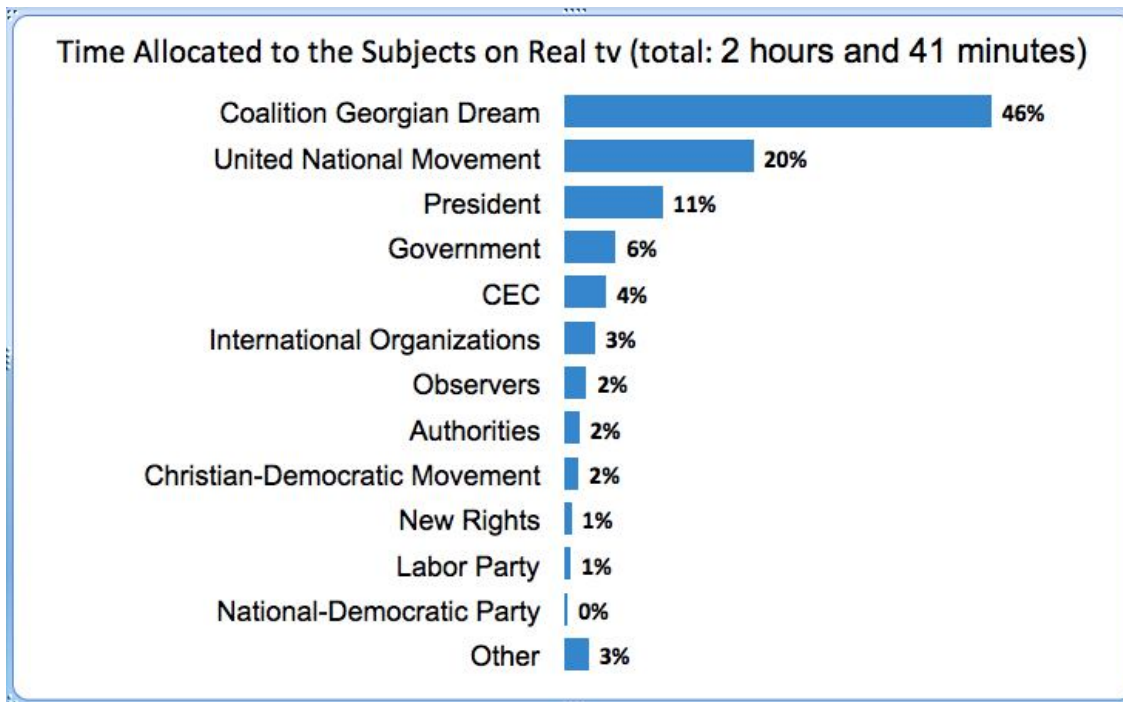


Diagram - Speech 1

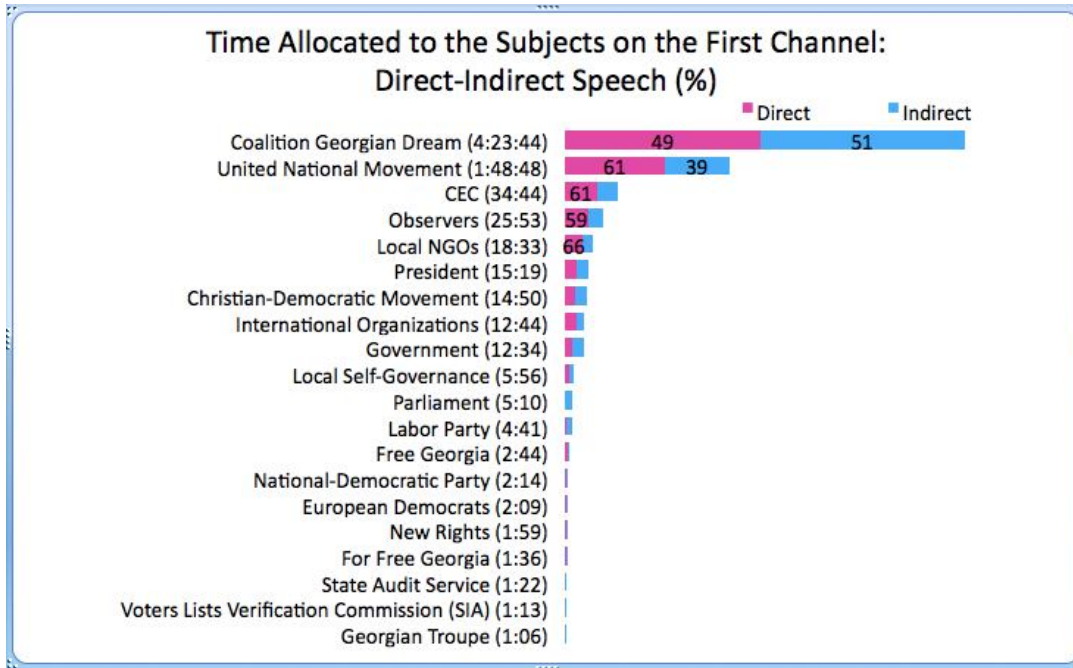


Diagram - Speech 2

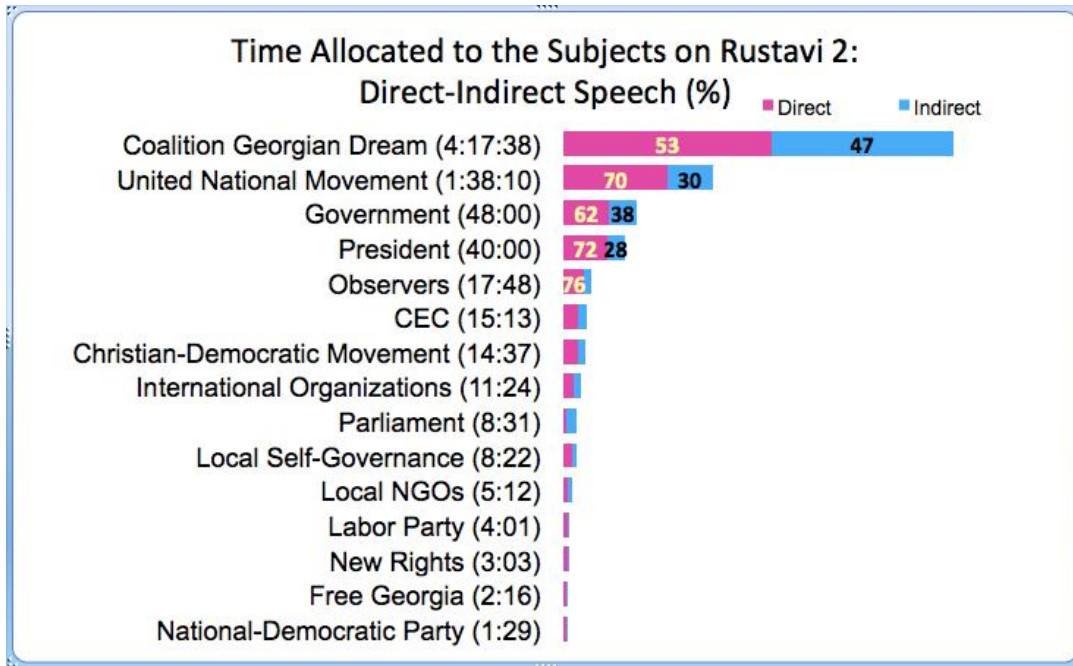




