

Human Rights Center



Media Monitoring of Parliamentary Elections

Results from September 3 – September 9

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 September 3 to September 9. During the report period, Georgian Public Broadcaster aired even more political advertisements of the qualified opposition election subjects than during the previous period. Georgian Dream was covered in 69% negative tone on Rustavi 2 that is caused by the high number of released advertisements against Georgian Dream.

Labor Party's advertisements are not still aired by Kavkasia and TV 9 because the political party has boycotted these TV-channels and refused to place their ads in them.

Unlike other qualified election subjects, leaders and other representatives of the National Movement are less presented in their ads. Consequently, the coverage percentage of the UNM as an election subject is less 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.

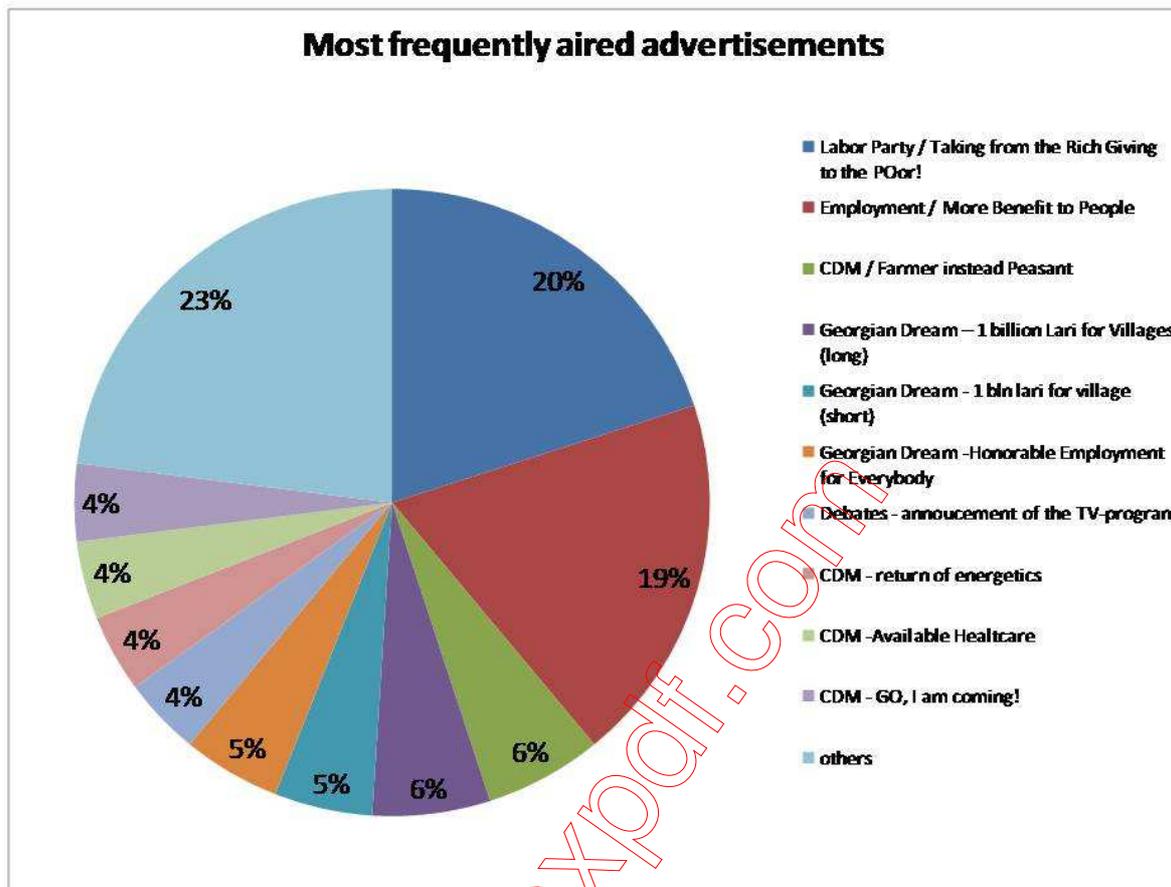
In the framework of qualitative research, media-monitors observe whether PR and information are demarcated in the ad, or whether it is a hidden advertisement and PR is provided as information. Besides that, monitors study whether social advertisements comply with the definition of social ad in the law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

Public Broadcaster

Media-monitor Aleko Tskitishvili

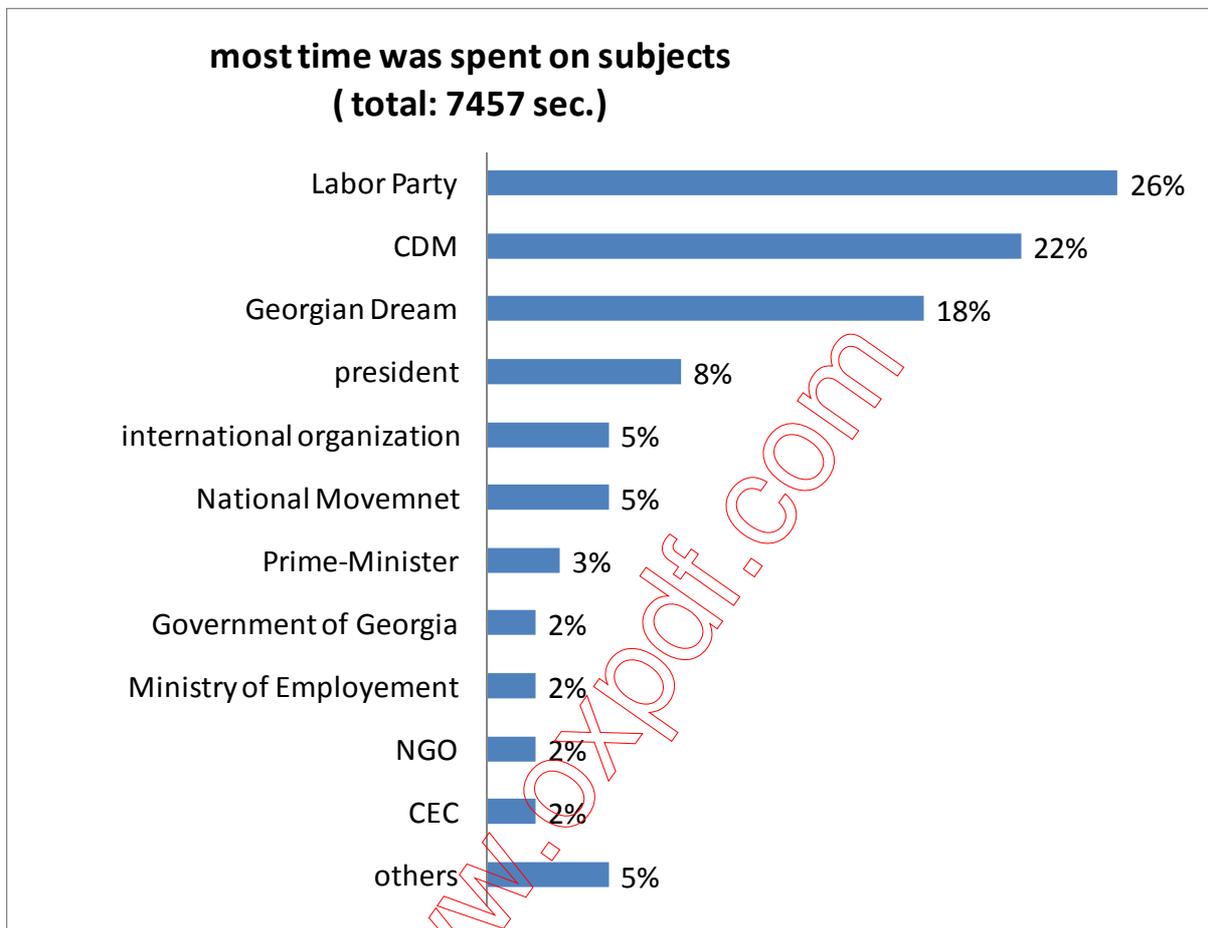
The total length of advertisement intervals in the prime-time of the GPB during this period of monitoring was 11 121 seconds. Among them, 9 448 seconds (about 158 minutes) were spent on the advertisements relevant to our media-monitoring where election subjects or governmental institutions are presented.

During the period of September 3-9, the GPB aired more political advertisements of the qualified opposition election subjects than during previous periods. Labor Party's advertisement was most frequently aired by the GPB (20%) that presents the president in a negative tone that finally caused increased percentage of negative coverage of the election subject – President on the GPB like previous reports. The diagram of the most frequently aired advertisements shows that the advertisement of the National Movement, which is about employment of citizens, occupied 19% of total amount of relevant advertisements. CDM placed four advertisements on the GPB and their total frequency made up 18%. In accordance to the same calculation Georgian Dream's three advertisements occupied 16% of most frequently aired relevant advertisements on the GPB.



The most time was spent on the election subjects – Labor Party (26%), CDM (22%) and Georgian Dream (18%). The new advertisement of the UNM about the employment presents several election subjects selected by media-monitoring methodology – President, Prime-Minister, government of Georgia, Ministry of Employment and UNM. 3 seconds are dedicated to each of the subjects. The ad starts with the presentation of impoverished people and subtitle- Problem of Unemployment. In parallel to it we hear a phrase – “A lot of families in Georgia still live in poverty. The unemployment problem is still urgent and many people still cannot find stable work. Now, it is high time to assist every family of our country to enjoy the progress of our country. The government of Georgia established a new Ministry of Employment which will register every unemployed person. They will enjoy the benefits like 1 000 Lari voucher for vocational training...” in parallel to this text we see President Mikheil Saakashvili and prime-minister Vano Merabishvili meeting with voters (each scene lasts 3 seconds). At the end of the video-clip we see the symbol of the UNM and its slogan (which is also seen in subtitle) National Movement – More Benefit to people. At the same time, subject – Prime-Minister, Ministry of Employment and Government of Georgia were not presented in other advertisements relevant to our monitoring. However, we observed president and UNM in some other ads too. Consequently, in the diagram of the most frequently aired subject President received 8%, UNM – 5%, Prime-minister – 3%, Ministry of Employment and Government of Georgia – 2-2%. Since the National Movement is the ruling party and it particularly underscores the achievements of

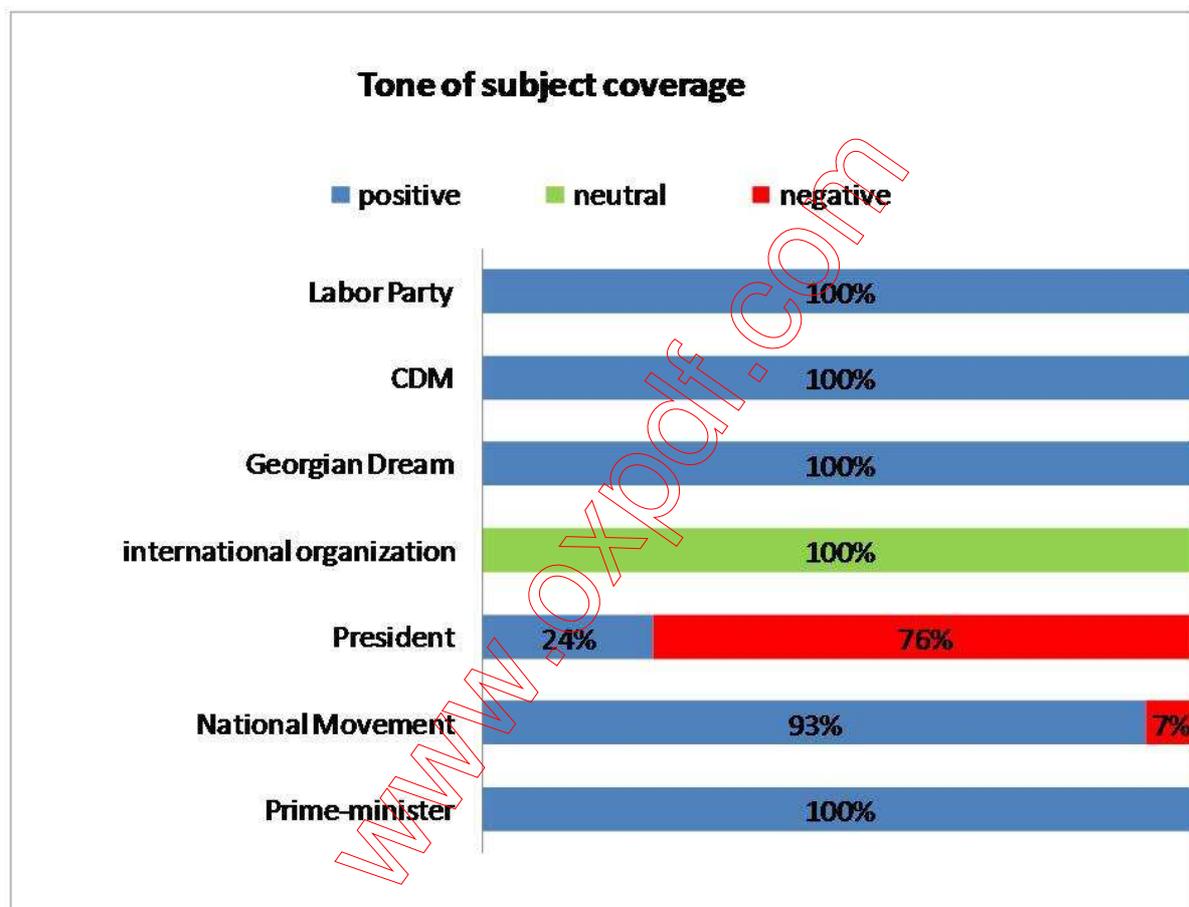
the government in its advertisements, it will be logical if we identify the total length of the time spent on these subjects with the UNM (20%). In this case, coverage of the qualified election subjects by GPB in the prime-time will be balanced (see diagram):



