



Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections, 2012

18 June – 18 November





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The Human Rights Centre (HRIDC) is a non-governmental human rights organization, without any political or religious affiliations. The purpose of HRIDC is to increase respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Georgia, as well as to contribute to the democratic development of the country.

HRIDC implements projects to ensure compliance with human rights laws and standards. We cooperate with international organizations and local organizations which also share our view that respect for human rights is a precondition for sustaining democracy and peace in Georgia.

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Results of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections

Introduction

During the period of June 18-November 18 Human Rights Center implemented monitoring project of media coverage

might be unfairly advantageous for concrete candidates or political parties. The Recommendations focus on inadmissibility of granting privileges to concrete political subjects in parody programs as well.

In order to reveal hidden political advertisement, we also relied on the definition worked out by Georgian nongovernmental organizations in the frame of the campaign This Affects You; their recommendations come from the CoE recommendations.

“Any information spread in any form by mass media source (TV-story, TV-program, etc) that is not directly related with the coverage of pre-election campaign and which reflects or/and mentions election subject/election subject candidate his/her name or slogan and/or election number (if it is associated with the election party/candidate /political party/candidate-to-be) and/or other visible requisites. Dissemination of information about participation of political subject when he/she is performing his/her responsibilities is not hidden advertising.”

Although official pre-election campaign was not yet declared at the first stage of media-monitoring – June 18-August 1, since this period was in fact pre-election period, monitoring of hidden advertisements assisted us to reveal certain trends in media.

As for social advertisement, acting law does not oblige TV-Companies to make relevant subtitles to social advertisements to differentiate them from commercial ads. TV-Companies individually decide which advertisement shall have social status. As a result, we petitioned to target TV-Companies to provide us with the information which advertisements they air had social status. Public Broadcaster, Maestro and 9th Channel systematically replied to our letters and we thank to those TV-Companies for cooperation. TV channels *Kavkasia* and *Imedi* replied to only one letter of Human Rights Center. As for *Rustavi 2*, it did not reply to our letters.

Methodology

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

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

In the frame of qualitative research, media-monitors observed whether PR and information are demarcated in the ad, whether it is hidden advertisement and PR 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 advertisement in social ads.

Main Findings

- Some social advertisements aired on Public Broadcaster during pre-election period did not meet criteria established by law. “Made in Georgia”, “I

Public Broadcaster

June 18 – August 1

Before the start of official pre-election campaign on August 1st no political advertisement has been aired on public Broadcaster with a relevant status indicated. The political advertisements did not appear until August 13th.

In addition to political advertisements, the social advertisements which showed electoral contestants or government departments were also monitored. According to existing legislation, the social advertisements do not have relevant subscription when aired on TV. Therefore, in the initial period of media monitoring it was impossible to ascertain which advertisements had status of social ad. Therefore, periodically we requested public information from Public Broadcaster to ascertain which ads were given status of social and. During the period of media monitoring, several such ads were aired on Public Broadcaster.

Considering its specific nature, Public Broadcaster has restricted time for commercial ads. Till August 13th, before it gave time for political ads, the commercial breaks were not aired at all in the main news program Moambe. The rest time was dedicated to announcements of different programs and supposed social ads the majority of which introduced the work of different governmental departments to viewers. After the Public Broadcaster presented list of social ads, it was confirmed that the most of ads we considered to have social status really had such a status.

In the initial reports, Human Rights Center considered the results of research of Transparency International Georgia according to which the video roll I love Tbilisi was aired on Public Broadcaster by the order of Tbilisi City Hall¹. As TI Georgia notes, Tbilisi City Hall and several other government departments addressed Public Broadcaster with a request to grant status of social advertisement to several music rolls and accordingly, to air them for free. According to TI Georgia, though video roll I Love Tbilisi does not have much political content, it does not meet the requirements of Article 11(1)(e) of the Law on Media Freedom. The video roll I Love Tbilisi is not a political advertisement as it does not contain any political content and is not intended to influence the public opinion or the course of the election process. The video roll I Love Tbilisi is a cultural and artistic work and is not a political advertisement. The video roll I Love Tbilisi is not a political advertisement as it does not contain any political content and is not intended to influence the public opinion or the course of the election process. The video roll I Love Tbilisi is a cultural and artistic work and is not a political advertisement.

In the period of June 18 – July 15 these ads were given the longest time. As for the ads which were aired most frequently, the graph shows that the ads reflecting work of MIA, Tbilisi City Hall and other government dep

Thus, in the video rolls with social status following subjects were often shown: MIA, Ministry of Health, Tbilisi City Hall, Prime Minister and other administrative bodies. Central Election Commission which

from Svaneti. In the same film he talks about presidential program by the help of which different construction works were underway in Mestia.

August 1 – October 1

In this period of media monitoring the number of ads reflecting achievements of different government departments the majority of which had a status of social advertisement, were aired for free and contained signs of surreptitious political ads promoting National Movement, decreased.

In this period of media monitoring, Inter-Agency Task Force of the National Security Council of Georgia prepared a recommendation⁴ to the government of Georgia and Public Broadcaster to stop airing of Video-Rolls about Government's Projects during this period of media-monitoring. They requested to stop airing those video-rolls with social status which advertise projects implemented by the government and might be perceived as election advertisement. Deputy Secretary of the National Security Council Tamar Kintsurashvili said in order to exclude possibility of identifying social ads with pre-election agitation the Commission recommends the government of Georgia and GPB to stop airing of those video rolls.⁵

Levan Gakheladze, chairman of the Public Broadcaster's Board of Trustees, stated that GPB envisaged recommendations of the Inter-Institutional Constitution of the National Security Council and removed the listed advertisements from its broadcasting time. He added that even if the Commission had not released the recommendation, according to the law requirements they would no longer have had time to air social ads because the GPB has already started working in the pre-election regime for two weeks already.⁶

Despite start of "pre-election regime", during July 30 – August 12 no political advertisement with an obligatory subscription – Paid Political Advertisement or Free Political Advertisement was aired on Public Broadcaster.

For this period, the exact date of parliamentary elections was announced – October 1st. Official pre-election period started from August 1st. According to Election Code, no later than 50th day before the day of voting, [the owners of broadcasting licenses and Public Broadcaster became obliged](#) to comply with certain conditions including the obligation to air political advertisements with inscription "Paid Political Ad" or "Free Political Add."

During the period of July 30 – August 12, twenty-second long ads about Central Election Commission (CEC) where CEC was covered in a positive tone was aired most frequently.

⁴<http://www.humanrights.ge/index.php?a=main&pid=15308&lang=eng>

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

⁶<http://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/content/article/24675736.html>

Informative video-roll prepared by the Ministry of Education – “additional registration for first-year pupils” shall be singled out from the most frequently aired advertisements, which were relevant to our monitoring because they presented election subjects or governmental institutions. The Ministry of Education offered postponed deadline for the registration of first-year pupils with this video-roll to the parents who did not manage to register their children within the initial estimated time-limit. The advertisement video-roll aimed at the promotion of public welfare, had informative character and did not advertise the Ministry of Education. This advertisement did not contain signs of hidden advertisement.

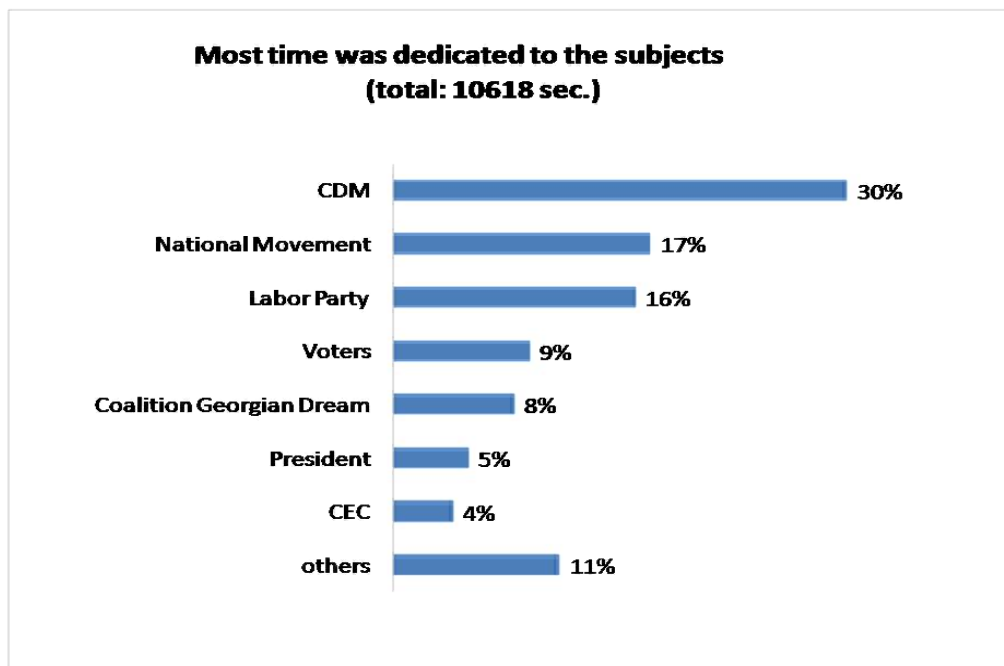
Advertising video-roll – Didgoroba 2012 announced public holiday Didgoroba which is traditionally celebrated on August 12. The advertising roll had informative character where local self-government (Tetrtskaro district) – subject relevant to our monitoring – informed society about the time, place and planned events of the holiday. So, the advertisement did not contain signs of hidden political advertisement. It is not the

The charitable purpose of the roll was also identified if we consider the fact that poor and vulnerable families cannot afford paid vaccination service.

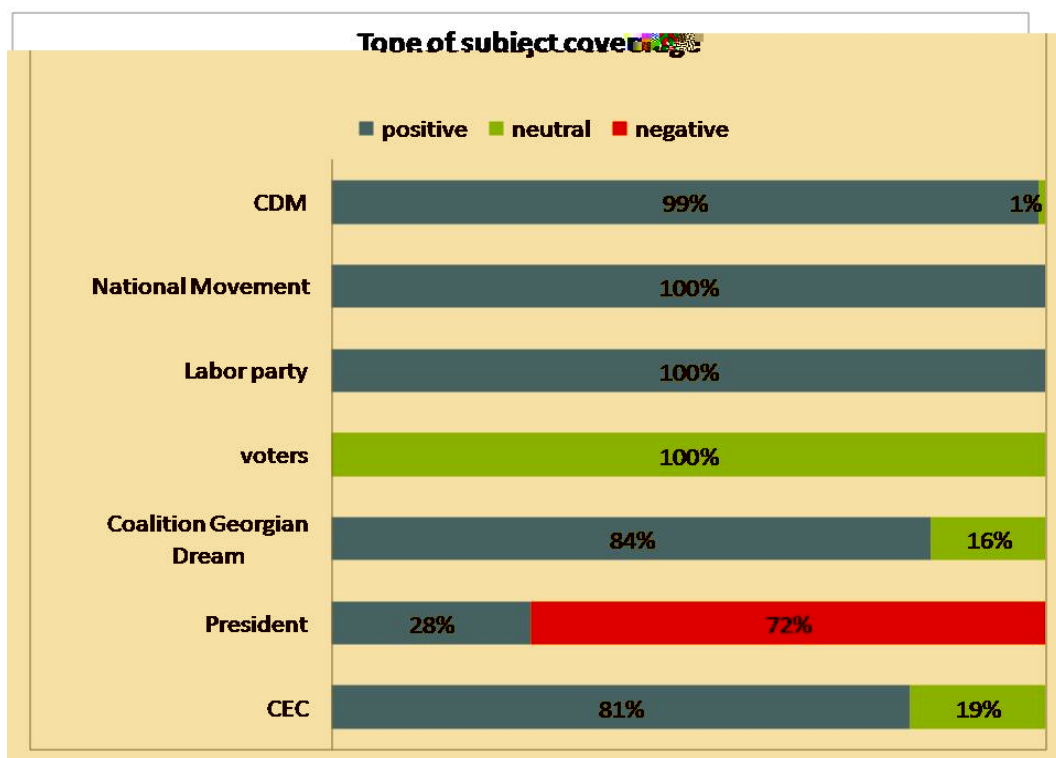
Following subjects were given most time in the hospital in the year 2015/16

At the end of August Public Broadcaster provided us with the list of social ads which covered advertisements aired from July 2 to August 12, the video-roll about rehabilitation of the Tbilisi was not on the list – [I Love](#)

During the period of August 13-26 most time was dedicated to following subjects:

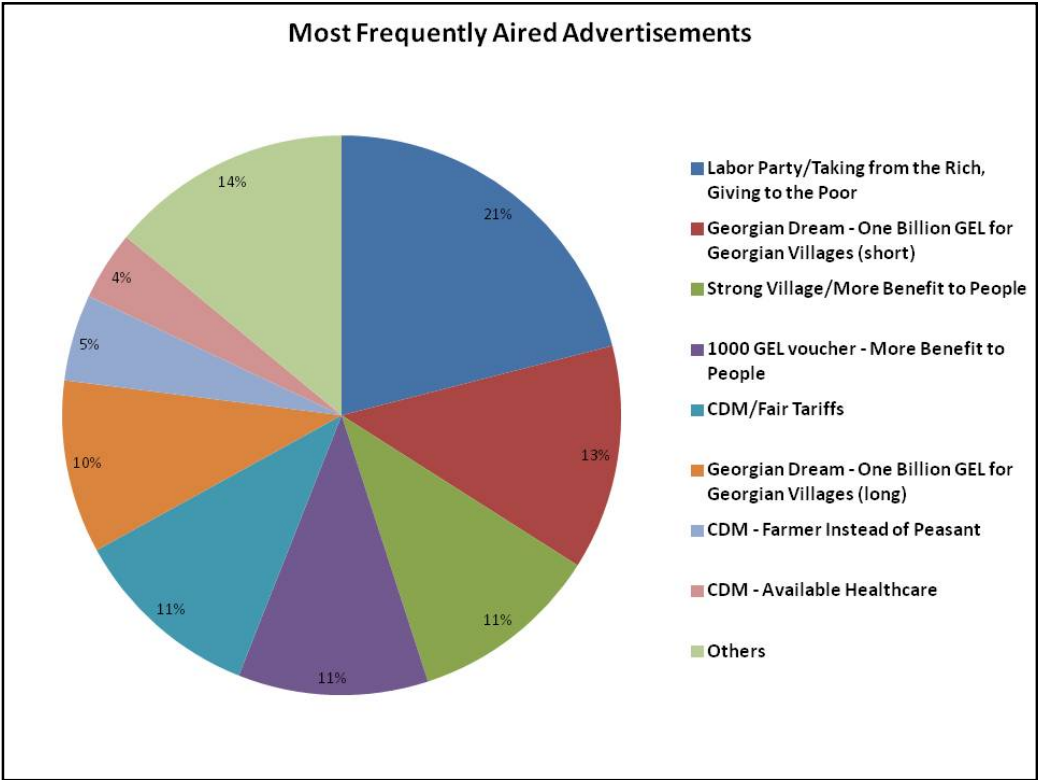


Subjects were mostly covered in positive tone; voters were covered completely in neutral tone and Georgian Dream, CEC and CDM were covered partly positively and partly negatively; President is the only subject who was largely presented in negative tone (72%) among the relevant advertisement on the GPB. **See diagram.**



President's presentation in negative tone is connected with the political advertisement of the Labor Party where President Mikheil Saakashvili is seen 13 seconds. It is video of recorded at the meeting during the Rose

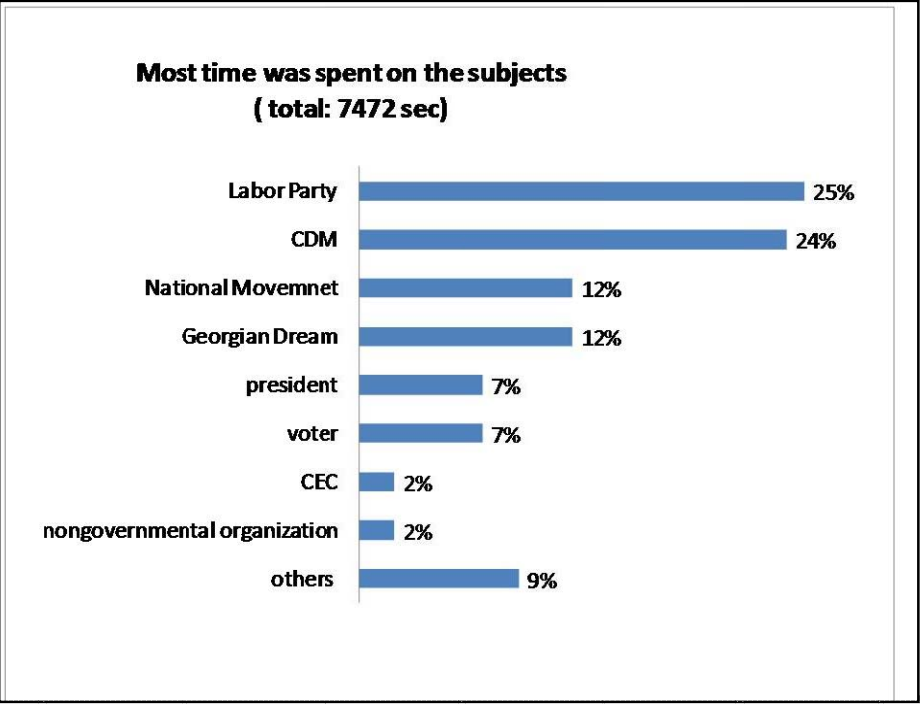
Two more subjects were covered in direct tone – Labor Party and Coalition Georgian Dream. Those election subjects, like CDM, use speeches of their leaders



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 GEL for Georgian Villages” was most frequently aired on GPB.

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.



Period of August 27 – September 2:

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.

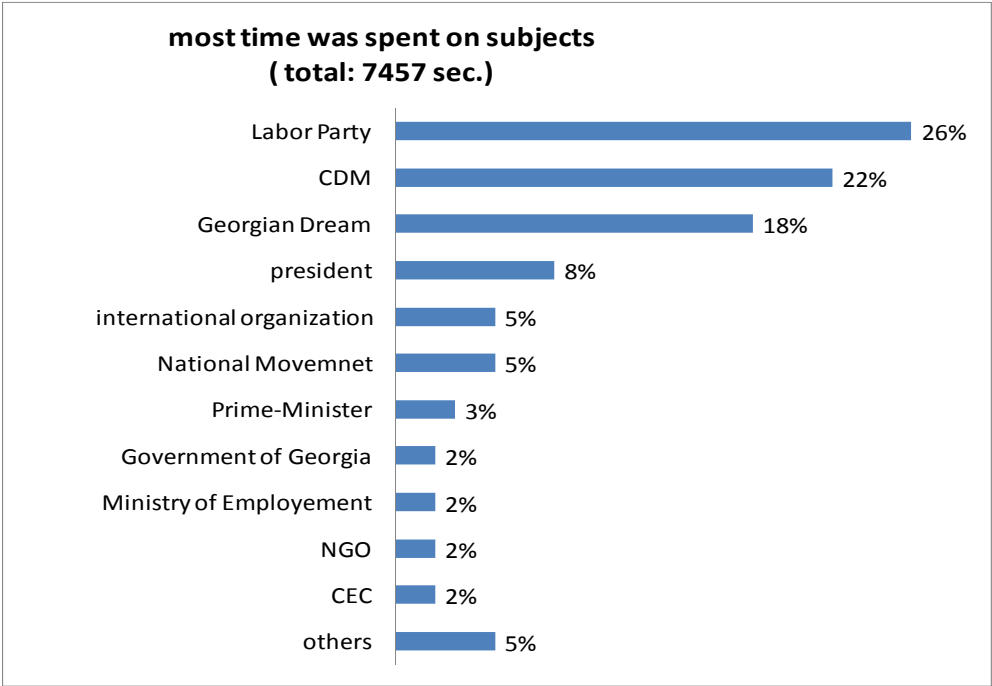
During the monitoring period, GPB did not air the advertisements against Georgian Dream of the NGO Georgia Not for Sale. Since August 1 National Movement the qualified election subject United National Movement places those advertisements on various TV-channels as its political advertisements. Consequently, Georgian Dream was not covered in a negative tone on the GPB in this period either. In the beginning of September, the negative coverage of President increased which is connected to more frequent airing of ads of Labor Party.

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 GEL 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.

Since August 27th, GPB did not air videos I Love Tbilisi, Anaklia Waiting for You, I Love Racha and I Love Svaneti anymore.

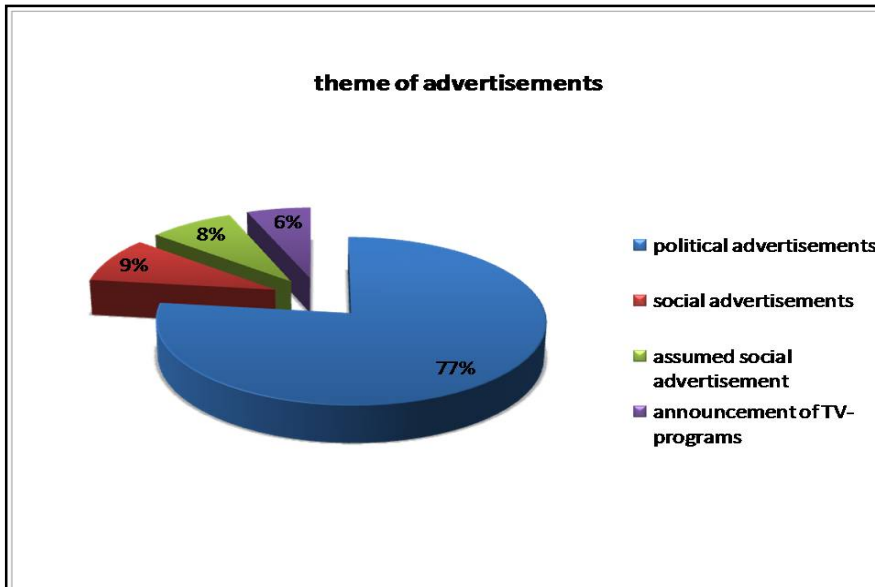
Starting from September 3rd, among the subjects covered most frequently “international organization” (5%) found place for the first time which according to the methodology of monitoring covered all international organizations the activism of which were shown in the ads aired during the prime time of GPB.

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.

During the period of August 1 – October 1 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 – The Debates. This is well shown in the graph reflecting the theme of ads aired during the period of September 3 – 9.



During the period of September 10-23, time allocated for the advertisements on the GPB was equally divided among qualified election subjects. In parallel to it, all four parties placed at least 2 advertisement clips on GPB. In this period of monitoring new ad of Labor Party was aired which was prepared based on the new talk-show of the GPB “Main Debates.”

The party leader Shalva Natelashvili is still a presenter in the new advertisement clip of the Labor Party where he appeals to his opponent in the ruling party Prime Minister Vano

Merabishvili in the talk-show Main Debates and criticizes his past activities as a Minister of Interior. Namely he reminds him of dispersed manifestations and citizens killed during special operations. At the end of the ad Natelashvili still announces the election number of their party and slogan “Taking from the Rich Giving to the Poor.”

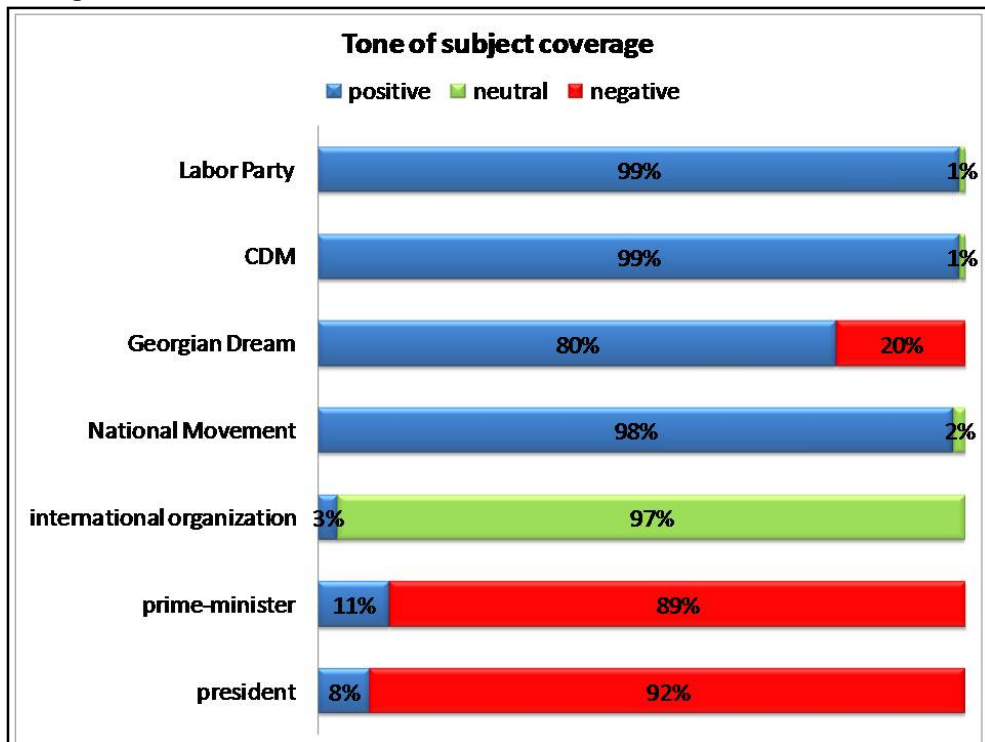
Talk-Show Main Debates a joint project of the USAID, IFES and Georgian Public Broadcaster helped to establish culture of TV-debate between qualified election subjects in Georgia. Candidacies of Prime-Ministers of the National Movement, CDM and Labor Party participated in the first program of the talk-show. Georgian Dream’s prime-minister-to-be Bidzina Ivanishvili refused to participate in the debates because he was ready to debate only with the leader of the United National Movement Mikheil Saakashvili.