Diagram - Speech 3

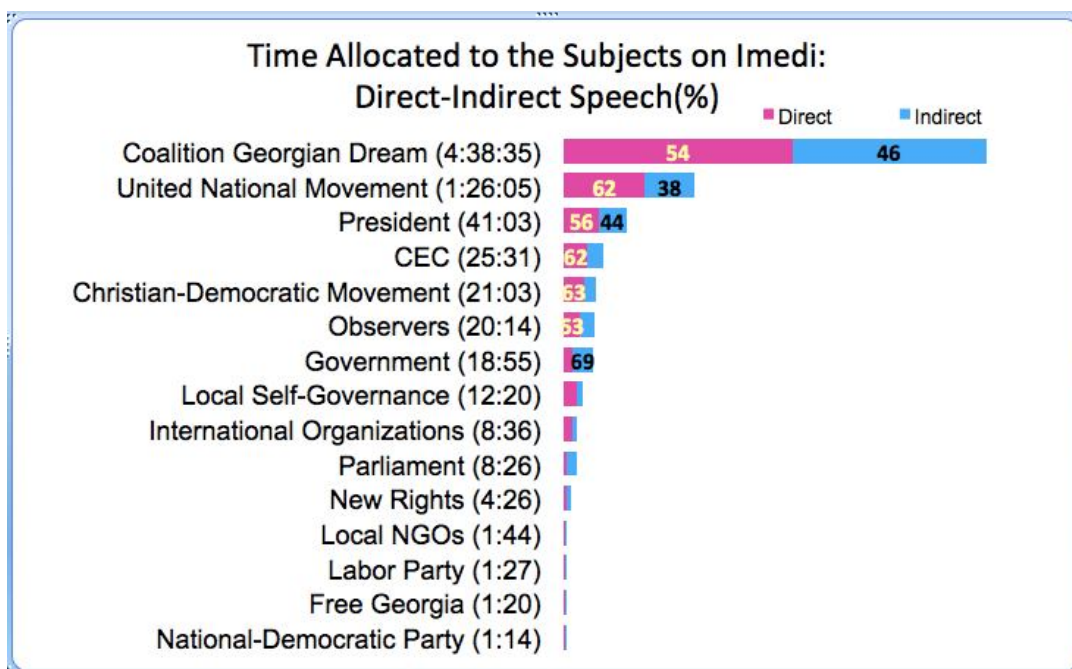


Diagram - Speech 4

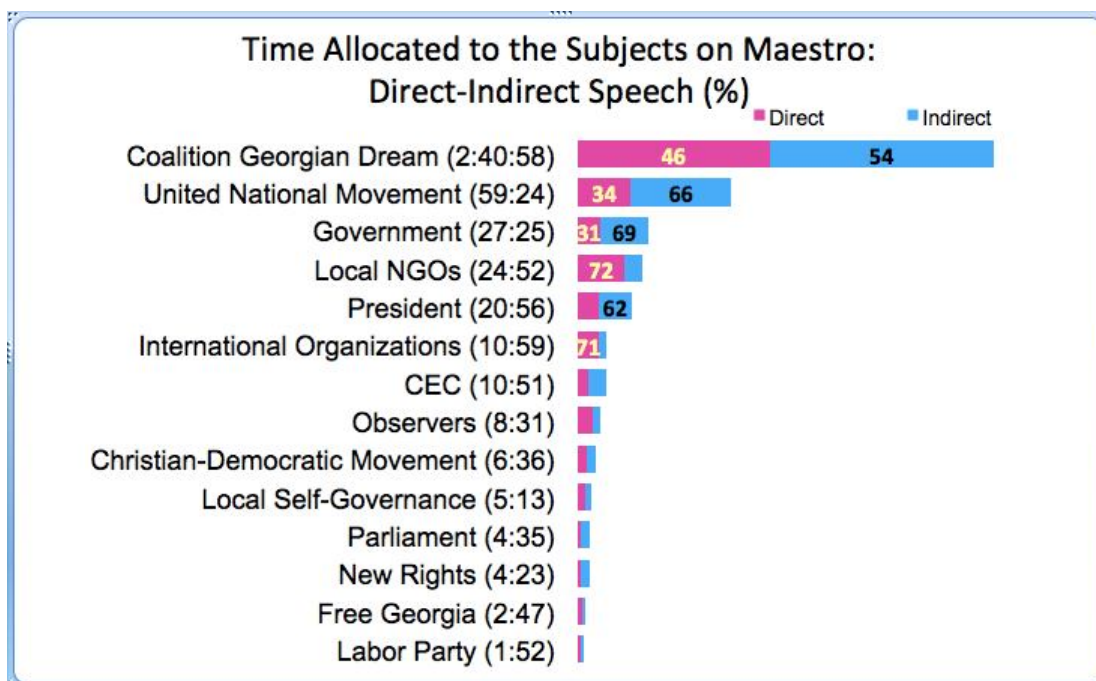


