



## **Media Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections**

### **Results from September 24 to October 7**

With financial support from the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), Human Rights Center [HRC] is implementing a media-monitoring project of the coverage of the parliamentary elections during the pre-election period. Within the framework of the project, HRC monitors observe hidden political, social and political advertisements aired by the following TV-Companies: Public Broadcaster, Imedi, Rustavi 2, Kavkasia, Maestro and TV 9.

Media Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections is implemented through financial support from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) within the framework of a four-year project, Increased Trust in Electoral Process (ITEP), financed by USAID (US Agency for International Development).

The report below covers the period from September 24 to October 7. We can conditionally divide this period into two stages – from September 24 to October 1 and from October 1 to October 7. On October 1 parliamentary elections were held in Georgia that stopped airing of political advertisements prepared on election topic.

In the period after the elections, Public Broadcaster did not air advertisements prepared by different governmental institutions, which were frequently aired during the pre-election period.

In the view of dedicating equal time to qualified election subjects, the GPB did not breach the balance of time.

In the period from September 22 to September 25 and on the previous day of the Election Day – September 30, GPB did not air political advertisements of the Coalition Georgian Dream. Human Rights Center requested GPB to clarify the reason of suspending advertisements of one election subject in the aforementioned days. GPB notified that opposition political party had sent them a letter and requested to stop airing their advertisements from 12:00 am of September 22. The advertisements were re-aired by GPB on

September 26 on GPB based on the new letter of the Coalition (# 560) where they requested to air 45-second free political advertisements till September 29.

Political advertisements of the National Movement including anti-advertisement about Coalition Georgian Dream still were leaders on the list of most frequently aired advertisements on TV-Companies Rustavi 2 and Imedi. Advertisements of other opposition political parties occupied less time on the TV-Companies.

TV-Companies Kavkasia and TV 9 still do not air the advertisements of the Labor Party because this party boycotted the TV-Channels and refused to place its ads with those TV-Companies.

### **Methodology**

HRC monitors observed hidden political, social and paid political advertisements in prime-time [19:00-24:00] of the aforementioned six TV-Companies.

Media-monitoring includes quantitative and qualitative research. In the framework of quantitative research media-monitors record how much time was spent on each subject in advertising intervals, what kind of tone was adopted and what type of presentation was used. Tone of coverage is evaluated by a three-point system (1-positive, 2-neutral; 3-negative). As for type of coverage (direct/indirect), the type is direct if an election candidate personally speaks in the ad or his/her voice is heard. If other person/people speak about subject, the type is indirect.

In the framework of qualitative research, media-monitors observe whether PR and information are demarcated in the ad, or whether it is a hidden advertisement and PR is provided as information. Besides that, monitors study whether social advertisements comply with the definition of social ad in the law and whether there are signs of hidden advertisements in social ads.

### **Public Broadcaster**

#### **Media-Monitor: Aleko Tskitishvili**

Total length of advertisement intervals in prime-time on GPB was 37 606 seconds during this period of media-monitoring. Among them, 9 647 seconds (about 161 minutes) were spent on relevant advertisements where election subjects or governmental institutions were presented.

We can divide this period of media-monitoring into two stages – from September 24 to October 1 and from October 1 to October 7. On October 1, parliamentary elections were held in Georgia. This fact automatically caused halt of political and social advertisements about election topic on the GPB. No relevant advertisements were aired by the GPB from October 1 to October 6. Neither advertisements prepared by various governmental institutions were aired by the TV-Company which were frequently aired during pre-election period, particularly before August 1, when Election Day was officially started. In our previous reports of media-monitoring,<sup>1,2</sup> we underline the problem that too many advertisements with social status were aired by GPB. Besides that, governmental institutions were clients of those advertisements and in most cases they advertised their activities or future plans. Most of those ads contained signs of hidden political advertisement, whose assumed purpose was to influence voters' will.

For example, from June 18 to July 29 GPB was airing advertisement clip – Free Internet from Tbilisi City Hall which exceeded frames of legislative definition of social advertisement. In this ad, Tbilisi City Hall was announcing the spread of free internet in Tbilisi from September of 2012.<sup>3</sup> The advertisement slogan – Free Internet from Tbilisi City Hall promised society the welfare which aimed to gain their support before the elections. This video-clip was advertisement of the Tbilisi City Hall, the governmental institution. Nevertheless, Article 12 of the Law on Advertising states that social advertisement shall not advertise any governmental institution or their service. So, GPB should not have granted social status to this particular advertisement.

In addition to that, GPB was airing another clip in the same period of monitoring – Made in Georgia. The context of the advertisement did not show whether it aimed at public welfare or charity purposes. It presented construction of a ship where a worker was writing on the deck – Coast Guard. At the end of the clip there was subscription – [www.police.ge](http://www.police.ge)

Although video-clip I Love Tbilisi did not directly advertise activities of any governmental institution, its scenes demonstrated those achievements which audience associate with the government. Tbilisi images were presented during the entire clip.

High number of similar advertisements on GPB attracted attention of the nongovernmental organization [Transparency International – Georgia](http://www.transparency.org), which recommended the State Audit Office and Interagency Task Force for Free and Fair Elections to conduct detailed analysis of

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<sup>1</sup> <http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/English-2.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> <http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/media%20monitoring%2013-26%20August.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a394wq\\_MN7U&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a394wq_MN7U&feature=related)

each video-clip and react respectively in accordance to their competence.<sup>4</sup> On its side, Interagency Task Force recommended the Georgian government and public broadcaster to stop airing those video rolls that advertise projects implemented by the government during current pre-election period. They air these footages within the frames of social status but they could be perceived as election advertisement.<sup>5</sup> After this recommendation, GPB did not air similar advertisement clips except rare occasions.

The fact that similar advertisement clips have not aired by GPB even after the elections were held reinforces our doubt that governmental institutions had placed them only during pre-election period and they lost significance after the elections.

In the period from September 23 to October 7, political advertisements still occupied the most time on GPB. However, as we have noted, they were aired only from September 23 to September 30. Advertisements, relevant to our media-monitoring, were not aired in the period of October 1-7.

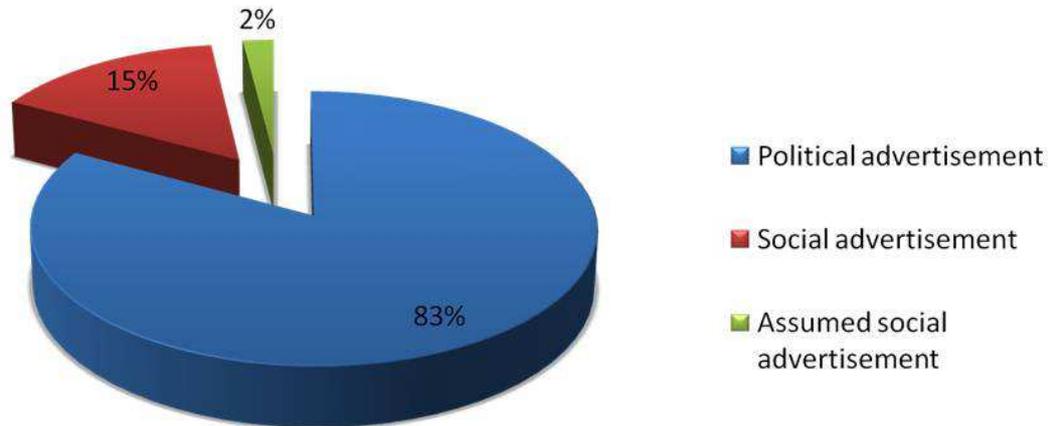
### **Theme of advertisements**

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.humanrights.ge/index.php?a=main&pid=15284&lang=eng>

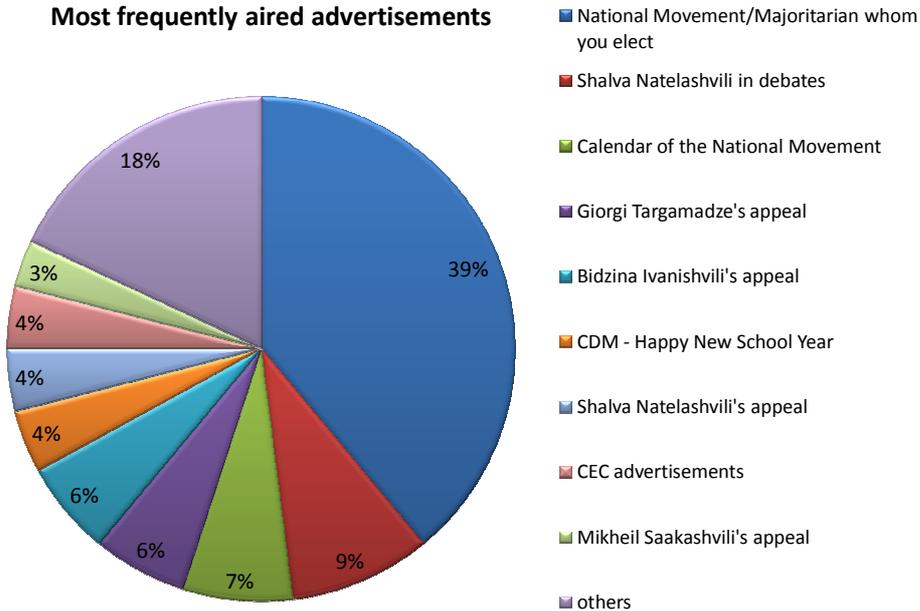
<sup>5</sup> <http://www.humanrights.ge/index.php?a=main&pid=15308&lang=eng>

### Theme of advertisements



From September 24 to October 1, the frequency of advertisements of the National Movement increased. Most time was dedicated to 10-second clips which presented majoritarian candidates of the UNM in five election districts of Tbilisi: Nikoloz Khachirashvili, Giorgi Karbelashvili, Andria Urushadze, Andro Alavidze, Giorgi Chachanidze. Due to equal specifics, we unified those advertisements and it ranked the first place in the diagram of most frequently aired advertisements on GPB (39%). We unified several advertisements of the CEC with the same principle, which had one function – to inform voters about election procedures. See diagram:

### Most frequently aired advertisements



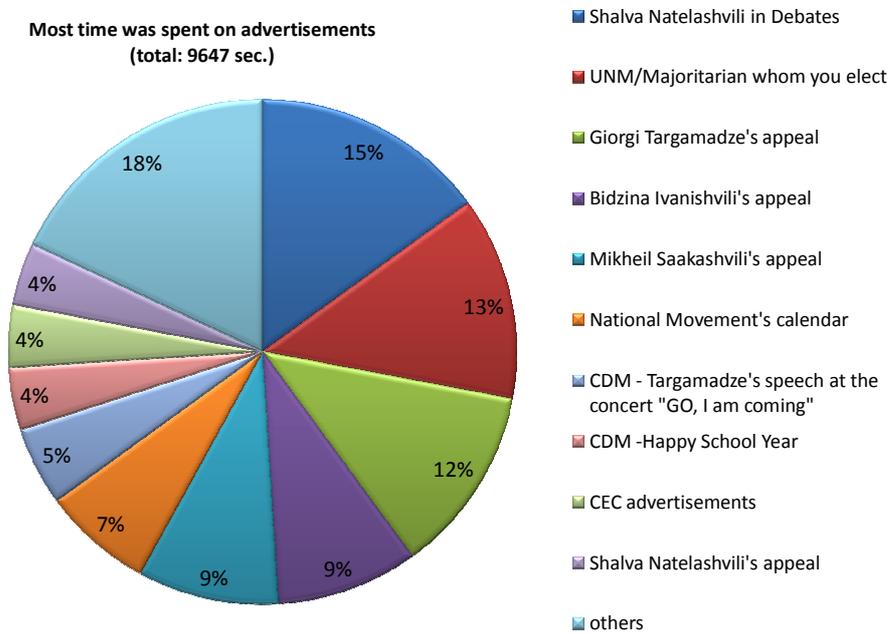
In the period from September 22 to September 25 and on the previous day of the Election Day – September 30, GPB did not air political advertisements of the Coalition Georgian Dream. Human Rights Center requested GPB to clarify the reason of suspending advertisements of one election subject in the aforementioned days. GPB notified that opposition political party had sent them letter and requested to stop airing their advertisements from 12:00 am of September 22. The advertisements were re-aired by GPB on September 26 on GPB based on the new letter of the Coalition (# 560) where they requested to air 45-second free political advertisements till September 29.

From September 24 to October 1, on the previous days of the Parliamentary Elections, all four qualified election subjects placed video-statements of their leaders on GPB. The party leaders explain to voters why they should vote for the parties. As the diagram of the most frequently aired advertisements shows, these video-statements occupied the most time in this period of media-monitoring.

National Movement focused on frequency of advertisements and presented ads which were shorter than advertisements of rival political parties; though they were more frequently aired by GPB. However, in the view of duration of election subject coverage, the GPB dedicated equal time to all of them.

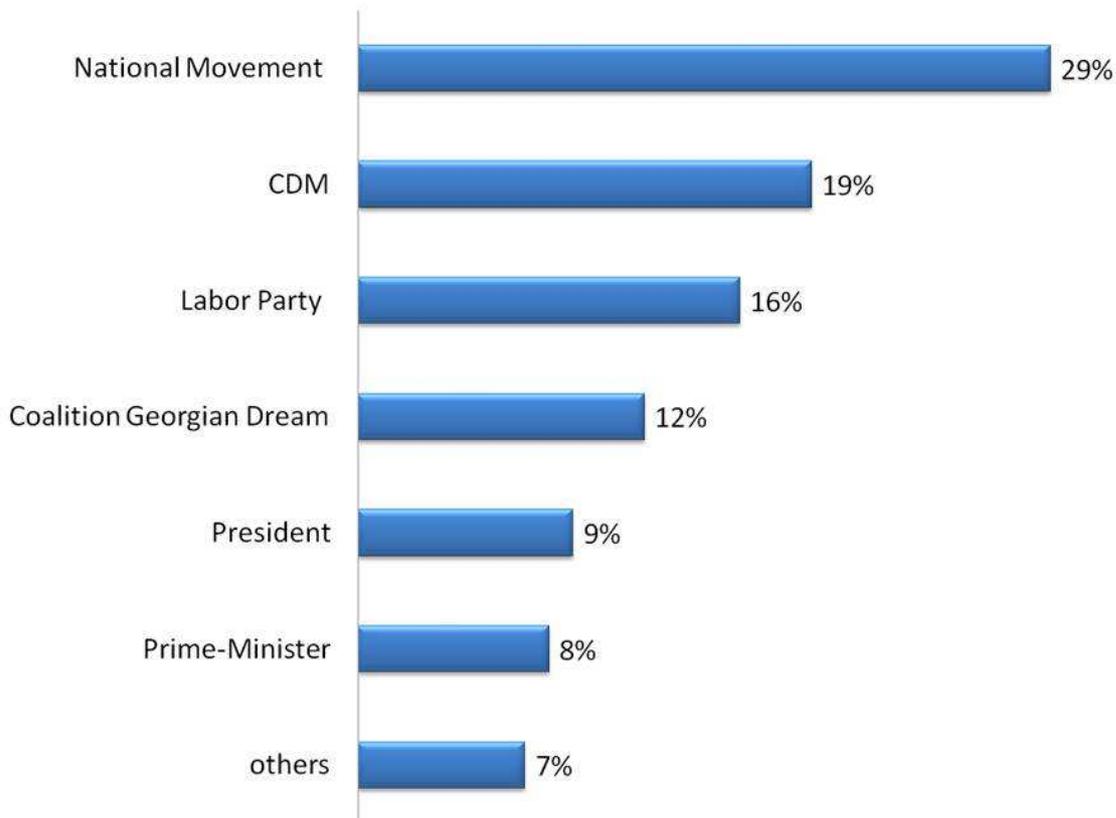
The diagram clearly demonstrates which advertisement took the most time.

