

Human Rights Center



Media Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections

Results from August 27-September 2

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 Channel 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 August 27 to September 2. Equal time was dedicated to the qualified election candidates on the Georgian Public Broadcaster. Georgian Dream was presented with 62% negative tone on the TV-company Rustavi 2, with 89% negative tone on Imedi and with 50% negative tone on Maestro. This was the result of frequently aired advertisements of the nongovernmental organization Georgia Not For Sale against Georgian Dream. National Movement uses those advertisements as its political advertisements.

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 at these TV-Companies.

Unlike the advertisements of the other qualified election candidates, the leaders and representatives of the National Movement are less reflected in their ads because mostly they focus on the achievements of various governmental institutions. Consequently, the percentage of the UNM's election candidates is lower than other political parties in the diagrams.

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.

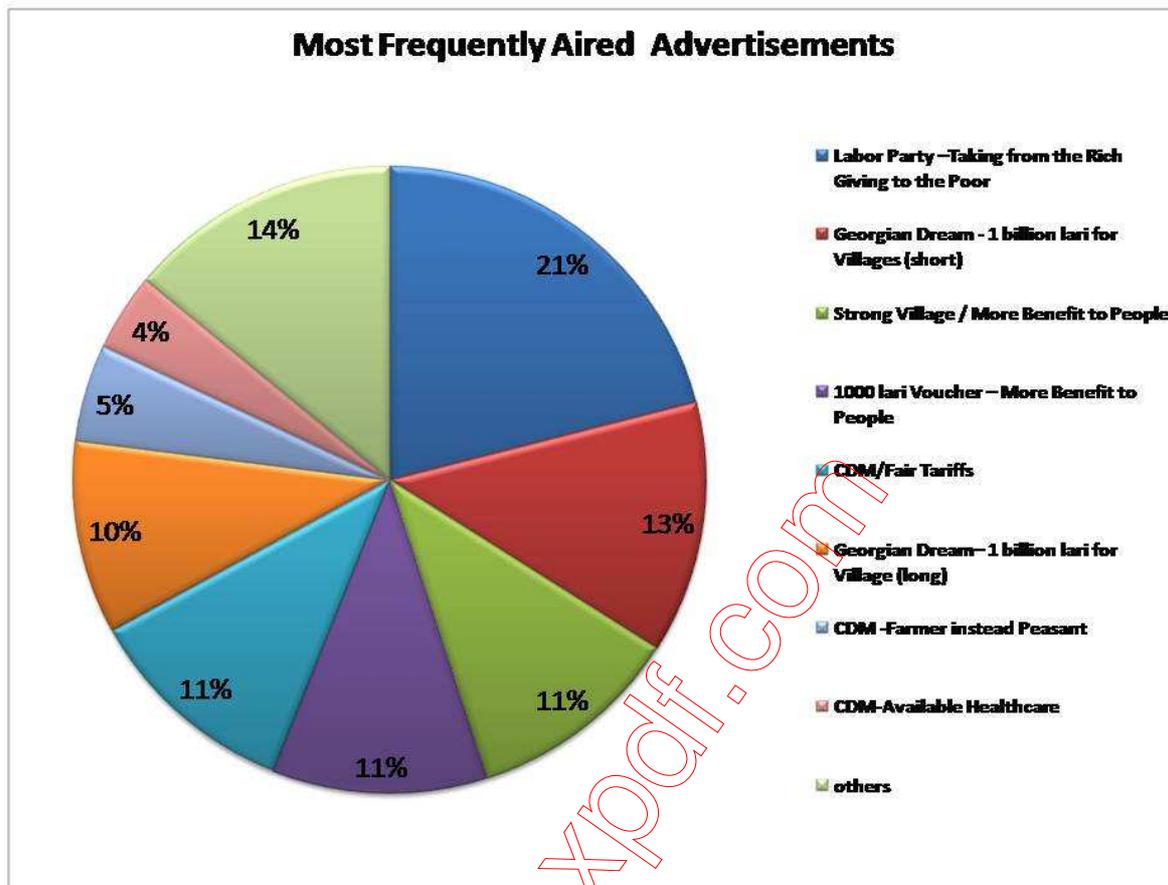
Georgian Public Broadcaster

August 27-September 2

Media-monitor: Aleko Tskitishvili

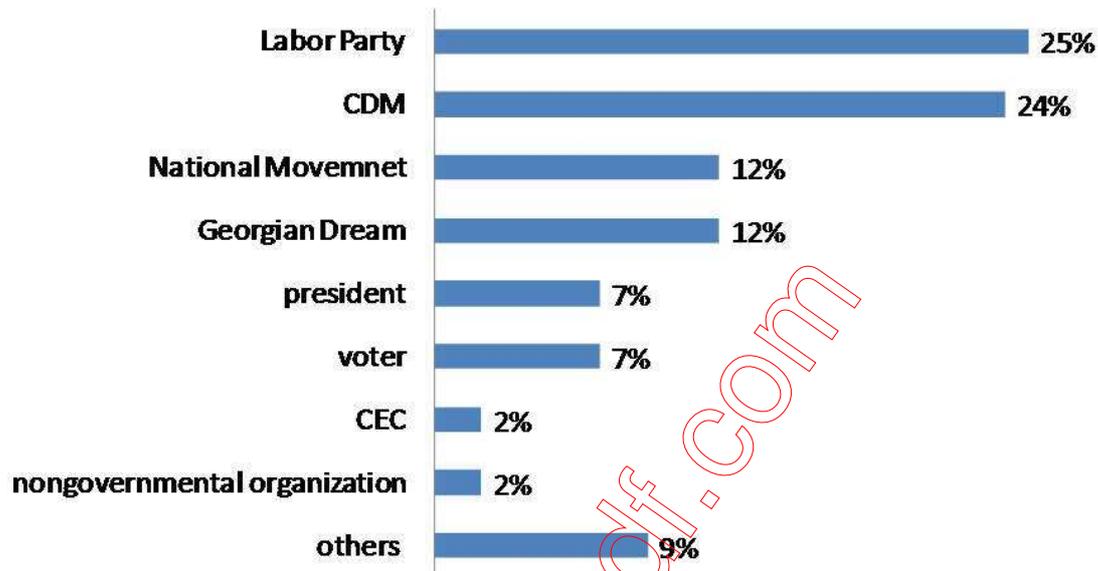
The total length of the observed advertisements in the advertisement intervals of prime time on GPB during this period of media-monitoring was 17 270 seconds. Of this, 8 993 seconds (about 150 minutes) were dedicated to advertisements relevant to our monitoring, where election candidates or governmental institutions are mentioned.

From August 27 to September 2, advertisements of all qualified election candidates were aired and finally the time allocated for the advertisements on the GPB was equally divided among the following subjects: National Movement, Christian-Democratic Movement, Labor Party and election bloc Bidzina Ivanishvili – Georgian Dream. During our media-monitoring, we initially observed that the balance of political advertisements aired by the GPB was not breached in favor of the UNM.



The diagram shows that in the period of August 27-September 2, balanced time was allocated to all qualified election subjects on the GPB. Labor Party’s single advertisement was the most frequently aired on GPB (21%). However, it is noteworthy that the other three election subjects placed two or three advertisements on the GPB. If we add these advertisements, it will show that Georgian Dream’s political advertisement “1 Billion Lari for Georgian Villages” was most frequently aired on GPB. It is an advertisement with a single content but with varying duration, which was aired on GPB amongst the ads relevant to our monitoring; in total it occupied 23% of the time. If we use the same principle with regard to other advertisements, two advertisements of the UNM – “Strong Village” (11%) and “1000 lari Voucher” (11%) occupied 22%. CDM’s three advertisements – “Fair Tariffs” (11%), “Farmer Instead of Peasant” (5%) and “Accessible Healthcare” (4%) took up 20% of the total broadcasting time.

**Most time was spent on the subjects
(total: 7472 sec)**



In the diagram of the candidate coverage the most time was dedicated to the opposition candidates – Labor Party and CDM who actively advertise their political party in the ads. The National Movement prefers to advertise the government’s achievements and plans in their advertisements and pays less attention to the party’s activities. 2.2 seconds taken up by the party leaders President Mikheil Saakashvili and prime-minister Vano Merabishvili in the ad “1000 lari Voucher” while the advertisement clips of the CDM and Labor Party actively present their leaders – Giorgi Targamandze and Shalva Natelashvili. Due to these circumstances, National Movement candidates took up half the time of CDM and Labor Party candidates – 12%. The same amount of time was spent on Georgian Dream which stressed its future plans in the ads and it was less mentioned as a political party.

Advertisements of nongovernmental sector was observed during the media-monitoring for the first time. According to the methodology, the subject NGO on the diagram covers all NGOs which placed or funded video-clips on the election issue on the GPB. Namely, these organizations are Transparency International – Georgia, Human Rights Center, Coalition for Independent Living and Open Society – Georgia Foundation. As the GPB notified to us, NGO advertisements mostly have the status of social advertisement. They meet the requirements

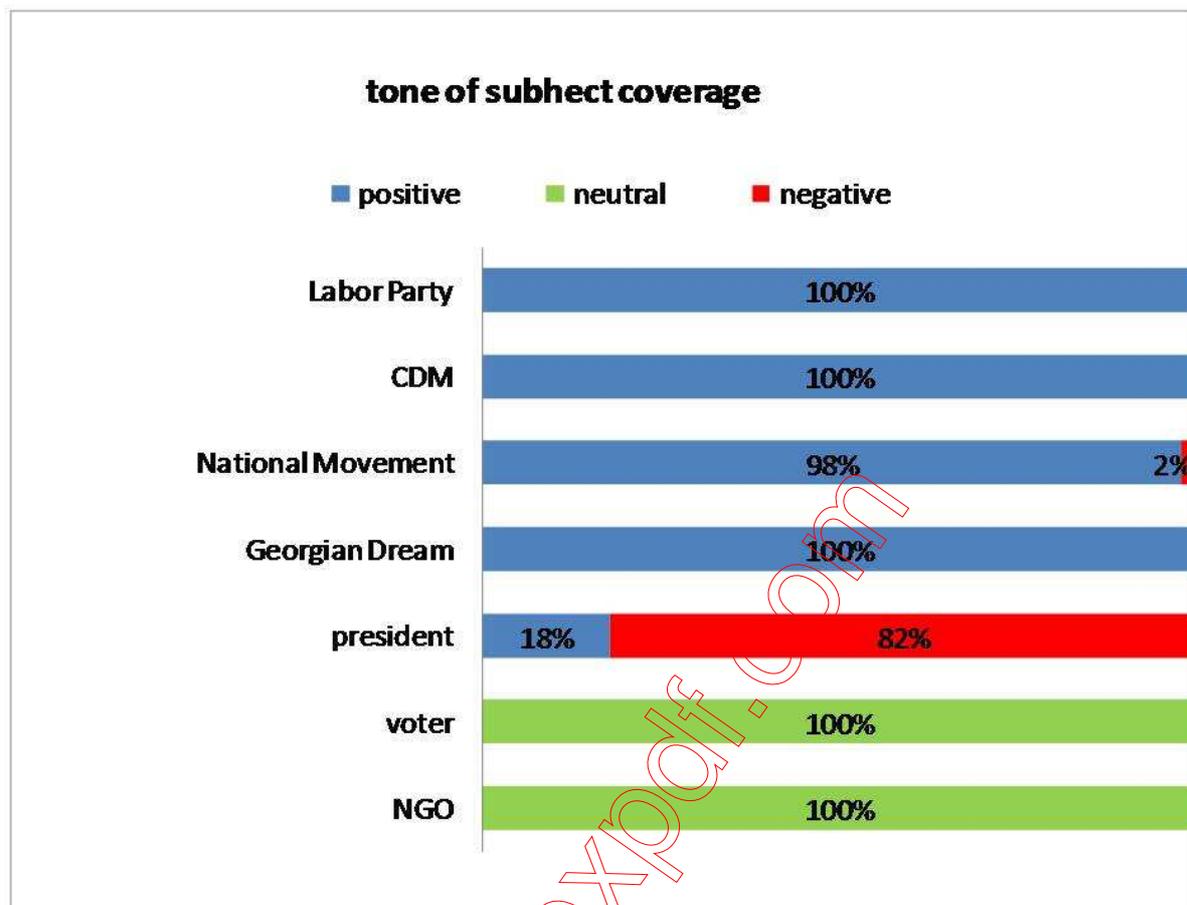
of the law which states that social advertisement shall aim at promotion of public welfare or have a clear charity purpose.