Diagram - Speech 5

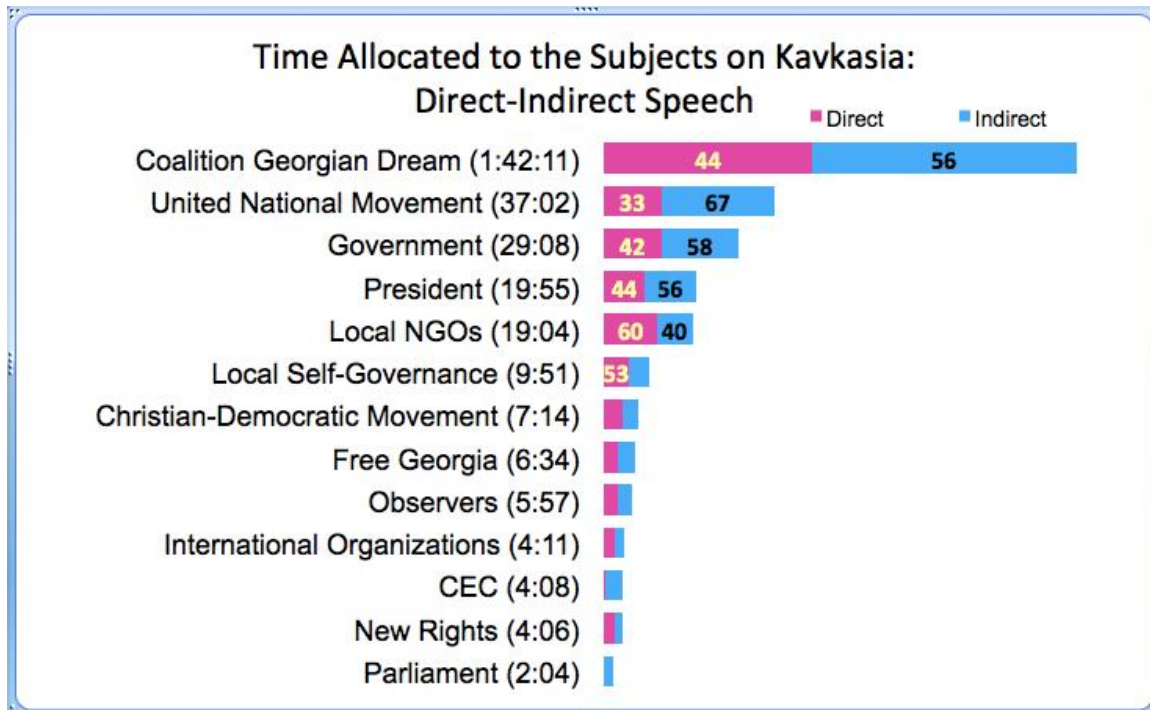


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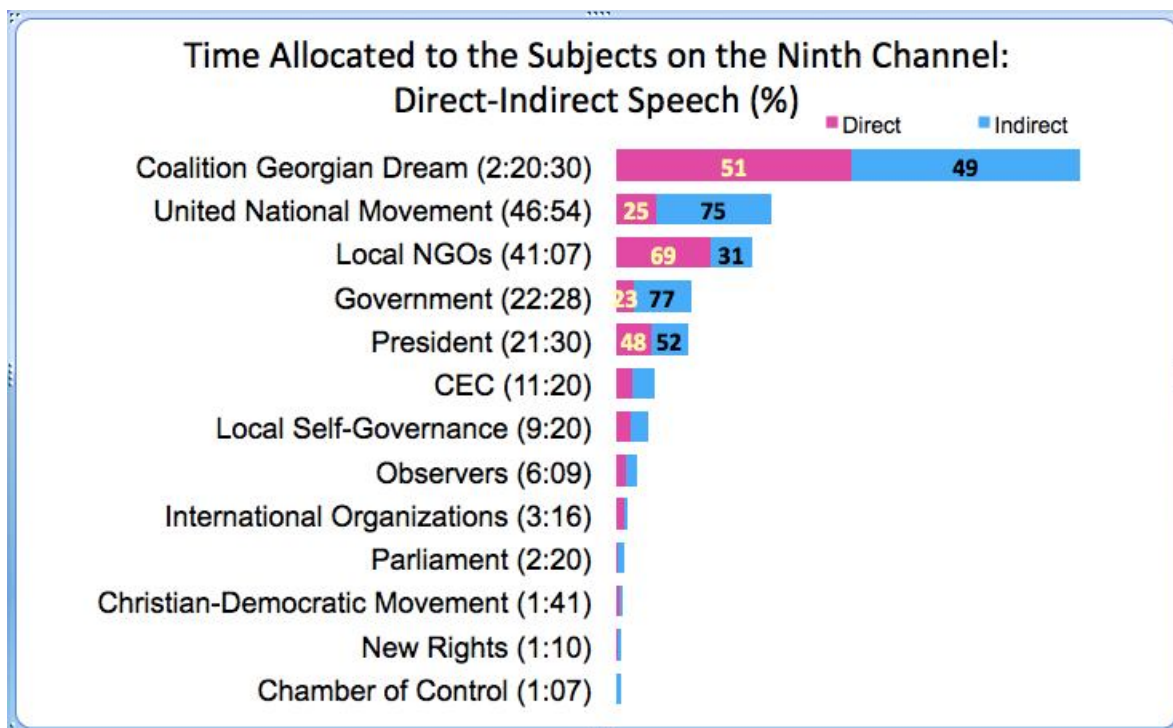