Most time was spent on advertisements  
(total: 9647 sec.)



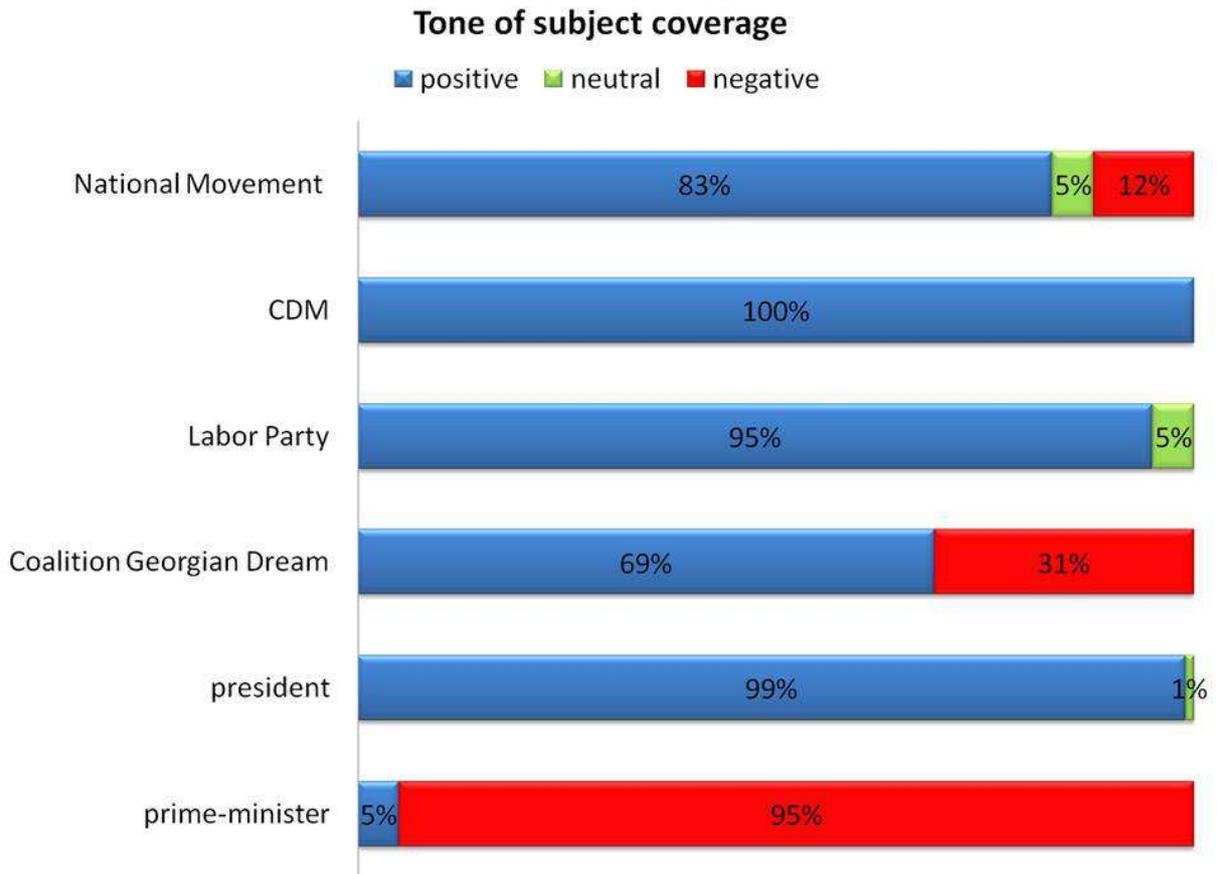
The diagram of the subject coverage shows that most time was dedicated to the National Movement that was caused by frequent airing of 10-second advertisements and by the fact that National Movement was mentioned in the political advertisements of other political parties too. See diagram:

### Most time was dedicated on the subjects



During this period of monitoring, following subjects were covered positively: CDM (100%), President (99%) and Labor Party (95%). Partly negatively were covered: National Movement, Coalition Georgian Dream and Prime-Minister. Prime-minister's 95% negative coverage was caused by the Labor Party's advertisement which presents an extract from the debates between candidates for the position of prime-minister on GPB. In this episode of debate, candidate for the prime-minister's position from the Labor Party Shalva Natelashvili reminded Vano Merabishvili, candidate of prime-minister's position from the National Movement of the period when manifestations were ruthlessly dispersed in Tbilisi that ended with casualty.

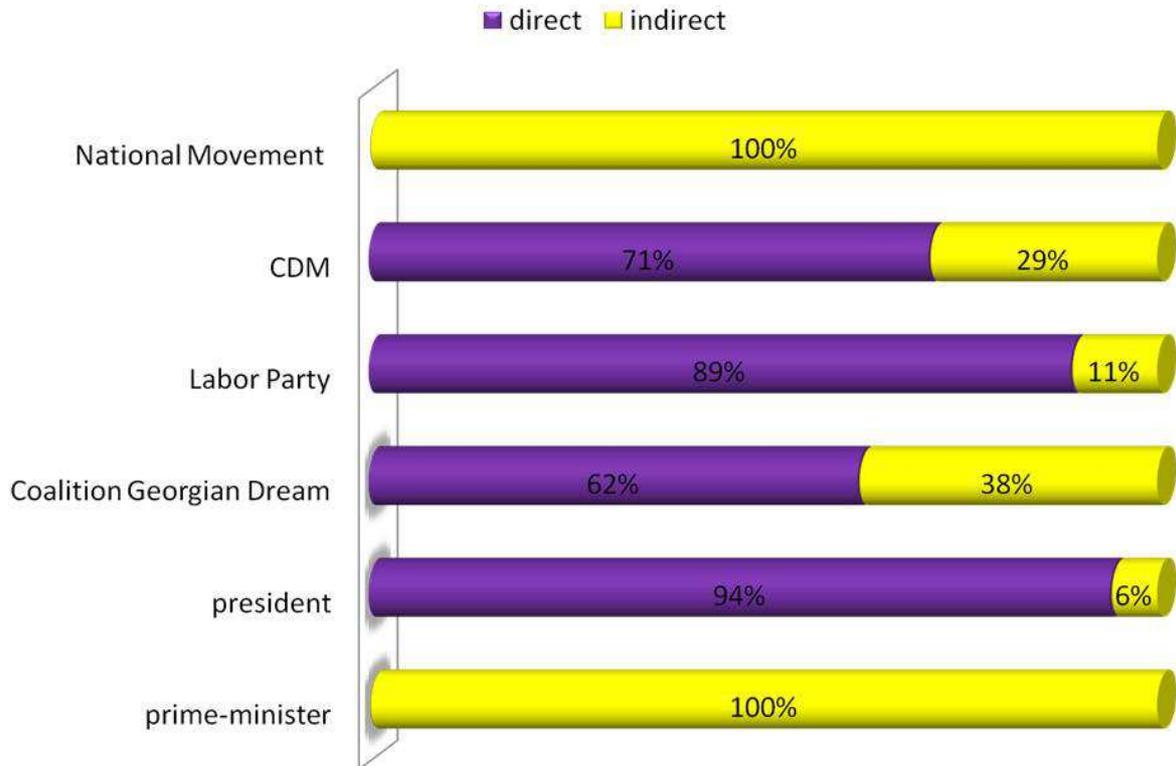
Advertisement "Not for Sale!" was aired by GPB in the report period. Different people said in the advertisement: "Love not for sale!" "Homeland not for sale!" "Our children's future not for sale!" and finally "Our voice not for sale!" The clip ends with warning that citizens' bribery during elections is crime and is punishable under the law. The advertisement does not present its author. In accordance to the letter we received from the GPB, CEC is client of this advertisement.



Negative coverage of the Coalition Georgian Dream and National Movement was caused by the video-statement of the CDM's leader Giorgi Targamadze where he suggest voters to vote for the CDM if they do not wish "the country to be governed by unbalanced power" and do not wish "to turn into experimental laboratory of a billionaire."

President appeared in the diagram of subject coverage type. In previous periods of media-monitoring president was indirectly covered. This change was caused by President Saakashvili's video-statement which was placed as a paid political advertisement on the GPB by the National Movement.

### Type of subject coverage

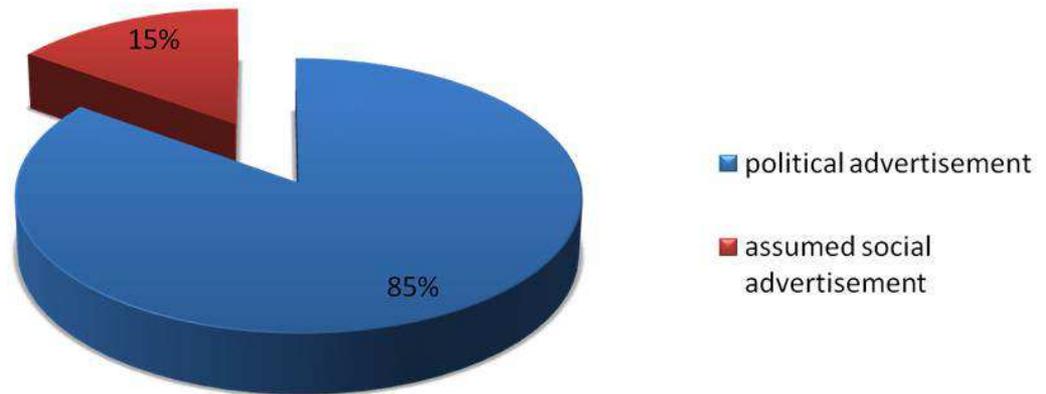


### Rustavi 2 Media-Monitor Salome Achba

In this period of monitoring, total length of advertisement intervals on Rustavi 2 was 66 987 seconds (about 1116 minutes). Among them, 19 954 seconds (about 333 minutes) were dedicated to the advertisements relevant to our monitoring.

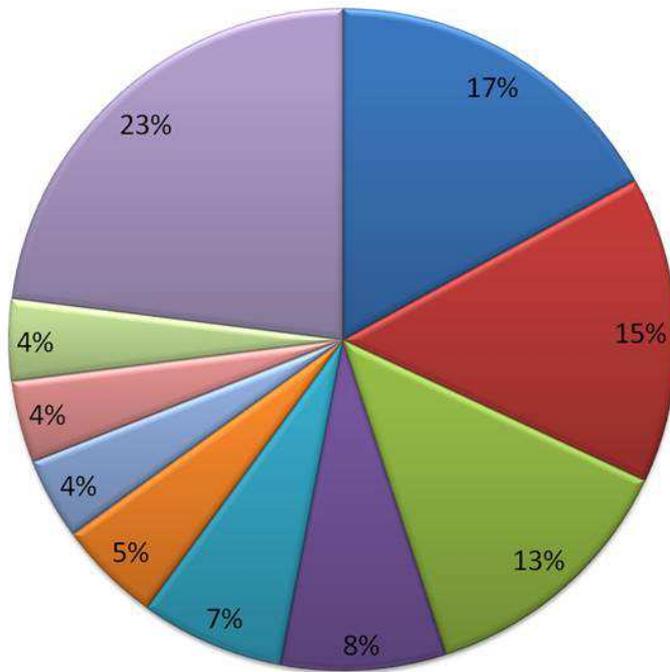
In this period of monitoring, Rustavi 2 again most frequently aired political advertisements (both paid and free). Assumed social advertisements took only 15%.

### Theme of advertisements

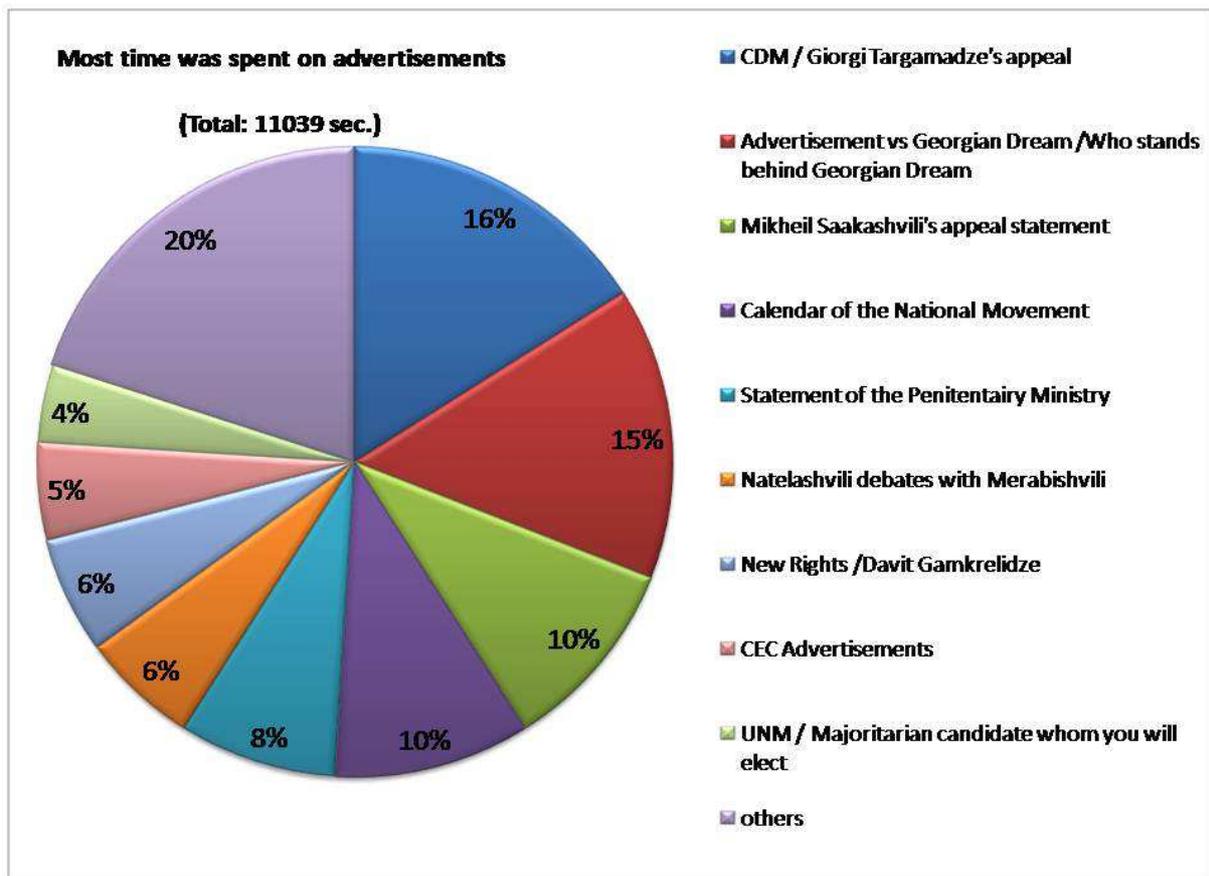


The following advertisements were most frequently aired during this period of monitoring:

## Most Frequently Aired Advertisements



- Advertisement vs Georgian Dream / Who Stand Behind Georgian Dream
- Calendar of the National Movement
- UNM / Majoritarian candidate whom you elect
- New Rights/Davit Gamkrelidze
- CDM/Giorgi Targamadze's appeal
- Natelashvili debates with Merabishvili
- Mikheil Saakashvili's appeal statement
- Statement of the Penitentiary Ministry
- We need women in politics
- others



Advertisement “Against Georgian Dream/Who Stands behind Georgian Dream’s promises?” was most frequently aired in this period of monitoring. This advertisement aimed at discrediting the coalition. The ad alleged that senior officials of Shevardnadze’s government and people connected with criminals stand behind Georgian Dream’s promises. At the end of the clip we see suggestion: “Do not Risk!”