For example: the advertisement of the Coalition for Independent Living placed on GPB is a video-clip aimed at disabled people. The Coalition calls upon the disabled people not to stay out of the election process and encourages them, if they can move, to go to the polling stations; the NGO promises to help them in transportation. The video-clip shows a hotline number of the Central Election Commission (CEC) with large black font where disabled people can call and receive information about the scheduled elections on October 1. In the window on the right-hand corner of the screen, the information is communicated to deaf people by means of sign language.

From August 27 to September 2, GPB still did not air the advertisements against Georgian Dream of the NGO Georgia Not for Sale; though currently the qualified election subject United National Movement places those advertisements on various TV-channels as its political advertisements. Consequently, Georgian Dream was not covered in a negative tone on the GPB in this period either. Due to [political advertisements of the Labor Party](#)¹, as we already mentioned in our [previous periodic report](#),² the President was presented in a negative tone in 51% of cases. In addition, in comparison with the previous periodic report, the quantity of negative coverage of the president increased because Labor Party's advertisement was more frequently aired in prime-time during this period of media-monitoring.

¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tM9_7FjDWs

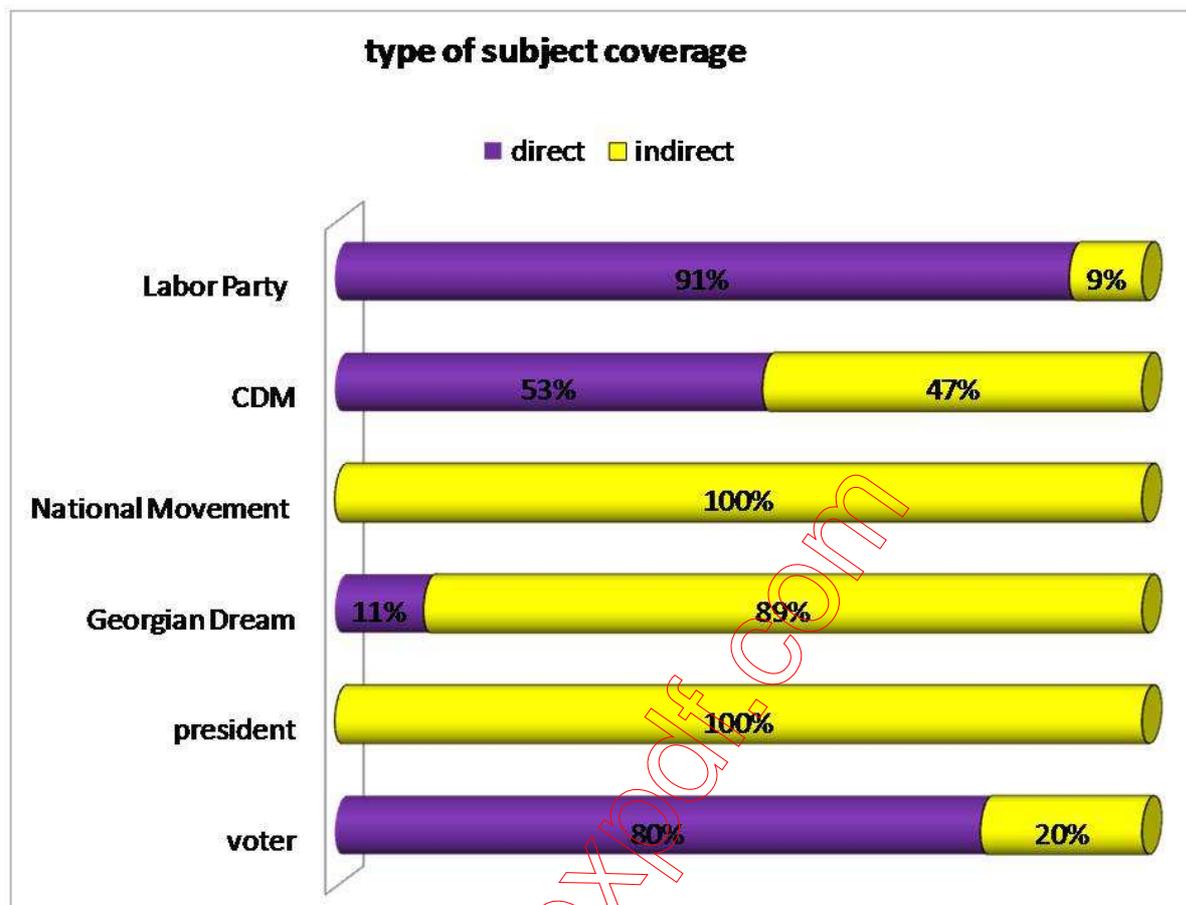
² <http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/media%20monitoring%2013-26%20August.pdf>



As the diagram shows, from August 27 to September 2, the ruling United National Movement received 13% negative tone, as a result of CDM's advertisement about the development of agriculture. The clip presents diagrams which demonstrate how little money was spent on agriculture from the state budget by the United National Movement during their time in power. In this part of the ad, UNM is presented in a negative tone. Subsequently, the boundary on the diagram indicates the period after October 1, 2012 elections and the figure 1 billion lari is written on the boundary. So, the CDM promises voters to radically increase the funds for agriculture in the state budget.

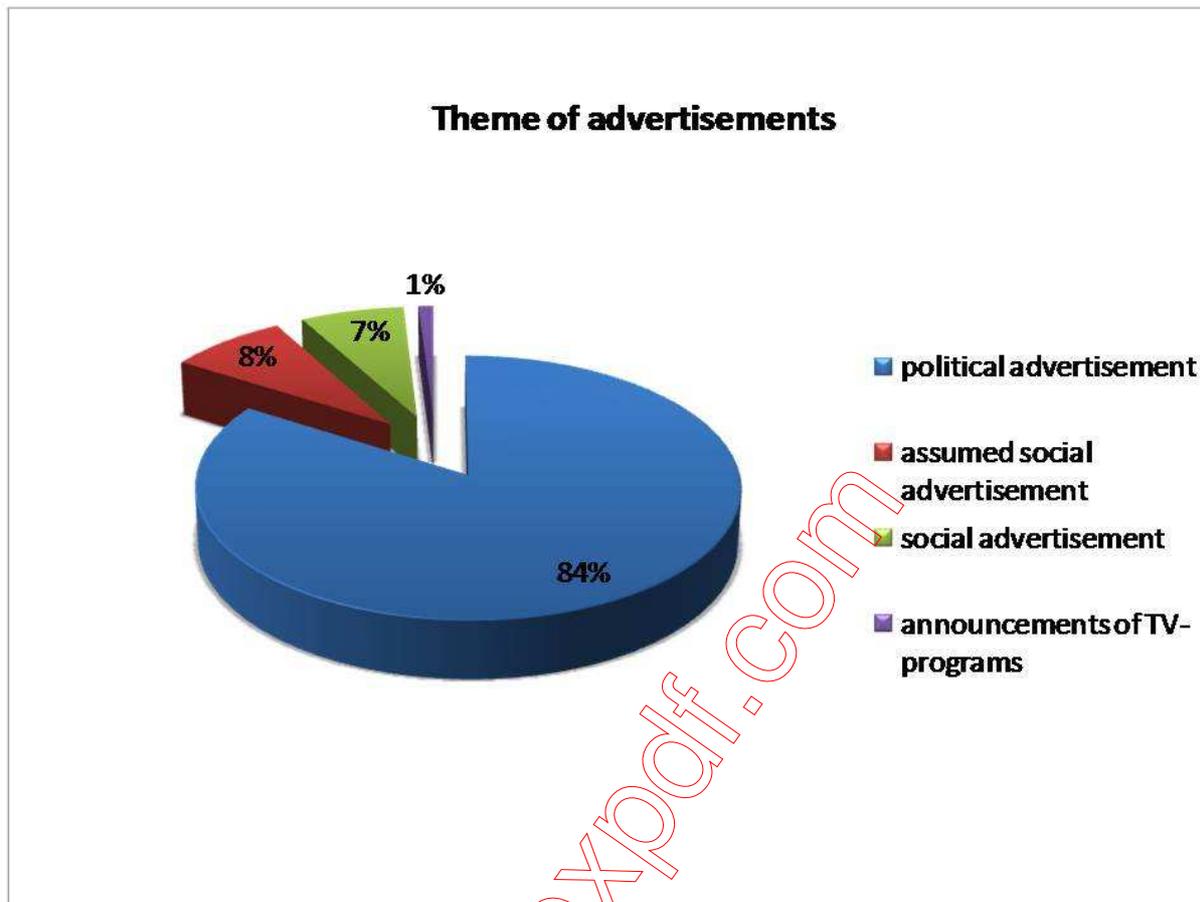
Other candidates are mostly covered in a positive tone since the subject of our monitoring is advertising. Nongovernmental organizations are the exception because NGOs mostly try to inform society in their video-clips instead of advertising themselves.

After the previous periodic report, almost nothing was changed in the diagram of type of candidate coverage. United National Movement and the President are still indirectly covered. Labor Party, CDM and Georgian Dream are partly indirectly and partly directly covered, as a result of the use of the party leader's public speeches in their ads.



From August 27 to September 2 Public Broadcaster did not air the video-clips “I Love Tbilisi”, “Anaklia Is Eager to Welcome You”, “I Love Racha” and “I Love Svaneti” which we categorized as advertisements of unknown status in our previous periodic report, where we broadly discussed the problems with regard to these advertisements as well.³

³ <http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/media%20monitoring%2013-26%20August.pdf>



As the diagram for the theme of advertisements shows, the largest part of relevant advertisements aired in prime-time of the GPB is taken up by political advertisements (84%). Social and presumably social advertisements occupy only 18%. Most time of prime-time advertising is dedicated to political parties.

Rustavi 2

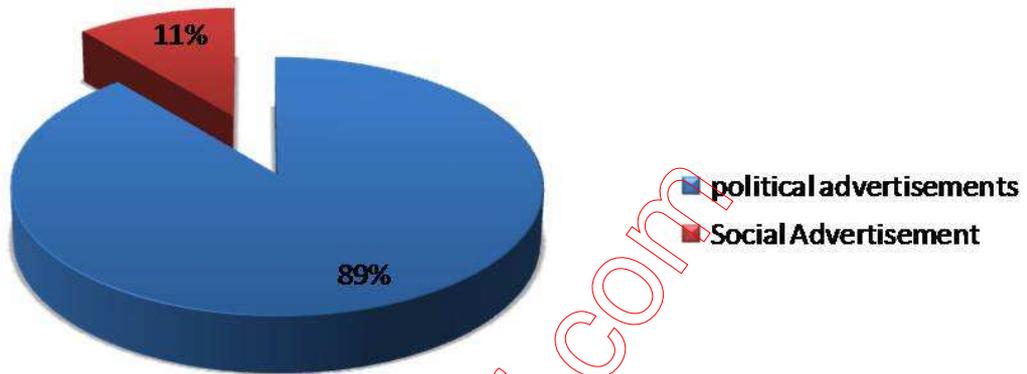
Media-Monitor – Salome Achba

The total length of advertisement intervals on the TV-Company Rustavi was 40 663 seconds (about 677 minutes) during this period of monitoring. Of this, total length of advertisements relevant to our monitoring was 86 777 seconds (about 144 minutes).