Diagram - Speech 7

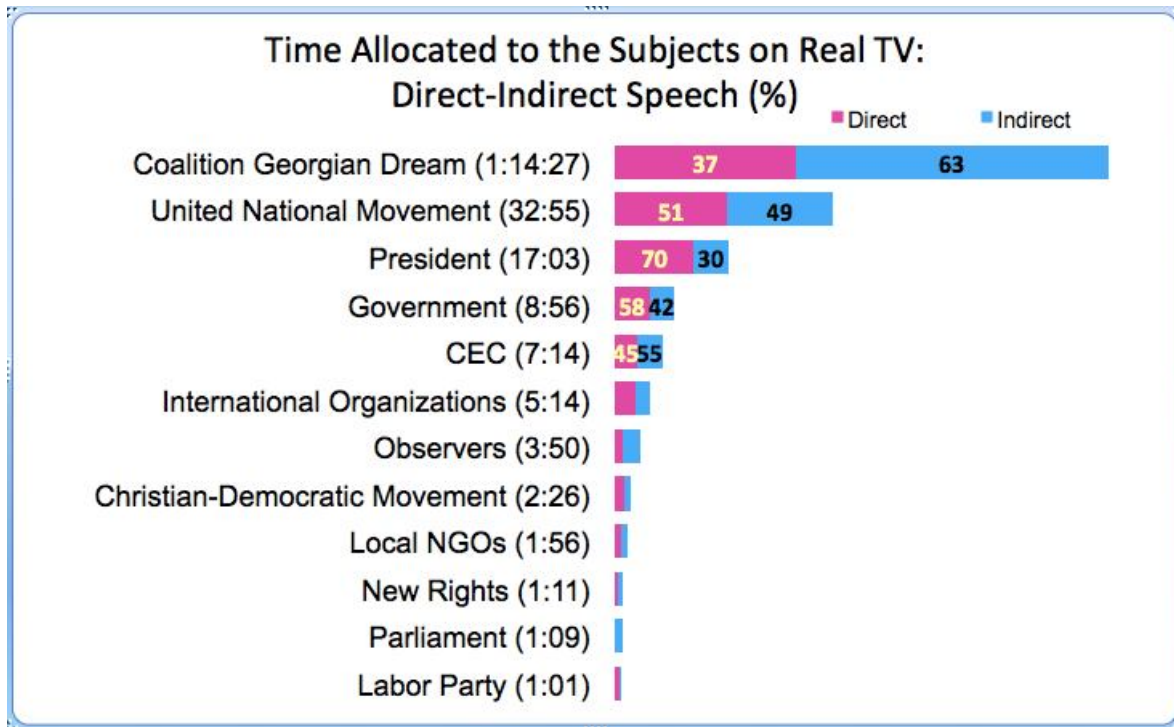




Diagram - Tone 1

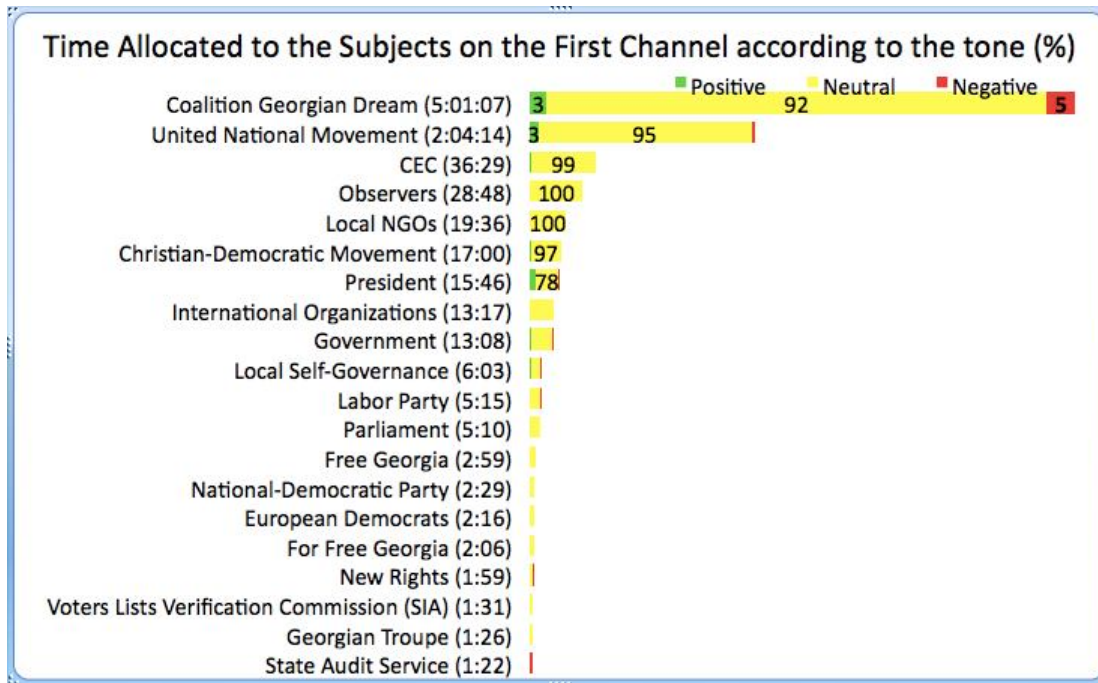


Diagram - Tone J1

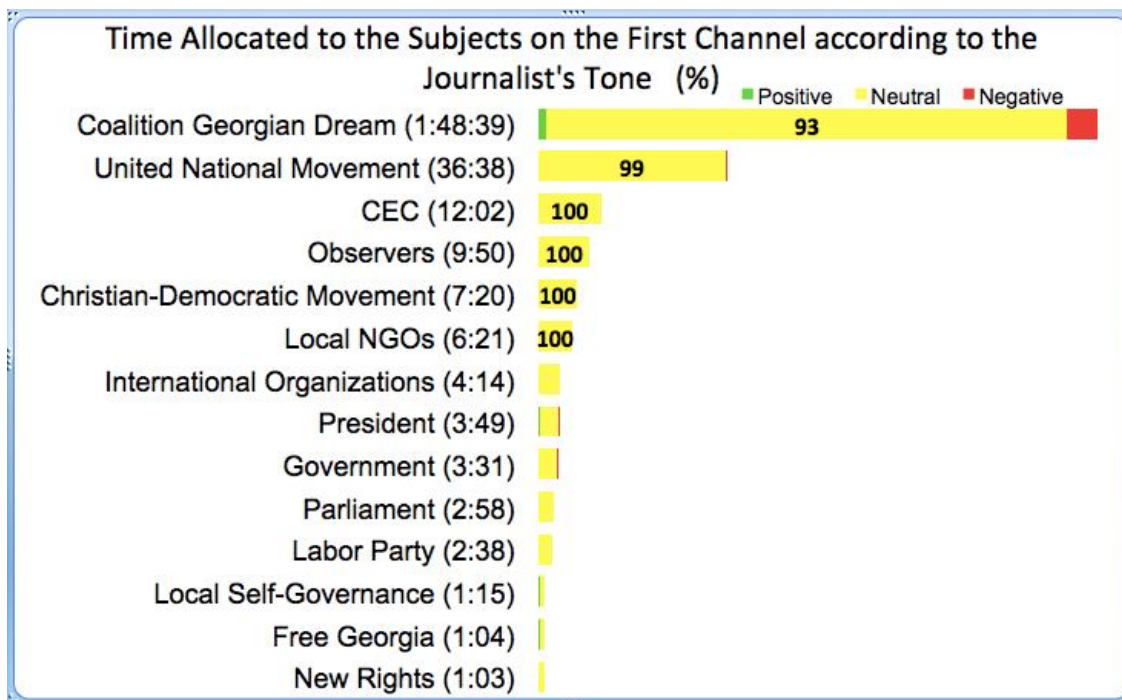