National Movement’s new advertisement appeared in this period of monitoring. In the clip, the UNM presented calendar of their activities to the voters which shows exact time when each of their promise will be realized.

In one more advertisement of the UNM, their leader Mikheil Saakashvili appealed to population. He stated that their team managed to eradicate and resolve the problem (he meant release of video-footage about prisoners’ torture in prisons, which ended with resignation-dismissal of ministers).

Advertisement of the new election subject – New Rights appeared in this period of monitoring. Party leader Davit Gamkrelidze speaks about his election program and suggests

people to vote for their political party. This political party is not qualified election subject, and in accordance to the law free broadcasting time was not allocated on it. So, the mentioned ad was aired as paid political advertisement

We also observed free political advertisements of two more qualified subjects – CDM and Labor Party. The latter used scenes from the election debates of the GPB in its advertisement. In the debates, Shalva Natelashvili reminded Vano Merabishvili of various past crimes which were linked to Merabishvili's name.

As for CDM's advertisement, the party leader Giorgi Targamadze appeals to population and states that current regime shall finish. He calls upon everybody, who likes neither National Movement nor Georgian Dream, to vote for the CDM.

Georgian Dream's advertisement was aired only eight times in the report period. In them, Coalition leader suggests people to mark number 41 on the Election Day.

As we have discussed, TV-companies are authorized to grant social status to advertisements. We officially requested information from Rustavi 2 about which advertisements had social status in their broadcasting time but they have not replied to our letter. So, we observed those advertisements which contained signs of social ads during this period of monitoring.

CEC advertisements were quite frequently aired on Rustavi 2. They informed voters about election procedures.

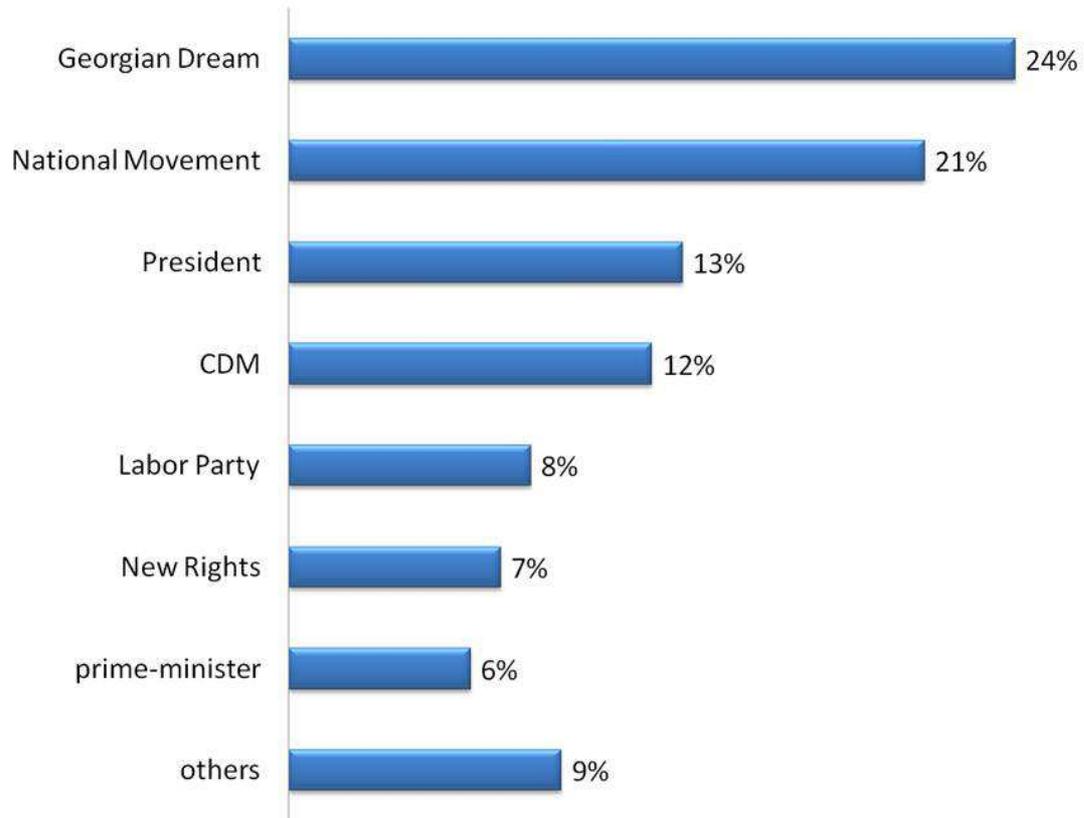
We also observed an advertisement about importance of women's role in politics.

One more assumed social advertisement is about election procedures that should be taken by prisoners.

We categorized the aforementioned advertisements as assumed social advertisements because they provide information necessary for society that is one criteria of social advertisement.

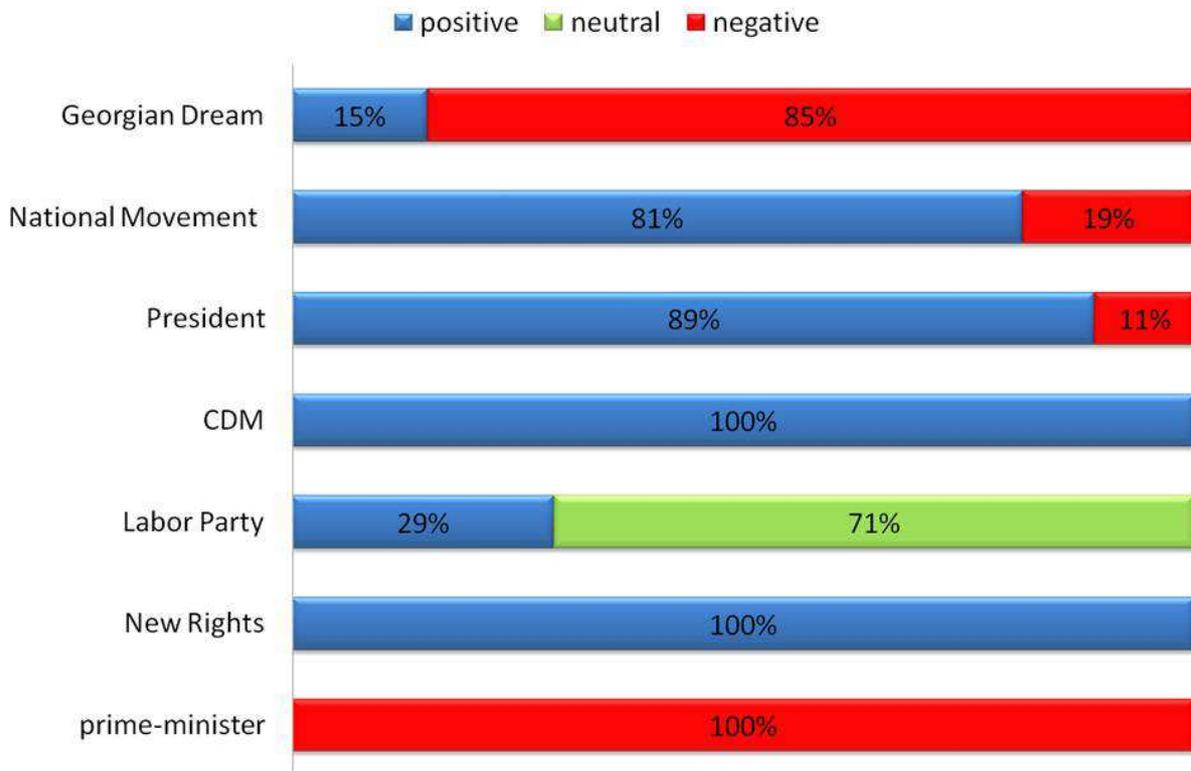
The following subjects were most frequently aired in advertisements:

**most time was spent on subjects(total: 9386 sec.)**



Tone of subject coverage:

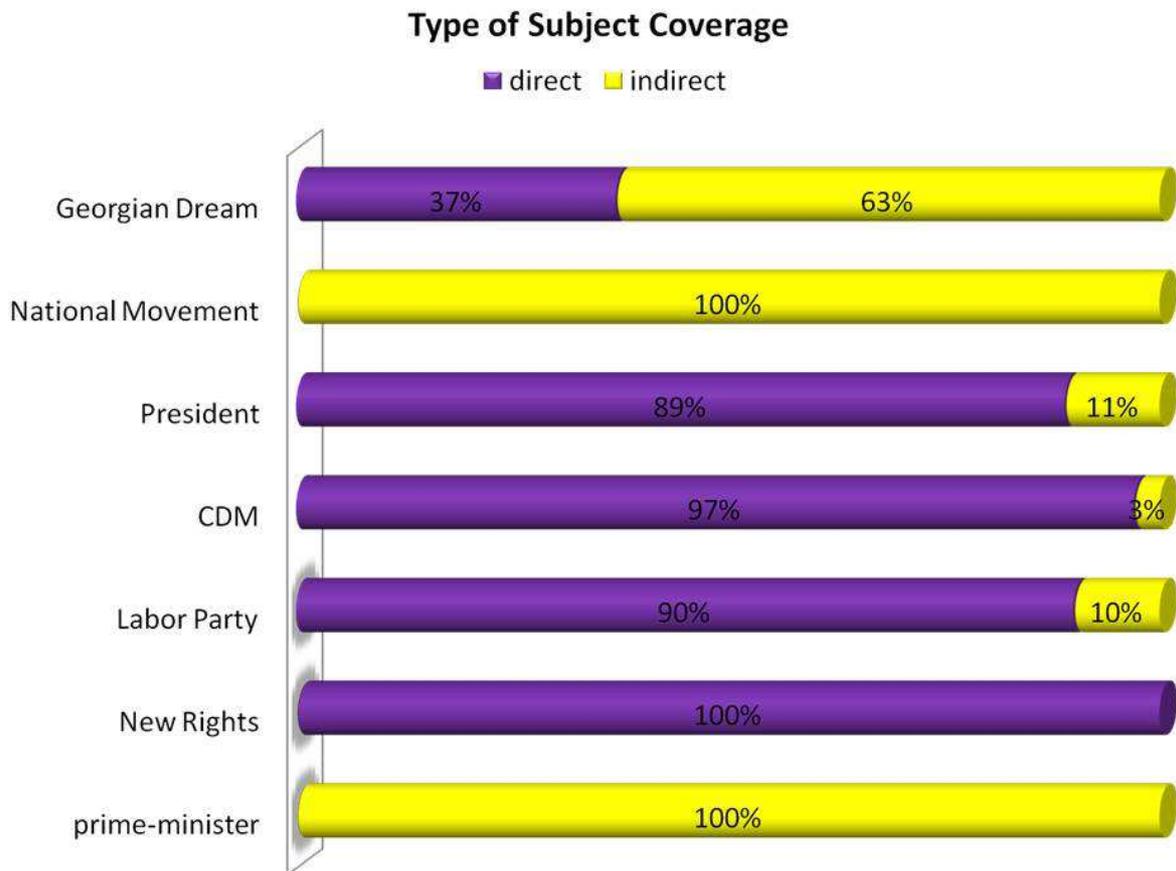
### Tone of Subject Coverage



Negative coverage of the Georgian Dream was caused by the advertisements aired against it. National Movement was negatively covered in the advertisements of CDM and Labor Party. Prime-minister was covered in absolute negative tone because the Labor Party's leader negatively spoke about prime-minister in his advertisement.

No political advertisement has been aired by Rustavi 2 since October 1. We did not observe assumed social advertisements except one – about Tbilisoba 2012.

We did not observe assumed social advertisements which we had observed before elections. They were: free internet in the capital; made in Georgia, etc.



**Imedi  
Media-monitor - Manana Vardiashvili**

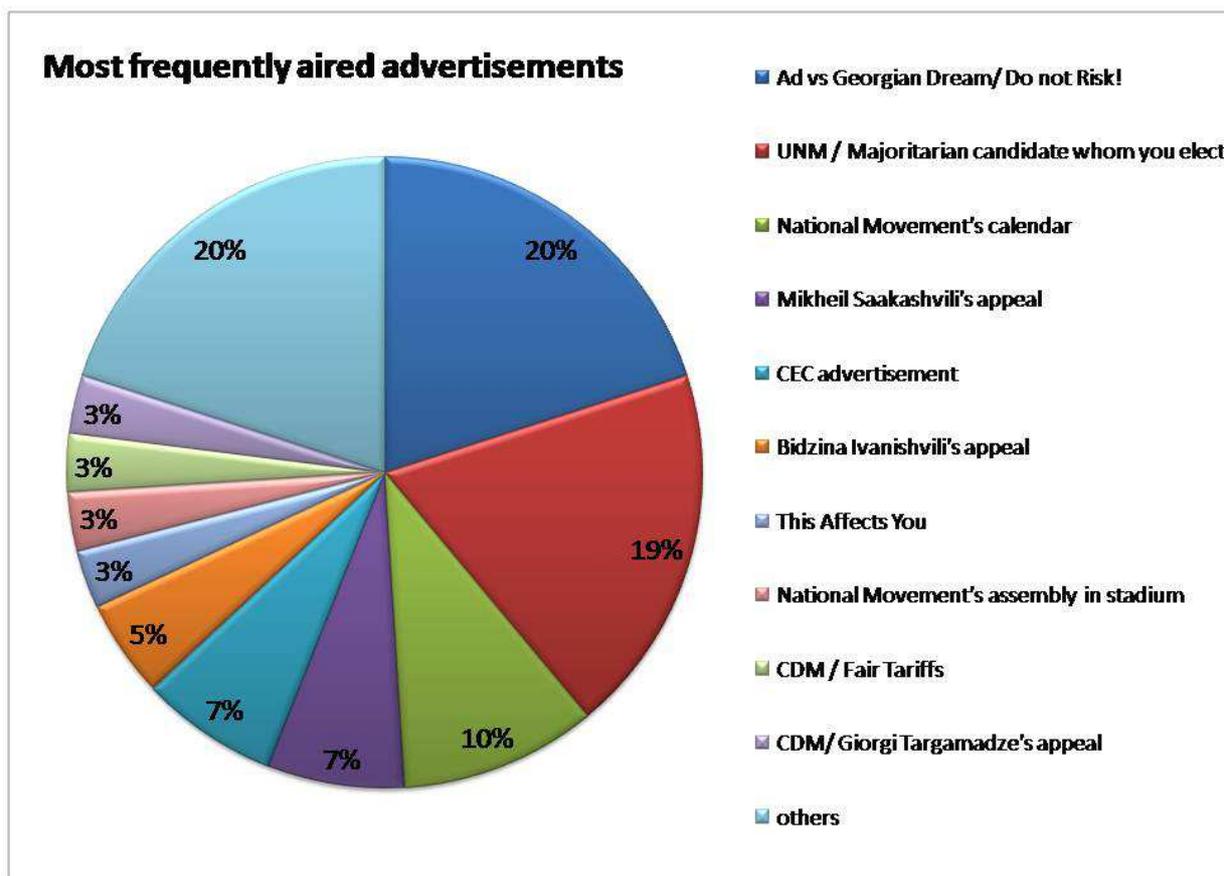
We might conditionally divide this period of media-monitoring into two periods: from September 24 to October 1 and from October 1 to October 7.