National Movement prepared its new political advertisement of the same context and used advantage of Bidzina Ivanishvili’s refusal on participating in the debates of primer-ministers to-be. Opinions of the prime-ministers-to-be of the CDM, National Movement and Labor Party about several political issues are presented in the UNM’s clip; then we see empty tribune and hear questions – what plans does Bidzina Ivanishvili have and what is he saying about various issues; the answer is – nothing. It is noteworthy that this advertisement was aired only once in prime-time of the GPB on September 11 (five times).

In the same period, a new advertisement of the National Movement appeared in this diagram Instead Going Back/More Benefit to People where Georgian Dream is presented in negative tone. Initially the clip shows black and white scenes from Eduard Shevardnadze’s presidency which shows that time problems – deficiency of electricity, corruption, unemployment and poverty. Audience is informed that political opponent of the UNM – Georgian Dream tries to lead the country back to Shevardnadze’s epoch. Then we hear the election promises of the ruling party instead going back to the past.

Due to these advertisement clips, Georgian Dream was covered partly negatively in the period of September 10-23. It is noteworthy that from the beginning of our monitoring (June 18) till this period (September 10-23) Georgian Dream was not covered in negative tone in the relevant advertisements on the GPB. Negatively presented subjects Prime Minister and President in the ads of the Labor Party were already reflected in the diagram of the tone of subject coverage.

We divided the period from September 24th till October 7th 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

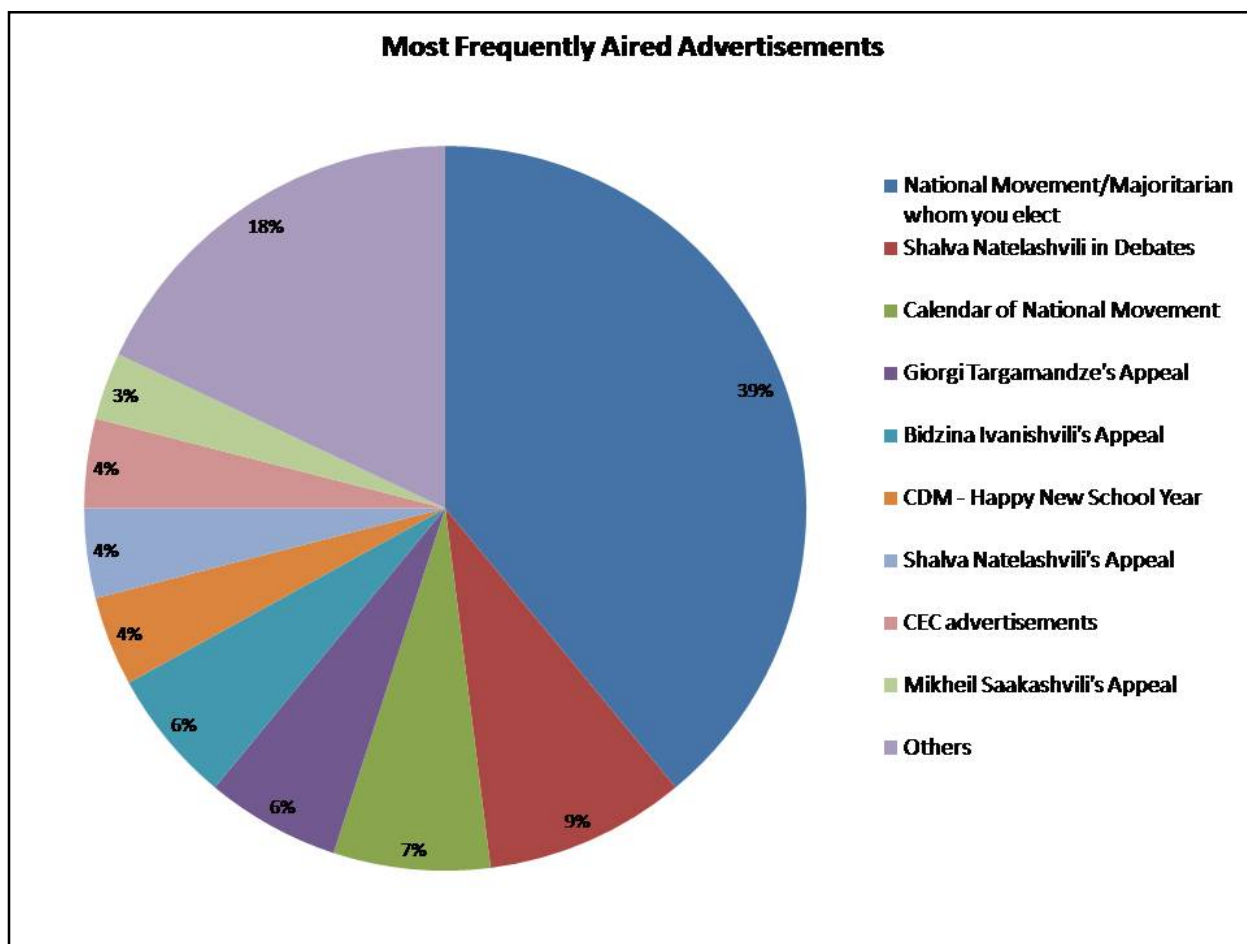


frequently aired during pre-election period, particularly before August 1, when Election Day was officially fixed. In our previous reports of media-monitoring,^{15, 16} we underline the problem that too many advertisements with social status were aired by GPB. Besides that, governmental institutions were clients of those advertisements and in most cases they advertised their activities or future plans. Most of those ads contained sings of hidden political advertisement, whose assumed purpose was to influence voters' will.

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 (34%). We unified several advertisements of the CEC with the same principle, which had one function – to inform voters about election procedures. See diagram:

¹⁵ <http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/English-2.pdf>

¹⁶ <http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/media%20monitoring%2013-26%20August.pdf>

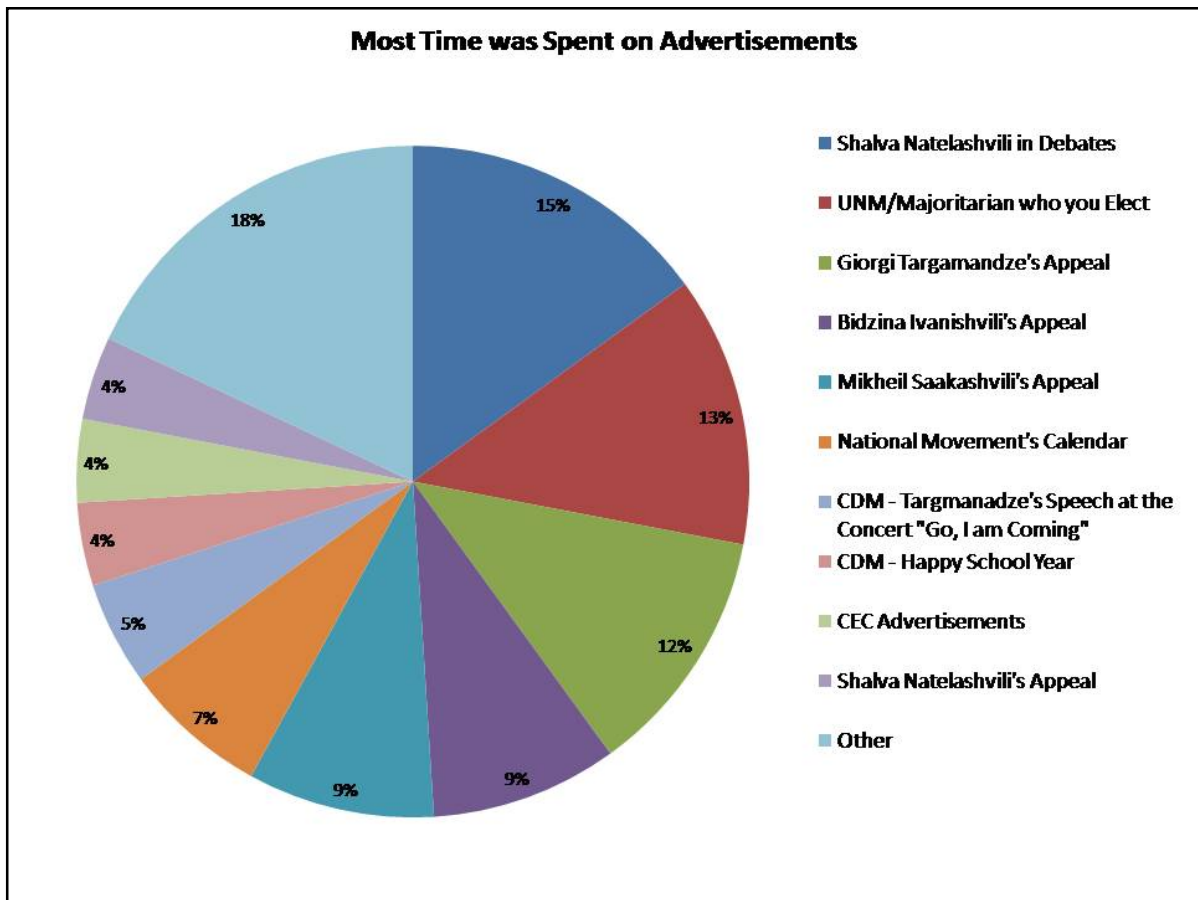


In the period from September 22 to September 25 and on the previous day of the Election Day – September 30, GPB did not air political advertisements of the Coalition Georgian Dream. Human Rights Center requested GPB to clarify the reason of suspending advertisements of one election subject in the aforementioned 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.

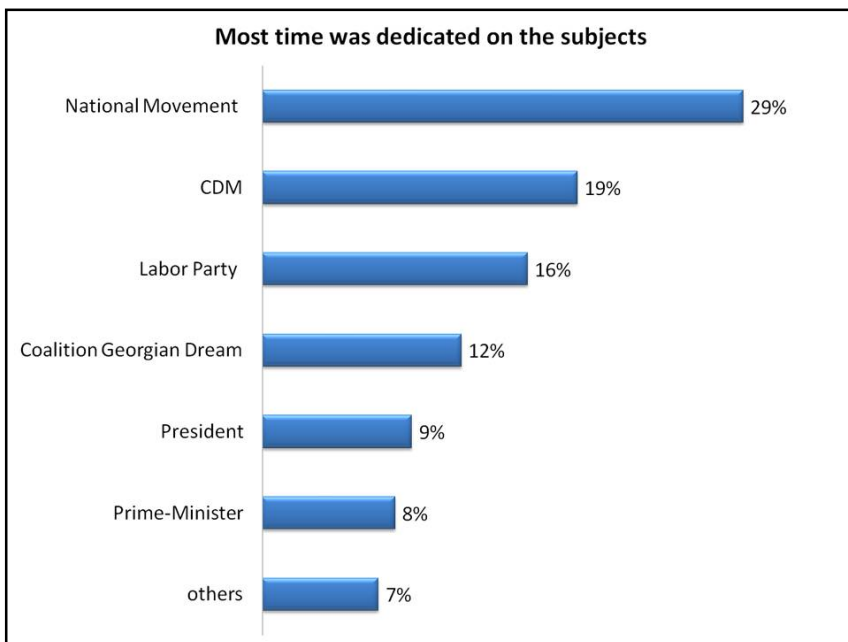
From September 24 to October 1, on the previous days of the Parliamentary Elections, all four qualified election subjects placed video-statements of their leaders on GPB. The party leaders explain to voters why they should vote for the parties. As the diagram of the most frequently aired advertisements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