Diagram - Tone 2

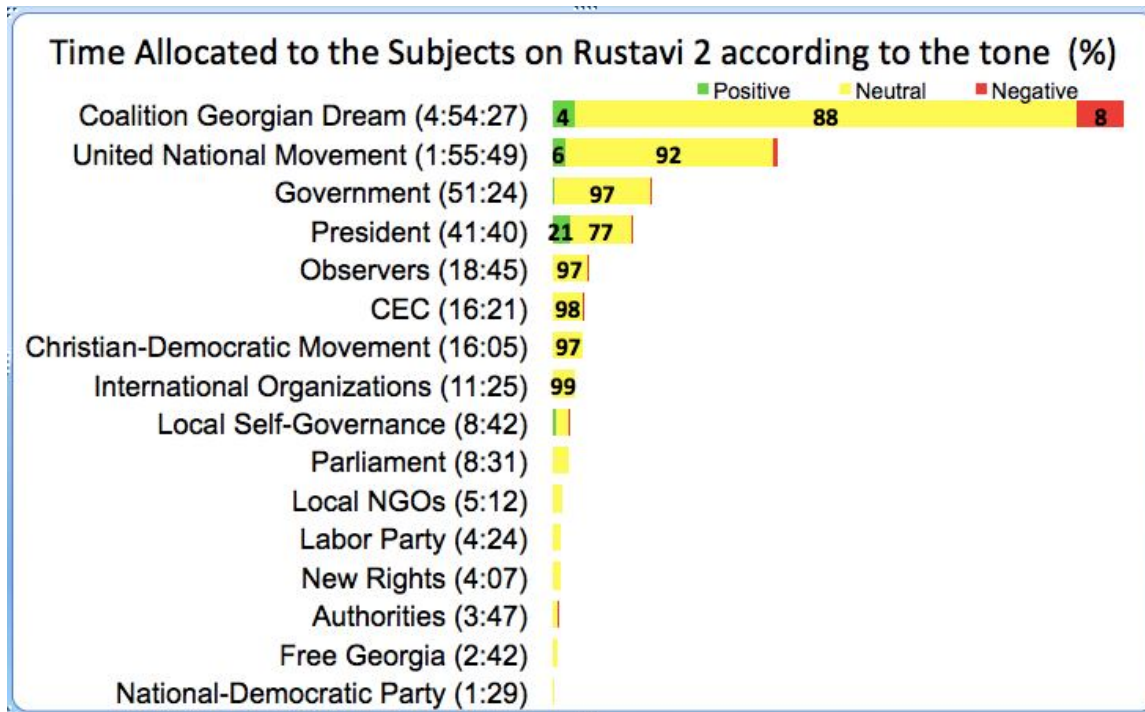


Diagram - Tone J2

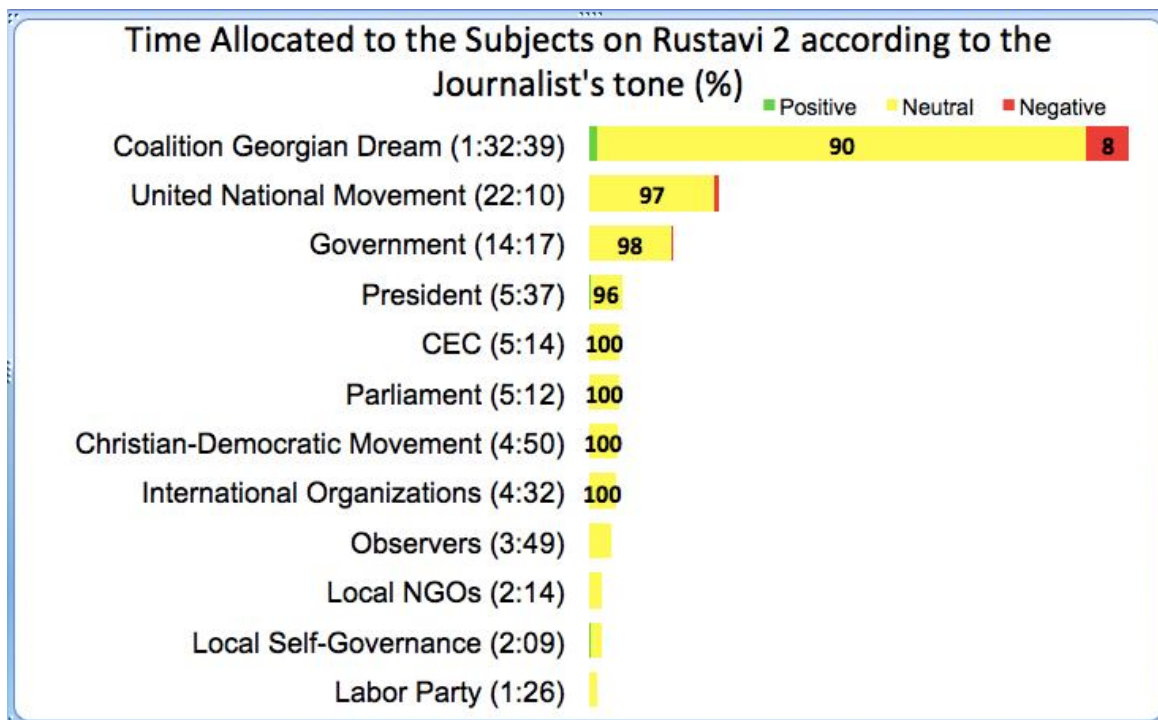


Diagram - Tone 3

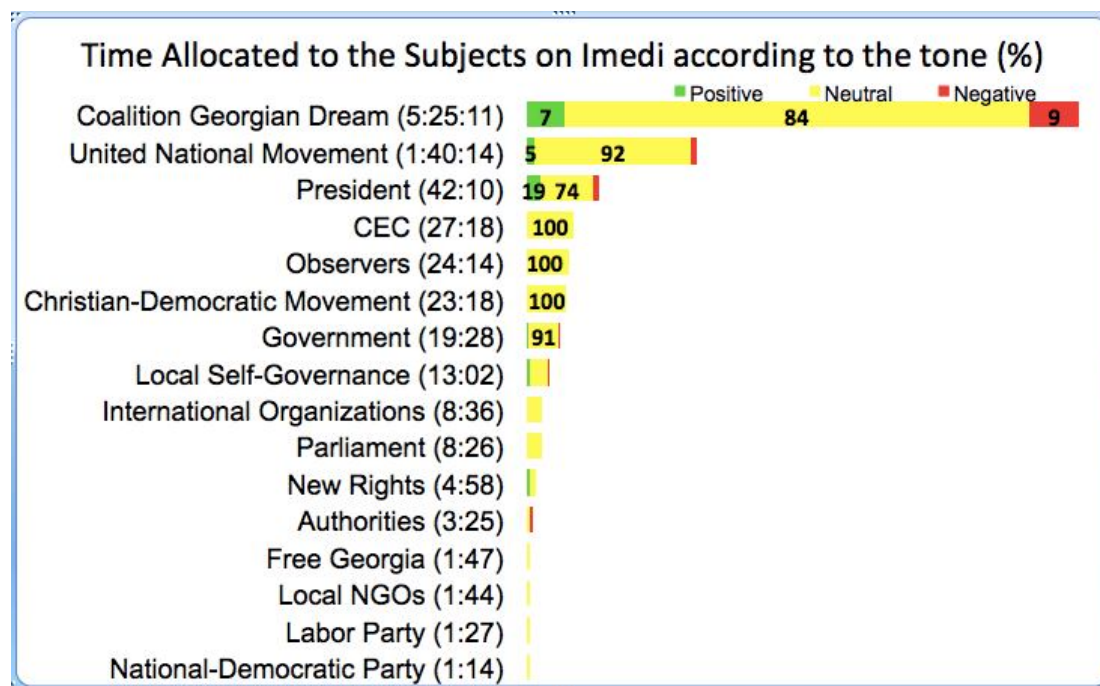