From September 24 to October 1 total length of advertisement intervals on Imedi was 32 366 seconds (about 539 minutes). Among them, 8 182 seconds (about 136 minutes) were spent on advertisements relevant to our media-monitoring.

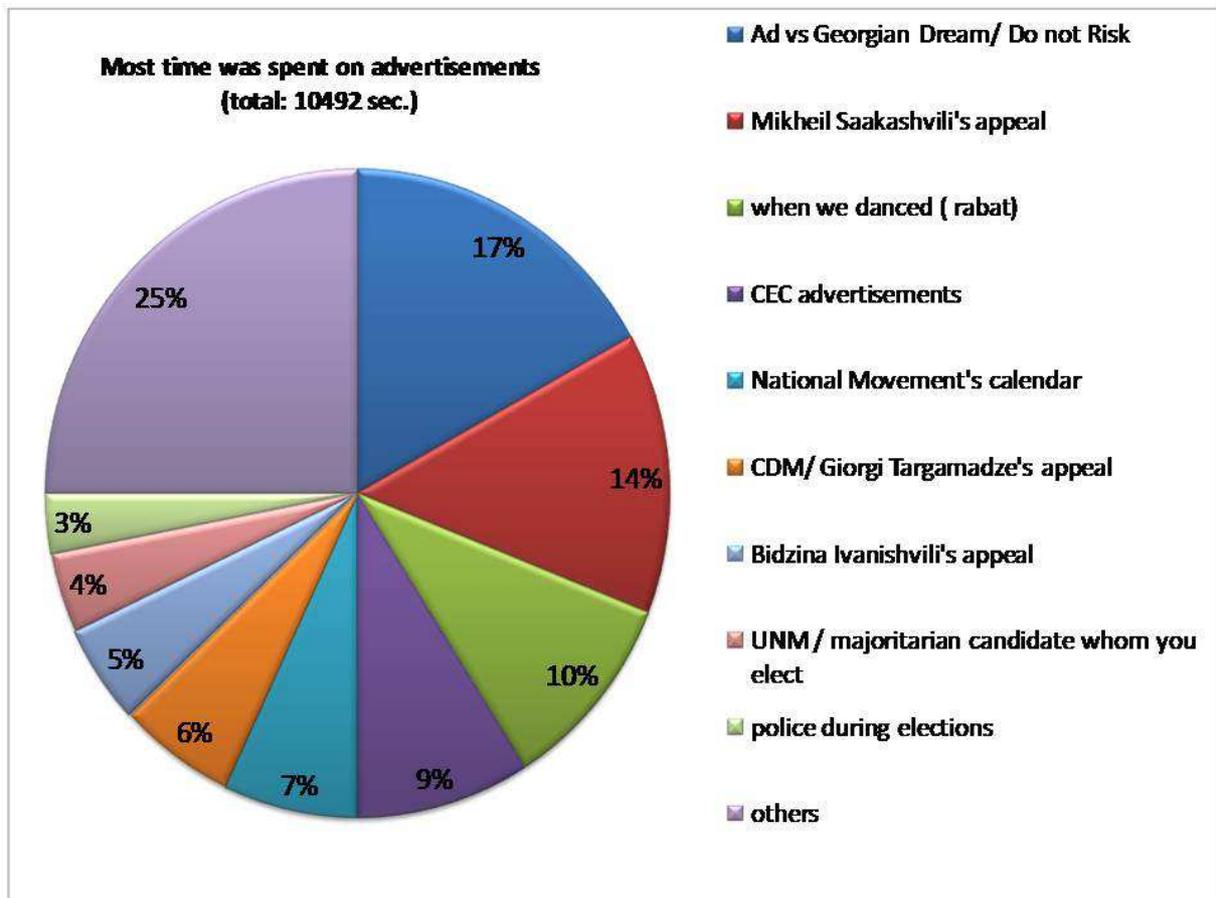
From October 1 to October 7, total length of advertisement intervals was 28 933 seconds (about 482 minutes). Only two advertisements relevant to media-monitoring were aired from October 1 to October: advertisement about election procedures (CEC) on the Election Day and advertisement about international airport in Kutaisi which contain signs of hidden political advertisement.

In this video-clip, a man is saying with Bagrati Church on his background: “My Bagrati, My Church.” Then we see a young boy with a new parliament on the background and said: “My parliament.” Then a young girl is saying with a new airport on the background: “My city, my airport.” At the end of advertisement we see subtitle: First flight from the Kutaisi Davit Agmashenebeli Airport will be taken on September 26. So the last phrase shows that the purpose of the advertisement is to inform population when flights will start from Kutaisi Airport. However, it is unclear what the connection between renovated parliament and Bagrati Church is with the launch of flights from the airport.

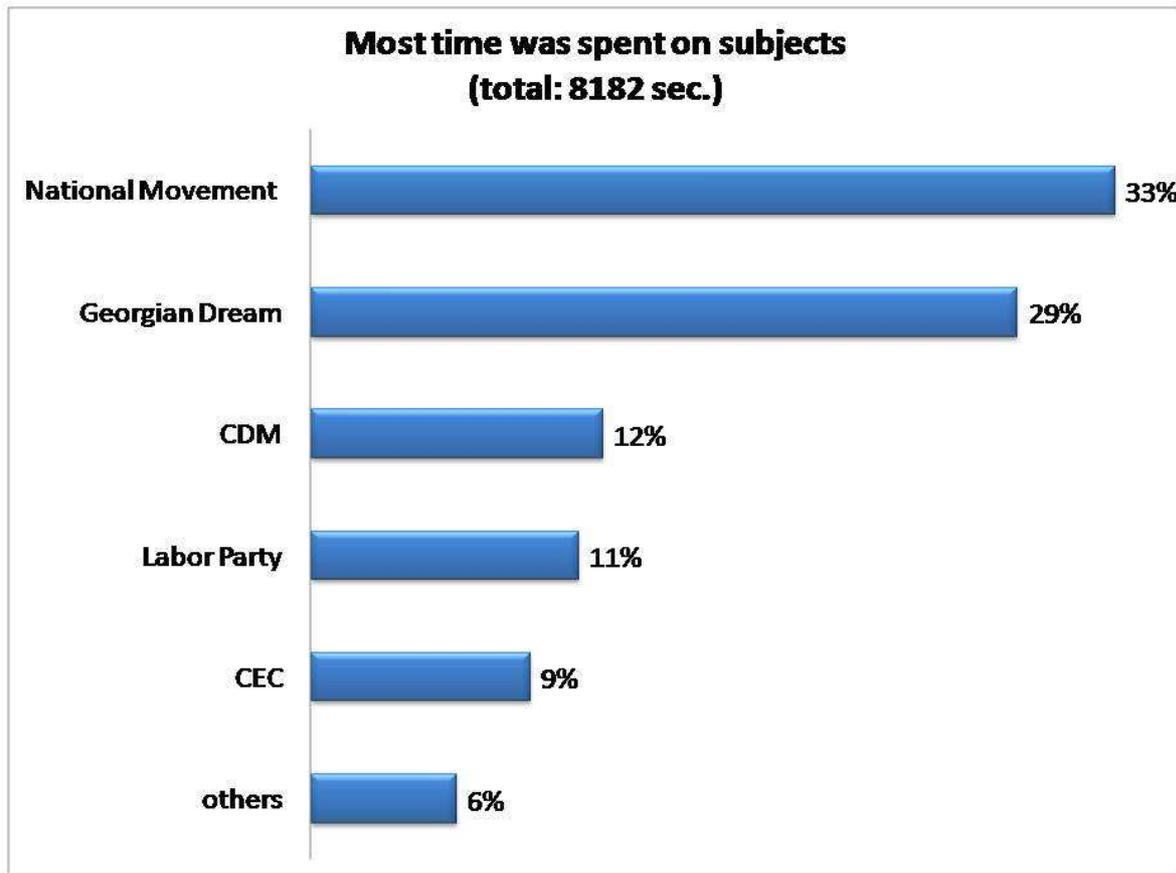
As for period from September 24 to October 1, Georgian Dream’s advertisement – Bidzina Ivanishvili’s appeal statement – was most frequently aired advertisement; advertisement against Georgian Dream – Do not risk! Ranked the second place with 20%. Advertisements about National Movement’s majoritarian candidates ranked the third place with (19%). In this case, we unified advertisements of all majoritarian candidates of the UNM.



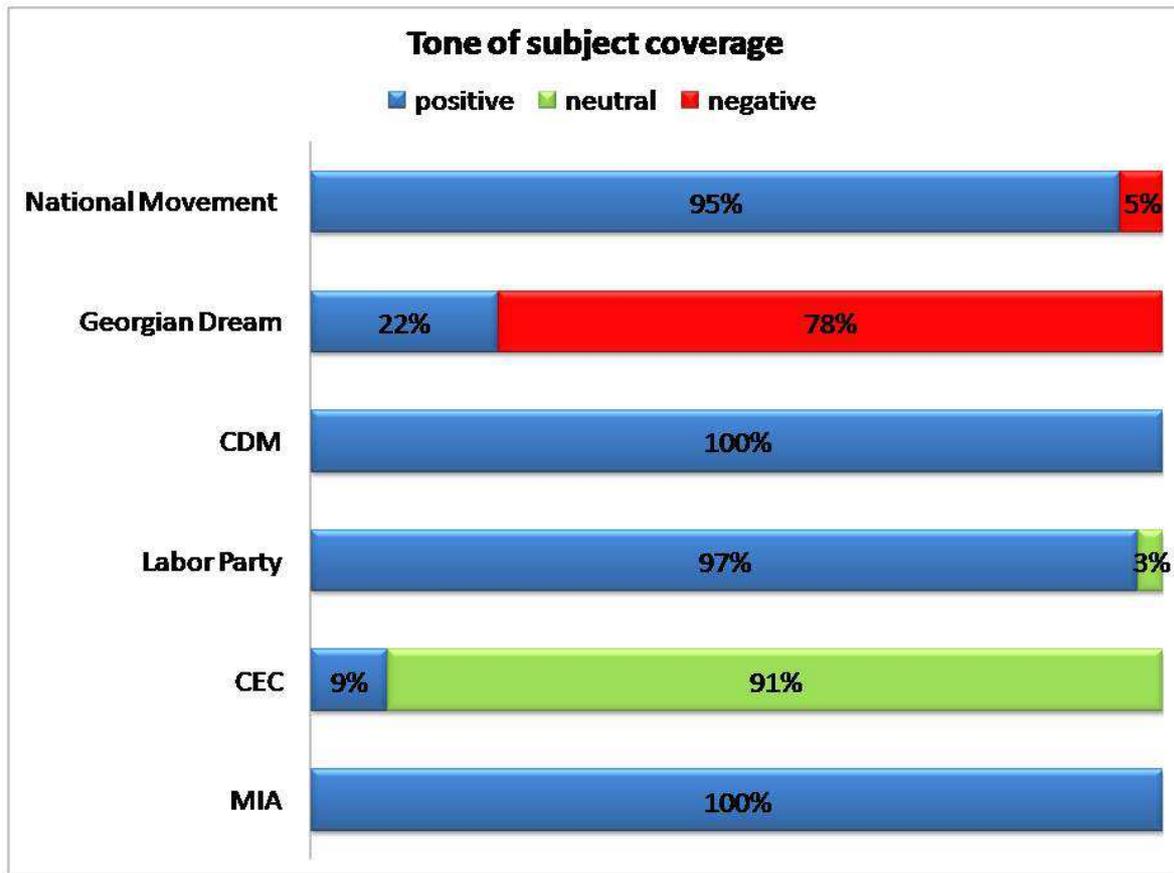
As for time dedicated to the advertisements, political advertisement of UNM ranks first. Advertisement against Georgian Dream – Do not risk - is second on the list and Saakashvili – National Movement is the third.



In the view of subject coverage National Movement took the most time –33%; Georgian Dream is second on the list with 29% and CDM took 12%.



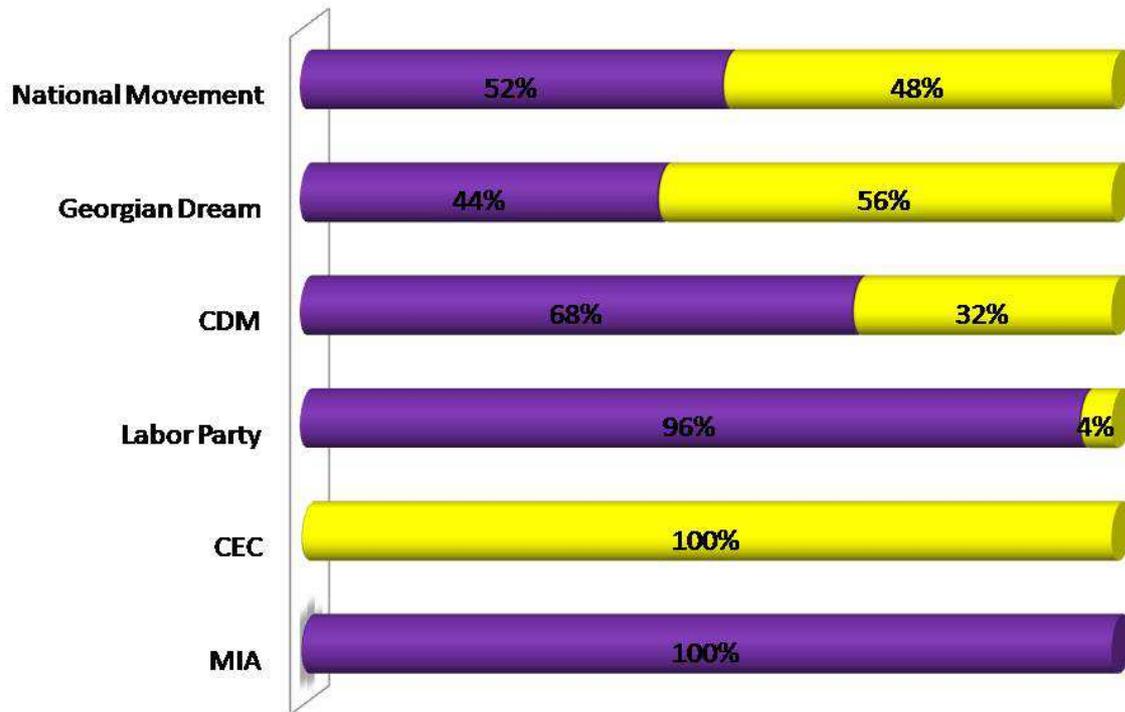
In accordance to the tone of coverage, National Movement was covered positively at 95%; Georgian Dream is covered positively covered only at 22% and rest 78% of negative tone is spent on anti-advertisements. CDM is also covered at 100% positive tone. Labor Party is also covered at 97% positive tone; as for CEC, it was covered at 91% neutral tone.