Political advertisements were most frequently aired by Rustavi 2 in this period of monitoring (both paid and free). Social ads took only 11% of the time.

Diagram 1. Advertisements according to themes

Theme of Advertisements



The advertisement against Georgian Dream was the most frequently aired during this period of media-monitoring. 28% of relevant advertising time was spent on it. (See in the diagram: Georgian Dream – “Going to the Past”). The text of this advertisement is the following: “In what direction is Bidzina Ivanishvili going to lead Georgia? He says the country shall resemble Soviet Georgia when life was more interesting, as he claims. Perhaps it is for that reason that his chief advisor on pensions is Otar Khupenia – head of the pension foundation during Shevardnadze’s time, when pensions were distributed once in several months (...) We do not want to return to the past.” Alongside the text we see photos of Georgian Dream’s members and images of 1990s Georgia – people standing in the bread lines and dark streets.

This advertisement was prepared by the nongovernmental organization Georgia Not For Sale which gave the add to the UNM for free.

During the report period we continued to observe the UNM’s advertisement which promises distribution of a 1000 Lari voucher to every family in Georgia.

During this period of media-monitoring we observed a new advertisement of the National Movement (see in the diagram: National Movement - “Employment”). The advertisement

states that despite positive changes over the past years, many people still live in hardship. Unemployment is still the number one problem of the country. In order to eradicate this problem an Employment Ministry was established which registers and employs every unemployed person.

UNM's advertisements were aired with the subtitles of both paid and free political advertisements.

Rustavi 2 aired advertisements of opposition parties (qualified candidates) during the monitoring period. All of them were free political advertisements.

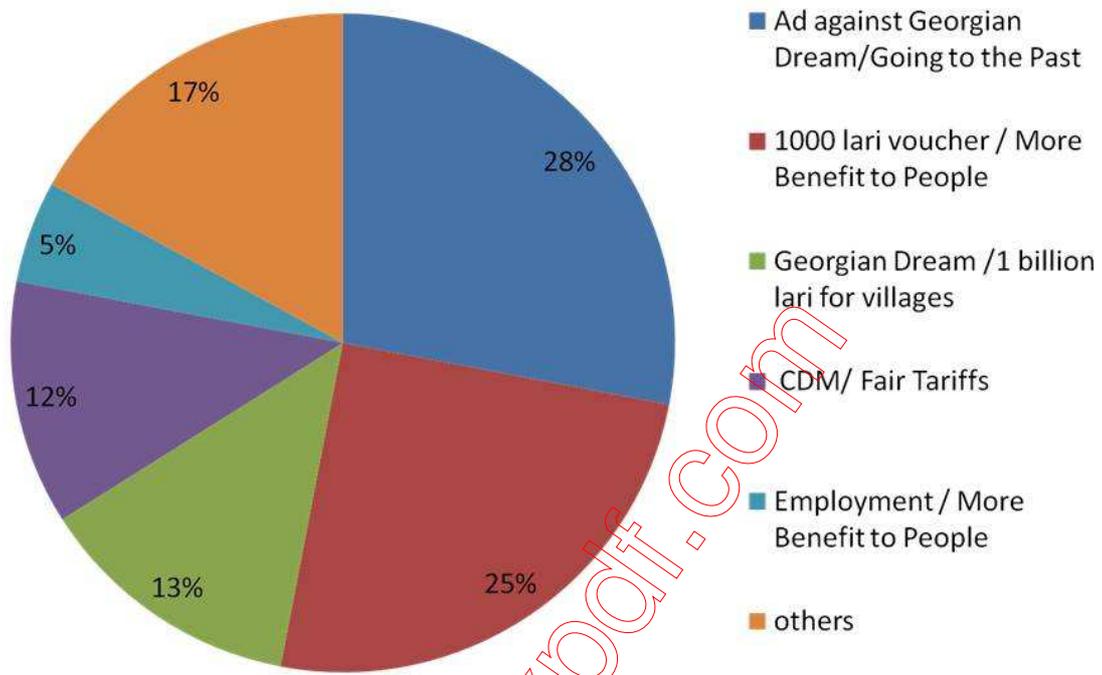
Georgian Dream's advertisement promises population development in agricultural areas if they are elected.

Christian-Democrats promise low communal tariffs in their advertisements if they come to office.

During this period of monitoring, we observed advertisements of one more qualified election candidate – Labor Party. Their advertisement is made up of extracts from Labor Party leader Shalva Natelashvili's TV-statements. In his statements, the leader speaks negatively about the leader of the National Movement and his main competitor Bidzina Ivanishvili. In the ad, a journalist asks him: "Why should the people elect you?" and Natelashvili replies: "Because there is no other choice."

WWW.oxford.com

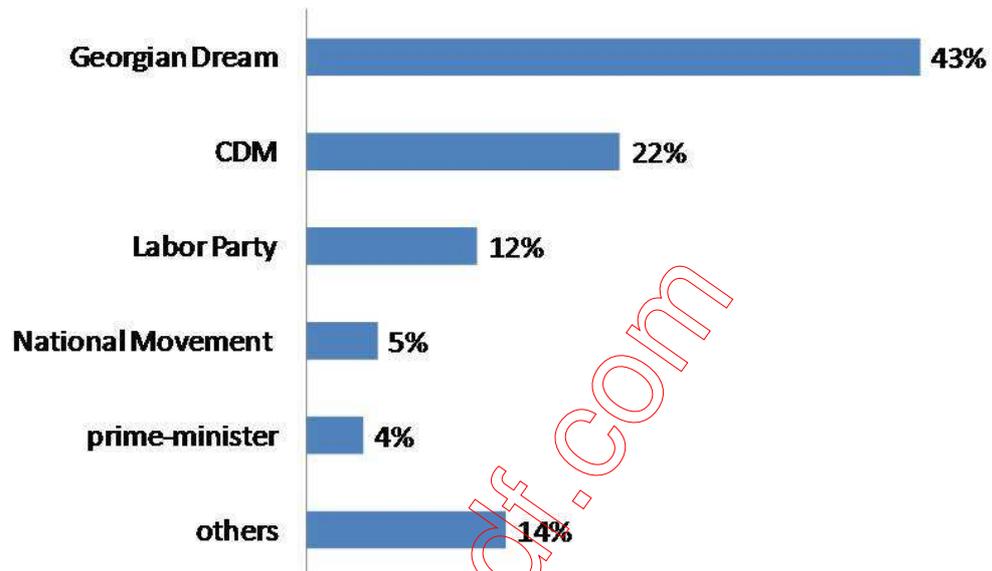
Most frequently aired advertisements



Media-monitoring revealed that only UNM has placed paid political advertisements in Rustavi 2.

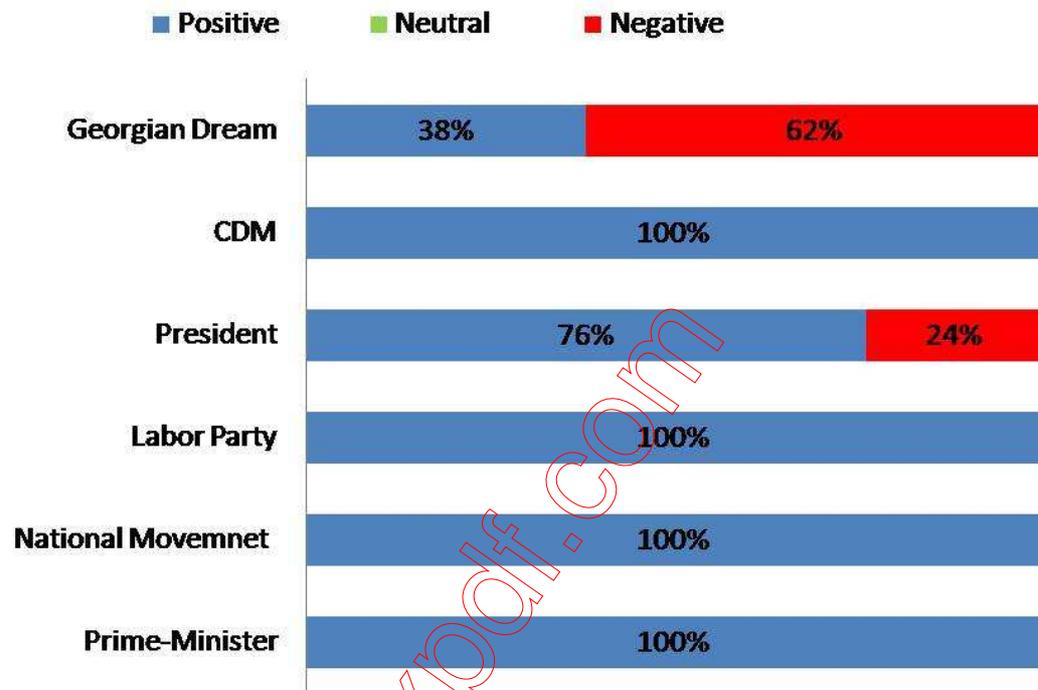
The following subjects were most frequently covered in the advertisements:

**most time was spent on the subjects
(total: 6380sec.)**



As for the tone of coverage, subjects were mostly covered positively but two subjects were covered negatively – they are the President and Georgian Dream. The President is negatively covered in the Labor Party’s free political advertisement where Shalva Natelashvili speaks negatively about Mikheil Saakashvili and claims that he will not keep any of his promises, etc. Georgian Dream was negatively covered in anti-advertisements which we have discussed above.

Tone of Subject Coverage



As for social advertisements, the total length of these advertisements made up 698 seconds in the broadcasting time.