Diagram - Tone J3

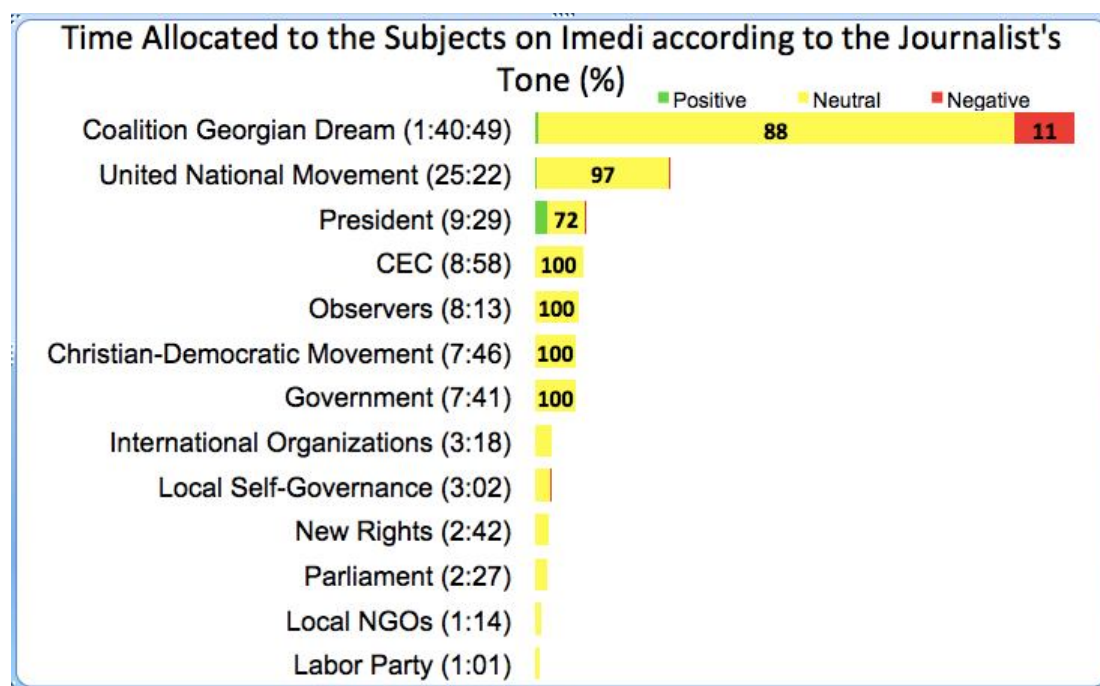


Diagram - Tone 4

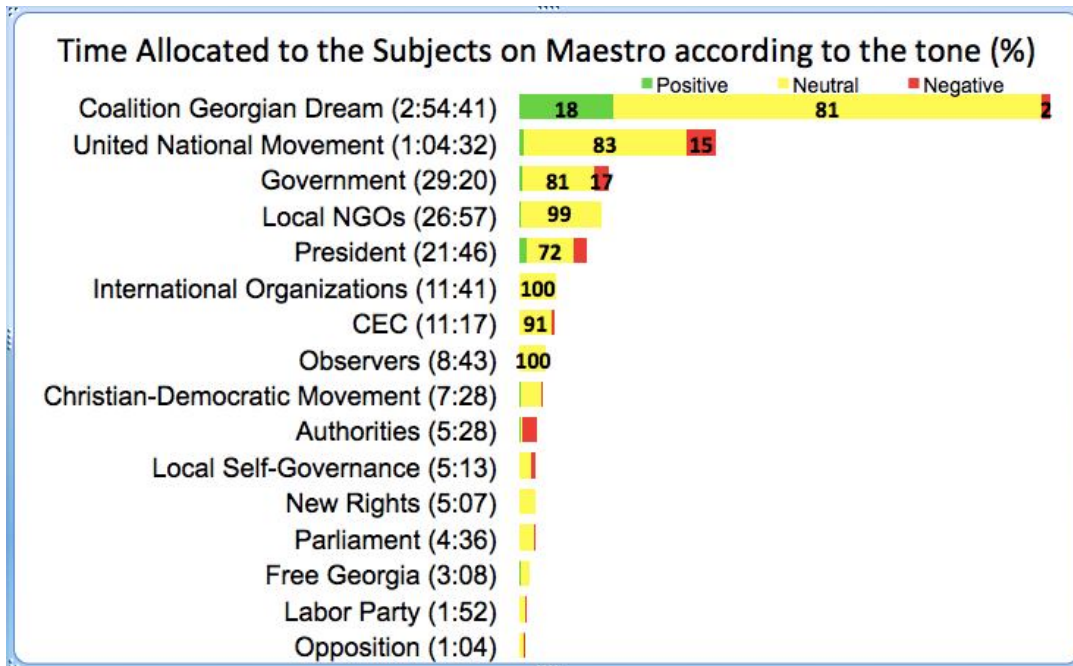


Diagram - Tone J4