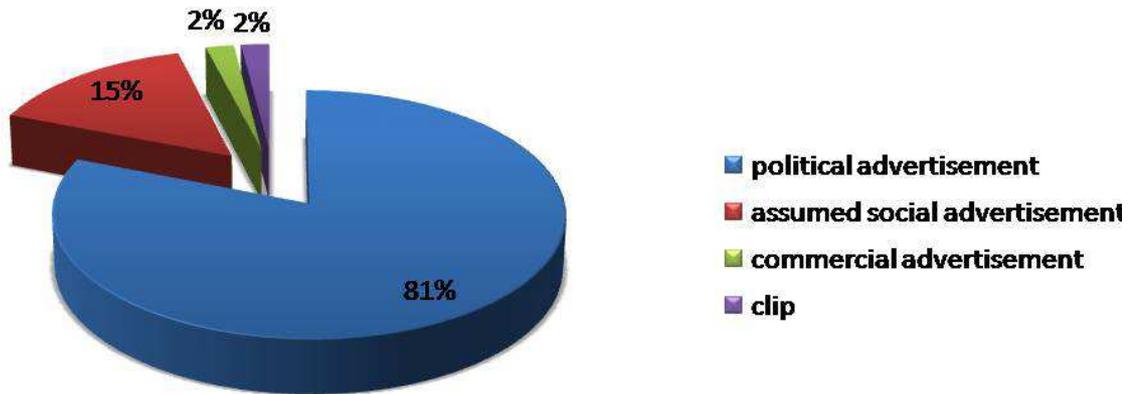
As for type of coverage, National Movement and Georgian Dream are presented in almost equal –direct and indirect types. The percentage of direct tone is much higher in case of Labor Party and it reached 96%.

### Type of subject coverage

■ direct ■ indirect



### Theme of advertisements



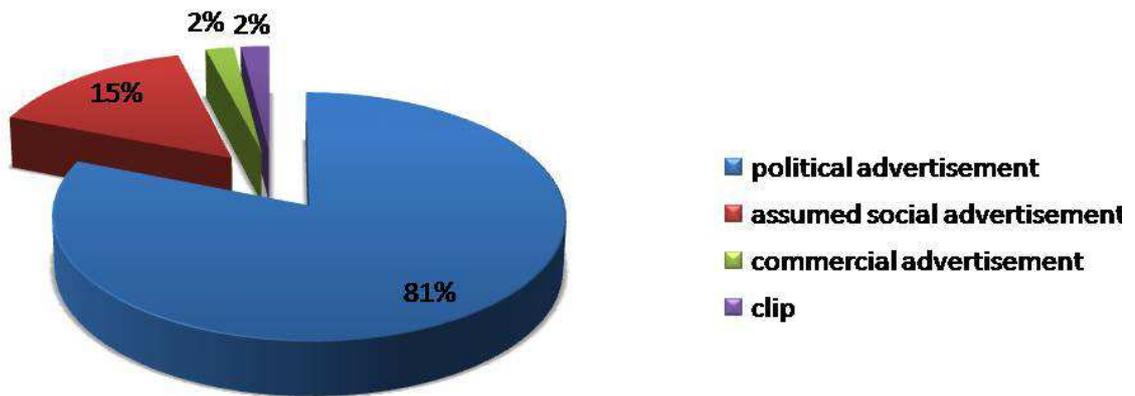
### Kavkasia

#### Media-Monitor - Inga Varsimashvili

First week of this period of monitoring (September 24-30) was distinguished with high number of election and political advertisements. The number of advertisement intervals in this period was 20 542 seconds (about 342 minutes). Among them, 16 199 seconds (about 270 minutes) were spent on the advertisements relevant to our monitoring. It is noteworthy that in the second week of this period of media-monitoring (October 1-7) Kavkasia did not air any advertisement relevant to our monitoring.

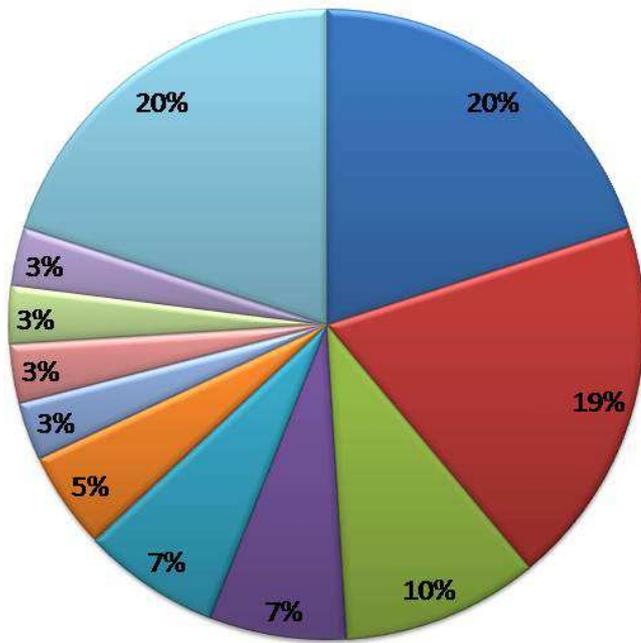
In this period of monitoring, most frequently aired advertisements were those of Central Election Commission (CEC). As for political subjects, time distributed among them was more or less balanced.

### Theme of advertisements

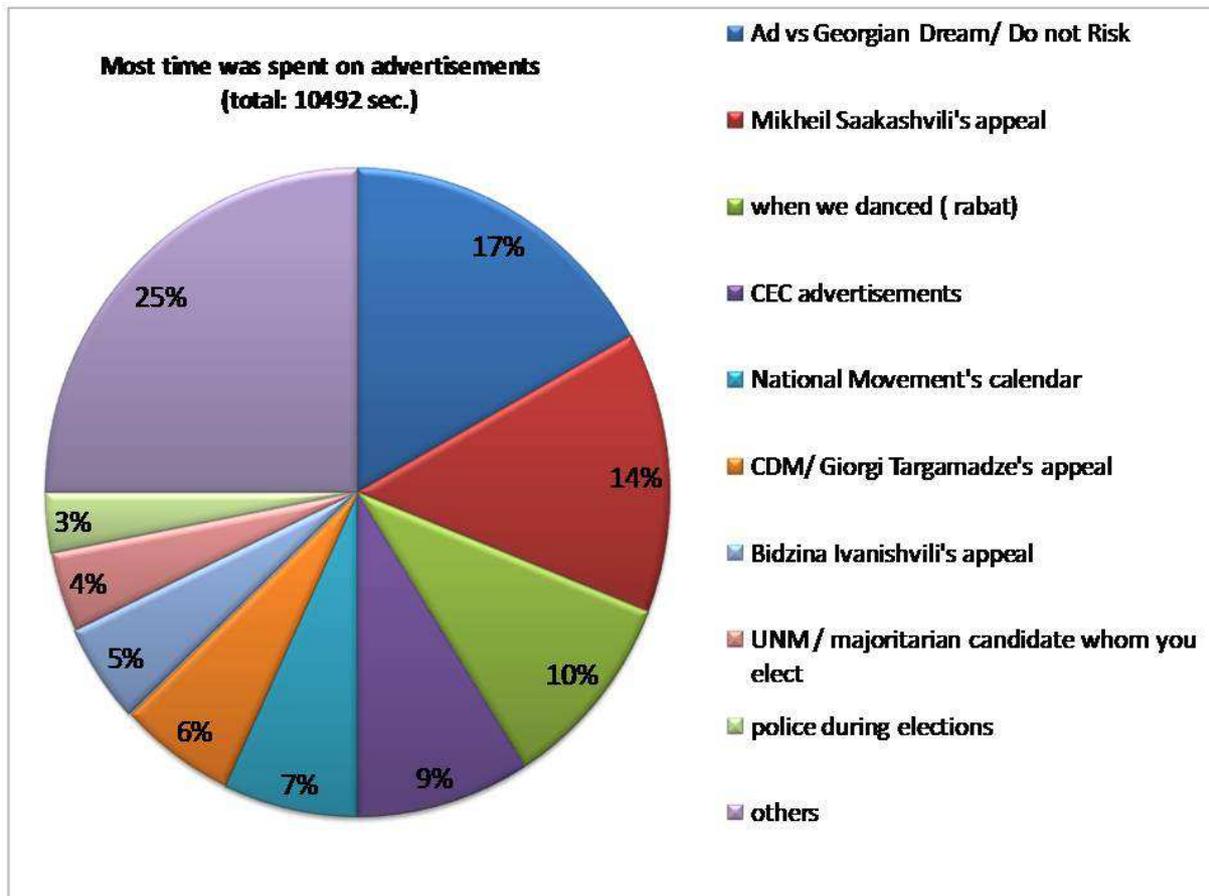


Three election subjects – United National Movement, Georgian Dream and CDM still placed advertisements on TV-Kavkasia. Labor Party still boycotts this TV-Company.

### Most frequently aired advertisements



- Ad vs Georgian Dream/ Do not Risk!
- UNM / Majoritarian candidate whom you elect
- National Movement's calendar
- Mikheil Saakashvili's appeal
- CEC advertisement
- Bidzina Ivanishvili's appeal
- This Affects You
- National Movement's assembly in stadium
- CDM / Fair Tariffs
- CDM/ Giorgi Targamadze's appeal
- others



Advertisements of the **United National Movement** with the slogan “**More Benefit to People.**”

**National Calendar** – a new clip was aired several times in the last week of the report period which presented the calendar of the National Movement’s future activities – when and how the promises of the ruling party will be implemented.

**Mikheil Saakashvili’s appeal to the Georgian population** – President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili, as a leader of the UNM, made a TV-appeal to voters; he again reminded people of their party’s election promises, listed those benefits which were already familiar to voters and which they would continue to receive in future too; they are: employment, 1000 –Lari voucher, strong village, medical insurance for everybody. President suggests population to vote for the progress. The clip finishes with the slogan “We will manage to eradicate problems and give more benefit to people with joint work.”

**Georgian Dream** was presented with the following election clips:

**Zviad Dzidziguri** – the ad presented Georgian Dream’s majoritarian candidate in Rustavi – Zviad Dzidziguri. Bidzina Ivanishvili characterizes him positively, praises his long experience in politics, his personal and political skills and asks voters to vote for Dzidziguri.

**Bidzina Ivanishvili’s appeal** – Georgian Dream’s leader Bidzina Ivanishvili appeals to multi-thousand voters from the tribune: “The Election Day is the day when you decide the fate of government. It is decisive day.” He suggests voters to arrive at polling stations on the election day and mark election number 41 on the ballot paper. “We will build the country where nobody will deprive people from their right to vote. We will return dignity to our country. Every right will be protected in Georgia; free people will live in Georgia. We will create better future together and will make our Georgian Dream true!”

**Georgian Dream’s assemblies in Tbilisi and Kutaisi** – In these clips Coalition leader Bidzina Ivanishvili appeals to the voters to attend their assemblies in Tbilisi and Kutaisi and to support coalition in the elections.

### **Christian-Democrat Movement**

**Giorgi Targamadze’s appeal** – CDM’s leader negatively speaks about both National Movement and Georgian Dream; he praises election program of the CDM and suggests voters to vote for their party.

**“Fair Tariffs to People”**- in this clip voters are presenters who negatively evaluate the National Movement’s promise about employment and hope for the CDM’s program. Giorgi Targamadze negatively speaks about the UNM’s promises and claims that National Movement has deceived Georgian people for so many times and presents his own program.

**Central Election Commission** - was presented with several advertisements: 1) Mutual Respect Breeds Trust – which is focused on decent relations with rivals; 2) “Transparency Brings Trust” which presents how many representatives of political parties, how many international and local observers participate in the election process and how many journalists will cover polling process; 3) Respect of the Law Breeds Trust- it is about privacy of polling and protection of the election law.

Nongovernmental organization **This Affects You** informs voters that they are alone in the cabin; nobody watches them and can freely make choice there.

Besides that, several nongovernmental organizations created election portal <http://www.electionsportal.ge/ge/>, “learn more about elections; write or call us about observed violations!” The purpose of this portal is to inform voters about their rights and responsibilities and to make election violations public.

The number of the advertisements, which aim at the discrimination of any political party or coalition, was increased. Those ads are: **“Georgia Is Being Sold!” “First in Georgia!” “Do Not Risk!”**

First two advertisements are against Mikheil Saakashvili. **“Georgia Is Being Sold”** shows various public speeches of Mikheil Saakashvili where he declares opposition parties to be spies of Russia and enemies of Georgia. In parallel to it those strategic enterprises are listed which were sold to Russia by the government of Georgia. At the end of the ad we see subtitle – Georgia Not For Sale but then NOT is crossed in red and we read “Georgia Is Being Sold.” The title of the abovementioned advertisement responds to the advertisement against Georgian Dream prepared by the organization Georgia Not For Sale.

**First in Georgia** – presents degradation and poverty of the Georgian population on the background of the President’s caricature and laughing.