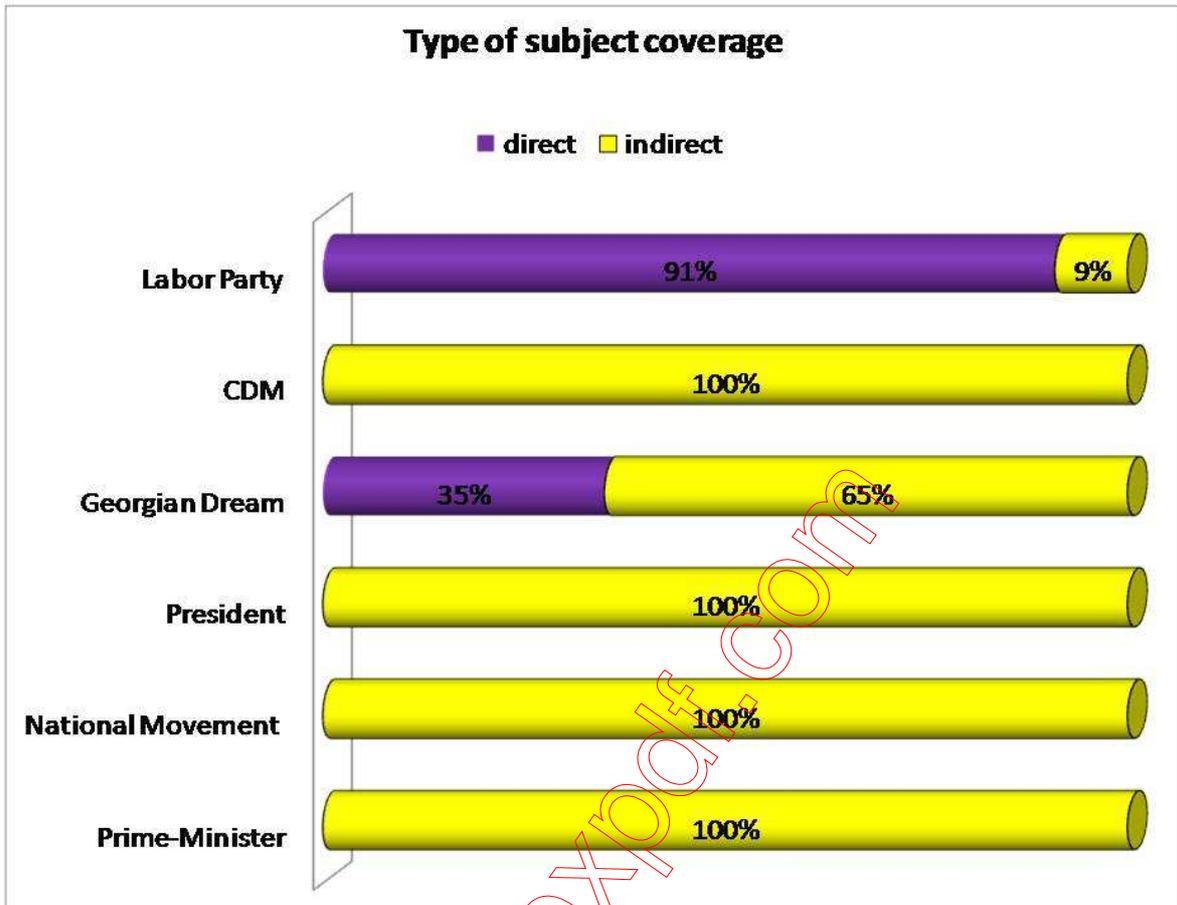
Throughout the entire media-monitoring we first inserted the subject – international organization (5%) in the diagram of subject coverage; in accordance to the monitoring methodology, it unifies all international organizations whose activities are observed in the advertisements aired by the GPB during prime-time. It was result of pre-election activities of the international donor organization USAID and IFES. In the frame of the projects funded by them, several social advertisements were aired in the prime-time of the GPB. Two advertisement rolls with the common slogan – We Need Women in Politics - attract our attention; these ads provide society with the information about gender equality and positive significance of women’s engagement in the politics. At the end of the ad we see logos and names of the aforementioned donor organizations. We observe logos of these organizations at the end several other social advertisements. During the period of September 3-9 advertisements of the new TV-program Debates, prepared for the pre-election campaign, was often observed in the advertisement intervals. In this advertisement we see the cover of the TV-program and hear a voice: “For your best choice. Before you make your choice at the ballot-box. Watch main

debates for your most important choice – on Sunday, at 20:00. Joint project of the USAID, IFES and GPB.” At the end of the TV-programs ad we see the logos of the aforementioned organizations.

The diagram of subject coverage tone shows that international organizations were covered in a neutral tone. Other subjects except National Movement and the President, were presented in positive tone. Partly negative coverage of the President and the UNM was caused by the advertisements of the Labor Party and CDM where the President and the ruling party are negatively covered. We largely discussed this issue in our previous report.

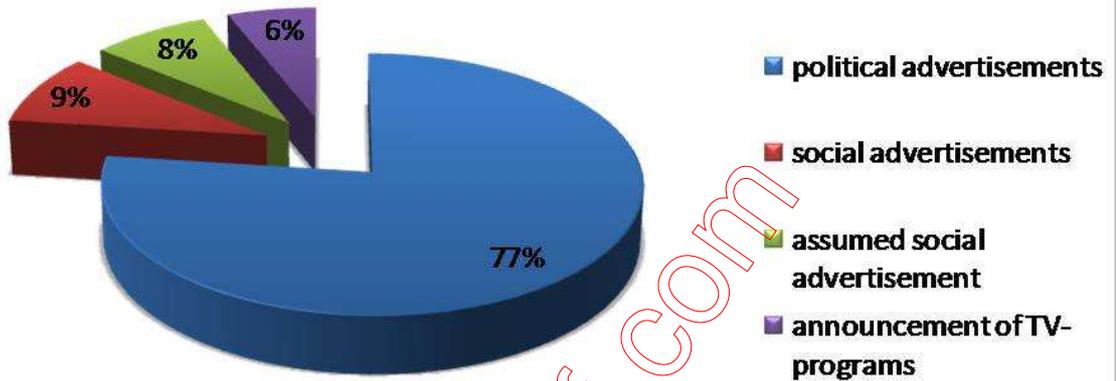


On September 3-9 subjects were covered mostly indirectly; among them was CDM which was partly directly covered during previous periods of media-monitoring. These changes are connected with the new political advertisements of the CDM on GPB where the public statement of Giorgi Targamadze, CDM’s leader, is not presented.



The diagram of the theme of advertisements show that portion of social and assumed social advertisements on the GPB is still small (17%) and political advertisements still occupy dominant place. The number of TV-programs relevant to our media-monitoring increased in this period of monitoring that is related with the announcements of the aforementioned TV-program Debates.

theme of advertisements

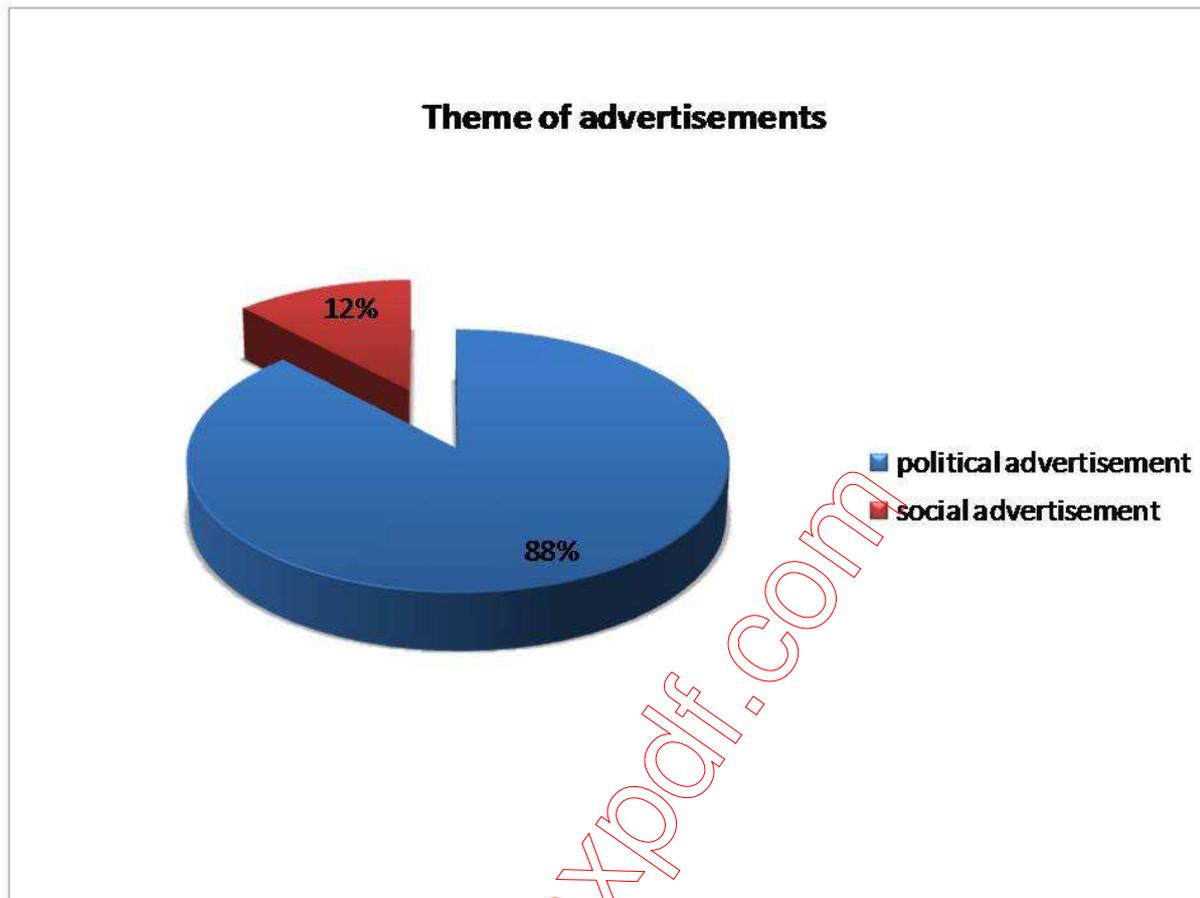


Rustavi 2

Media-Monitor Salome Achba

Total length of advertisement intervals on TV-Company Rustavi 2 during this period of monitoring was 39 023 seconds (about 650 minutes). Among them, 8 880 seconds (about 146 seconds) were spent on the advertisements relevant to our monitoring.

During this report period, political advertisements (both paid and free) were most frequently aired on Rustavi 2. Social ads occupied only 12% of total time.