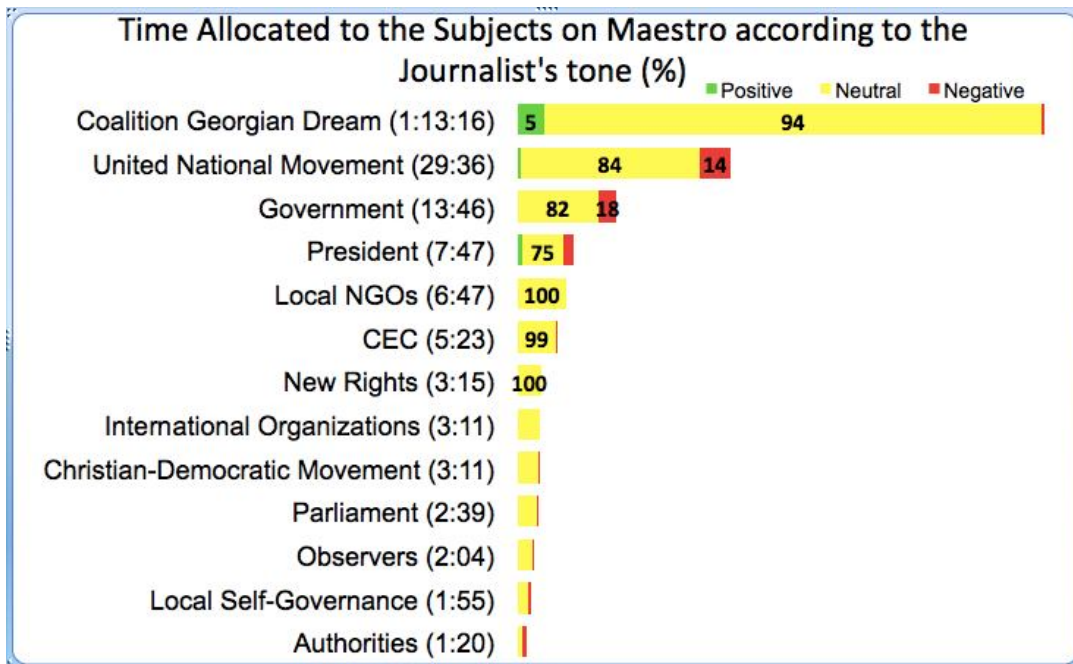




Diagram - Tone 5

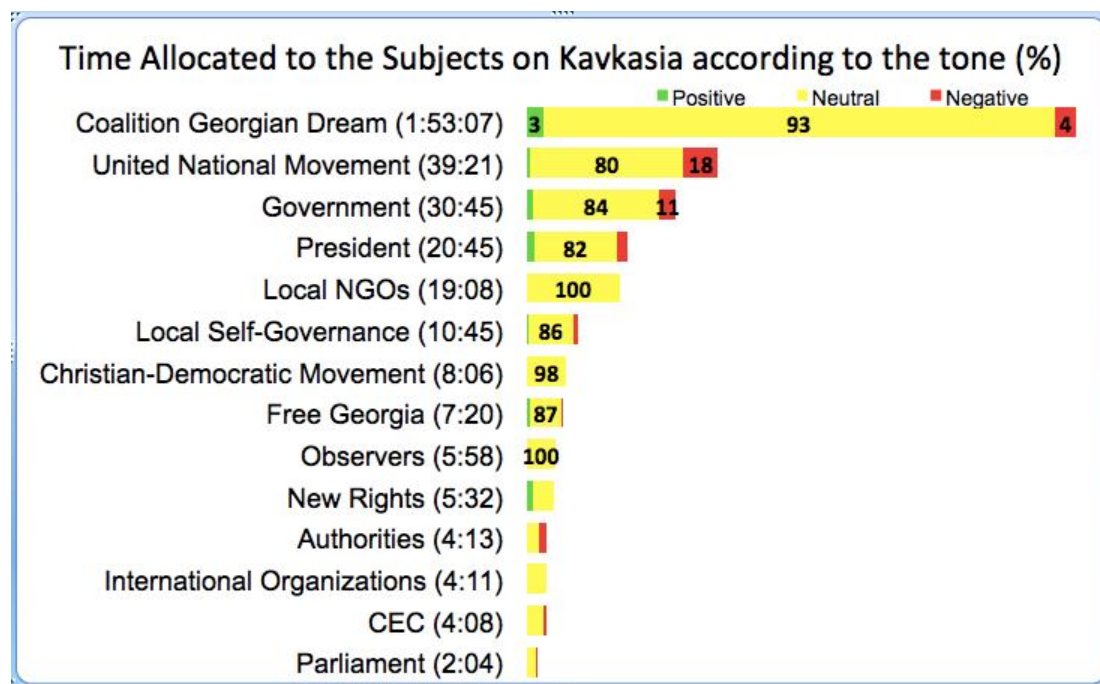


Diagram - Tone J5

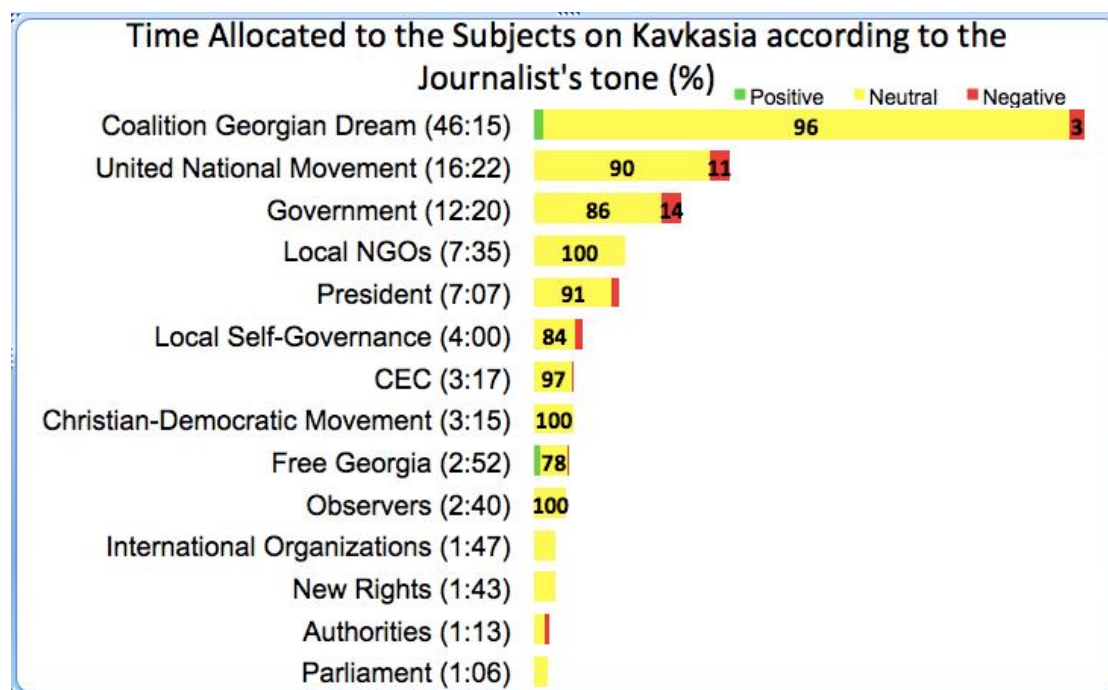


Diagram - Tone 6