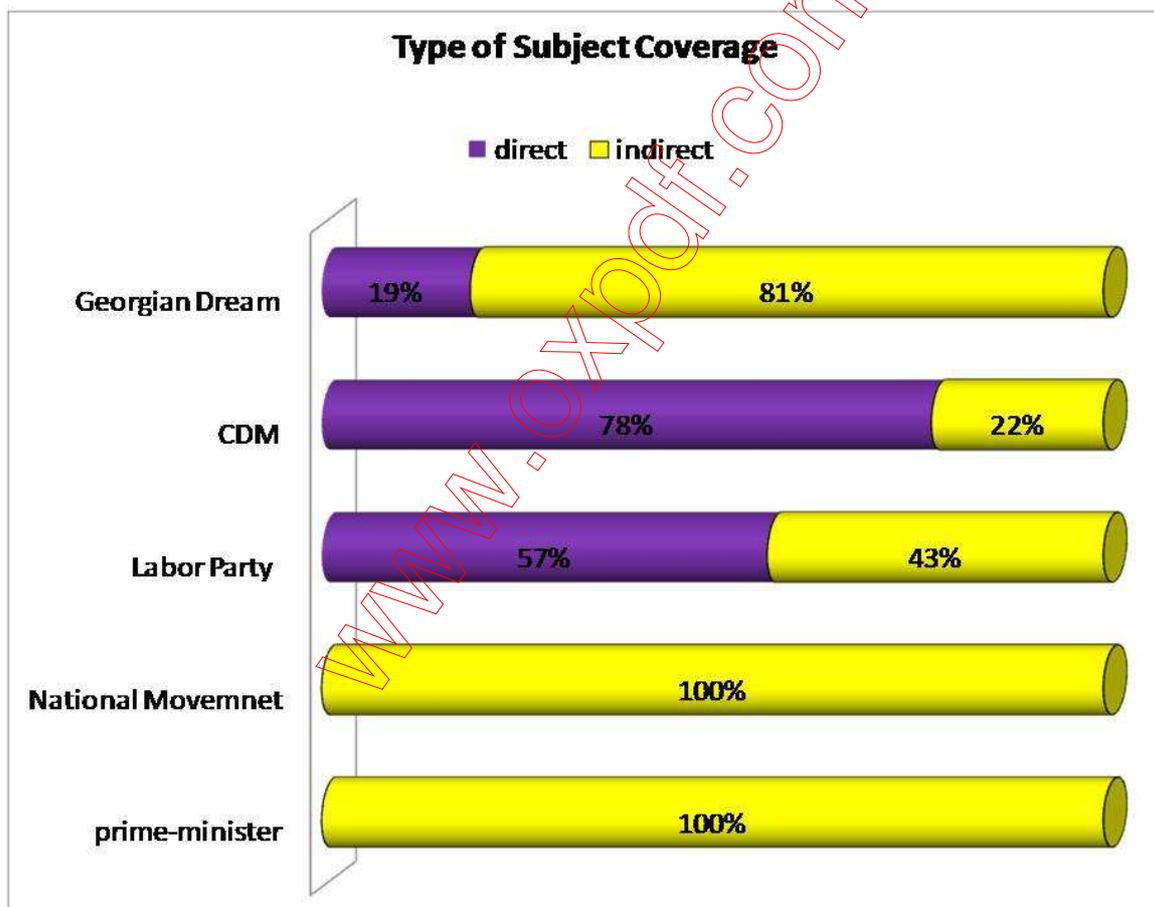
As we have discussed, TV-companies are authorized to grant social status to advertisements. We officially requested information from Rustavi 2 about which advertisements had social status in their broadcasting time but they have not replied to our letter. So, we observed those advertisements which contained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

Supposedly, two advertisements of CEC have the status of social ad; one of them advertises the CEC as the organization with qualified professionals and reviews its activities; the second one informs voters about elections. The advertisement about the launch of distribution of medical insurance policies by the Ministry of Healthcare is also a social ad. We categorized these advertisements as assumed social advertisements because they provide information necessary for society and conform to the criteria of social ad.

The status of one more advertisements about the Defense Ministry is also unidentified. The ad does not have subtitles indicating the status. The text of the ad is the following: “One of

the most significant components of the State 3T conception in the field of national defense is total care. Healthcare, education, discounts on transportation fees, privileges in banks, financial bonuses and employment. In 2013, various social benefits will be created for soldiers and their families. Defense Ministry will fund bachelor's courses for every person who passed the entrance exams of the institutes, and who could not obtain state grants nor pay the tuition fee. The state offers one-year military service to similar people after which the state will fund their education completely. We will not abandon people either in peacetime or in war.”

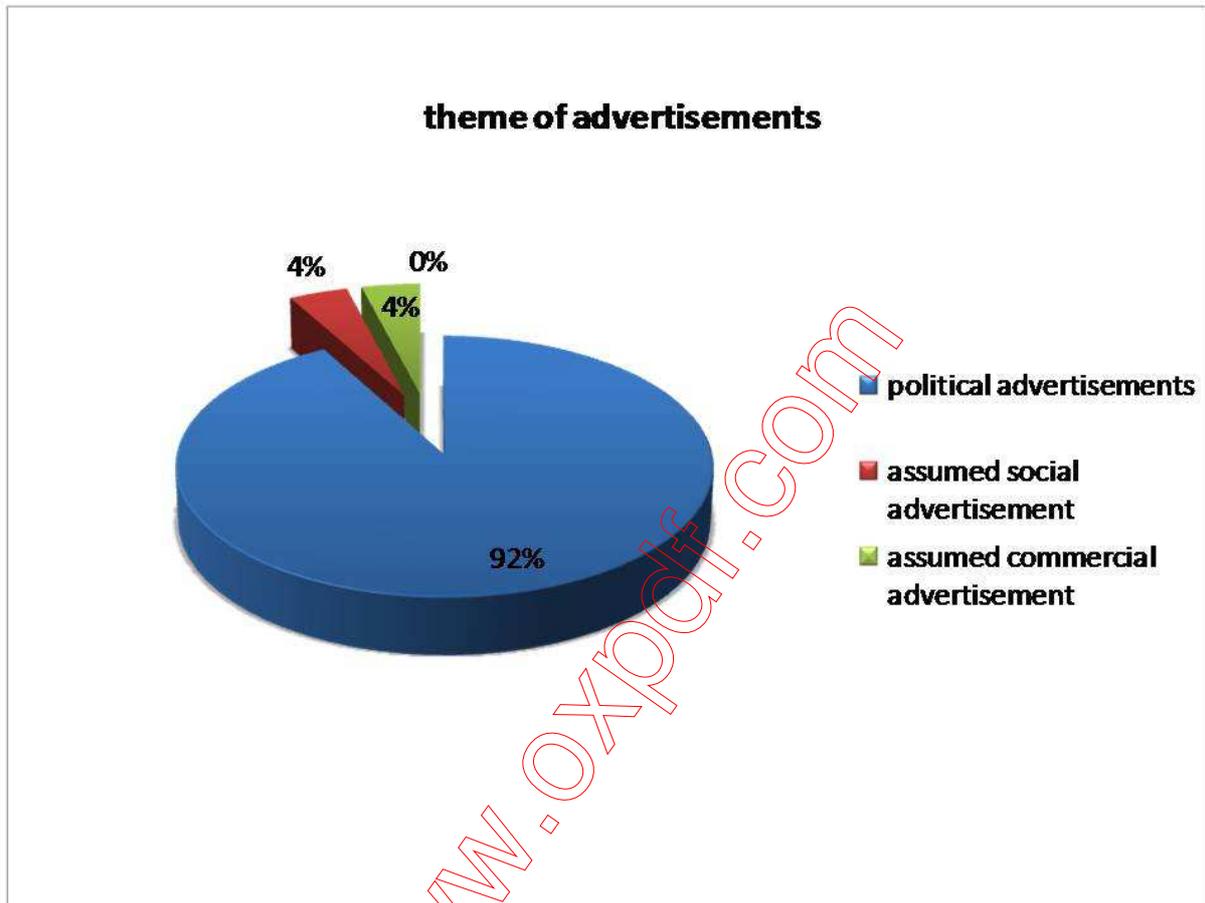
No signs of hidden advertisements were detected in TV-programs aired during the report period.



Imedi

Media-Monitor – Manana Vardiashvili

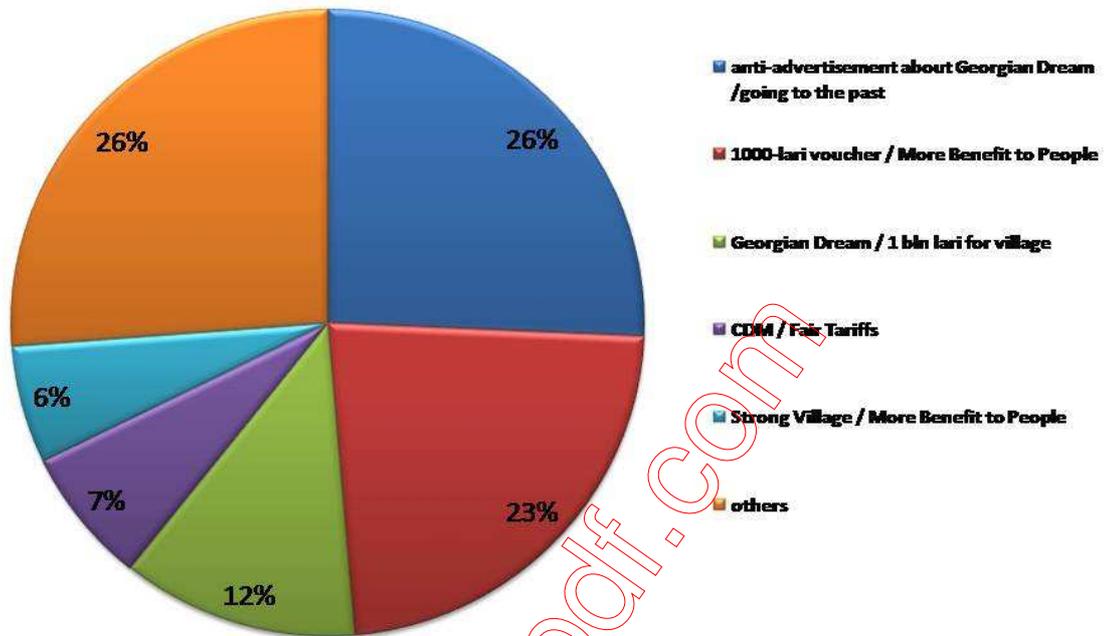
During the report period from August 27 to September 2, political advertisements took up 92% of advertisements relevant to our monitoring; presumed social and presumed commercial advertisements took up only 4 percent each.



Many new advertisements, including advertisements about the activities of the Defense Ministry and training courses for rangers, appeared on Imedi during the report period.

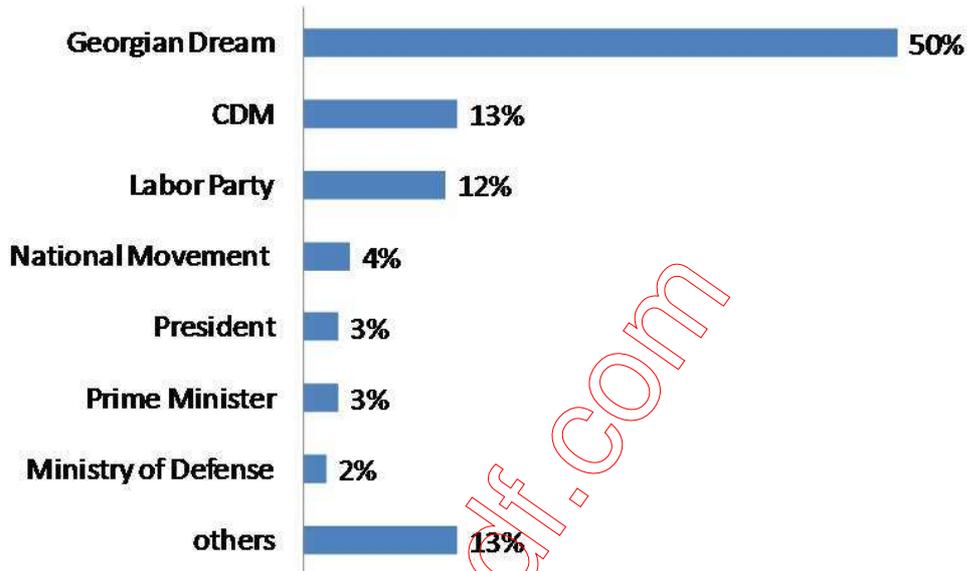
As for most frequently aired advertisements, the advertisement against Georgian Dream – “Going to the Past” ranked first place with 26%; National Movement is second on the list with its advertisement “1000 lari Voucher” which talks about the distribution of a 1 000 lari voucher among the population.