During this period of monitoring, like in the previous one, the National Movement's advertisement about employment was most frequently aired (see diagram National Movement-Employment). The advertisement states that despite much recent progress in the country, many people still live in poverty. Unemployment still remains the urgent problem and the Ministry of Employment was established to resolve the problem; it will register and employ every jobless person.

We observed a new advertisement against Georgian Dream on Rustavi 2. The text is the following: A leader of the Georgian Dream Murman Dumbadze states that we must apologize to Aslan Abashidze. Georgian Dream nominated the former senior officials of Abashidze's government in Adjara as its majoritarian candidates." Then the names of those people are listed who are members of the Georgian Dream but in the past they were senior officials of [Aslan Abashidze's](#) authority or relatives of the senior officials. At the end of the ad we hear a text: "Again Aslan in Adjara? We cannot risk going to the past." This advertisement was prepared by nongovernmental organization Georgia Not for Sale which gave the ad to the National Movement for free.

During the report period, like in the previous one, we observed the advertisement of the National Movement which promises to distribute 1000 Lari voucher for every family in the frame of election program.

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

Advertisements of opposition political parties (qualified subjects) were also released by the Rustavi 2; all of them were free political ads.

We still observed the Georgian Dream's advertisement which promises Georgian population to develop agriculture if they come to authority.

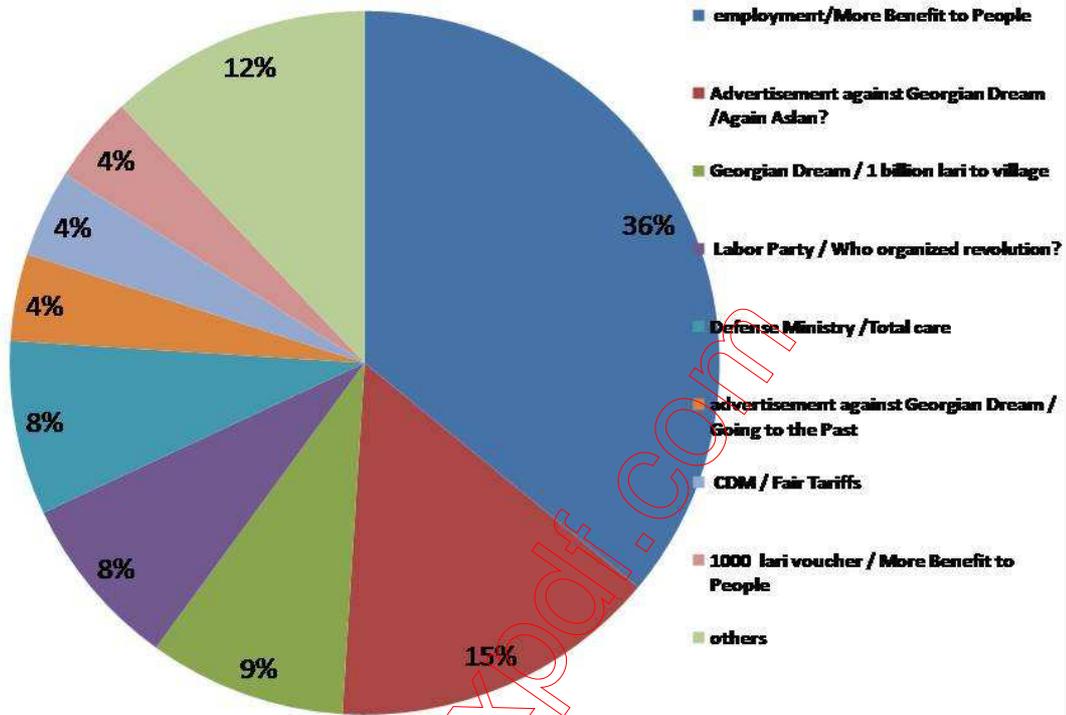
We observed free political advertisements of two qualified subjects CDM and Labor Party. The Labor Party's ad was aired 21 times. It is made of extracts from public statements of the party's leader Shalva Natelashvili where he negatively speaks about the National Movement's leader and his main rival Bidzina Ivanishvili. A journalist is asking Natelashvili in the ad – Why should people vote for you? and Natelashvili answers: Because there is no other choice.

One of the CDM's advertisement promises people free healthcare and the second – fair tariffs. One more advertisement of the CDM announces concerts of several music groups and singers in the regions which will be organized in support of the Christian Democrats.

During this period of monitoring, only United National Movement has placed paid political advertisement in this period of monitoring.

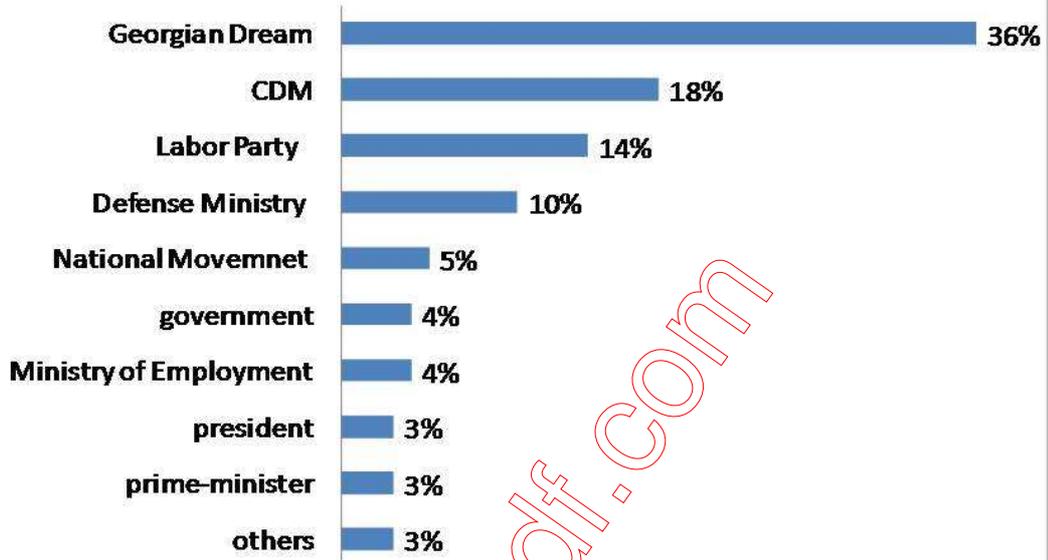
www.oxpor.com

Most frequently aired advertisements



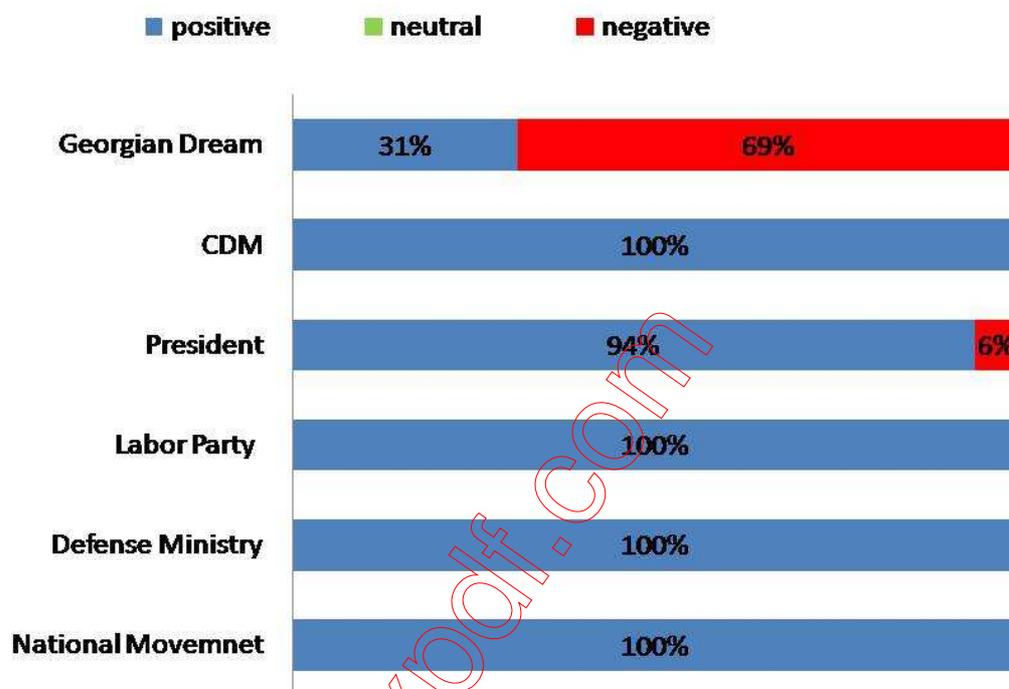
The following subjects were most frequently covered during this period of monitoring.

**Most time was spent on the subjects
(total: 6949 sec.)**



As for tone of coverage, subjects are mostly covered in positive tone though two of them were presented in negative tone – they are the President and Georgian Dream. President was negatively covered in the Labor Party’s advertisements where party’s leader Shalva Natelashvili negatively speaks about Mikheil Saakashvili and alleges that he will not keep any of his promises, etc. Georgian Dream is negatively covered in the advertisements vs Georgian Dream which were discussed above in details.

Tone of subject coverage



As for social advertisements, total length of assumed social advertisements was 1 029 seconds on Rustavi 2.

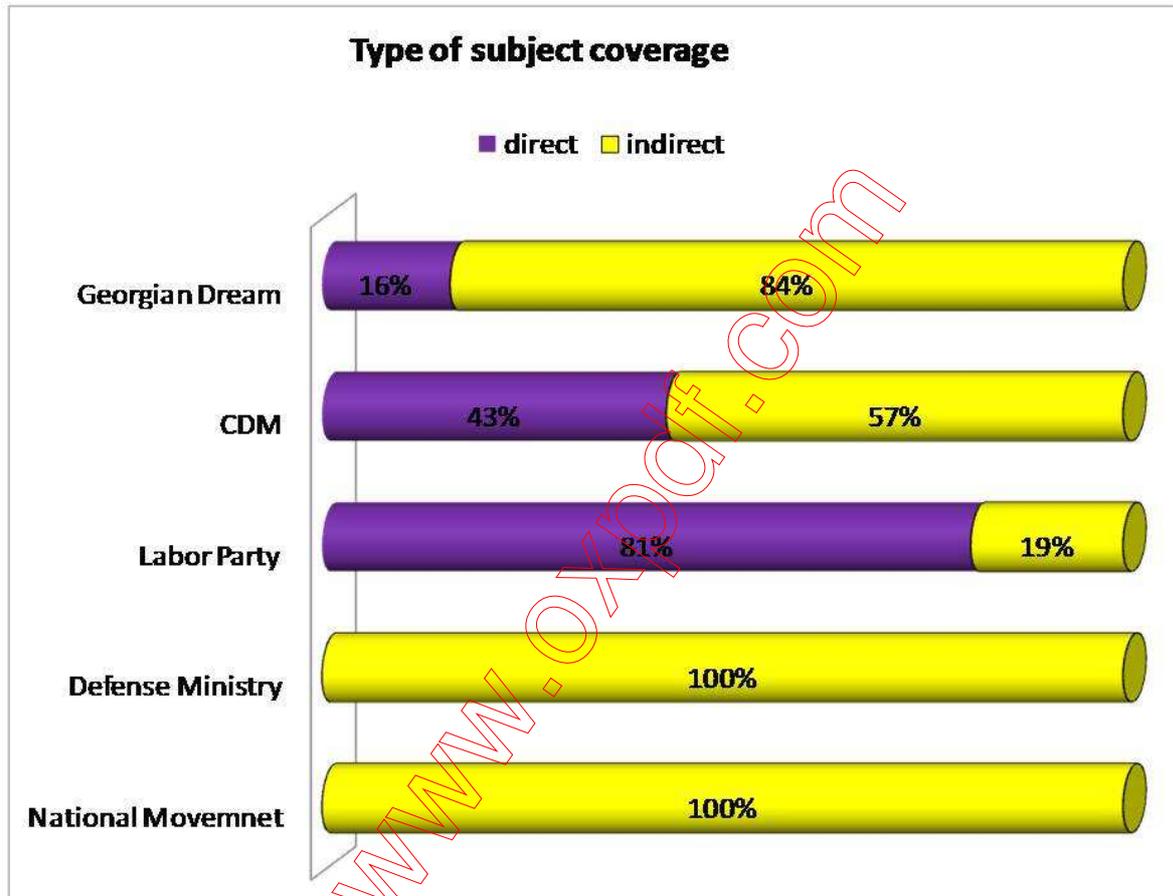
As we have discussed, TV-companies are authorized to grant social status to advertisements. We officially requested information from Rustavi 2 about which advertisements had social status in their broadcasting time but they have not replied to our letter. So, we observed those advertisements which contained 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 peace-time or in war.”