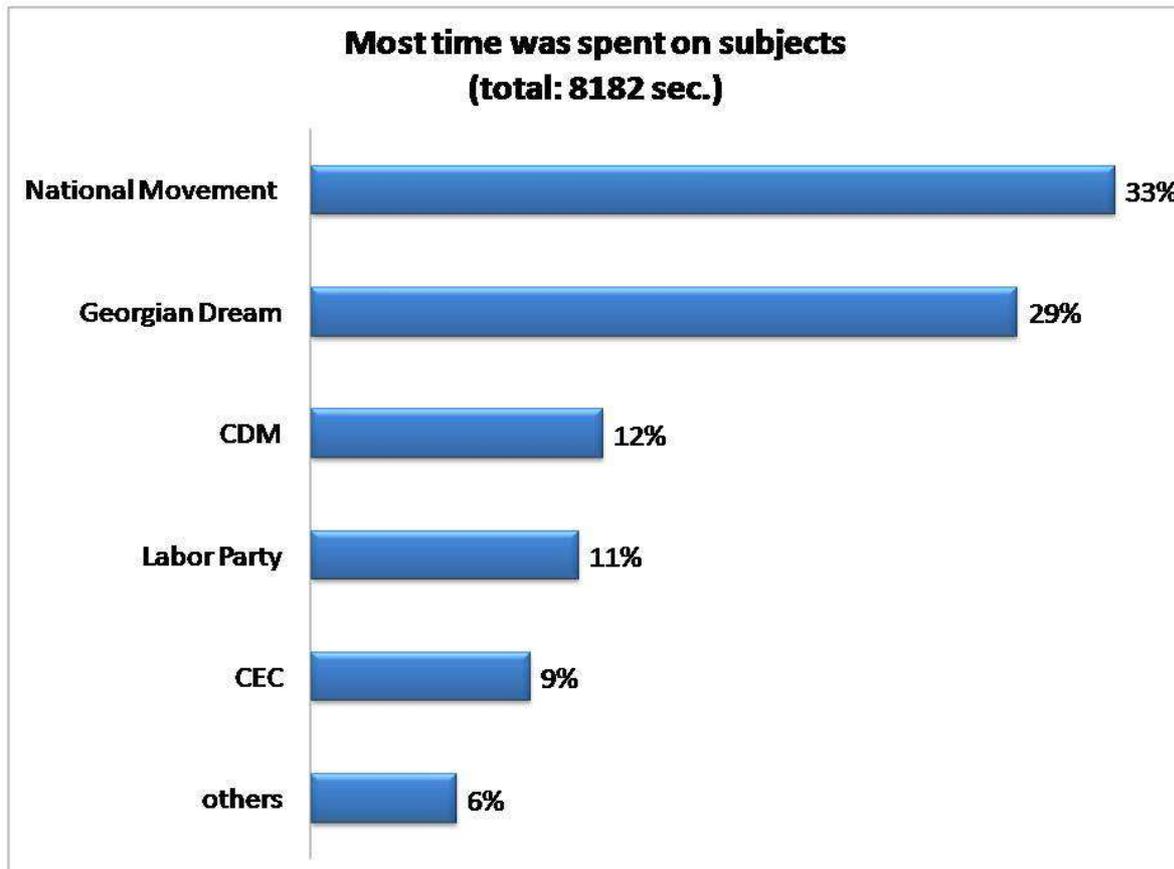
**“Do Not Risk!”** the clip starts with the Georgian Dream’s election advertisement – as soon as Georgian Dream wins elections, it will implement special program of agriculture development.” Afterwards we hear a question – “Who stands behind these promises of the Georgian Dream?” and the following people are listed: “Tamaz Tamazashvili – former chief police officer who cooperated with criminals; Shalva Khachapuridze – corruptive lawyer who sent appeal to Strasbourg Court against Georgia after August war and “this one.” (Georgian Dream’s majoritarian candidate in Batumi Murman Dumbadze, who suggests voters not to mark number 5 because it might cause some diseases).

Advertisement with conditional name “Coordinator” was aired by Kavkasia in the report period. The advertisement looks like a movie trailer. It shows a woman, who acts a role of a National Movement’s coordinator; she is holding folded posters with number fives and is pointing it at people [like gun]. We hear gunshot and people fell down. At the end we hear: “Coordinator kills choice of people.”

Civic solidity position is demonstrated in the advertisement **“Not For Sale!”** where different people say: “Love Not for Sale!” “Homeland Not for Sale!” “Our Children’s Future not For Sale!” and then “Our Voice not for Sale!” The clip finishes with warning that bribery of voters for election purposes is crime and is punishable under the law. The advertisement does not show its author. GPB also airs this advertisement and as their letter stated this advertisement was ordered by CEC.

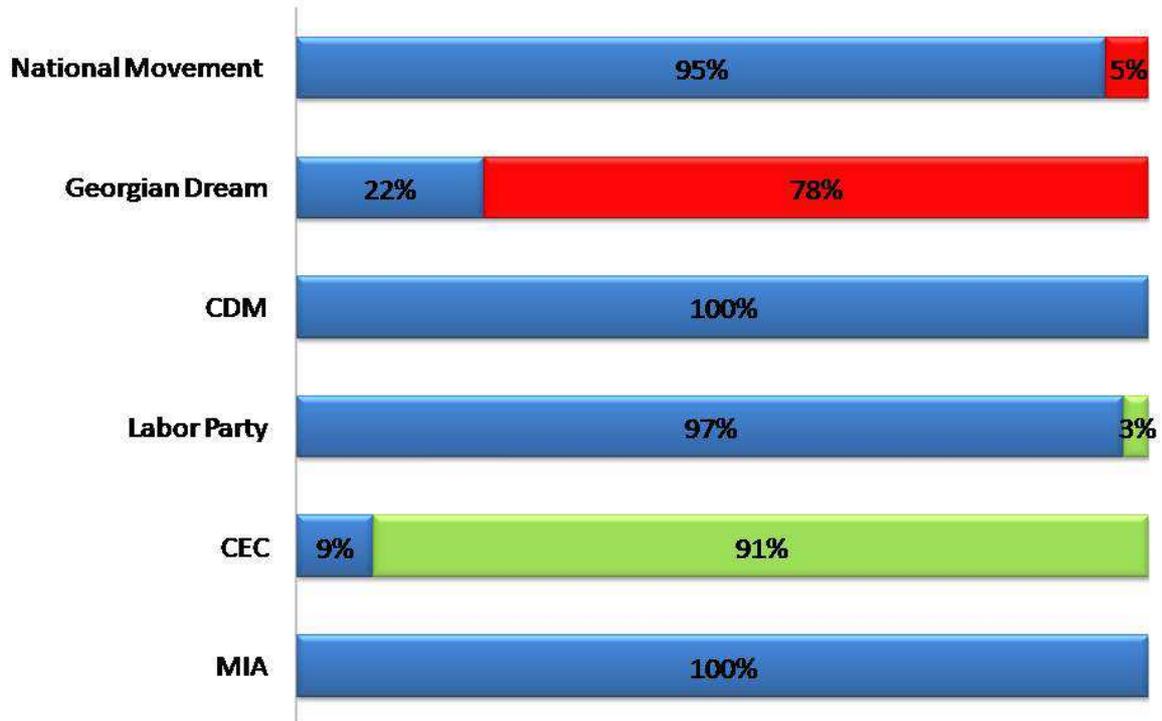
Clip **“Inactivity supports violence”** was aired once where writer Dato Turashvili strictly and negatively speaks about inactivity and negligence of the members of parliament in the

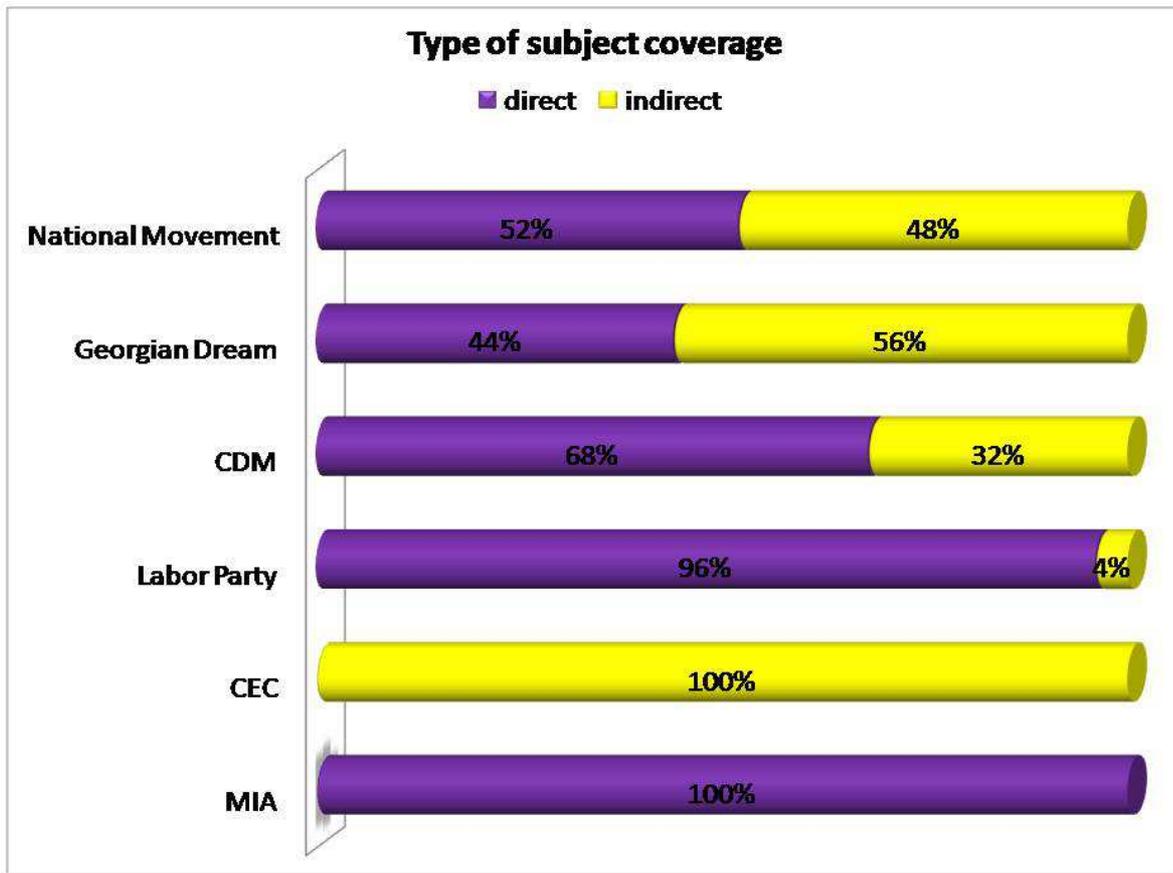
Rustavi 2's TV-program Middyay; he said MPs have been hearing Public Defender's reports for several years but did not pay attention.



### Tone of subject coverage

■ positive ■ neutral ■ negative



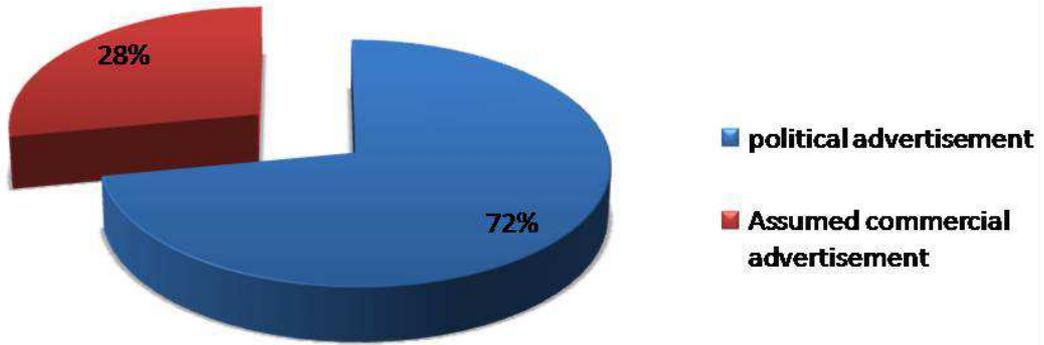


**Maestro**

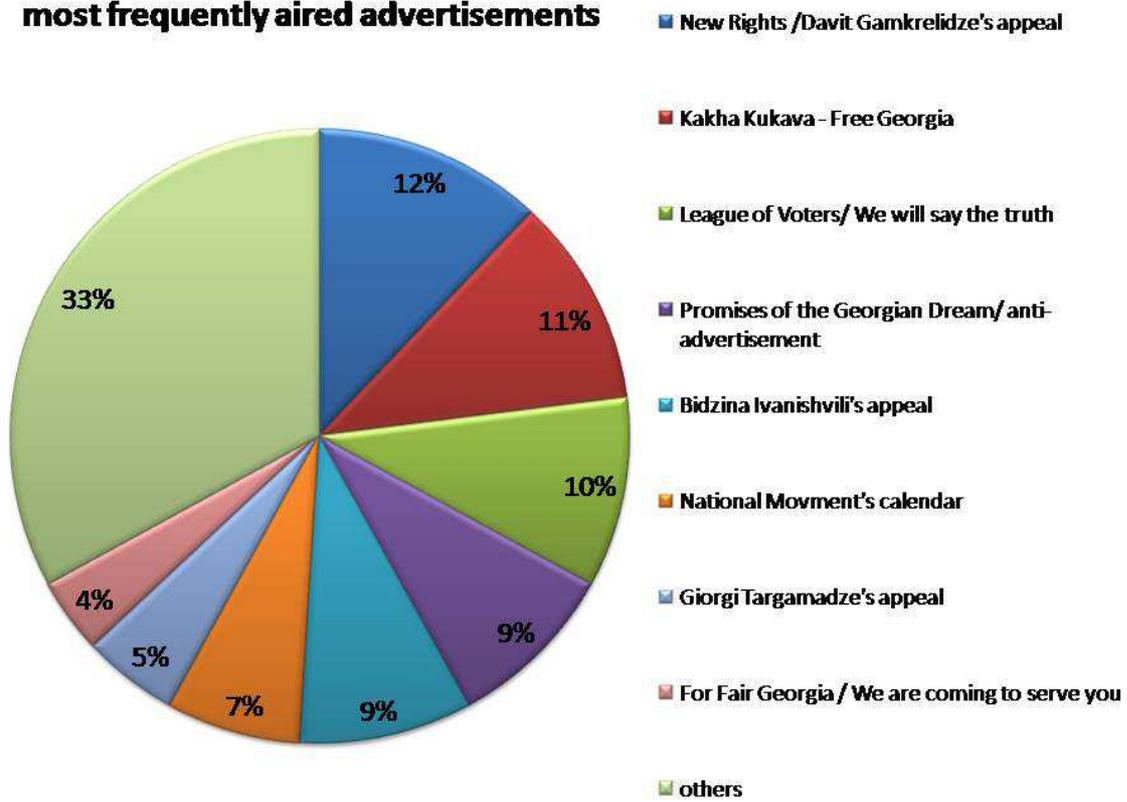
**Media-Monitor – Shorena Latatia**

In this period of media-monitoring, total length of advertisement intervals was 23 740 seconds (about 396 minutes) on Maestro TV. Among them, 16 669 seconds (about 279 minutes) were dedicated to the advertisements, where election subjects and governmental institutions participated.