most frequently aired advertisements



www.oxpdf.com

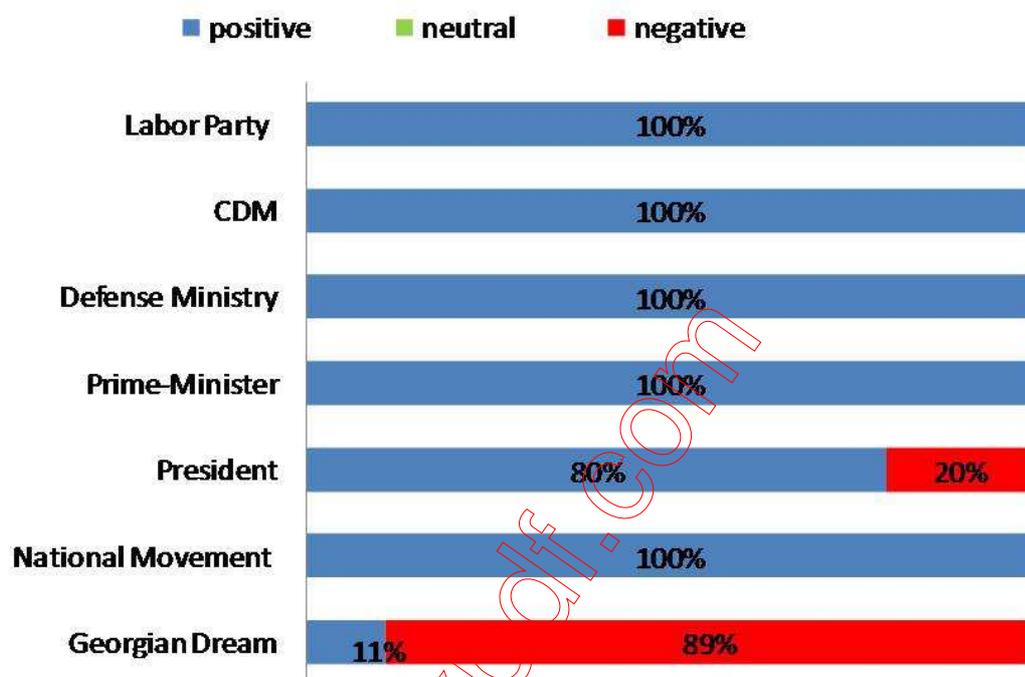
**Most time was spent on subjects
(total: 10 002 sec.)**



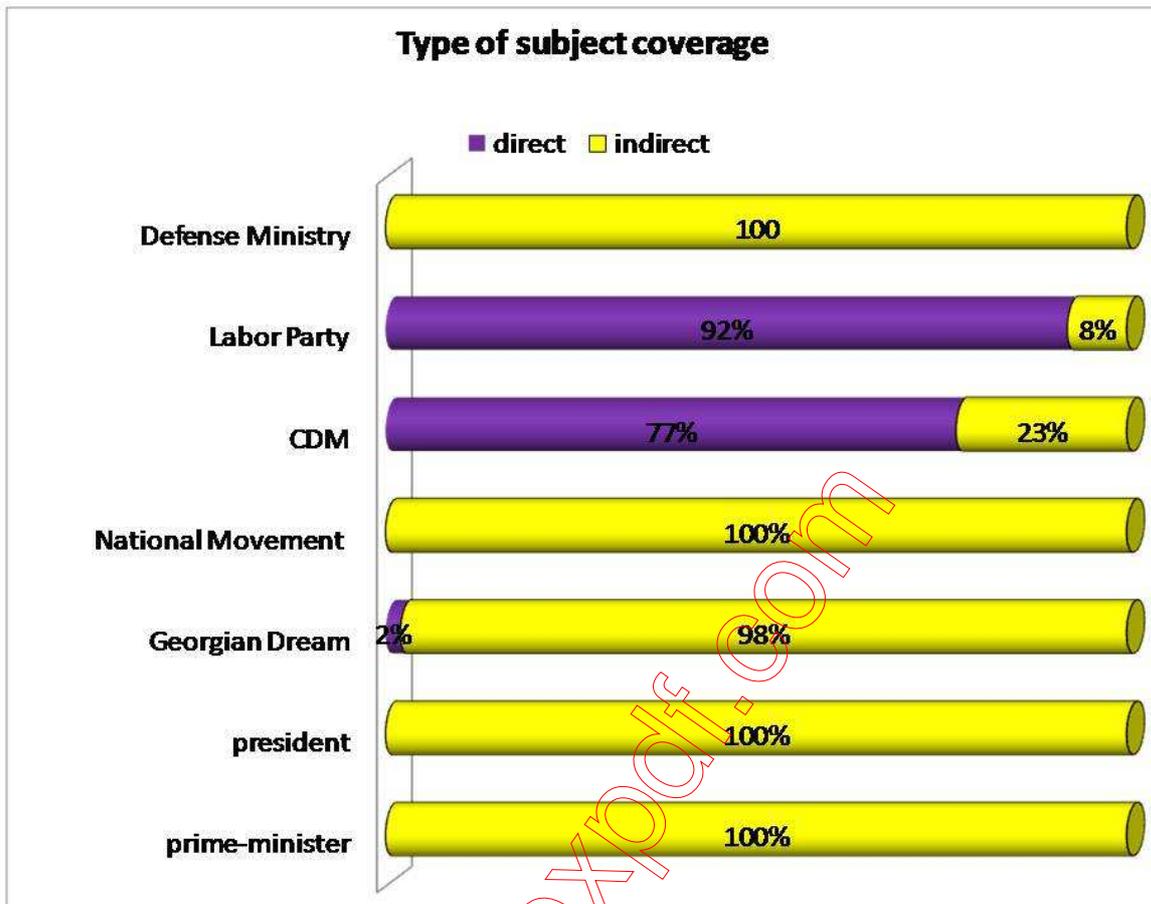
As for the tone of coverage, Georgian Dream is positively covered only in 11% of total time; and in the remaining 89% it is covered negatively, as a result of the advertisements against them. Another exception is the President, who is covered positively only in 80%. The following subjects have 100% positive coverage: Labor Party, CDM, Prime-Minister, Defense Ministry, and National Movement.

As for the type of coverage, the advertisements of CDM and Labor Party, as a rule, advertise only one person; so their leaders Giorgi Targamadze and Shalva Natelashvili are covered in a direct tone.

tone of subject coverage



www.oxford.com



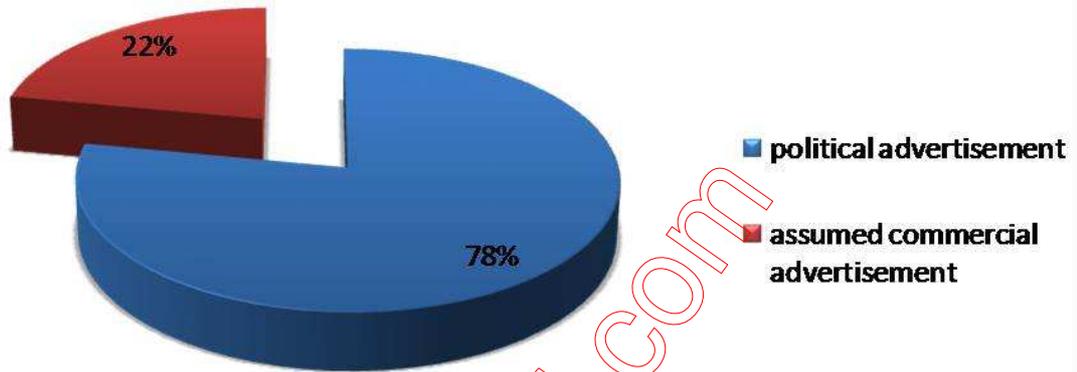
Kavkasia

Media-Monitor – Inga Varsimashvili

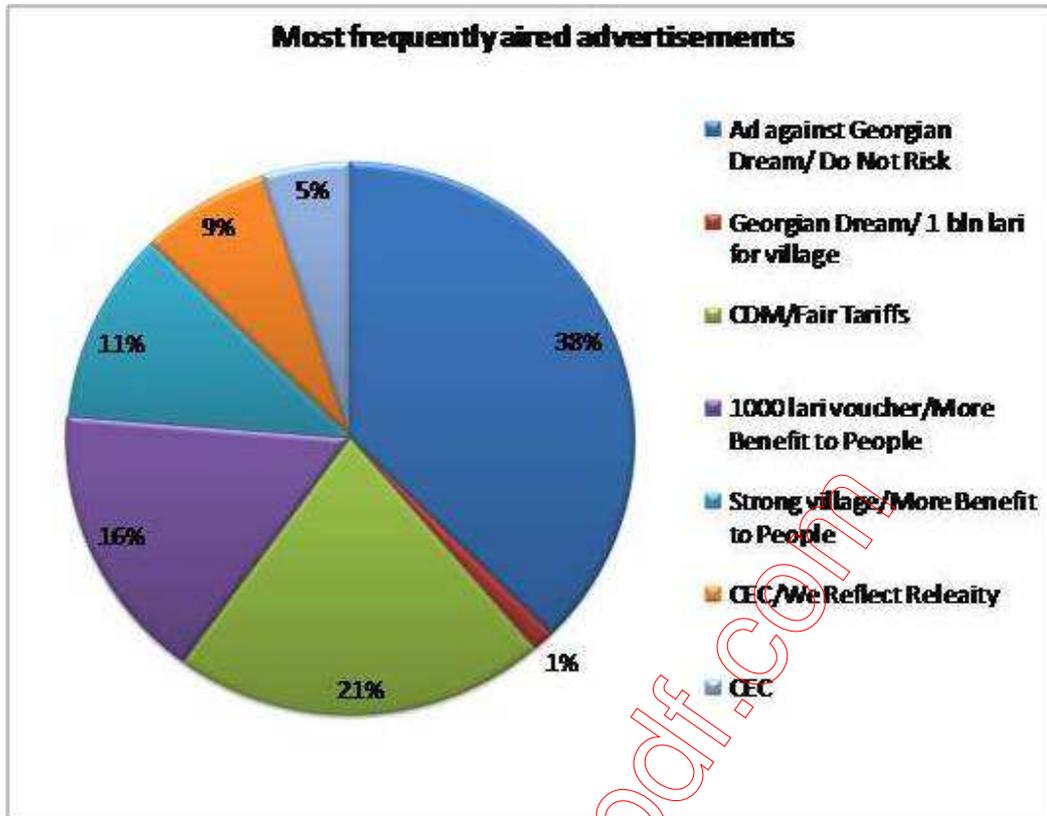
The total length of advertisement intervals in prime time on TV-company Kavkasia was 7 805 seconds (about 130 minutes) during this period of monitoring. Of this, 4 223 seconds (about 70 minutes) were dedicated to advertisements relevant to our monitoring.

Themes of Advertisements

theme of advertisement



The following qualified political parties placed their free election advertisements in the TV-company Kavkasia: United National Movement, Coalition Georgian Dream and Christian Democratic Movement. One more political party running for the elections, Labor Party of Georgia, still boycotts the TV-company and refuses to place its advertisements in its broadcasting time.



United National Movement has placed the following two advertisements in the TV-Company Kavkasia:

“Strong Village” –this advertisement states that United National Movement’s purpose is to assist every family to have a part in the progress of the country. UNM promises to install irrigation systems in the villages, to open mechanization centers throughout the country which will supply Georgian villages with tractors and peasants with knowledge.

“1000 lari voucher” – informs spectators that although the priority of the UNM is employment, each family has many problems so UNM promises to give 1 000 lari voucher to every family. They will be able to use it for 4 years and the family members can personally decide how to use it – to purchase medicines, to pay communal bills or to buy text-books for their children.

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, Prime Minister Ivane Merabishvili, the government of Georgia, ordinary voters and others are presented in this advertisement. The tone of the advertisement is very positive.