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



Imedi

Media-Monitor – Manana Vardiashvili

Total length of advertisement intervals in the prime time of TV-Company Imedi from September 3 to September 9 was 9 344 seconds (about 155 minutes).

theme of advertisements



As usually, political advertisements in the advertisement intervals were most frequently aired by Imedi-TV.

In this report period we observed that political parties, who were actively presented by TV-channel, changed their old advertisements after they received election numbers. Many of them added election numbers to them or visually amended them; for example, renewed version of the advertisement "1 billion Lari for the village" is aired.

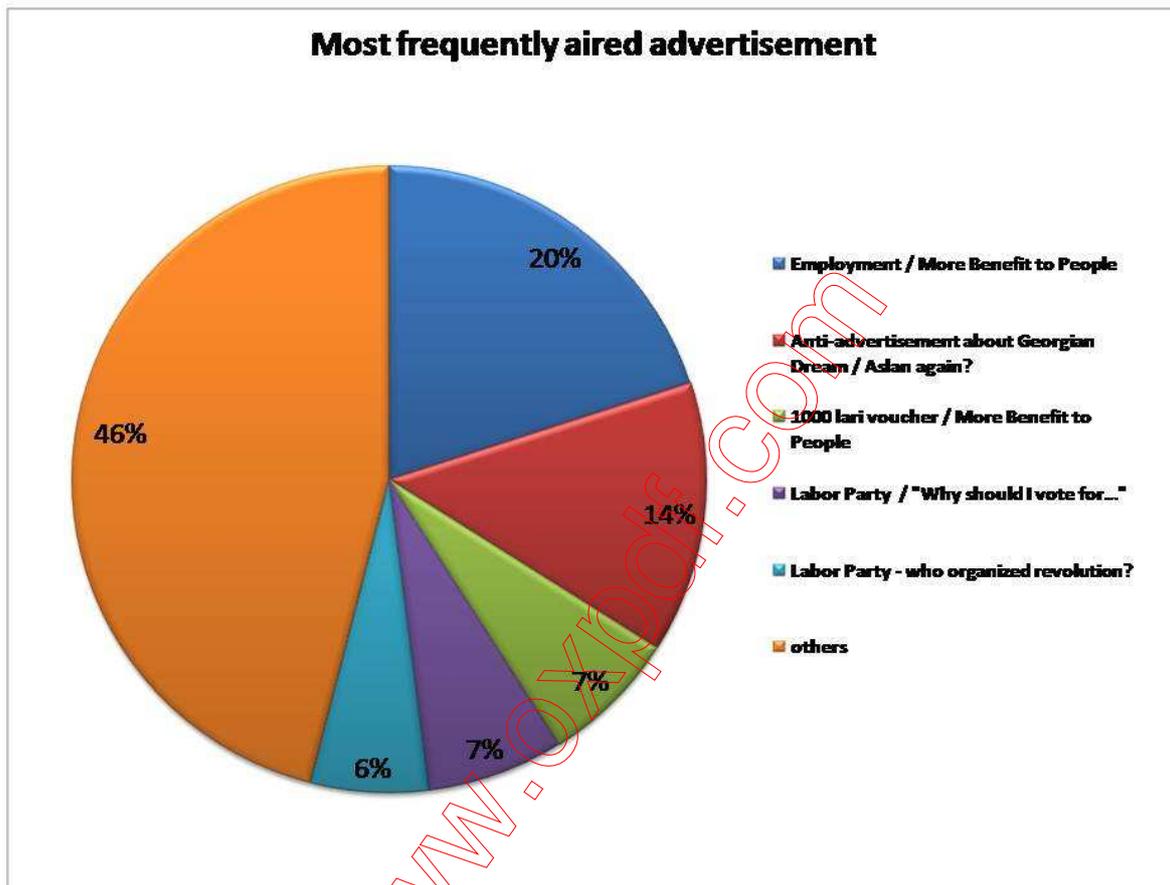
Following new advertisements appeared in the broadcasting time of TV-Imedi.

"CDM – Go, I am coming" is announcement of concerts organized in support of the Christian-Democrat Movement.

Georgian Dream's anti-advertisement – Again Aslan in Adjara which states that Bidzina Ivanishvili nominated former senior officials of Aslan Abashidze's government as his majoritarian candidate.

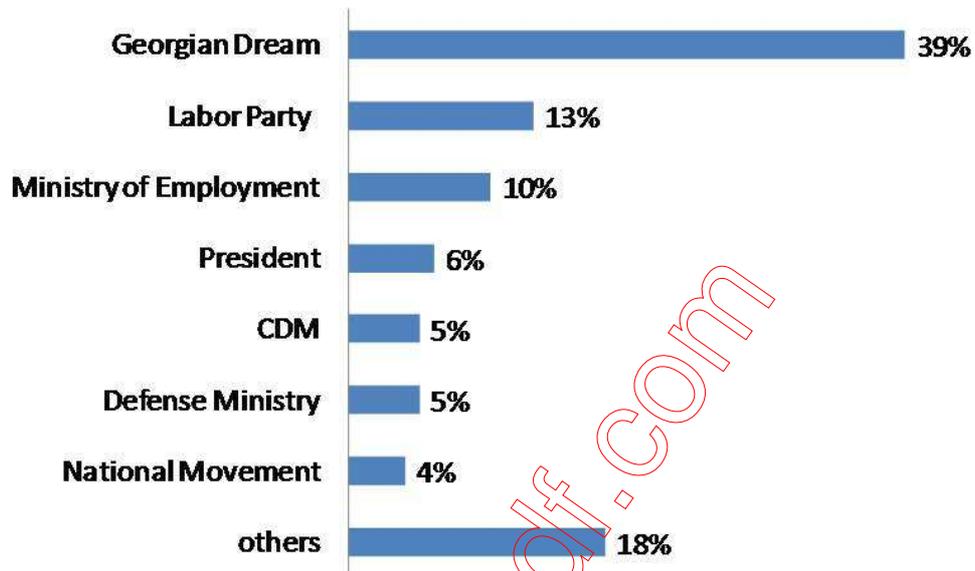
There is another new advertisement of the Georgian Dream talking about allocating one billion GEL for development of agriculture.

Advertisement about Ministry of Employment is leader among most frequently aired advertisements. Advertisement against Georgian Dream about Aslan Abashidze's team is second on the list. National Movement's advertisement about 1000 Lari voucher and Labor Party's two advertisements ranked the third place. All other advertisements are aired in meager frequency.



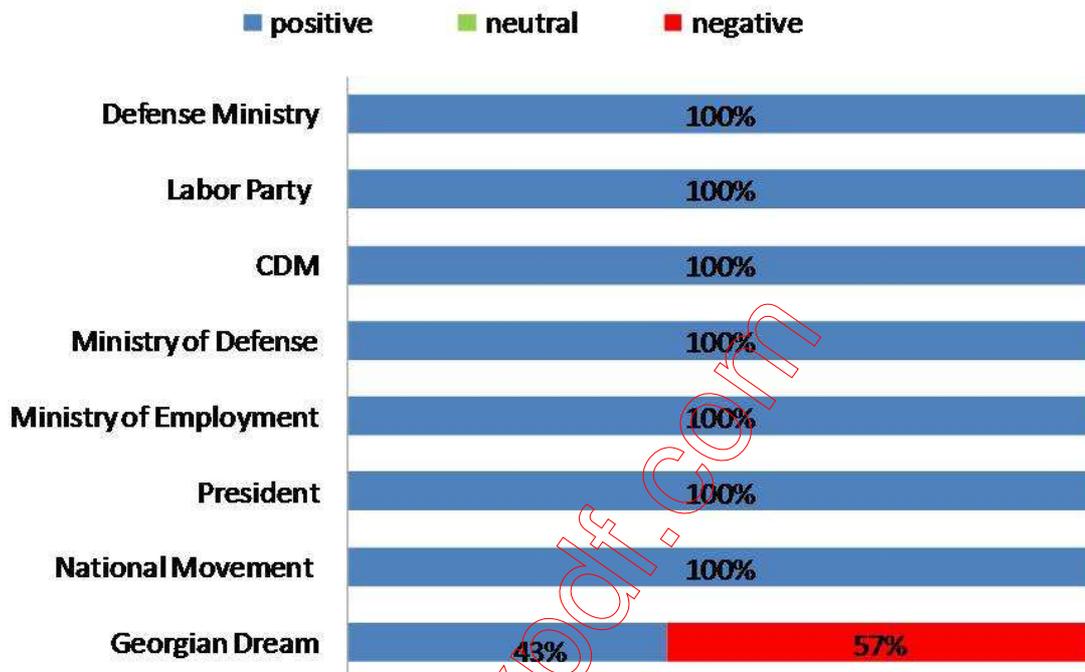
As for subjects, most time was spent on Georgian Dream during the report period; 57% of it was spent on its anti-advertisements which are aired with the status of paid political ads. 43% is spent on the Georgian Dream's advertisement. 13% of the time was spent on the Labor Party; 10% on the Ministry of Employment. Other subjects were presented in the following frequency.

**most time was spent on subjects
(total: 9344 sec.)**

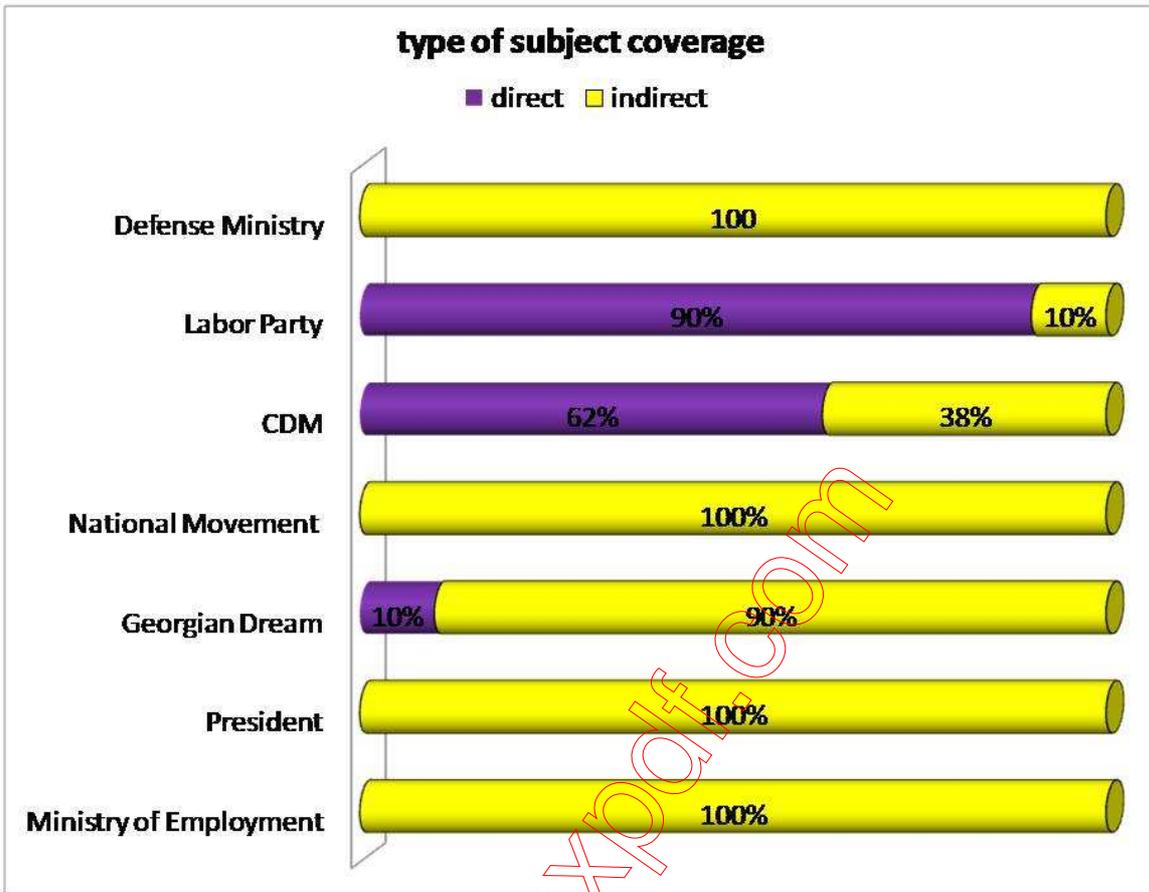


It is noteworthy that CDM, Labor Party, President, Prime-Minister, Defense Ministry, Ministry of Employment, Healthcare Ministry, Parliament are covered in 100% positive tone. Several governmental institutions were among most frequently covered subjects; they are: Ministry of Employment and Ministry of Defense; it was caused by the fact that National Movement's advertisements mostly present the activities of governmental institutions rather than concrete subjects.