### Theme of advertisements

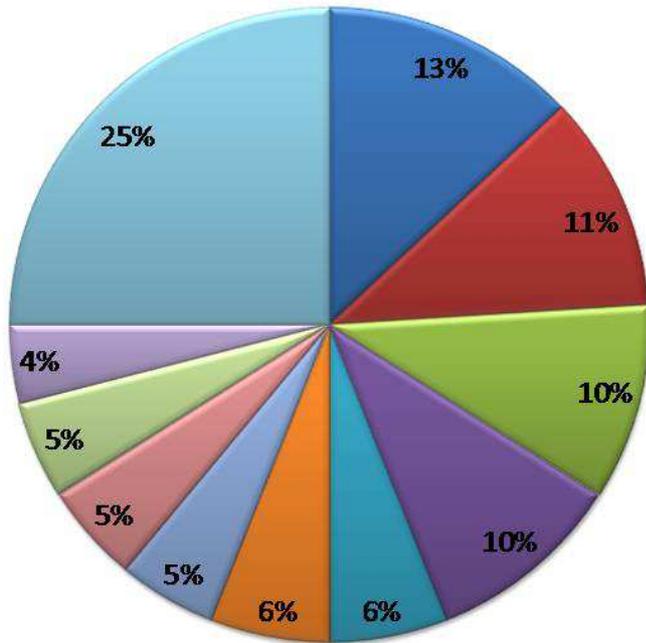


### most frequently aired advertisements



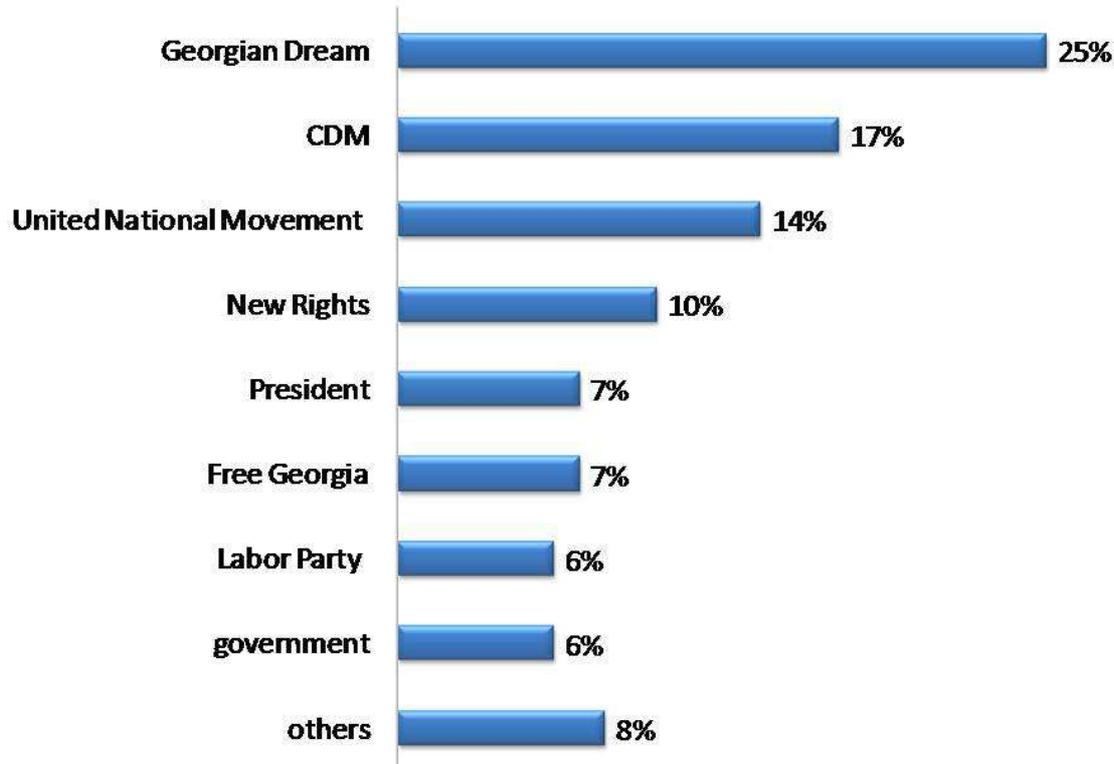
**most time was spent on the advertisements**

**(total: 16669 sec)**



- Giorgi Targamadze's appeal
- Bidzina Ivanishvili's appeal
- Promises of the Georgian Dream/anti-advertisement
- New Rights/ Davit Garmkrelidze's appeal
- National Movement's calendar
- Kakha Kukava - Free Georgia
- Anti-advertisement about Saakashvili / Georgia (not) for Sale
- League of Voters / We will say the truth
- Coordinator /Georgia (not) for sale
- Mikheil Saakashvili's appeal
- others

**Most time was spent on subjects  
(total: 16278 sec.)**



In this period of media-monitoring, leaders of almost every political party participating in the election process personally appealed to voters in advertisements.

Georgian Dream's leader Bidzina Ivanishvili appeals to voters: "The Election Day is the day when you decide the fate of government. It is decisive day." He suggests voters to arrive at polling stations on the Election Day and mark election number 41 on the ballot paper. "We will build the country where nobody deprives people from their right to vote. We will return dignity to our country. Every right will be protected in Georgia; free people will live in Georgia who will not be afraid of political persecution. Georgia will become free, democrat country and honorable member of the European community! Remember, we need each other on October 1! We will manage to win this struggle only together! We firmly believe that we will win elections! Georgian people will win! Georgia will win! We will create better future together and will make our Georgian Dream true!" Bidzina Ivanishvili stated in his advertisement appeal. This scene was extract from his public speech at one of the assemblies of the Georgian Dream. On the background of video we see plenty of people attending assemblies.

Free Georgia's leader Kakha Kukava suggests voters to support Bidzina Ivanishvili in the struggle against criminals in his video-appeal. He spoke about defeat of Saakashvili's regime. "Dear compatriots, few days are left before the end of Saakashvili's regime! Vote election number 1, Free Georgia and we promise that we will assist Bidzina Ivanishvili in his fight against criminal government till the end; at the same time, please vote for Free Georgia and we will never allow single-party government in Georgia," Kakha Kukava said.

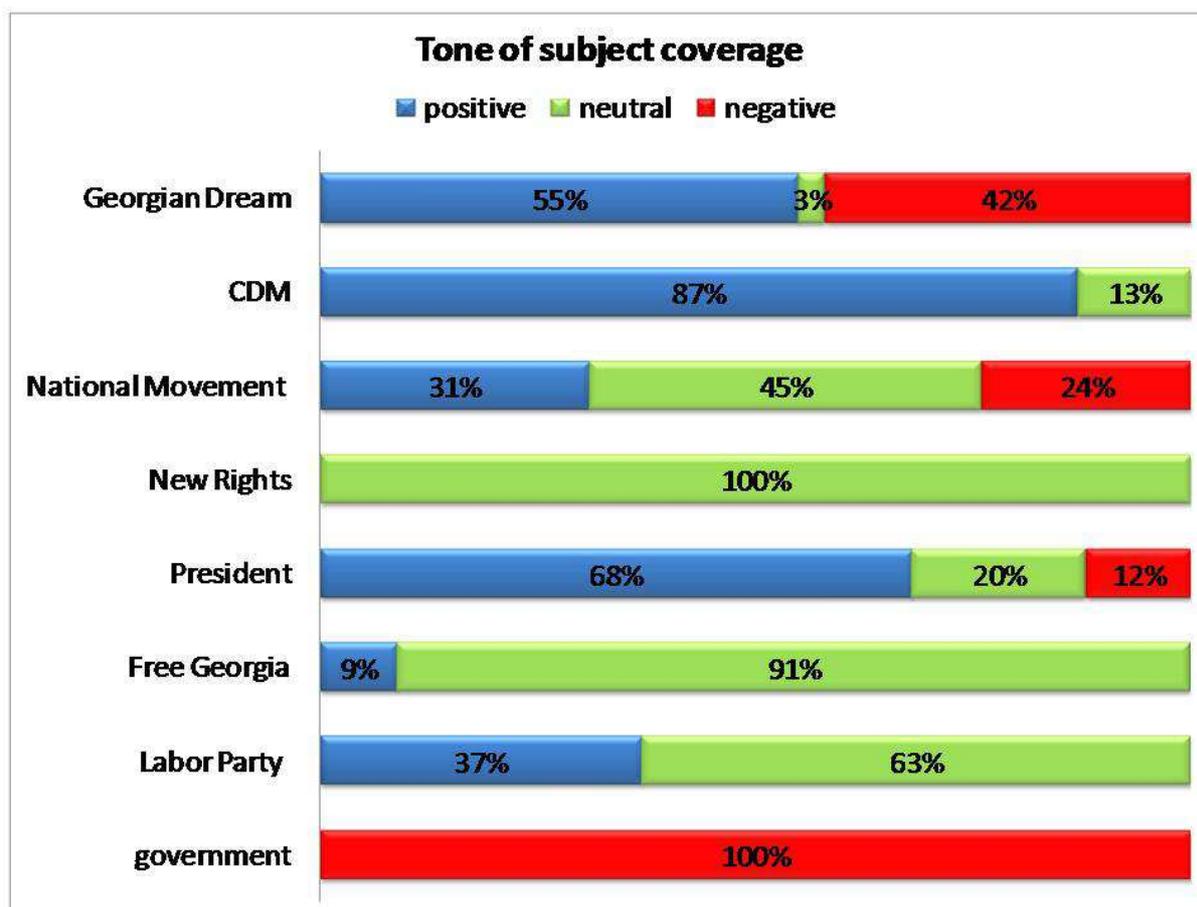
Leader of the Christian-Democrat Movement Giorgi Targamadze offers his political party as the "only reasonable alternative" alongside anti-advertisement of the Georgian Dream and United National Movement. "Dear compatriots, recent events convinced us again that morally bankrupted National Movement can no longer govern the country; due to extreme polarization all recent significant achievements are under threat of disappearance; we, Christian Democrats, see and value those achievements because we always opposed government but never opposed Georgia; I appeal to you – doctors and teachers, police officers and soldiers, public servants, every patriot – if you do not want to live under permanent threat of revolution or revenge for the next 4 years, if you do not want unbalanced power to govern the country and do not want to turn into a experimental laboratory of one billionaire, if you are fed up with radicalism which is established in our country by both parties [Georgian Dream and National Movement], if you are fed up with publishing discrediting evidence and secret recordings, if you have opened your eyes and got disappointed with any of political parties, which you supported before, do not get miserable! Do not leave Georgia alone! Vote for the only reasonable alternative of the current government on October 1, the moderate and constructive party which will bring peace in the country and welfare in your families, which will maintain all achievements of the recent time and develop them!" said Giorgi Targamadze.

Leader of the New Rights Davit Gamkrelidze focuses on the criticism of the government and Georgian Dream. "Everybody admits that New Rights has qualified and realistic program; everybody, who does not like Saakashvili's authoritarian government and who doubts about Ivanishvili's goals, who liked but dislikes the government now; who hoped for the appearance of the new leader in the opposition but is disappointed now, who is scared by pre-election radicalization and threat of controversy, who wants peace! Vote for us! Let us reinforce each other," Davit Gamkrelidze said.

Leader of the Labor Party Shalva Natelashvili said in his statement: "The only political party, which has done impossible for you, who gave you free education, free medical emergency service, kindergartens, who lowered electricity tariffs for three years, who saved vine-yards from disappearance, forests and lands from selling out; the only party which will introduce free high education including master courses; the only party, which will refuse false medical insurance and will fund insurance from the budget, which will discharge your debts in banks and will seize property from the rich people, who have gained fortune at our expense, and will create creditor's foundation; the only party which will revise all illegal decision and will

pardon, rehabilitate and compensate every prisoner, who has signed plea-agreement; the only party which will refuse to join NATO and open Russian gate for you, your children, Georgian market and assist you to bring raw materials for the development of local business; the only party which can start negotiations with Russian government on the return of Tskhinvali and Abkhazia.”

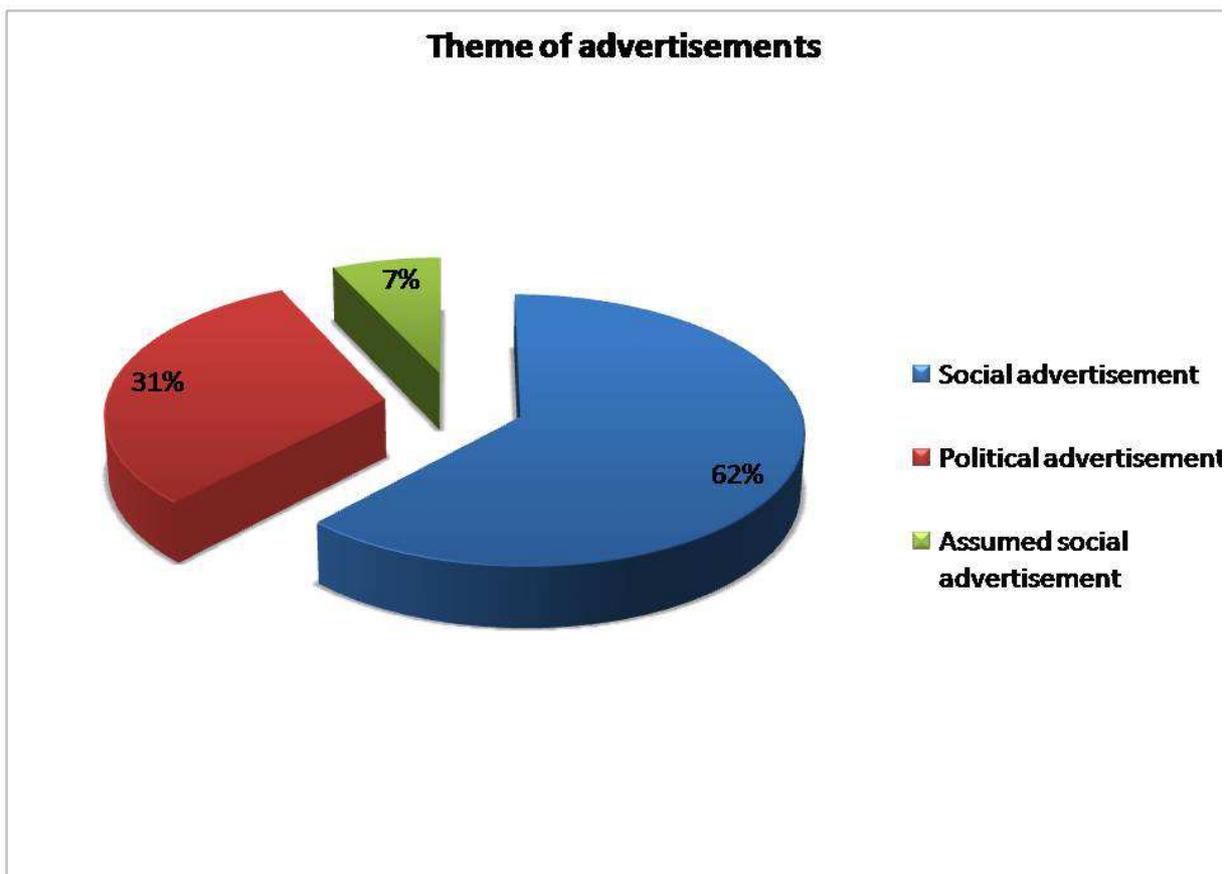
Free Georgia’s leader also promised population to decline NATO integration. “Freedom to arbitrary prisoners! NO to NATO! Georgian soldiers will return home from Afghanistan. State will protect the country from reinforced influence of English language, and Orthodox Church from sects; national values misappropriated by foreigners will be nationalized. Only Georgian citizen will be land owner in Georgia. Mark number 1 Kakha Kukava – Free Georgia,” one of their advertisements stated.