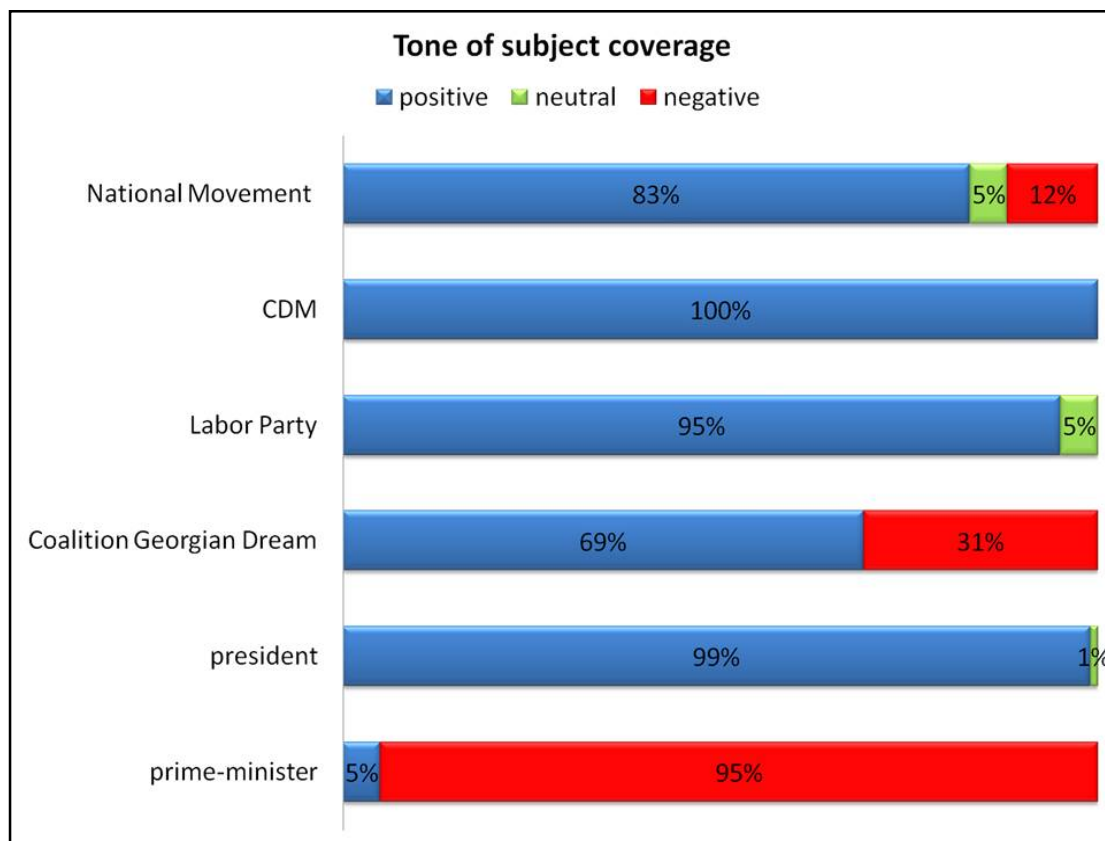
The diagram of the subject coverage shows that most time was dedicated to the National Movement that was caused by frequent airing of 10-second advertisements and by the fact that National Movement was mentioned in the political advertisements of other political parties too. See diagram:



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

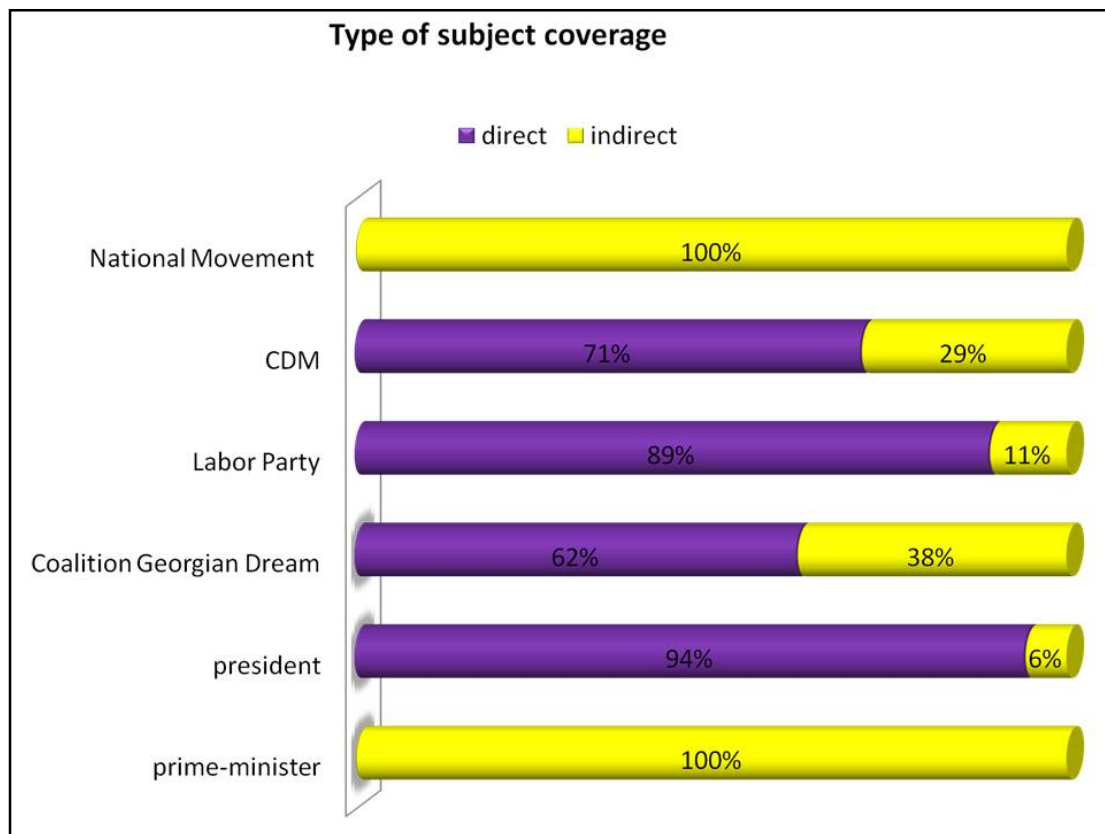
Merabishvili, candidate of prime-minister’s position from the National Movement of the period when Tbilisi ruthlessly dispersed manifestations in Tbilisi that ended with casualty.

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 with direct coverage. 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.



October 1st – November 18th

After Parliamentary elections number of ads on Public Broadcaster significantly decreased. Only several ads relevant for our monitoring were aired during prime time in which electoral subjects or government departments were shown.

The only exception was 25-second long social advertisement of the National Screening Center at the end of which we see logos of the Tbilisi City Hall and the Healthcare Ministry. We discussed this advertisement in details in our previous periodic report.¹⁷ This ad offers free medical examinations. It should be noted that social advertisements of Screening Center were aired during pre-election period as well.

Besides this advertisement, we observed advertisement of the GPB, which presents the trends of covering election period on GPB. The journalists of the news program Moambe, presenters of political talk-shows – Accents, Dialogue, Debates, and Media-Monitor are presented in the ad. In parallel to it representatives of international organizations observer missions positively evaluate the work of the GPB during the pre-election period. After the ad-clip we see a text: “Public Broadcaster – impartial, balanced and unbiased.” The ad lasts 55 seconds and was aired only once in the period of October 7-21, namely on October 20.

After October 1st Parliamentary Elections GPB stopped airing several social advertisements where initiatives of governmental institutions were presented or their activities or successful projects were advertised. These advertisements were frequently aired in the prime-time of GPB before the official pre-election period – August 1st. According to our previous reports, these advertisements had signs of surreptitious political

¹⁷<http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/7%20october%20-%202021%20october%20report%20english.pdf>

advertisement.¹⁸ After Interagency Commission called on the GPB and government to stop airing these advertisements, these advertisements were no longer aired.

Several advertisements, like the ad about free medical insurance, whose client was Healthcare Ministry, lost its actuality due to new political reality in the country. However, it is interesting that neither entertainment music clips were resumed on GPB; they are: Anaklia Is Eager to Welcome You, I Love Racha, I Love Tbilisi, and I Love Svaneti. Though these music rolls advertised different government projects, this secret aim is no longer connected to pre-election campaigning. Thus, it is possible to bring back these advertisements. However, this has never happened.

Rustavi 2

June 18-August 1

During this period of media monitoring the election had not been officially announced yet. However, two political were still aired on Rustavi 2. One was an advertisement against Georgian Dream, another one was advertisement of National Movement. Advertisement against Georgian Dream was made up of extracts from various public speeches of Georgian Dream's Leader Bidzina Ivanishvili. The author has selected those scenes where the politician mumbles, forgets words or mispronounces them.¹⁹²⁰²¹ At the end of each advertisement we see subscription "Georgian Dream?" implicating - is it Georgian dream?

Extracts from Bidzina Ivanishvili's public speeches are edited in this advertisement. Similar collage of phrases is provided to the audience as a position of the politician: 1) about the launch of war in August of 2008 ("Georgian party started military operations"); 2) about Soviet Union ("let's return its past to Georgia"//"once, whatever it was, if you remember during the Soviet Union everybody tried to arrive in Georgia; we should create similar situation now..."); 3) about cooperation with Russia – ("Russian population is making their choice//with much probability I agree with you that it will be Putin//Russians like this man//I will have to sat at negotiation table with him/...").

Phrases "let's return its past to Georgia" and "once, whatever it was, if you remember during the Soviet Union everybody tried to arrive in Georgia; we should create similar situation now" are taken out from different speeches of political and are united in a way that it gives impression that politician's desire is to go back to Soviet Union. However, the full versions of these speeches which are not as available to the viewer as these advertisements might not mean the same.

Those advertisements make personal skills –speech ability - of the politician uncertain. The authors of advertisements try to underline that the person cannot properly speak in audience and then they ask people – Can this person realize Georgian dream? Relatively, that advertisement contains signs of non-ethic advertising and broadcasters are prohibited to air them in accordance to Article 63 Part II of the Law on Broadcasting (*"Running of untrue, deceitful, covert, anonymous, offensive or defamatory advertisements or teleshopping is prohibited"*).²²

¹⁸ <http://humanrights.ge/admin/editor/uploads/pdf/English-2.pdf>

¹⁹ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GYSCT9gKr1U&feature=share>

²⁰ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JZ3lQCMdu38&feature=share>

²¹ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XE1GzHtYI0U&feature=share>

²² Art.63 Par2 <http://www.liberty.ge/geo/myuploads/KanoniMautskeblobisShesaxe.pdf>

In accordance to the Article 63 Part III of the Law on Broadcasting the license holder shall not be responsible for the content of social and electoral advertisement. Anti-advertisement about Bidzina Ivanishvili does not belong to any type of advertising. Although the advertisement has subtitle “paid political ad”, since official pre-election campaign was not announced in this period, it cannot be considered pre-election advertisement and it cannot be regulated by the Election Code.

We detected one more paid political advertisement during the monitoring period which belongs to the UNM and it is about general medical insurance state program. The advertisement presents President of Georgia and Prime-Minister, and slogan of the UNM – More Benefit to People - is heard in it. The advertisement roll has subtitle – “paid political advertisement”. The ad was aired by Imedi and Rustavi 2.

The mentioned paid political advertisement was aired before pre-election period was officially announced. It is interesting that Election Code does not prohibit airing paid political advertisement before official pre-election period. The Code only clarifies regulations for airing paid political advertisements during official pre-election period.²³

As for social advertisements, we officially requested Rustavi 2 to release public information on advertisements with social status. Unfortunately, the TV-Company did not provide us with the information. Consequently, in the frame of monitoring we monitored advertisements which more or less conformed to the definition of a social advertisement.

From August 1 to October 1 advertisements with social context were aired in the prime-time of the TV-Company Rustavi 2. The following election subjects were observed in those advertisements: President, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Healthcare, MIA, and Ministry of Economy.

Following music clips were aired in this period of monitoring: “I love Anaklia,” “Batumi,” and “I Love Racha”. At first sight, the purpose of airing these music clips was to popularize Georgian regions though it is significant that they were aired during pre-election period. New Georgia with modern buildings, streets decorated with flowers, happy people, who feel themselves happy in this country were presented in the clips. It is natural that

the clips aimed at creating positive feeling about the ruling power.



In the monitoring period, clip about Summer Job was aired twice in advertisement intervals. Young people are wearing white t-shirts with red letters SJ (summer job) in the ad. The first letter looks like the election number 5 of the ruling party.