tone of subject coverage



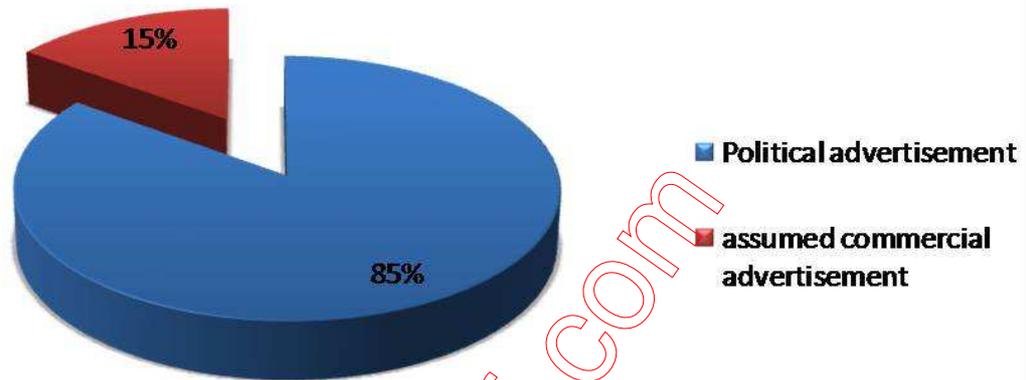
www.oxpdf.com



**Kavkasia
Media-Monitor Inga Varsimashvili**

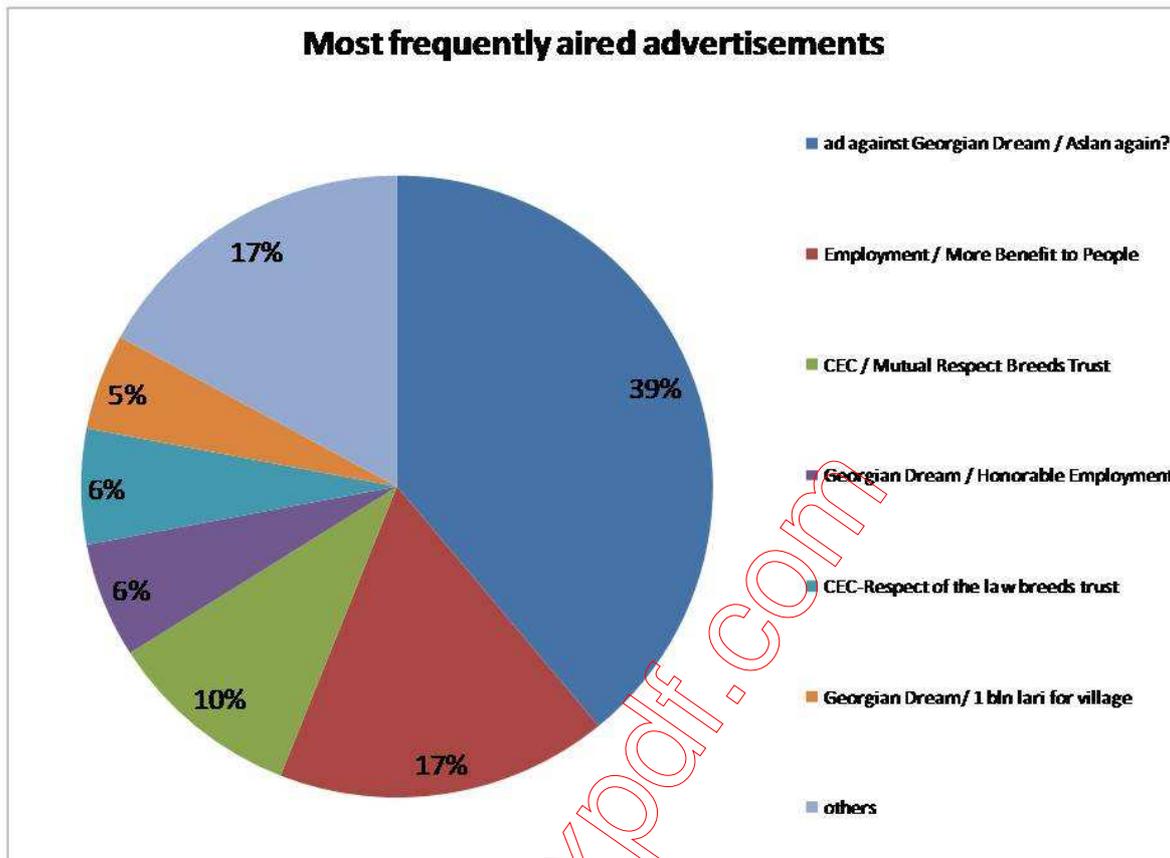
Total length of advertisement intervals in prime time on the TV-Company Kavkasia was 8 458 seconds (about 141 minutes) during the report period. Among them, 4 097 seconds (about 68 minutes) were spent on the advertisements relevant to our monitoring.

Theme of advertisements



At the approaching main phase of pre-election period, number of compulsory free and some paid political advertisements appeared on Kavkasia.

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.



UNM placed two free election advertisements on the TV-Company: 1000 lari Voucher and Ministry of Employment.

1000 lari voucher – is about 1000 lari voucher which is to be spent for the next four years; the government intends to distribute it from the new year.

Ministry of Employment – the ad states that the new ministry will register and employ every unemployed person and will give 1000 lari voucher for vocational training in order to eradicate unemployment and poverty and to assist every family to enjoy the progress.

Election bloc Bidzina Ivanishvili Georgian Dream – was presented with three advertisements in the report period. One of them is announcement of the Georgian Dream’s assembly in Kakheti, second is Renaissance of Agriculture and third – Honorable Employment for Everybody. All of them provide information about Georgian Dream’s election program.

In its advertisement **“Revival of Agriculture”** Georgian Dream promises its voters to launch special program for the development of the agriculture soon after the victory that means development of regional economy, modernization of agriculture sector, stable progress of agro-industrial production, employment of village youth, increase of their revenues and living level.

In the advertisement “**Honorable Employment for Everybody**” Georgian Dream promises voters to open thousands of enterprises in the regions, vocational unions of European standards, abolishment of the monopoly, promotion of small and medium business, investments of real working places, employment of local staff, new working places, etc.

Christian Democrat Movement placed three pre-election advertisements on Kavkasia during the report period.

“**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.

Farmer Instead of Peasant –in case of victory CDM promises voters to allocate more than 1 billion lari from the central budget, to subsidy fuel and fertilizers, to insure harvest, to allocate 300 mln lari for agricultural banks, creating of 80 000 working places and 250 mln lari for the realization of agricultural products.

Available Healthcare – Valued Retired People – the political party promises voters to allocate 2,9 billion lari from the central budget for this purpose, to ensure pensions, increase of age pensions, improved insurance packets for the children up to 18 years, retired people of law enforcement institutions, disabled people, IDPs, members of the families without bread-winner; students, large families, residents of mountainous regions, and promises every citizen to provide them with free basical medical assistance.

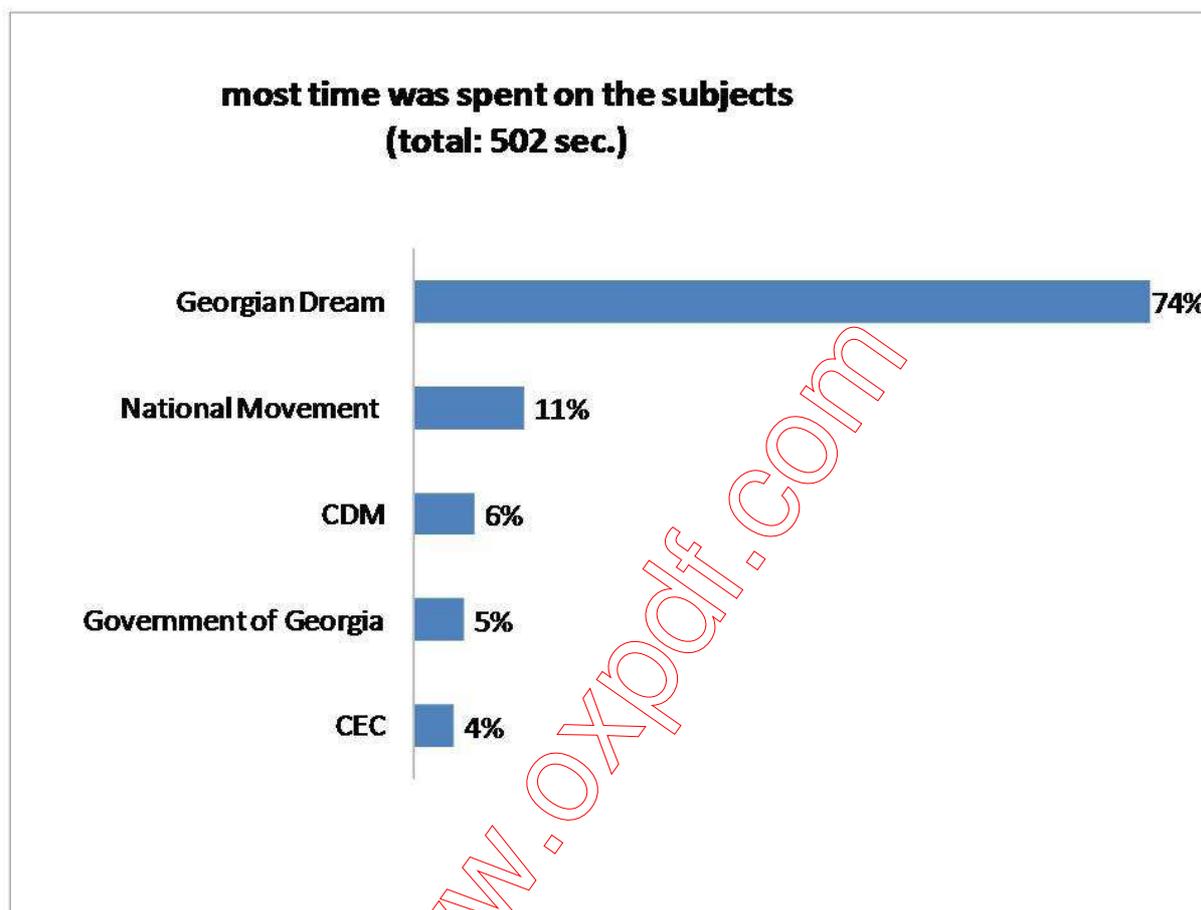
CDM’s logo is used in the announcements of the concerts organized in support of the political party; a group of Georgian singers organizes concerts in the regions of Georgia in Spetember. “Go Go I Am Coming” is the name of the tour which musicians will organize in the western Georgia. Announcement is aired as free political advertisement.

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 subordinated or somehow related with governmental official in the pre-election campaign is prohibited by the law and 2) Mutual Respect Breeds Trust – which is focused on honorable relation with rival.

Video-clips of the nongovernmental organization [Georgia Not For Sale](#) are still very actual; the purpose of those video-rolls is to create negative public opinion of Bidzina Ivanishvili, the Georgian Dream’s leader. The organization gave the video-rolls to the National Movement for free.