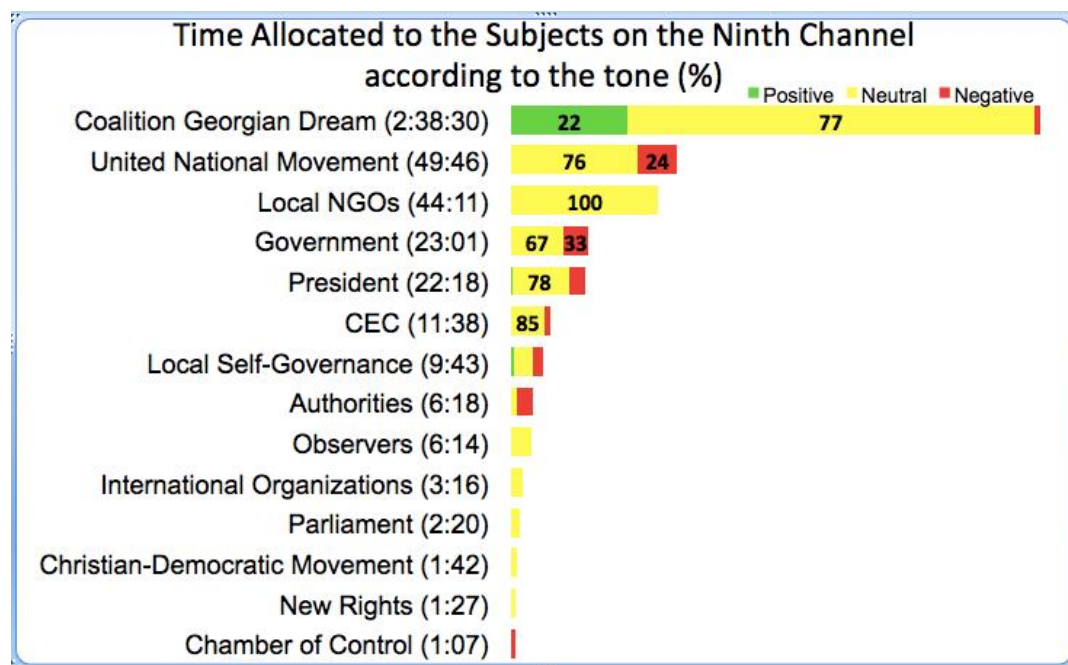


Diagram - Tone J6

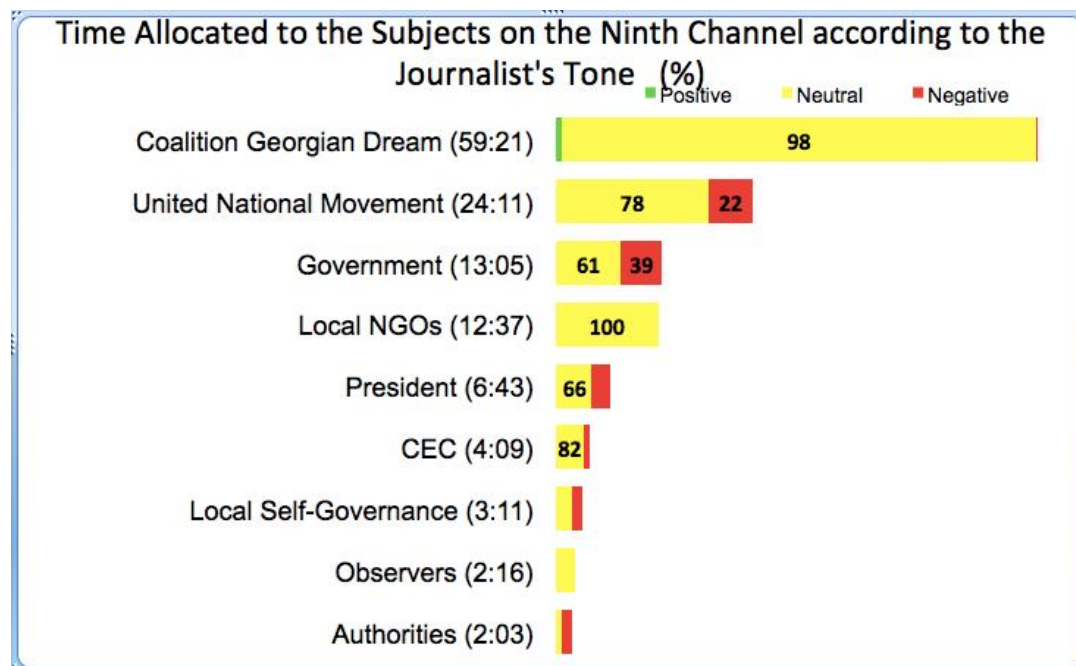


Diagram - Tone 7

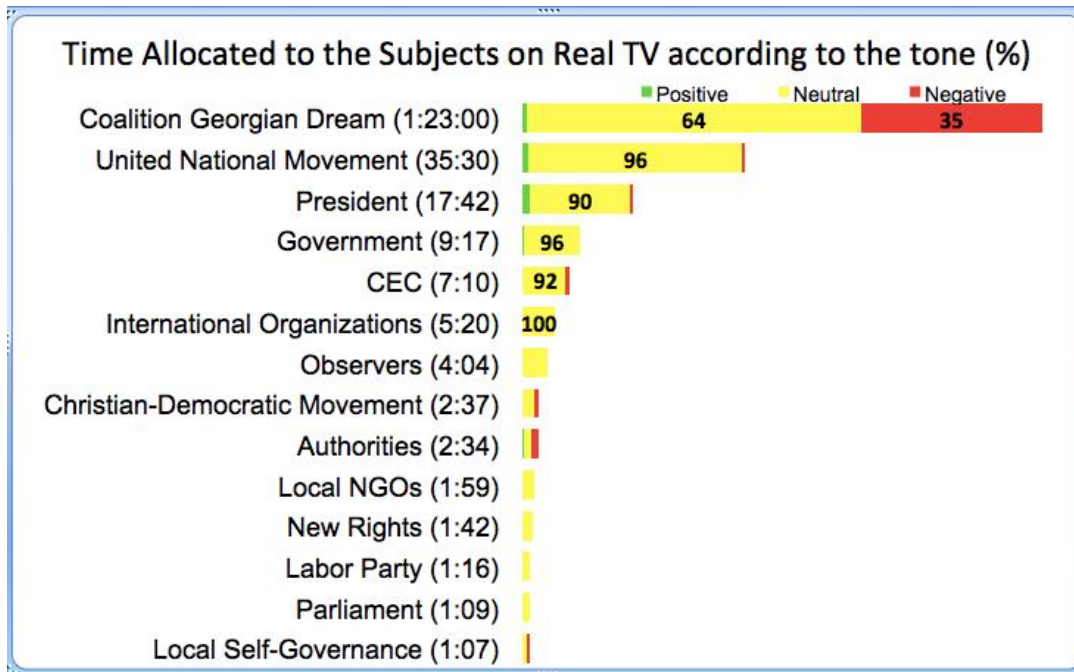


Diagram - Tone J7