Signs of hidden advertisement were detected in the monologue of the Vano's Show aired by Rustavi 2 on June 22. Although the anchor is leading humorist program, frequency and character of his jokes exceeded humorist manner in this particular case

²³ Article 13 <http://electionreforms.ge/files/library/17.pdf>

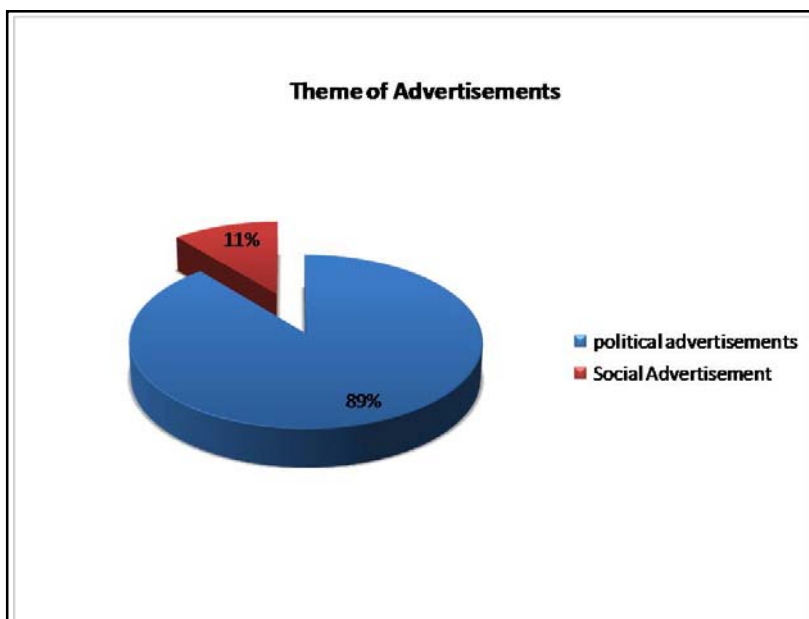
and contained signs of hidden advertisement. During five minutes, the anchor showed scenes how warmly and frankly President of Georgia is speaking with population. The anchor calls him “a man of promise” and appeals to Khashuri population – “did not he supply Khashuri with gas?” In parallel to it, he jokes about opposition candidate Bidzina Ivanishvili in negative tone and makes fun of his plans (*speakers during Guria assembly said jokes about Guria residents; finally Bidzina appeared on the stage, unfolded a paper where future plans of the Georgian Dream were written on and continued telling jokes*”).

In the same monologue the anchor jokes that President asked population to circle UNM election number 5 on the Election Day. Then he continued joking that president and he together travelled and twice repeated that their journey lasted five hours. Stressing out the number 5 in this form and frequency leaves reasonable doubt that its serves purpose to advertise the election number of the United National Movement.

1999 Recommendations of the Cabinet of Ministers of Council of Europe underlines that particular attention shall be paid to entertainment programs during pre-election period in order to prevent them from giving advantages to concrete political party or candidate and influencing voters.²⁴ Although the mentioned monologue of the Vano’s Show was aired before official pre-election period, since regulations to ban hidden advertisements work in Georgia neither on legislative nor on self-regulation level, there is no mechanism to control similar cases even during pre-election.

August 1 – October 1

When pre-election period was officially announced in the country, number of political advertisements significantly increased on Rustavi 2.



Political advertisements occupied the most time of TV-Companies’ broadcasting time; social advertisements took less time. This trend continued during entire pre-election period (see diagram: period 27/08/2012-2/09/2012).

Plenty of National Movement’s advertisements were aired by Rustavi 2. One of them presented pre-election promises of the political party. The context of this advertisement shows that the ruling party promised overall medical insurance to population. The advertisement also presented recent achievements in the healthcare system (construction of hundreds new hospitals).

²⁴ http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/doc/cm/rec%281999%29015&expmem_EN.asp

Another advertisement of the National Movement started with the text: "Georgia Cannot Return to the Past." According to the context of the ad, National Movement promised more benefit to the population (employment, increased pensions, 1000 lari voucher, available healthcare, etc) instead going back to the past.

UNM's advertisement about employment stated: „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.”

Idea of one more election advertisement of the National Movement during the pre-election period was: United National Movement states that every family shall have a part in the progress of the country. So, we should reinforce village, install irrigation systems in the villages which will irrigate 90 000 hectares of land in the country, open mechanization centers throughout the country which will supply Georgian villages with tractors and peasants with knowledge. United National Movement – to have part in the progress!”

After the video-footage about horrible situation in penitentiary establishments was depicted by TV-Channels, a new political advertisement of the UNM appeared on Rustavi 2. The leader of the political party Mikheil Saakashvili was appealing to the population from his working room with Godmother's Icon in the background. He said their team (UNM) managed to eradicate and resolve the problem (meaning resignation-dismissal of the ministers after the footage was released).

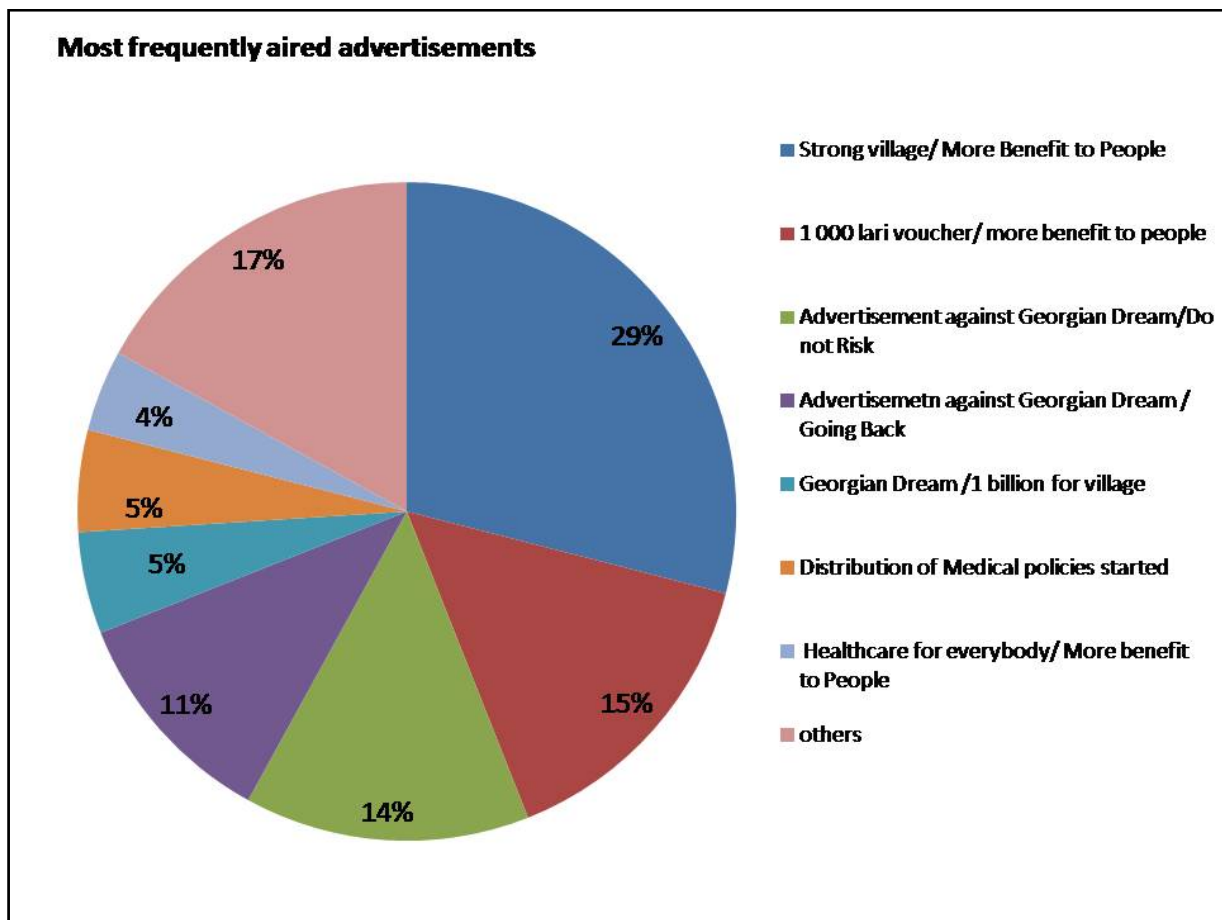
Main subjects of the political advertisements of the UNM were: the government, UNM, President, Prime-Minister. Each subject was covered in a positive tone.

In the contrary of it, anti-advertisements about the Georgian Dream, which were intensively aired by Rustavi 2, resulted into negative coverage of the Coalition. For example, in one advertisement, mother of the soldier killed in the armed conflict of August, 2008, said about Bidzina Ivanishvili: "Georgian people do not need people like Ivanishvili. It is not Georgian dream to subordinate to Russia again. Russia has ruined us."

Relation between Georgian opposition and Putin is discussed in one more anti-advertisement. The advertisement states that GD's leaders criticize Georgia's integration into the NATO. Then we see a scene when a leader of the Georgian opposition parties Nino Burjanadze is shaking hands with Putin. In parallel to it we hear text: "part of opposition promises Russian side to protect their interests (in the country)." "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 the Georgian Dream's members and images of 1990s Georgia – people standing in the bread lines and dark streets."

Free political advertisements appeared on TV-channels since August 15. Four qualified election subjects enjoyed the right to place free political advertisements on TV-Channels: Labor Party, Georgian Dream, National Movement and Christian-Democrat Movement. Rustavi 2 aired free political advertisements of all four parties.

Most frequently aired advertisements during August 13-26:

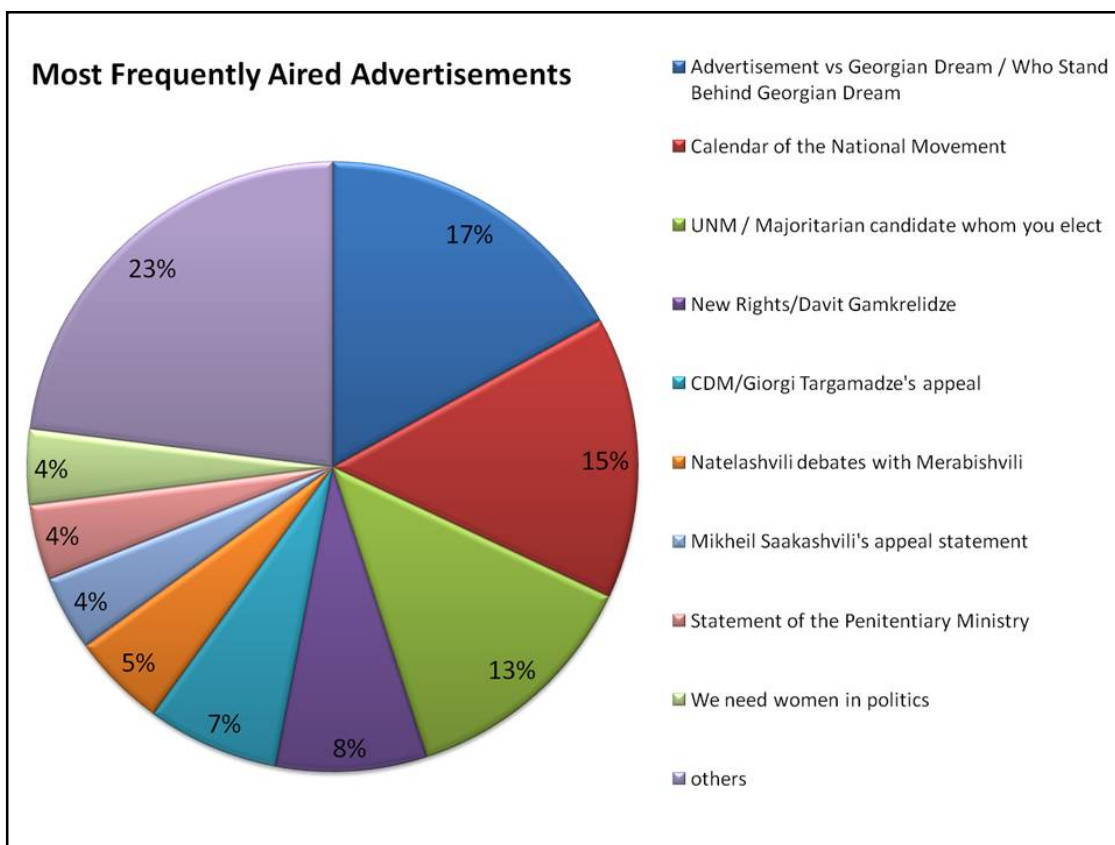


Assemblies of the Georgian Dream were announced in GD's free political advertisements. Besides that, we observed advertisements where GD gave various pre-election promises to the population: development of agriculture, eradication of unemployment problem, etc.