During this period of monitoring, anti-advertisement about Georgian Dream **Again Aslan in Adjara?** presents majoritarian candidates of the Georgian Dream in Batumi Murman Dumbadze (who, as advertisement’s authors claim, stated that we should apologize to Aslan Abashidze) and Georgian Dream’s members in Adjara who are presented with the following epithets in the ad: Aslan’s prosecutor – Davit Ananidze, Aslan’s chief police officer – Zia Saginadze, Aslan’s deputy – Shota

Zoidze, Aslan's ministry of environment – Anzor Tkhilaishvili. The ad authors believe it is return to Aslan's authority in Adjara. So they warn voters "DO Not Risk!"

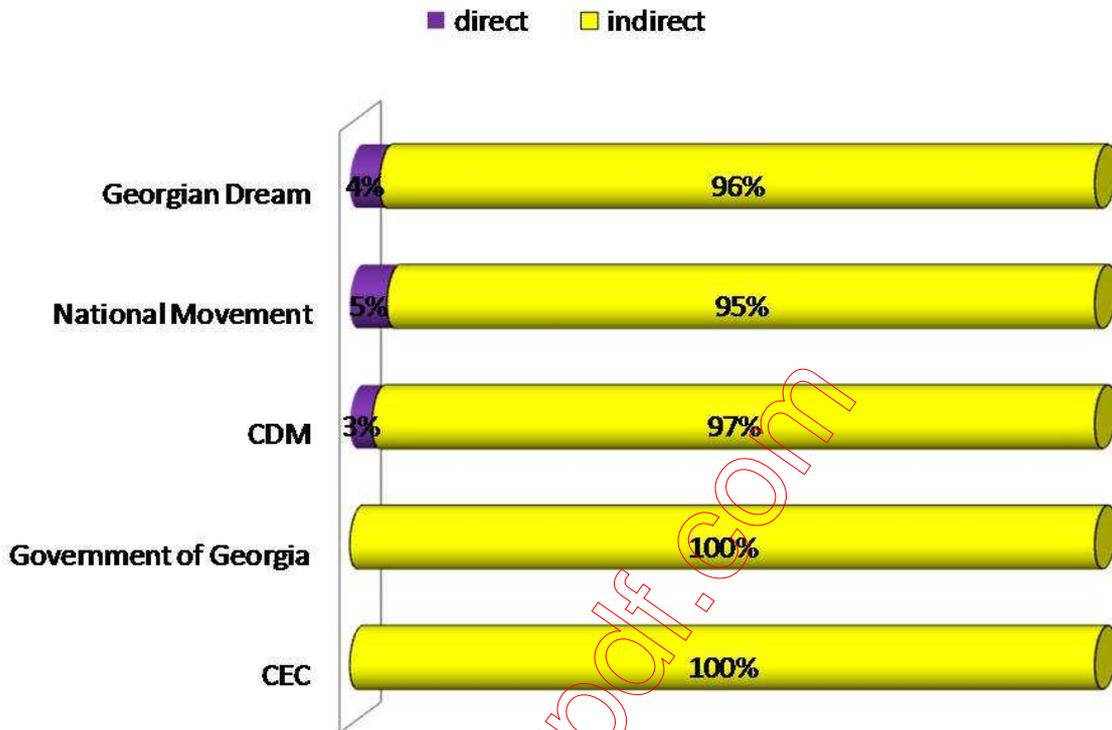


Several TV-programs about the election issue appeared in TV-company Kavkasia during the election period.

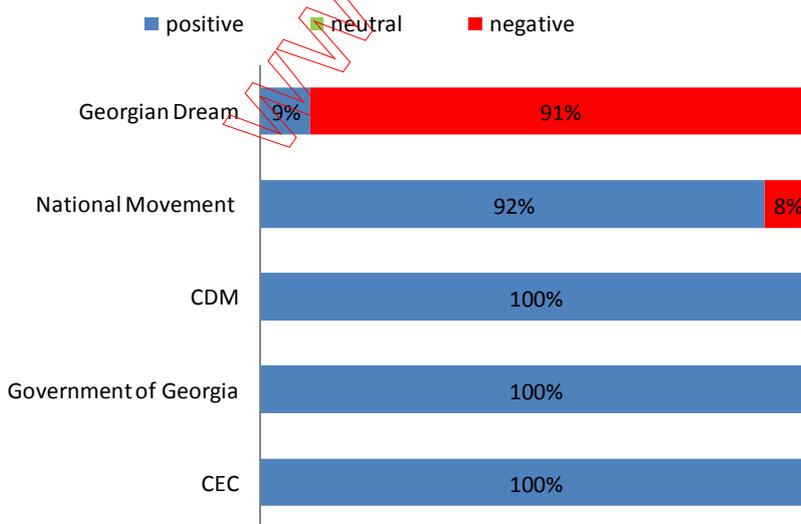
Choice 2012 – Saturday program which reviews election news of the previous week and **Your Choice** where representatives of the election candidates are invited to present the programs of their parties and to answer the questions of the voters gathered in the TV-studio.

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

Type of subject coverage

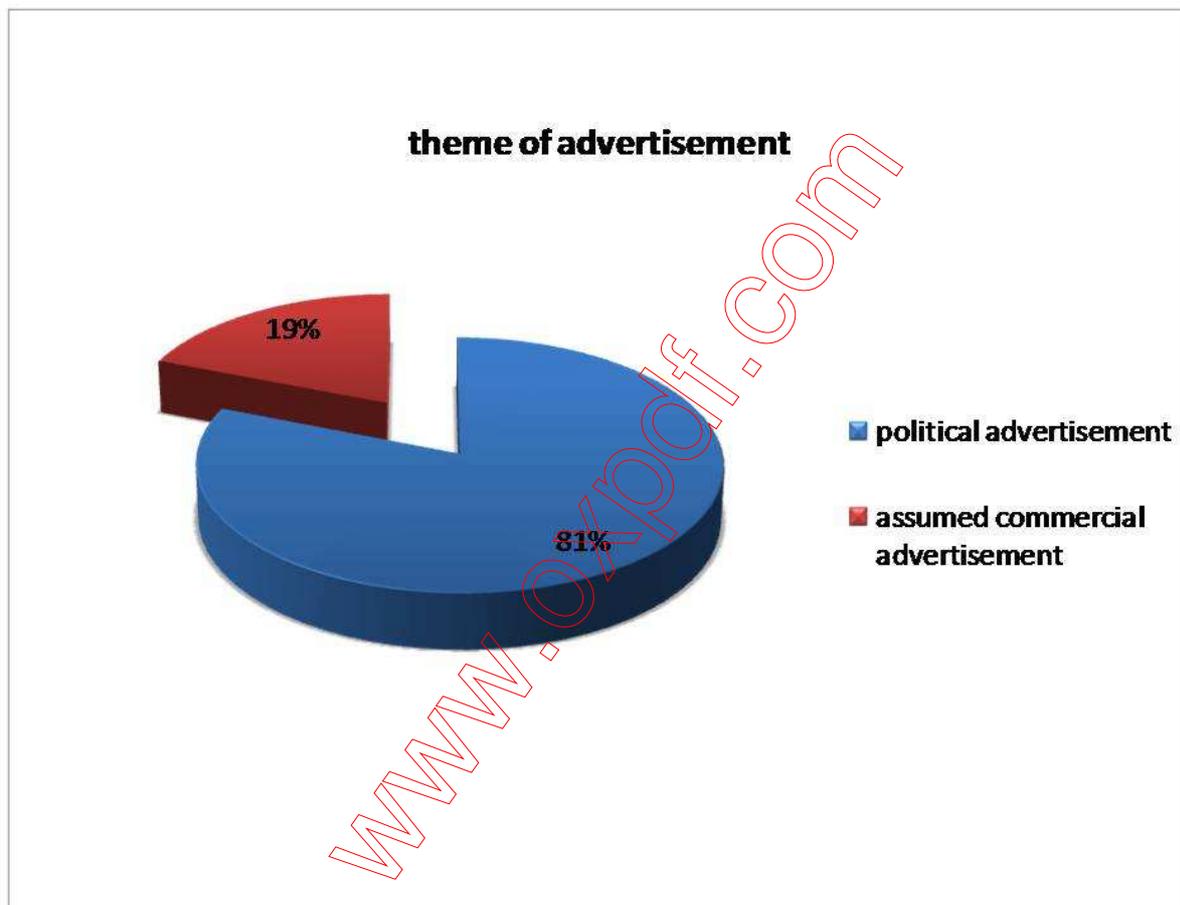


tone of subject coverage

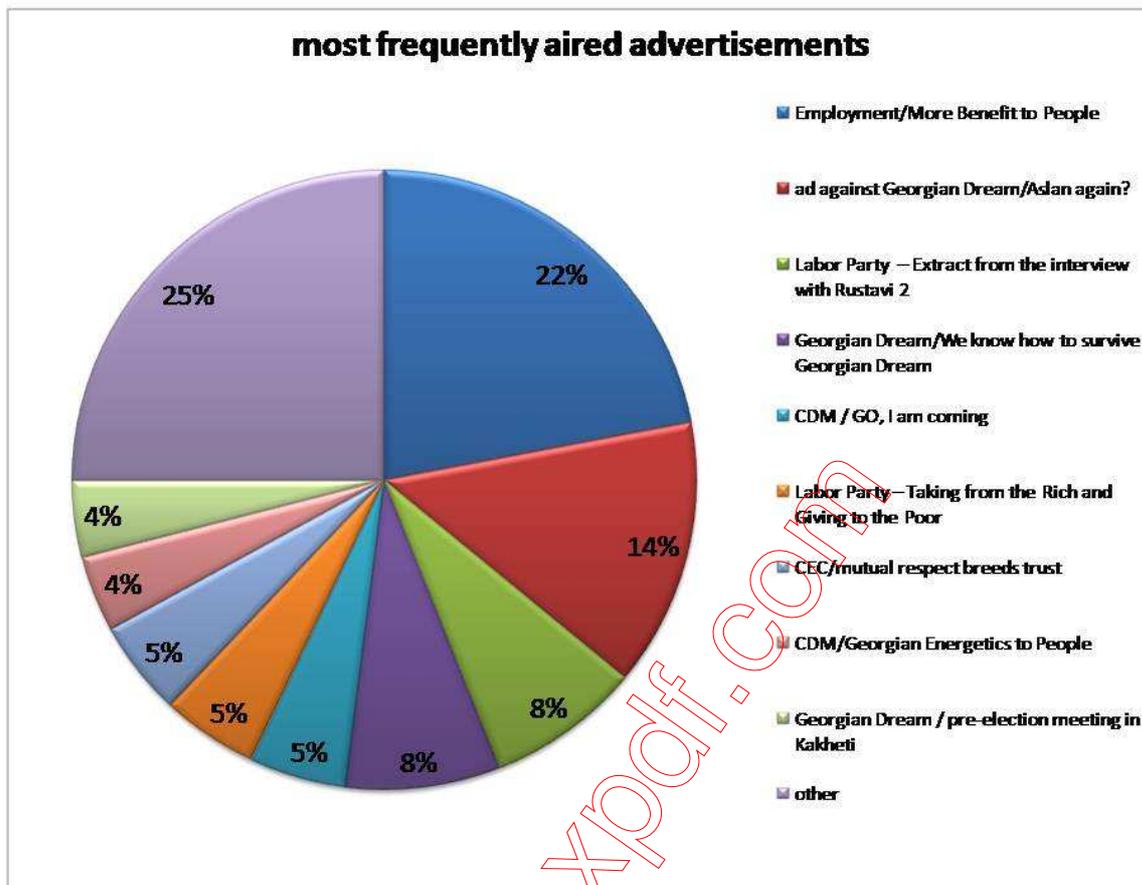


Maestro
Media-Monitor Shorena Latatia

Total length of advertisement intervals in the prime-time of the TV-Company Maestro was 17 041 seconds (about 284 minutes) during this period of media-monitoring. Among them, 5 226 seconds (about 87 minutes) were spent on the topic of media-monitoring – Elections.



It is noteworthy that advertisements of the United National Movement were most frequently aired by Maestro during the report period. See diagram:



“Employment/More Benefit to People” – this advertisement of the UNM is about the recently established Ministry of Employment and its activities which aim to register unemployed people, to distribute 1000 lari voucher for prevocational training, etc.¹

Advertisement against Georgian Dream “Again Aslan?” –Georgian Dream’s majoritarian candidate in Batumi Murman Dumbadze (we see his photo) states that we should apologize to Aslan Abashidze. The ad states that Bidzina Ivanishvili nominates members of Aslan Abashidze’s team as his majoritarian candidates in Batumi and it lists those people.²

Labor Party/ Extract from the interview with Rustavi 2 – this advertisement is an extract from Shalva Natelashvili’s interview with Rustavi 2 where he speaks about Ivanishvili:

“Journalist: Did you want him (Bidzina Ivanishvili) to become prime-minister?”