Election block Bidzina Ivanishvili – Georgian Dream promises its voters that it will launch a special program for the development of agriculture soon after the election victory which will mean development of regional economy, modernization of agriculture sector, stable progress of agro-industrial production, employment of village youth, increase of their revenues and living standards.

The candidate Bidzina Ivanishvili promises voters that he will ensure welfare of every village and every family.

Christian Democratic Movement placed only one free political advertisement during this period of monitoring.

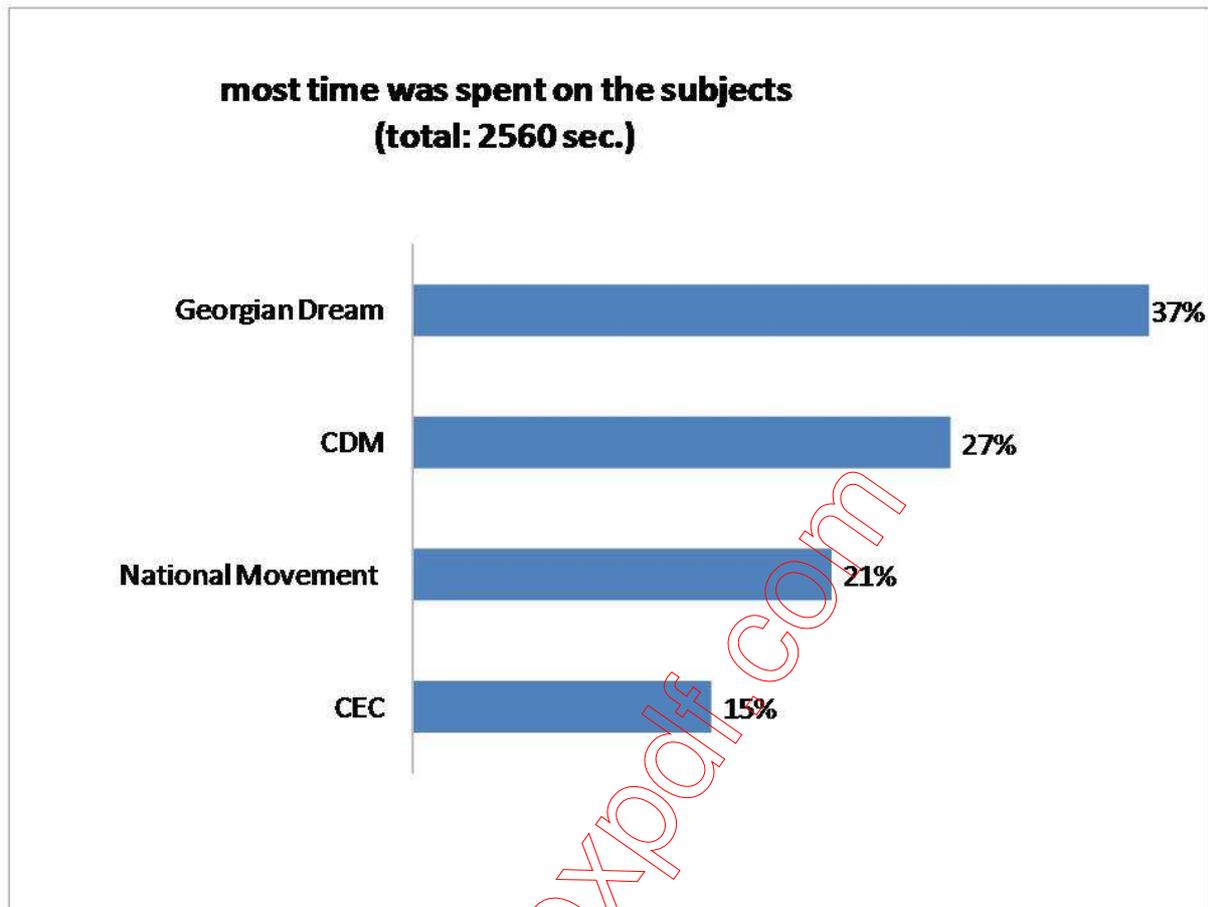
“Fair Tariffs to People” – CDM’s leader Giorgi Targamadze, the presenter of the advertisement, claims that the only right way to eradicate poverty is by fixing fair tariffs, which they will ensure after their election victory. So he calls upon every voter to vote for the CDM.

Central Election Commission placed two video-clips in the TV-Company Kavkasia: 1) Respect of the Law Breeds Trust. In this ad CEC warns everybody that involvement of any person subordinate or somehow related to governmental officials in the pre-election campaign is prohibited by the law and 2) Mutual Respect Breeds Trust – which is focused on honorable relations with rivals.

Video-clips of the nongovernmental organization [Georgia Not For Sale](#) attracted our attention from the very start of the pre-election advertising battle; the purpose of those video-clips is to create a negative public opinion of Bidzina Ivanishvili, Georgian Dream’s leader. The organization gave the video-rolls to the National Movement for free.

“Going to the past” – this is the title of the advertisement against Georgian Dream. “In what direction is Bidzina Ivanishvili going to lead Georgia?” the authors of the ad ask and quote Bidzina Ivanishvili’s public statement where he states – “We want an interesting life like we had during the Soviet Union.” This phrase is read aloud in the video-clip against a black and white background where people are standing in bread lines, fuel lines and are cooking food in the street, collecting fire-wood, etc.

Georgian Dream member, currently imprisoned Tamaz Tamazashvili, is negatively presented in the video-clip. The authors allege he was cooperating with criminals and Bidzina Ivanishvili promised to appoint him to a high position in the MIA. “Do not take a risk!” the authors of the ad call upon the Georgian population.

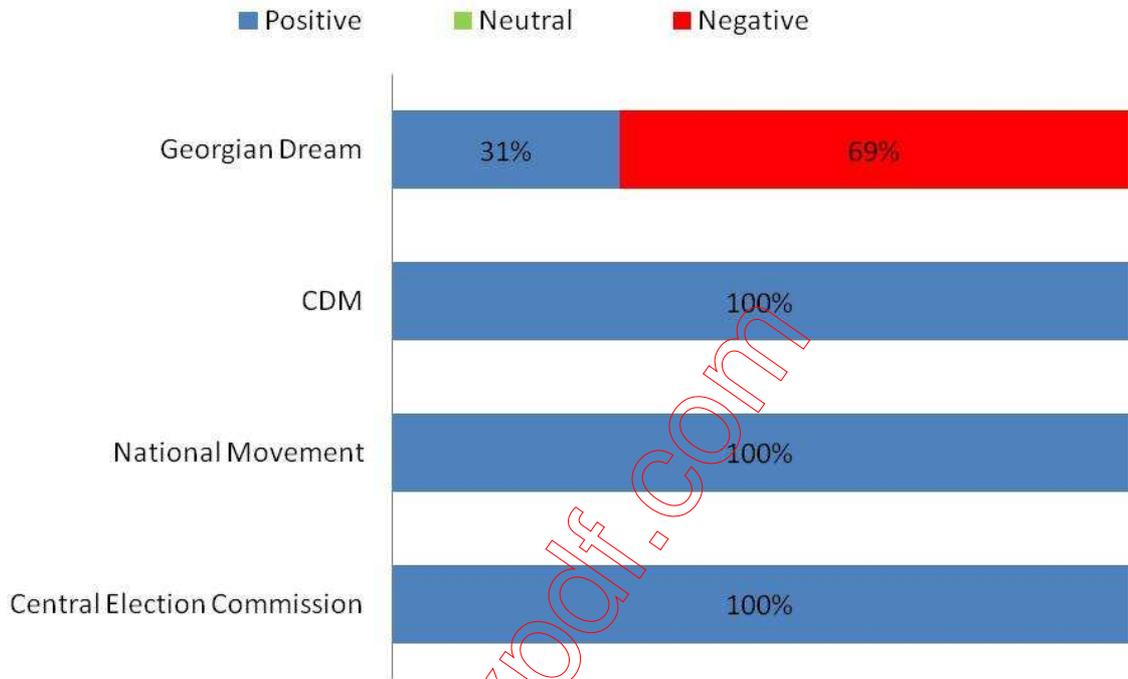


Several TV-programs about the election issue appeared in TV-company Kavkasia during the election period.

Choice 2012 – Saturday program which reviews election news of the previous week and **Your Choice** where representatives of the election candidates are invited to present the programs of their parties and to answer the questions of the voters gathered in the TV-studio.

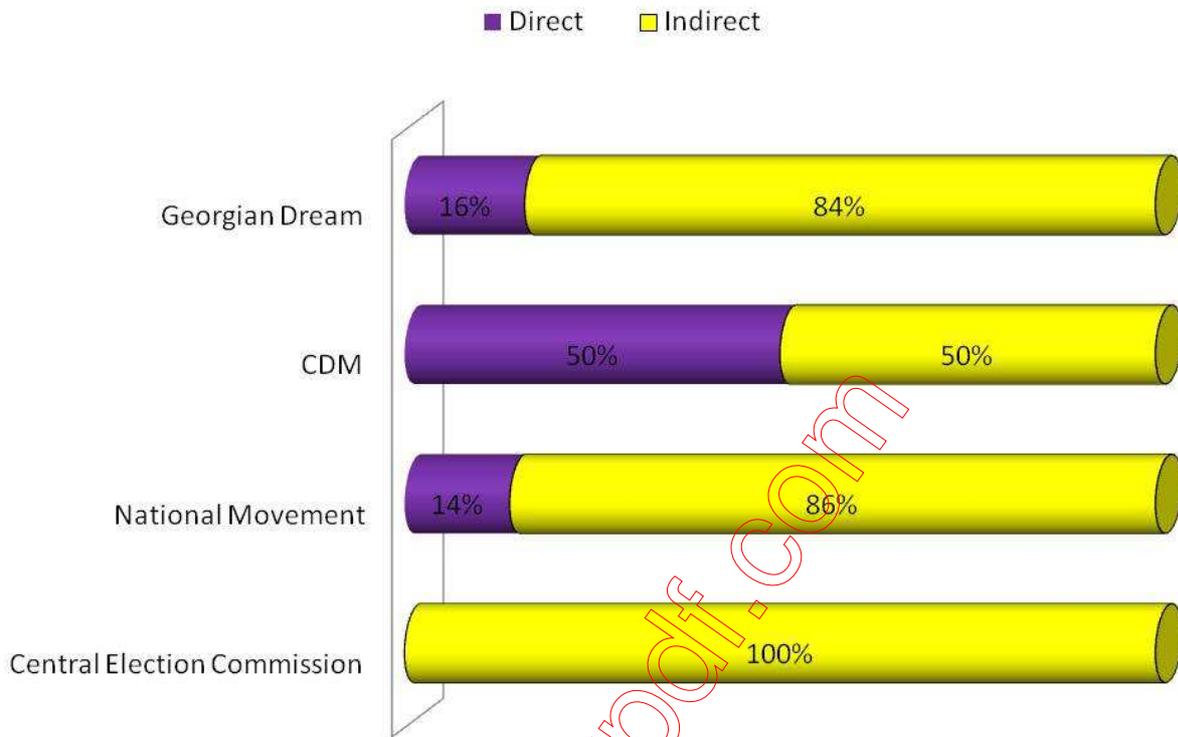
Signs of hidden advertisements were not detected in the TV-programs aired during the report period.