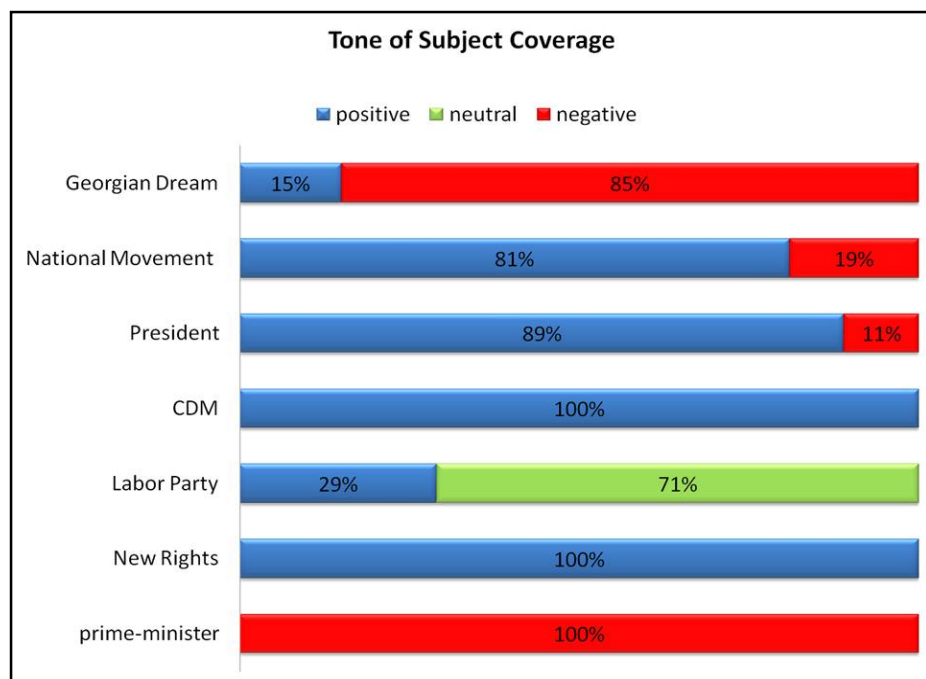
Christian Democrat Movement promised population to fix fair tariffs and free healthcare in their pre-election advertisements.

Labor Party also placed its advertisements on Rustavi 2 –. One of their advertisements was 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 rival Bidzina Ivanishvili. In the ad, a journalist asks him: "Why should the people elect you?" and Natelashvili replies: "Because there is no other choice."

A week before the Election Day, the following advertisements were aired by Rustavi 2. (24/09/2012-1/10/2012).



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.



A week before the Election Day, tone of subject coverage was the following: (24/09/2012-1/10/2012)

Georgian Dream was negatively covered in anti-advertisements. UNM was negatively covered in the advertisements of the CDM and Labor party. Prime-Minister was covered in full negative tone because the leader of the Labor Party negatively spoke about Prime-Minister Vano Merabishvili in their advertisement.

As for assumed political advertisements, ad about Summer Job was still aired by Rustavi 2.

Another alleged social advertisement presented the activities of the Voters' Lists Verification Commission. The ad subject – the Commission and its leader Mamuka Katsitadze were presented in the advertisement. The video-roll stated that the Commission finished verification process of lists with the support of population. It also provided data which was revealed during verification process and in fact the ad summarized activities of the Commission and provided population with the information about received results.

Advertisements about Central Election Commission were frequently aired by Rustavi 2. In some advertisements high-qualified activities of the CEC were advertised. Purpose of the advertisements was to increase public trust to the CEC. Besides that, we observed advertisements prepared by the CEC which informed voters about election procedures.

One more advertisement attracted our attention; presumably it is also social advertisement (it did not have subtitle noting whether it was paid or free political advertisement). The text of the ad was: "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," if this ad had social status, there is natural question: did it conform to the definition of the social ad in the law. Similar advertisements cause clear association of pre-election promises.

We observed a new advertisement containing signs of social advertisement since September 10; it underlines significance of women's involvement in politics. Several respondents answer the question: "Why do we need women in politics?": "Because women give start to a new life..." "because women are better diplomats," etc... The ad was aired 10 times by Rustavi 2.

October 1-November 18

In the post-election period political advertisements completely disappeared on TV-Companies; number of social ads also reduced.

Only one social advertisement was aired in the first and second weeks after the Election Day. The ad was about property tax payment. With the ad Revenue Service reminded population that if their and their family members' total income exceeded 150 00 lari per year, they should visit website www.rs.ge and fill in financial declaration of physical persons.

To the end of monitoring, one more social advertisement appeared on Rustavi 2. It advertised charity concert of the Foundation Iavna. Advertisement subject relevant to our media-monitoring was Tbilisi City Hall who was presented as a concert supporter in the advertisement.

It is interesting that post-election period media-monitoring revealed that Rustavi 2 no longer airs assumed social advertisements, which were aired before the elections and where signs of hidden advertisement were detected by the group of monitors, (Made in Georgia, Defense Ministry – Total Care for People, etc).

Imedi

June 18-August 1

In the period from June 18 to July 1 TV-Company Imedi did not air any political advertisement. Imedi mostly aired advertisements about achievements or service of governmental institutions (Keep order, Students' discount card, Made in Georgia, Ministry of Healthcare starts distribution of medical insurance policies, Study Today, Get Employed Tomorrow," "Registration of Job-Seekers started," Students' Employment Program, Travel Around Georgia). Some of them contained signs of hidden advertisement:

1. **Made in Georgia.** *In the ad, construction activities are going on the ship-board. The advertisement lasts 44 seconds. A worker is writing on the deck – "Beach Security" (3 seconds). The Beach Security is subdivision of the MIA. At the end of the ad we see www.police.ge.*
2. **Students' Employment Program** - *Students are wearing white t-shirts and letter S on them causes association of the UNM's election number 5.*
3. **Advertisement of the Caucasus Online -There is a good internet in the city.** *The ad lasts 21 seconds. At the end of the roll we hear a phrase: "good internet starts from five megabits" and number 5 appears on the red background that is election number of the UNM causes association of the UNM symbol.*
4. **Music clip "I Love Racha"** –*police office with signboard "police" is seen several times in the advertisement (4 sec) that is indirect advertisement fo the MIA.*
5. **Anaklia Is Eager to Welcome You.** *It lasts 215 seconds and advertises the project initiated by the president of Georgia – Anaklia.*

From July 1, TV-Company Imedi aired advertisements prepared by the nongovernmental organization "Georgia not for sale." They were anti-advertisements about the Coalition Georgian Dream.

Those ads were made up of extracts from various public speeches of Bidzina Ivanishvili. Most of his speeches are extracted from context and edited. They mostly used those scenes where the GD's leader mumbles, forgets or mispronounces words. At the end of each advertisement we read a text: Georgian Dream? (with subtext – Is it Georgian Dream?)

Another paid political advertisement was observed in the same report period – its client was UNM and presented governmental program on general medical insurance.

August 1-October 1

In this period of media-monitoring, political advertisements (both paid and free) were most frequently aired by Imedi TV. In the period between August 1 and October 1, political advertisements took 85% and social advertisements took 11% of the broadcasting time.

In this period, Election Day was already fixed – October 1. On August 1, official pre-election period was announced and pre-election period regulations envisaged by the Georgian Election Code went in force.

In this period of monitoring, Imedi aired political advertisements of the UNM, CDM, Georgian Dream, Labor Party and independent candidate nominated by the initiative group in the Zugdidi DEC # 67.

In the period between August 1 and October 1, paid political advertisement vs Georgian Dream, prepared by the NGO Georgia Not For Sale, were still released.

1. "Georgian Dream?" – the advertisement is about Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili. The video-roll is made up of fragments from various speeches of Georgian Dream's leader Bidzina Ivanishvili. The author has selected phrases where Ivanishvili states "Georgian side launched military operations" and "I will have to sit at negotiation table with Putin." At the end of the advertisement there was text- "Georgian Dream?" (Assumed subtext– is it Georgian Dream??). It had subtitle – paid political advertisement."
2. Second paid political advertisement about Georgian Dream presents mother of Lieutenant Aleksi Natroshvili, killed during Russian-Georgian War in August of 2008. The video was recorded in Vachnadzeani village, Gurjaani district when Ivanishvili visited the village after August 19 natural disaster in Kakheti region. The video lasts 52 seconds; Aleksi Natroshvili's mother said "Georgia does not need people like Ivanishvili. Georgia needs a person who will do real Georgian job. Georgian dream is not to subordinate to Russia. Russia has destroyed us. If we are damaged by natural disaster now, Russia finished us at that time." Journalist asked her – "Do you think Bidzina Ivanishvili is Russia's ally?" and she replied "I think so and it is true." At the end of the advertisement we hear a phrase containing negative context: "if they come in government, they might even dig out graves." The advertisement represents Georgian Dream's leader Bidzina Ivanishvili as a supporter of Russian policy [in Georgia]. The advertisement has subtitle – paid political advertisement.
3. The third paid political advertisement is also about Georgian Dream. It states that before voters decide whom to vote for in October, "one person has already clearly demonstrated his position." And we see photo of Russian president Vladimir Putin. The advertisement states "Leaders of Georgian Dream, for example, Zviad Dzidziguri criticizes Georgia's starvation for NATO membership" and we see Zviad Dzidziguri's interview with the newspaper *Resonansi* with the title: "We should bother about ourselves instead dreaming about NATO now." Then we see photos of Nino Burdjanadze, Koba Davitashvili and Zurab Nogaideli meeting with Russian politicians and then we hear text: "Others state when meeting Russian officials that they will protect their interests [in Georgia]. Putin likes it." The advertisement presents a phrase from Bidzina Ivanishvili's interview: "Georgian side launched military operations." It should be noted that Nino Burjanadze and Zurab Nogaideli who are associated with pro Russian politics are not the members of Georgian Dream and they are used in the video to intensify negative effect.
Phrase from Bidzina Ivanishvili's interview was used in the ad: "Georgian side launched military operations." The advertisement ends with the rhetoric question: "We know Putin's choice; and whom do you elect?" The ad has subtitle – Paid Political Ad.
4. Declaration on How to Behave during Elections – was also paid political advertisement of the United National Movement. The advertisement stated that majority of political parties had signed the declaration on the behavior during elections and they, who signed the document, said NO to bribe voters, to misuse administrative resources and to use violence during elections. We hear a phrase at the end of the ad: "only one political party Georgian Dream rejected the declaration. Why, what do they plan?" The ad was aired with subtitle: "Paid political advertisement."
5. One more anti-advertisement about Georgian Dream stated that following people stood behind the election promises of the Coalition: Tamaz Tamazashvili, head of police during Shevardnadze's authority, who was associated with kidnapping of people; Shalva Khachapuridze, acting judge during

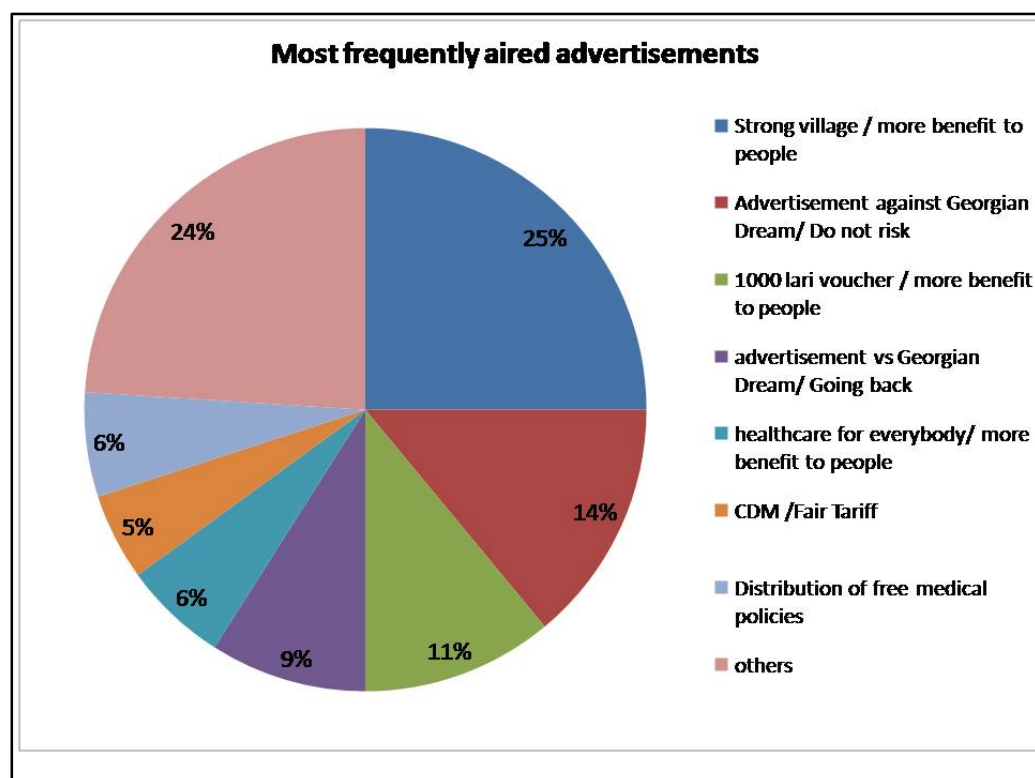
Shevardnadze's period who was related with thieves-in-law; Murman Dumbadze – who warned voters that if they sign election number 5 of the UNM they will get sick. The ad finishes with the suggestion: "Do not risk!"