Natelashvili: I wanted him to become prime-minister because I wanted Mikheil Saakashvili to be defeated and not to become president in January of 2008. In January of 2008 Saakashvili would not

¹ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSiJv7hNR4&list=PLB7CBD1DED711334D&index=80&feature=plpp_video

² http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2XW2pnN87ys&feature=player_embedded

have become a president, if Ivanishvili had joined opposition parties; it was 100% guarantee. But it did not happen. He (Ivanishvili) supported Mikheil Saakashvili; he gave him 45 million to him after the dispersal of November 7, 2007 peaceful demonstration to win elections! 45 million lari! All his security service cars were moving at Chorvila polling station with the election number 5; get the protocol of the Election Day from Chorvila PEC where Saakashvili received 80% of votes after November 7 dispersal. But he (Ivanishvili) is lying to us as if he had parted with Saakashvili after November 7!"³

Georgian Dream/We know how to survive Georgian village – the advertisement is about new agricultural program which will be launched after Georgian Dream's victory.⁴

CDM/Go, I am Coming – this advertisement is announcement of the concerts organized in support of the Christian-Democrat Movement.^{5 6}

Labor Party/ Taking from the Rich Giving to the Poor – “Congratulations, my dear people, we will win! We will Win! We will take from the rich and give back to the poor! God will safe us! We are starting!” the advertisement states.⁷

During the monitoring period, CEC placed two advertisements on Maestro: “Respect of the Law Breeds Trust” and “Mutual Respect Breeds Trust”. “Shaking hands is the most used form of relation; we are shaking hands when greeting, when parting, when introducing each other, when we reach agreement, when making friends, we express gratitude and hope by shaking hands, we meet our friends in this way; honorable people can shake hands with their rivals and congratulate victory in this way. CEC – mutual respect breeds trust,” the advertisement states. Afterwards we see the CEC logo, phone number and website address.

“Assignment of state buildings to various election subjects under various conditions is prohibited during pre-election period. CEC – Respect of the Law breeds Trust,” the ad states and then we saw the CEC logo, phone number and website address.⁸

During the monitoring, Maestro aired several advertisements of the CDM. One of them states that Christian-Democrats will create new working places and will reduce tariffs.⁹

As for time allocated for subjects, most time was spent on Georgian Dream because it was covered both in their own ads and in the advertisements of the National Movement though in negative tone.

³ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kViXu0KFEHw&feature=relmfu>

⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KVTUDFnVr5w>

⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JoMotRsby8&feature=plcp>

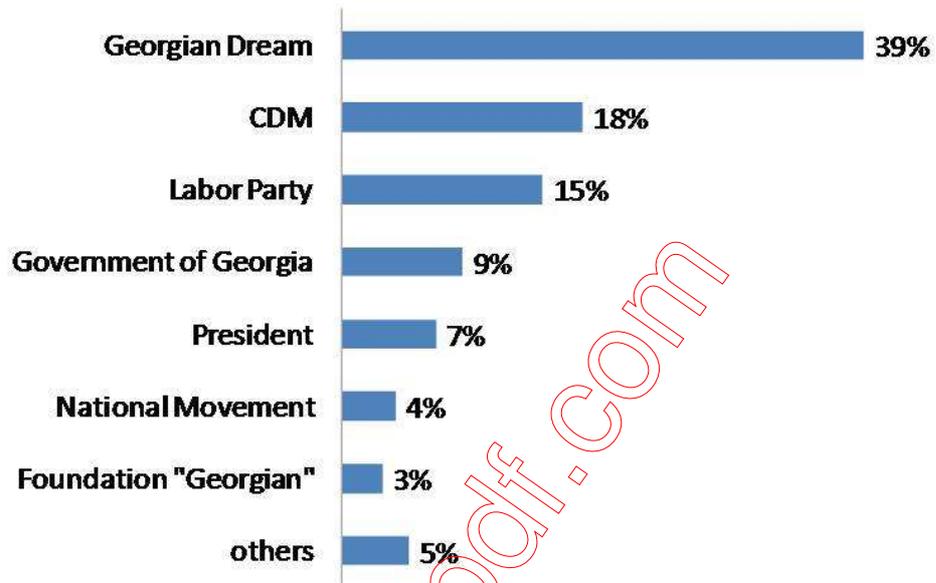
⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=leuzPTrvpg&feature=plcp>

⁷ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOIPPh_Dao4&feature=plcp

⁸ http://cec.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=GEO&sec_id=16&album_id=207&info_id=#seegal

⁹ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fhkj5eJWUhw&feature=plcp>

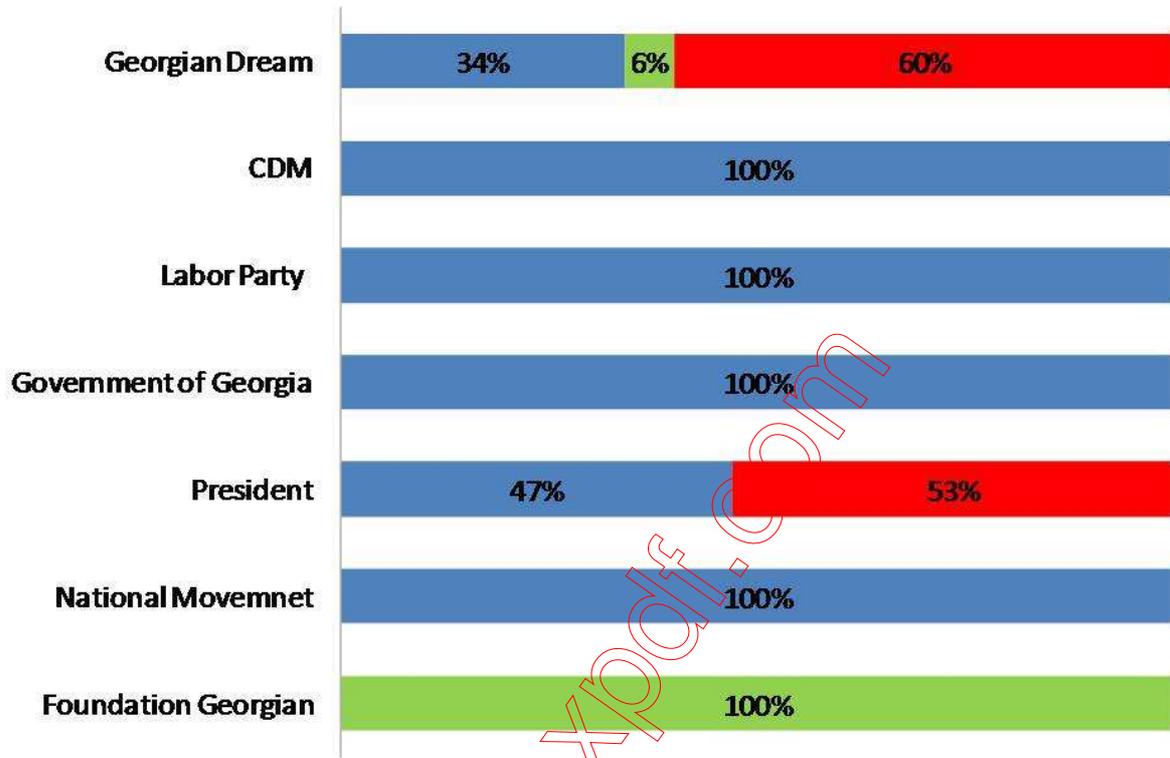
**most time was spent on subjects
(total: 5226 sec.)**