## TV 9

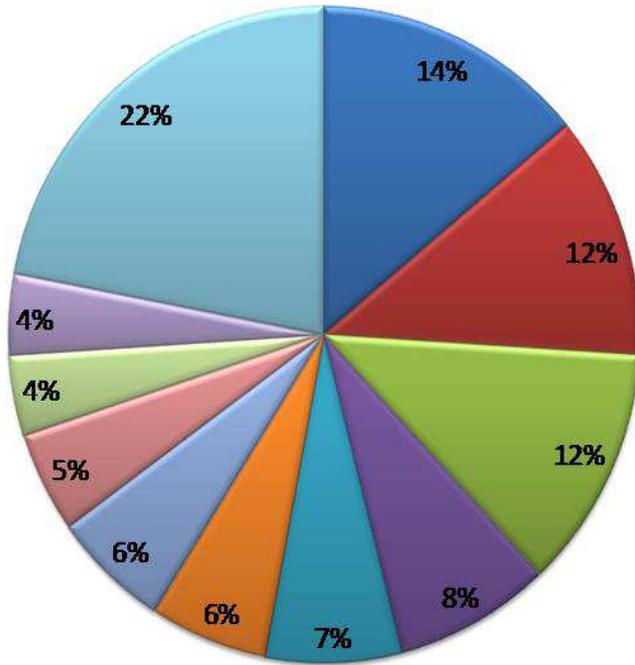
### Media-Monitors – Giorgi Janelidze, Nino Gelashvili

Total length of advertisement intervals in the report period on TV9 was 39 013 seconds (about 650 minutes). Among them, from September 24 to September 30, total length of advertisement intervals was 16 650 seconds (about 278 minutes).



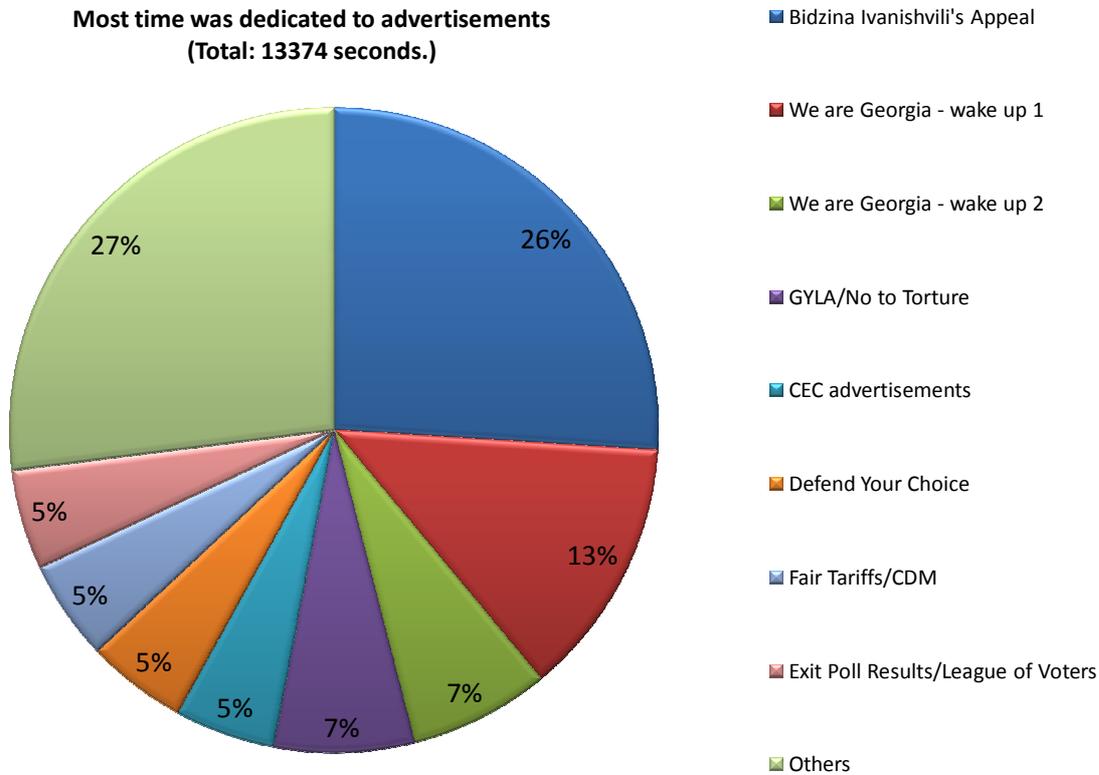
In the report period, advertisements of all political subjects – Christian Democrat Movement, United National Movement, Free Georgia and Georgian Dream – were aired by TV 9. Advertisement of Georgian Dream is most frequently aired ad. Advertisement of Christian-Democrats took place in the diagram of advertisements to which most time was dedicated.

### Most frequently aired advertisements



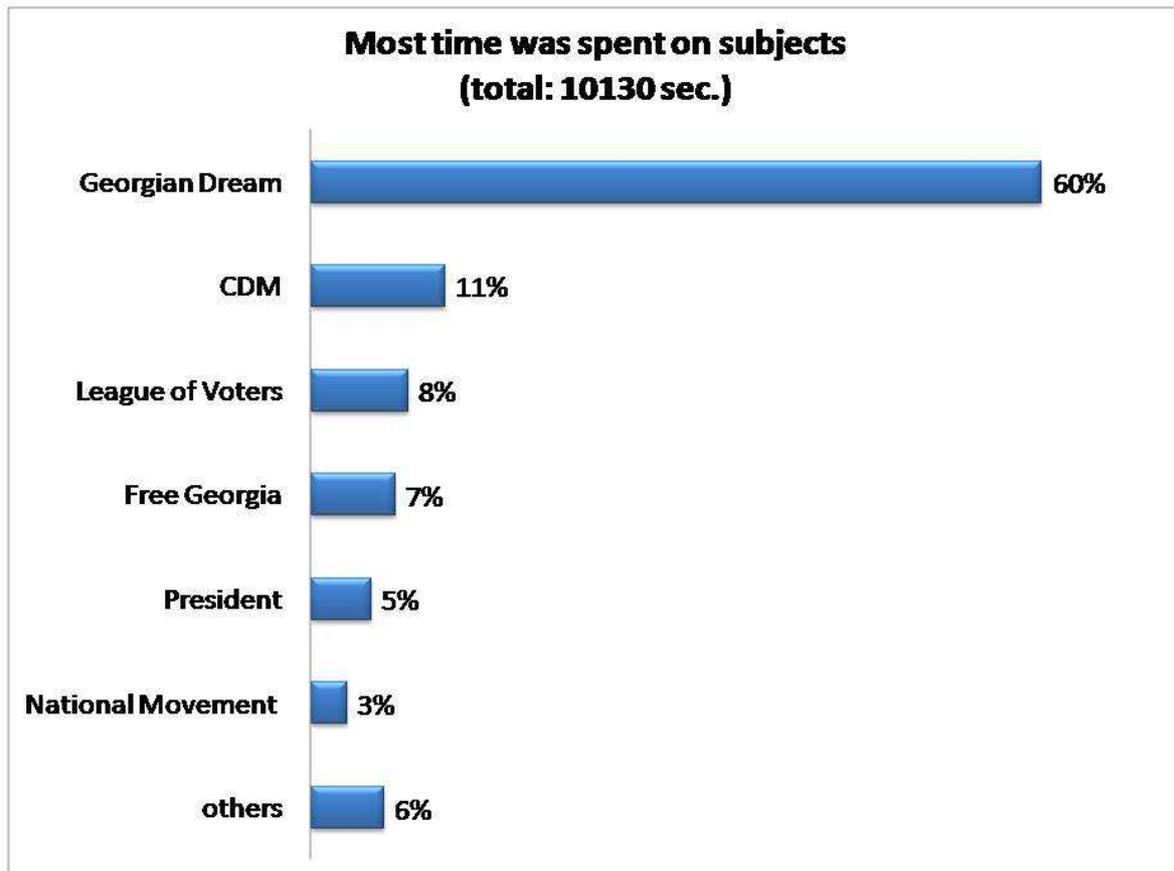
- Bidzina Ivanishvili's appeal
- Exit-poll results / League of Voters
- Protect your choice
- GYLA/ No to Torture!
- Election portal
- We are Georgia- Wake up 1
- CEC advertisements
- We are Georgia- Wake up 2
- We need women in politics
- partiebi.ge
- others

**Most time was dedicated to advertisements  
(Total: 13374 seconds.)**



Free Georgia’s advertisement was aired in the last week of the pre-election period; before we did not observe their advertisement on TV 9.

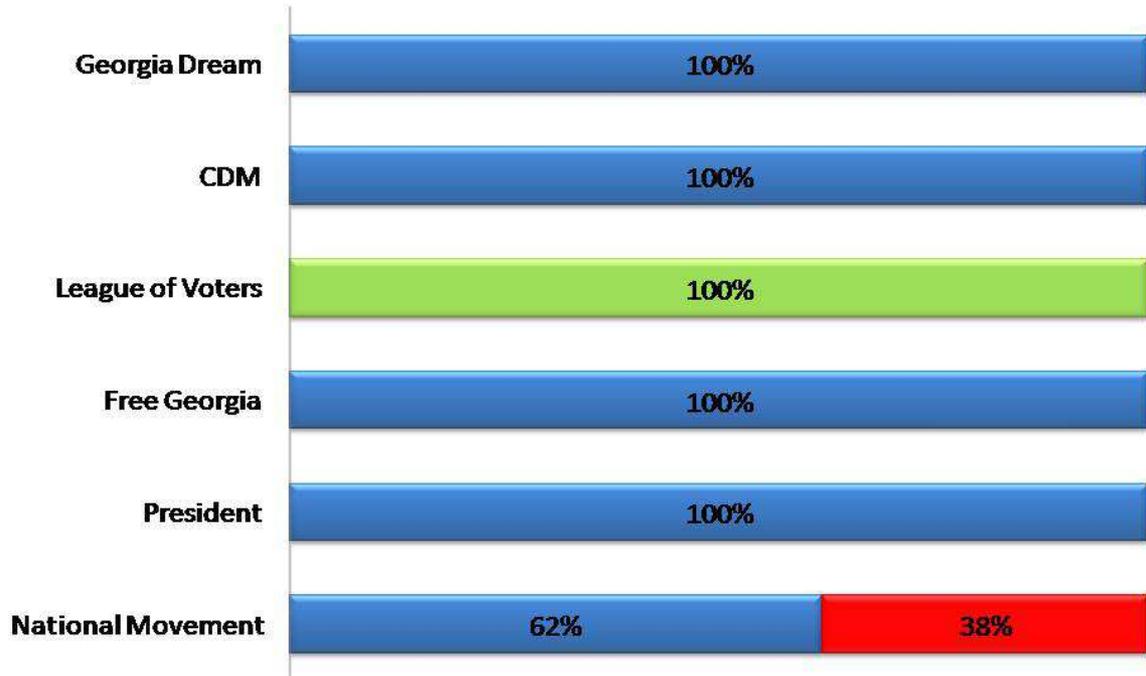
In the report period, following assumed social advertisements were aired: advertisement of Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA) - No to Torture (it was aired in the second week of the report period as well), also “Women in politics”, “Foundation Citizen” which informs us about prisoners’ torture and announces charity account number. The advertisement of the League of Voters can also be considered as social ad which informed us about publishing their election results on October 2.

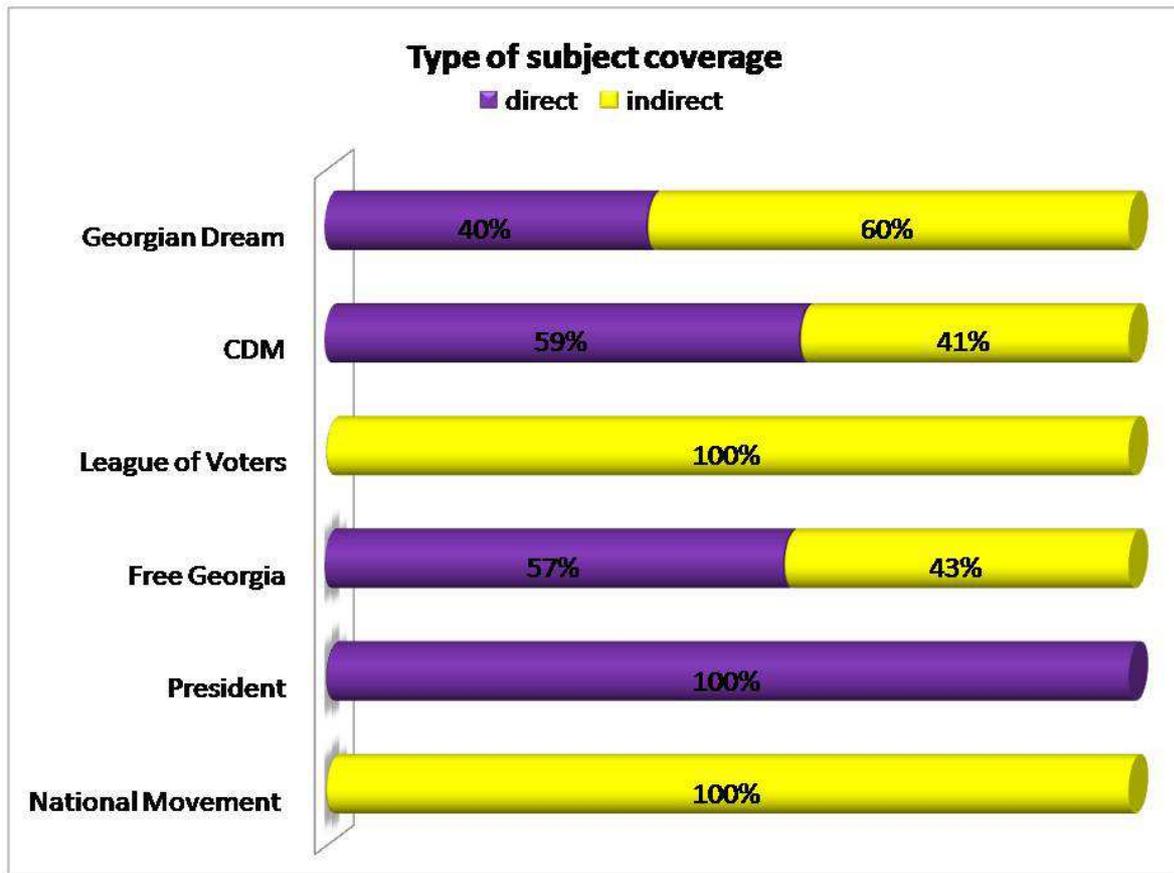


We categorized those advertisements as assumed social advertisements because they contained information necessary for society that is criteria for social advertisements.

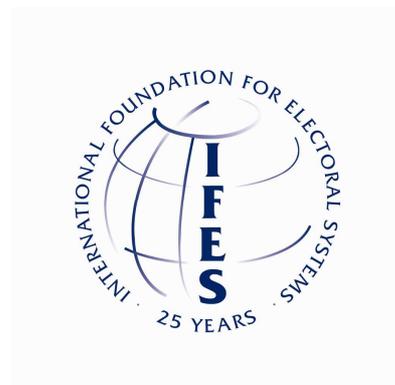
### Tone of subject coverage

■ positive ■ neutral ■ negative





From October 1 to October 7 total length of advertisements was 22 363 seconds. From the Election Day no political advertisement has been aired by TV9. Most time of advertisement intervals was dedicated to announcements of TV-programs, TV-company intervals and social video-clips of GYLA whose main message was to stop of prisoners' torture and to hold former senior officials responsible for committed crimes.



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