Tone of Subject Coverage



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Type of Subject Coverage

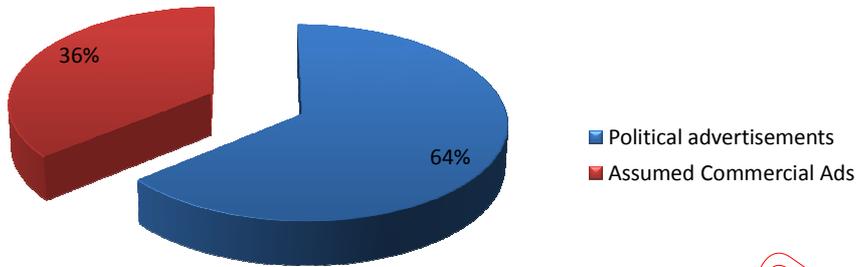


Maestro

Media-Monitor – Shorena Latatia

Political advertisements took 64% during the report period; assumed commercial advertisements – 36%.

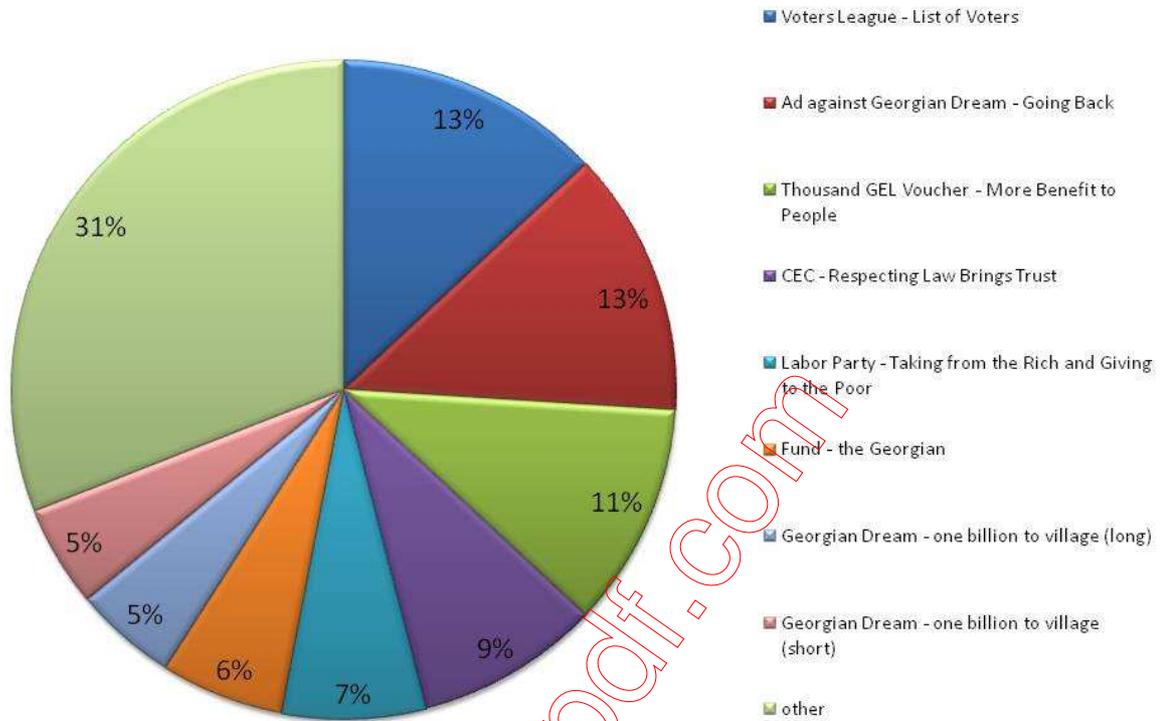
Theme of Advertisements



Most time was spent on the advertisements "1000 lari Voucher" (31%), advertisement of the League of Voters (13%) and advertisement against Georgian Dream (13%).

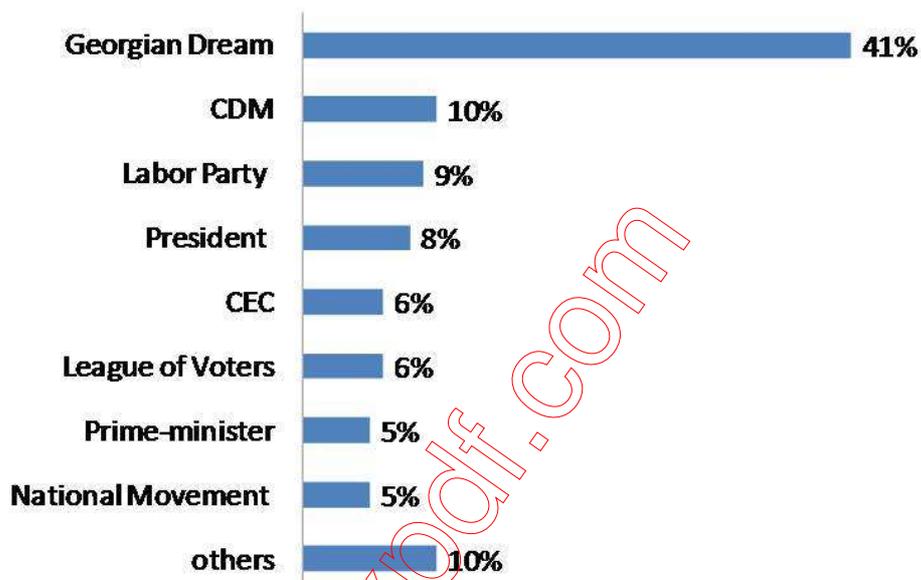
www.oxprof.com

Most Frequently Aired Advertisements

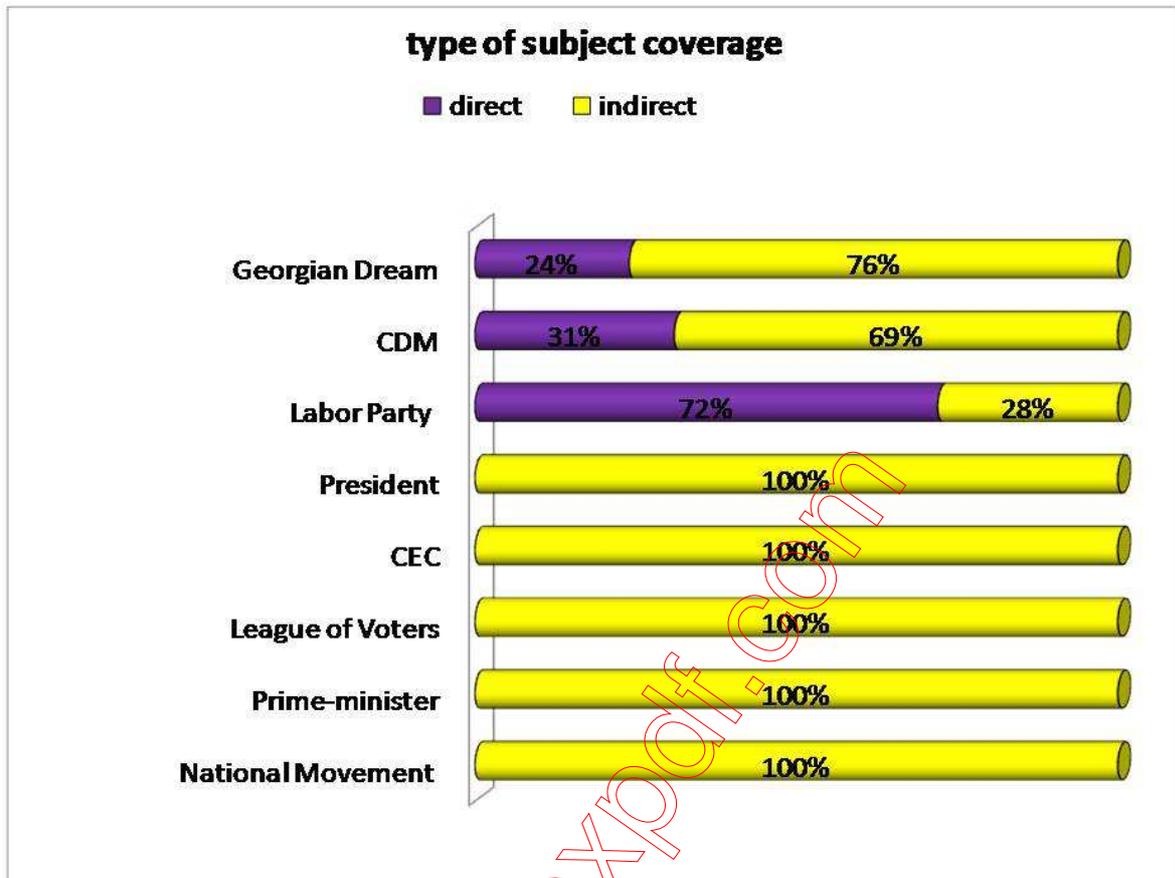


The longest time was spent on the candidates of Georgian Dream, CDM and Labor Party. The tone of coverage was 100% positive only in the case of the last two subjects; as for Georgian Dream it was covered positively 41% of the total time, negatively for 50% and neutrally for 9% of time.

**most time was spent on subjects
(total: 307 sec.)**

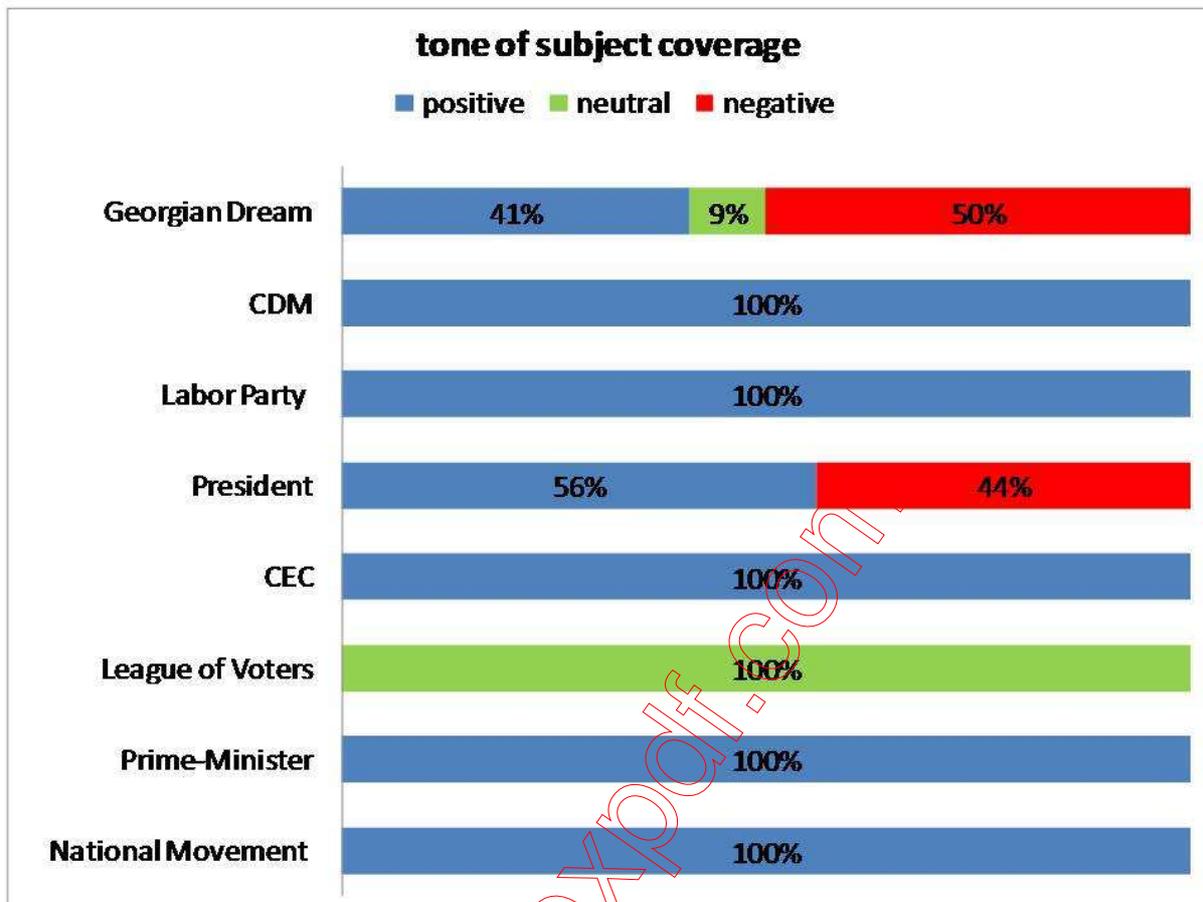


The following subjects are also covered in a 100% positive tone: CEC, Prime Minister, National Movement, and League of Voters. As for the President, he was covered positively for 56% and negatively for 44% of the advertising time.