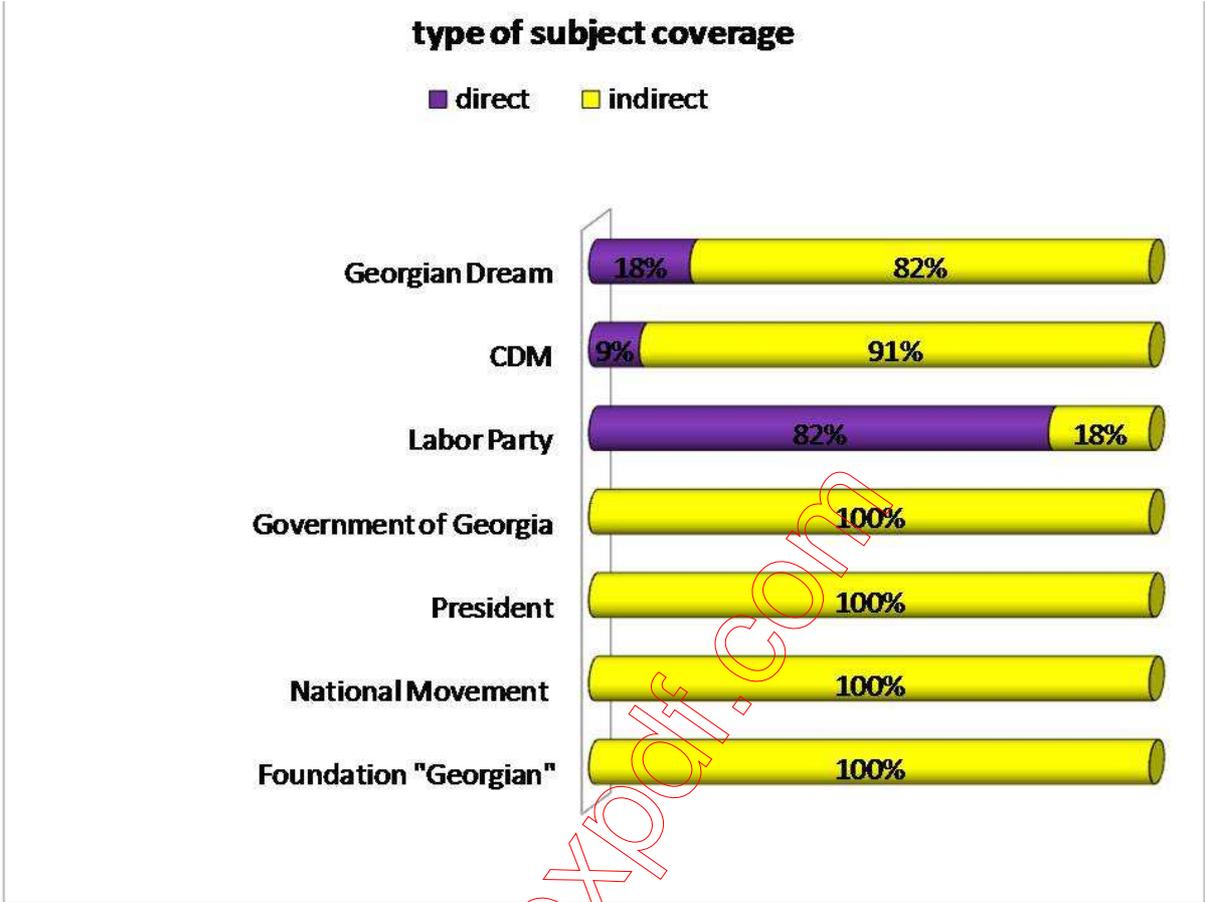
www.oxpdf.com

tone of subject coverage

■ positive ■ neutral ■ negative



www.oxpdf.com

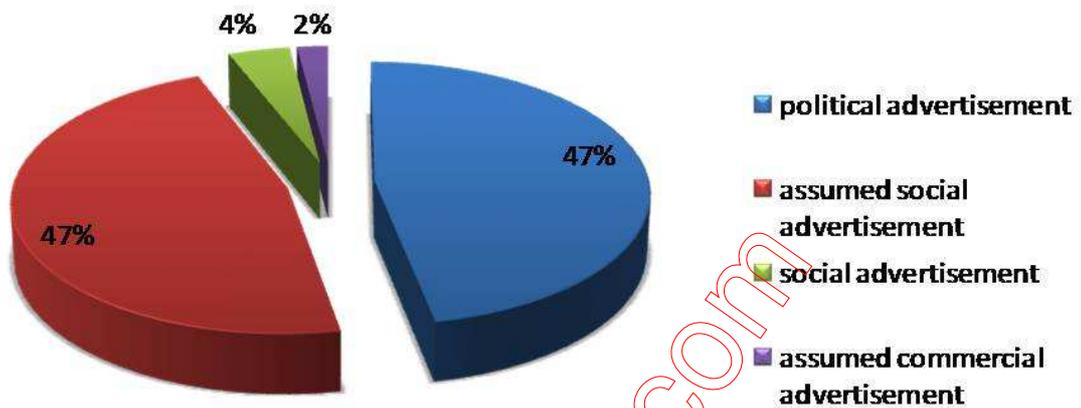


TV9

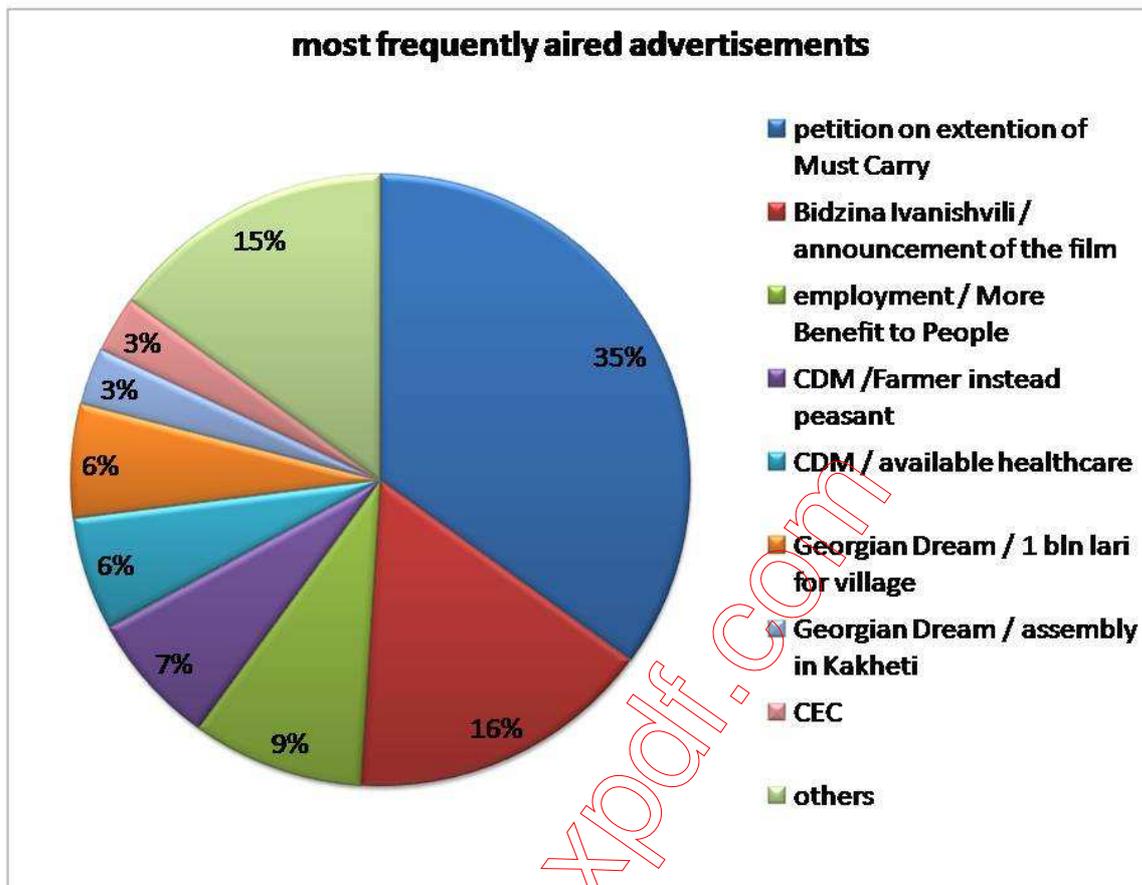
Media-Monitoring – Giorgi Janelidze

Total length of advertisement intervals on TV9 was 22 102 seconds (about 368 minutes) during the report period.

themes of advertisements



During the report period, TV 9 most frequently aired the so-called must-carry agitation/awareness-raising video-clip which calls upon the people to sign special petition on the TV9's website which will protect independent TV-channels from being switched off from Georgian TV-orbit.

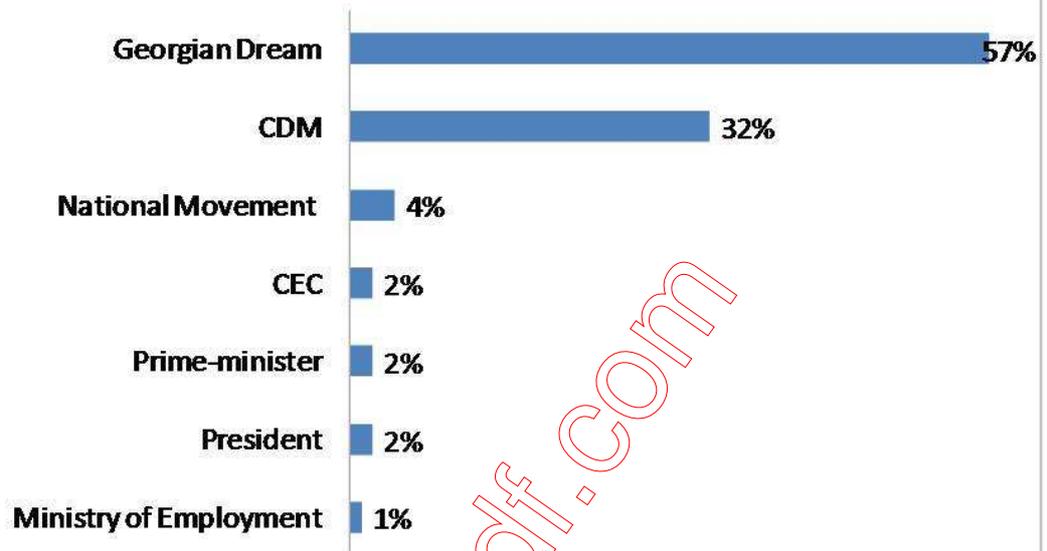


Georgian Dream's pre-election advertisement – "1 billion GEL Foundation for Agriculture" was most frequently aired by TV9 during the report period. Advertisements of the UNM – 1000 lari Voucher, Ministry of Employment and Christian Democrat Movement's advertisements – Healthcare, "1,1 billion for Agriculture," etc were also frequently aired by the TV9.

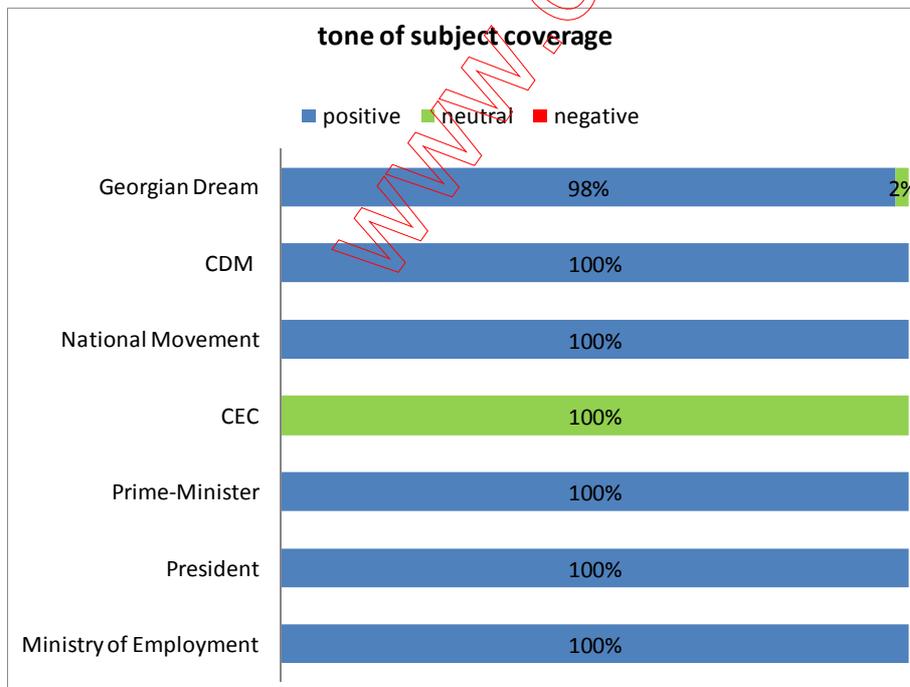
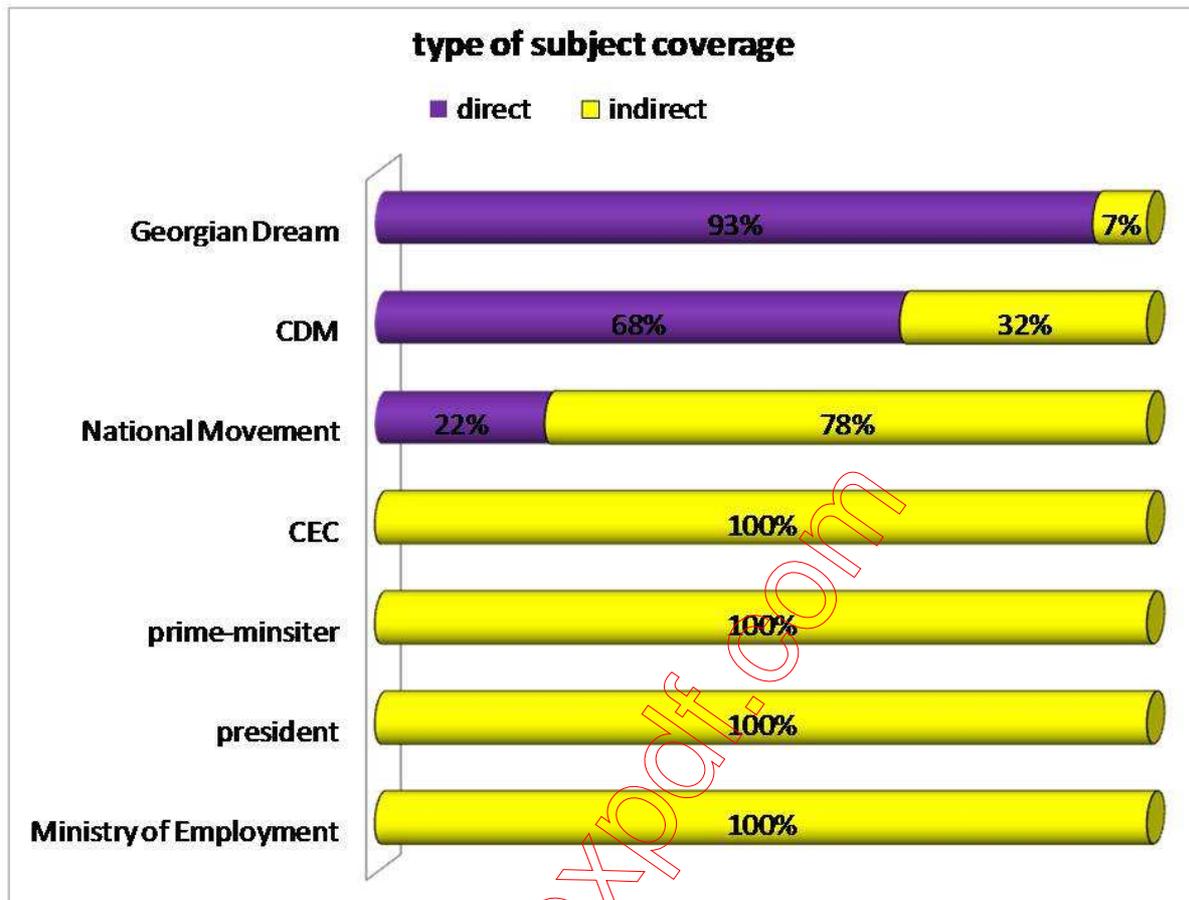
Those advertisements were aired as paid and free political advertisements.

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.

**most time was spent on the subjects
(total: 907 sec.)**



www.oxpdf.com



Video-clips of the opposition partis are followed by the UNM's advertisements in almost every advertisement intervals except some rare occasoins.



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

www.oxporf.com