The monitoring showed that Labor Party was directly presented for 72% of advertising time, and indirectly presented for 28% of time; CDM – 31% direct and 69% indirect; Georgian Dream – 24% direct and 76% indirect.

www.expof.com

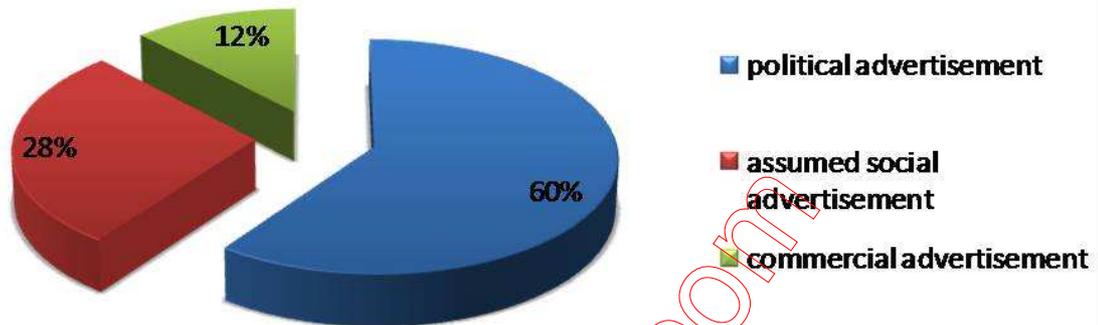


TV 9

Media-Monitor – Giorgi Janelidze

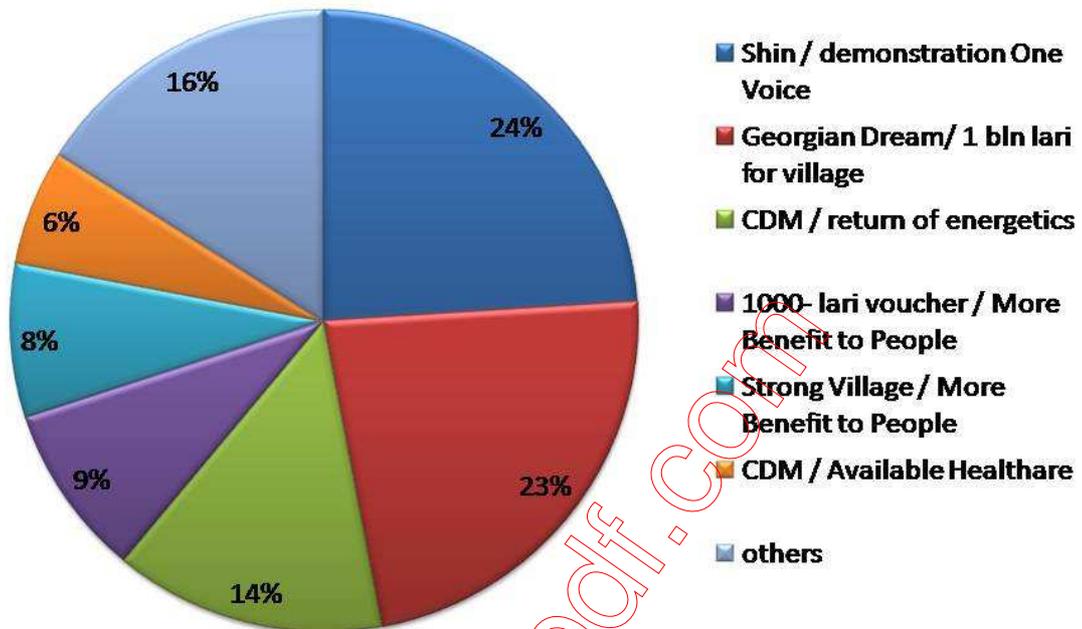
The total length of advertising intervals on TV-Company TV-9 was 22 873 seconds (about 381 minutes) during the report period.

theme of advertisements



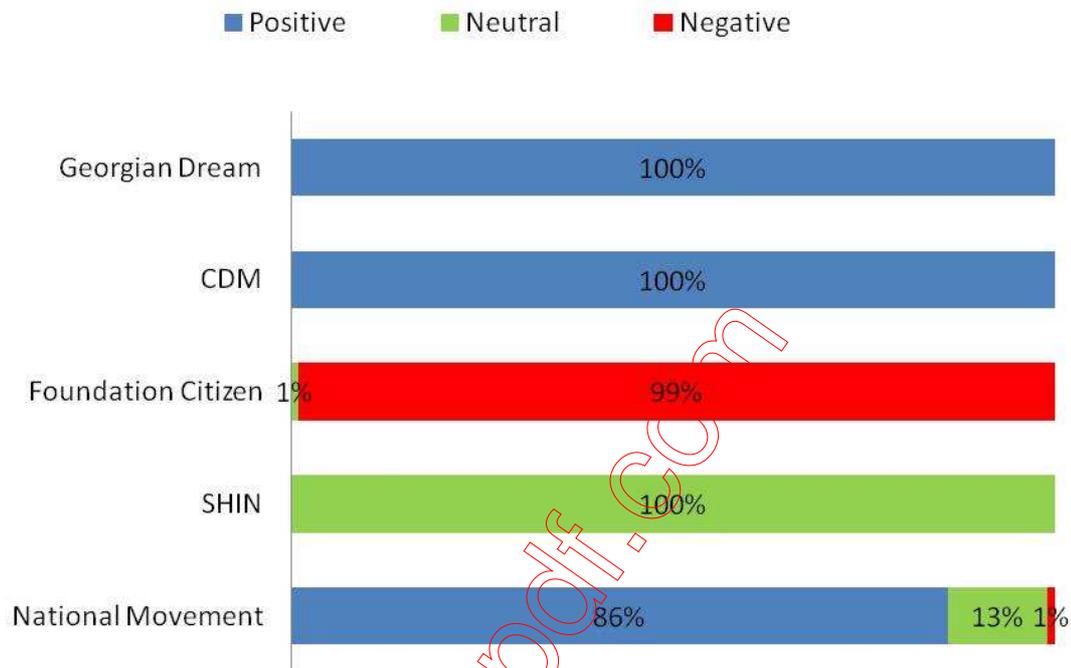
Georgian Dream's advertisement was most frequently aired by TV9 during the report period; the provisional name of the ad is: "Village Assistance Foundation with 1 000 000 000 GEL budget". The video-clips of the UNM were also frequently aired by TV 9 with the provisional titles: "1000 lari Voucher", "Ministry of Employment"; Christian-Democrats advertisements "Healthcare," "1.1 billion for Agriculture," etc.

most frequently aired advertisements



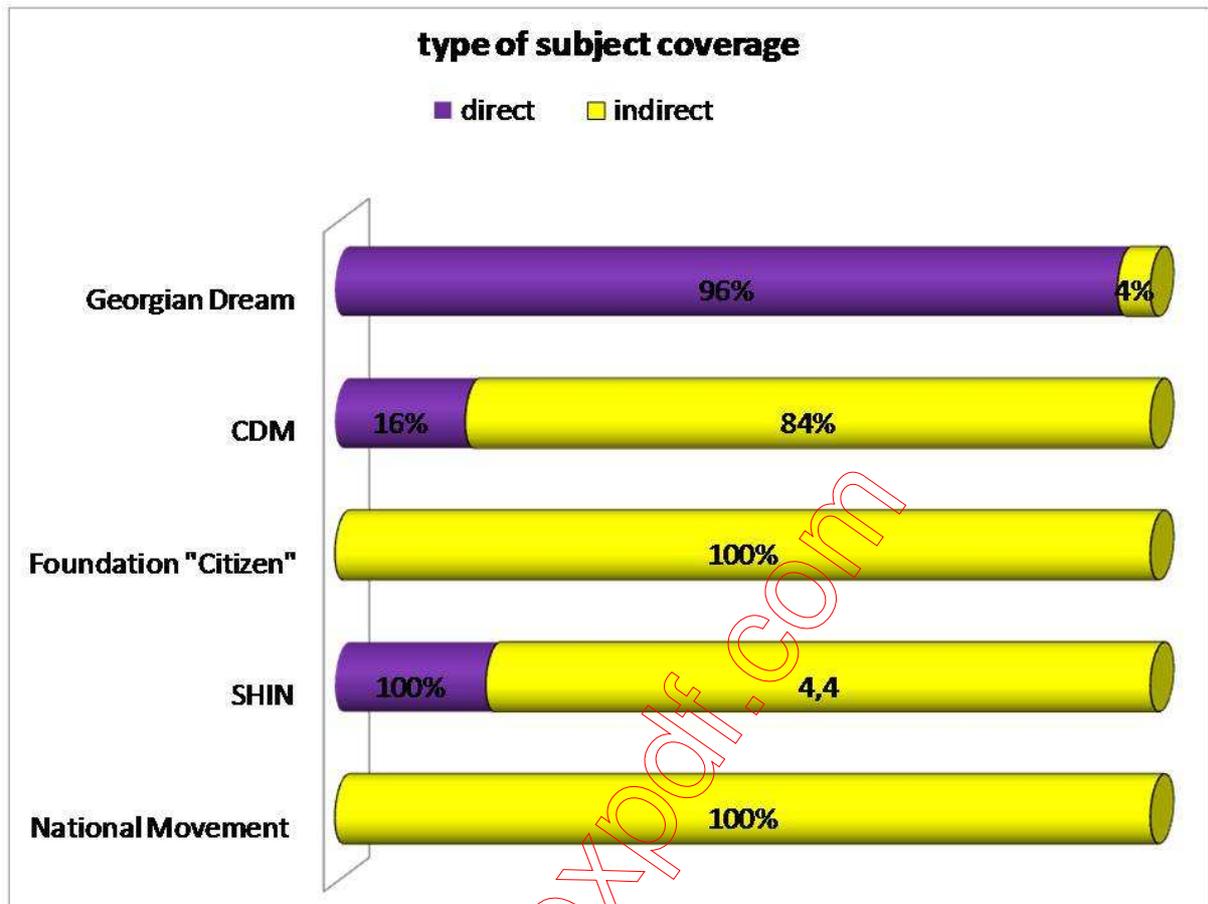
www.oxpof.com

Tone of Subject Coverage



During the report period the announcement of the pre-election assembly-concert of the music group Shini was frequently aired by the TV 9; in the ad the musicians advise voters, regardless of their political affiliations, to go to the polls and try to unify everybody with their assembly. The video-clip was not on the list of social advertisements provided by the TV-channel; so presumably it is a paid advertisement.

Video-clips of the opposition parties are followed by the UNM's advertisements in almost every advertisement interval except some rare occasions.



This report is made possible by the support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The contents are the sole responsibility of Human Rights Center and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, USAID or the United States Government