6. Advertisement prepared against the Coalition Georgian Dream presents extracts from Bidzina Ivanishvili's interviews where he speaks about Putin. The ad stressed out that he had not said anything negative about the Russian president.
7. One more anti-advertisement about the Georgian Dream was "Again Aslan?" The ad claimed that if Bidzina Ivanishvili had won parliamentary elections, he would have re-appointed former senior officials of Aslan Abashidze's government in Adjara.

We observed paid and free political advertisements of the coalition Georgian Dream on Imedi which presented the Coalition's election program about development of agriculture, employment and education.

In the period between August 1 and October 1, like in the previous period of media-monitoring, Imedi TV still aired paid political advertisements of the UNM about general medical insurance.

Imedi still aired UNM's political advertisement *1000 lari Voucher*. President and prime-minister were subjects of this ad.



During this period of media-monitoring, Imedi aired UNM's advertisement about employment (see diagram: "Employment – More Benefit to People). The ad states that Ministry of Employment was established to eradicate unemployment in the country; the Ministry will register and employ every unemployed person.

Most frequently aired advertisements during the period of August 13 – 26 were:

In the report period, Imedi TV aired political advertisements of the majoritarian candidates of the UNM in Tbilisi: Nikoloz Khachirashvili, Giorgi Karbelashvili, Andria Urushadze, Andro Alavidze, Giorgi Chachanidze. The ten-second advertisements were positive about majoritarian candidates.

After September 19, National Movement's new paid political advertisement appeared on Imedi TV where President Mikheil Saakashvili appealed to the population.

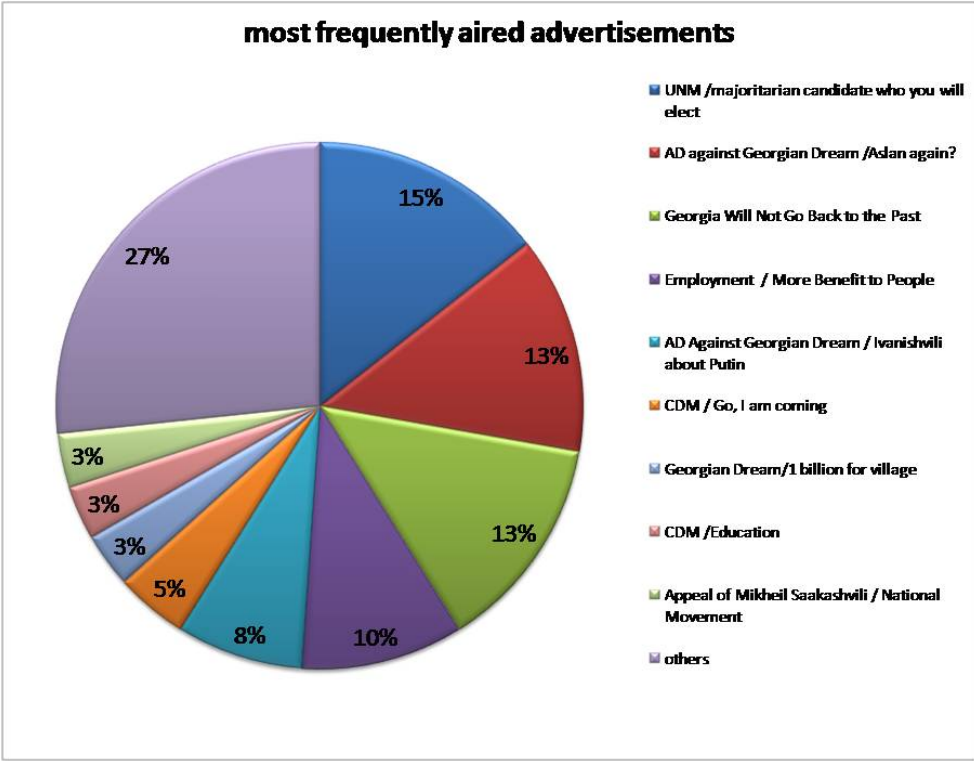
He condemned horrible facts that had occurred in the Georgian penitentiary establishments and stated that the government promptly and effectively responded to these facts like developed democratic countries would have acted in similar situation. The president said: “National Movement will always fight against problems and will bring more benefit people.”

We observed political advertisements of two more qualified election subjects - CDM and Labor Party on Imedi TV. Labor Party placed the following advertisements on Imedi: “Who made revolution”, “We are taking from the rich and giving to the poor,” “Why should people elect Natelashvili,” “Anti-national tyranny is being established in the country”, and an advertisement made up of extracts from Maestro-TV where Shalva Natelashvili reads Murman Lebanidze’srhyme. In almost every advertisement the Labor Party’s leader negatively speaks about the president and leaders of the Georgian Dream.

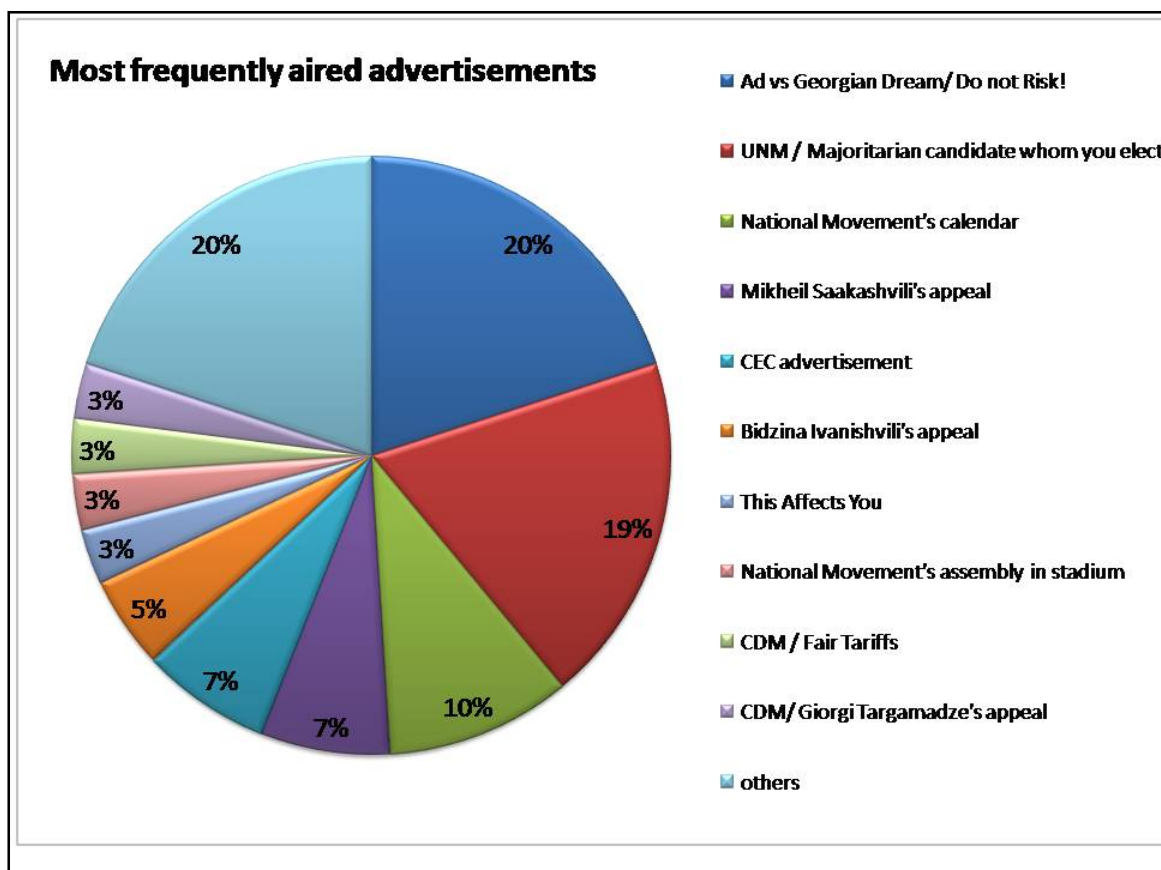
In the report period, the following advertisements of the CDM were aired: “We will employ entire Georgia,” “Education for employment,” “it shall finish on October 1,” “CDM-Go I Am Coming.” In the advertisement “It shall finish on October 1”

CDM’s leaders speak about horrible facts from the penitentiary system. Advertisement “Go, I am Coming” was aired in two formats – long and short versions. CDM’s leader Giorgi Targamadze spoke about fair tariffs and available healthcare in those advertisements.

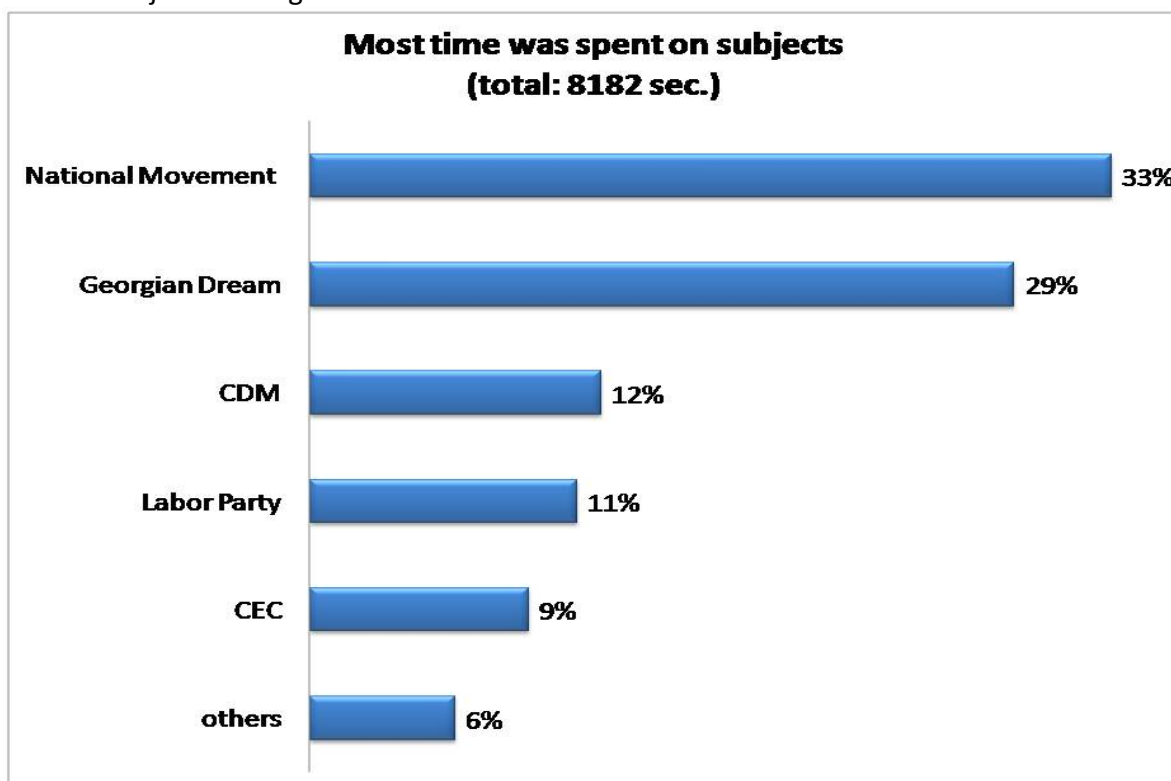
In the period of September 10 - September 23 the most frequently aired advertisements on Imedi TV were:



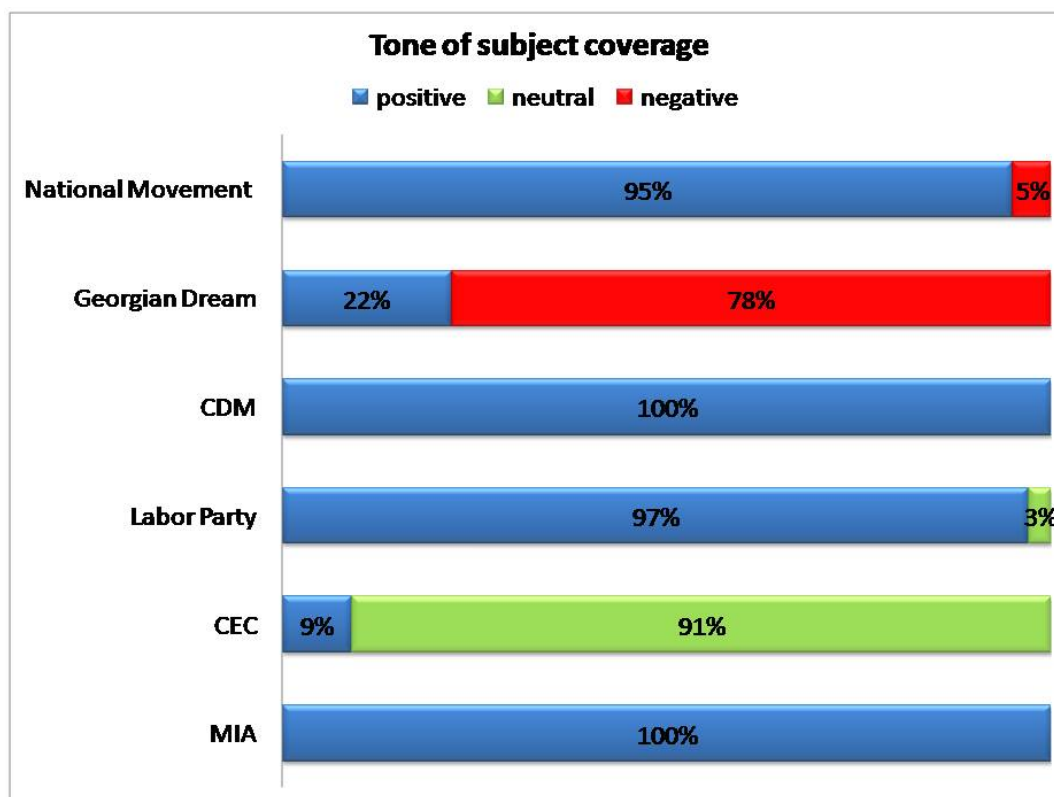
During the period of September 24 – October 1 political ad of National Movement against Georgian Dream and address of Mikheil Saakashvili were most frequently aired ads.



During the period of September 24 – October 1, National Movement and Georgian Dream were given longest time in terms of subject coverage.



In terms of tone of coverage, during the period of September 24 – October 1, National Movement was positively covered in 95%, Georgian Dream was positively covered only in 22%, advertisements against it contributed to the rest 78%.



During the period between August 1 and October 1 Imedi aired following social advertisements:

1. Medical policies - The advertisement informs population that policies will be delivered to their registration addresses. Presumably this advertisement belongs to the category of social ads because it provides information necessary for population that is criterion of a social advertisement.
2. CEC advertisements also presumably had social status: 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. 3) “Shaking Hands” states that shaking hands is the most common form of communication and people express gratitude with shaking hands; honorable people can shake hands with rivals and congratulate with the victory. The ad finishes with the phrase: Mutual Respect Breeds Trust. These advertisements belong to the category of assumed social advertisements because they aim at social welfare.
3. Advertisement of the Defense Ministry about total care of people also had assumed social status (the ad did not have subtitle – paid or free political advertisement). The context of the advertisement caused association of pre-election promises.
4. Advertisement of the Ministry of Education – “Happy New School Year”. 30-second advertisement advertised the activities implemented by the Ministry of Education rather than congratulation with the launch of new school year: the advertisement provided audience with the information how many

schools were renovated, how many classrooms of future will be opened in the public schools of Georgia and how many first-grade pupils will receive net-books.

5. Student card: the advertisement states that based on the initiative of the President of Georgia students of all authorized high schools will receive student cards for free which will allow them to enjoy significant discount in various service centers, state institutions and private companies. The advertisement underlines that with the card every student will have chance to make his/her life easier. The ad lasts 50 seconds.

Sings of hidden political advertisement were detected in the advertisements:

1. Kutaisi Airport – the ad lasted 25 seconds and its purpose should have been advertisement of the service at the Kutaisi Davit Agmashenebeli Airport but instead it presented rehabilitated or recently constructed buildings in Kutaisi. Ordinary citizens took part in it and said: “My Bagrati, My Church,” “My parliament,” “My city, my airport.” Simultaneously we see Bagrati Church, recently constructed parliament and Kutaisi Airport.
2. “Undefeatable Energy of Freedom” this was a clip with the dance performed by Georgian National Ballet Sukhishvilis. The clip lasted 221 seconds. The dancers were dancing on the Peace Bridge, in front of the glassy building of the MIA, Tbilisi Justice House and in the yard of the recently rehabilitated Akhaltsikhe Rabati. As a result, this clip advertises the projects initiated by the president. The clip ended with the subtitle – Undefeatable Energy of Freedom.
3. “Renovated Kakheti Is Waiting for Guest” – was animation which lasted 106 seconds. The ad did not have any subtitles indicating at client or status. It invited people to various holidays organized in various facilities of the rehabilitated Telavi and Kvareli.
4. “I love Svaneti”- 200 second advertisement told a love story with the accompaniment of Sopo Nizharadze’s music. The clip showed the renovated center of Mestia and new building of local government.

Advertisements containing sings of hidden advertisement – Students’ Employment Program, music clips – Anaklia Is Eager to Welcome You and I Love Racha were also aired in this period.

October 1-November 18

In the period between October 1 and October 7, only two relevant advertisements were aired on Imedi TV: advertisement about election procedures (CEC) on the Election Day and advertisement about Kutaisi International Airport which contained signs of hidden political advertisement.

In this period of monitoring, Imedi TV changed its owner. On October 16, director-general of the TV-Company Imedi Giorgi Arveladze, head of the Ltd Georgian Media Production owning 100% share in the TV-Radio Company Imedi, resigned from the position. The company was assigned back to the family of its founder - late businessman Badri Patarkatshvili. In the transitional period the Channel suspended working on news programs since October 17.

It is noteworthy that neither before October 16 nor between October 16 and November 18, no advertisements relevant to the media-monitoring were observed on Imedi-TV. After elections, Imedi stopped airing assumed social advertisements and commercial advertisements which were aired before elections and contained signs of hidden advertisement (Made in Georgia, Defense Ministry – Total Care for People and There is a good internet in the city). It intensifies our doubt that those advertisements were prepared specially for the pre-election period.

Kavkasia

June 18 – August 1

In the period of June 18 – August 1 Kavkasia did not air any advertisements relevant to our monitoring.

August 1 – October 1

In this period number of paid and free election advertisements significantly increased on Kavkasia. Only three out of four qualified election subjects (UNM, Georgian Dream, Labor Party and CDM) enjoyed their right to place free political advertisements on Kavkasia. Labor Party blamed Kavkasia in partiality and refused to place its election advertisements on it.

Election promises of election subjects reached culmination in the last week of this period. Some election advertisements covered the Ministry of Employment –recently established ministry which promised population to register and employ every unemployed person in the country; to grant 1000 GEL voucher to them for vocational training in order to resolve unemployment problem and poverty and to assist every family to have part in the progress.

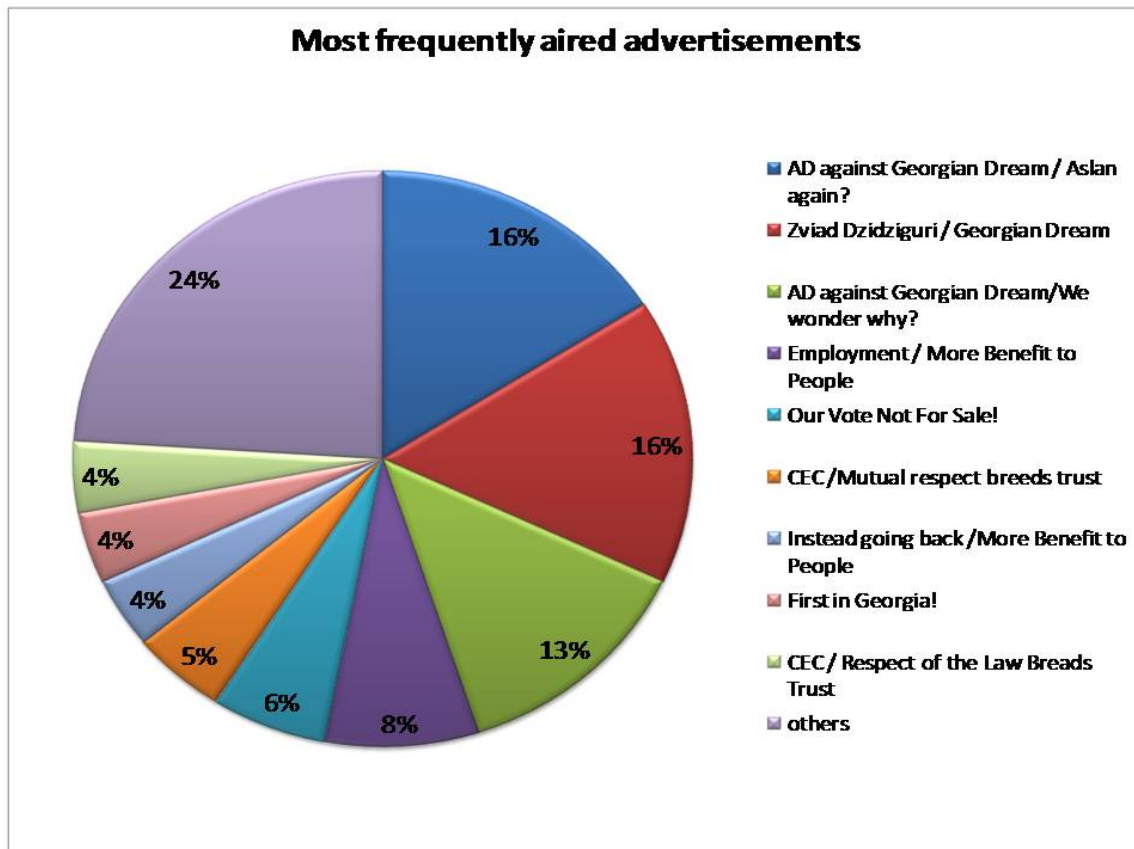
Georgia Will Not Go Back to the Past – the clip starts with the scenes of past time: darkness, cold, people standing in the queues for bread, transport, products and pensions; criminal settlements in prison cells, etc. At the same time we see photos of Tamaz Tamazashvili and Otar Khupenia with negative comments. The ad presenter states that everything remained in the past together with these people and previous government. Then the ad presents projects implemented by the government and National Movement – illuminated streets, happy pensioners, insured people, etc. then we hear promise about happy future. The clip ends with the slogan “Georgia Will Not Go Back to the Past – More Benefit To People.”

Christian Democrat Movement prepared advertisements with interesting promises – Fair Tariffs to People and Education for Employment. CDM’s leader Giorgi Targamadze claimed that the only right way to eradicate poverty is fixing fair tariffs, which they will ensure after their election victory. So he calls upon every voter to vote for the CDM because only their victory could result into installment of fair tariffs and make Georgian energy serve the interests of Georgian people; CDM promised every pupil and teacher to have free text-books; teachers’ starting salary would be 900 GEL; students would have maximum 1125 GEL to cover tuition fees. The CDM also promised free kindergartens and teacher’s status to the nurses of kindergartens.

Georgian Dream’s advertisement about special program for the agricultural development presented party’s future perspectives; it promised villagers free agricultural equipment and fuel, free fertilizers and poisons, insurance of harvest, high-quality saplings and seeds, well-arranged irrigation systems, realization of harvest on international markets, long-term privileged loans, about 1000 new agricultural enterprise and about 10 000 employed people. “We know how to help village; we know how to make Georgian Dream true.”

Georgian Dream’s election advertisements were released with subtitles of either free or paid political advertisements.

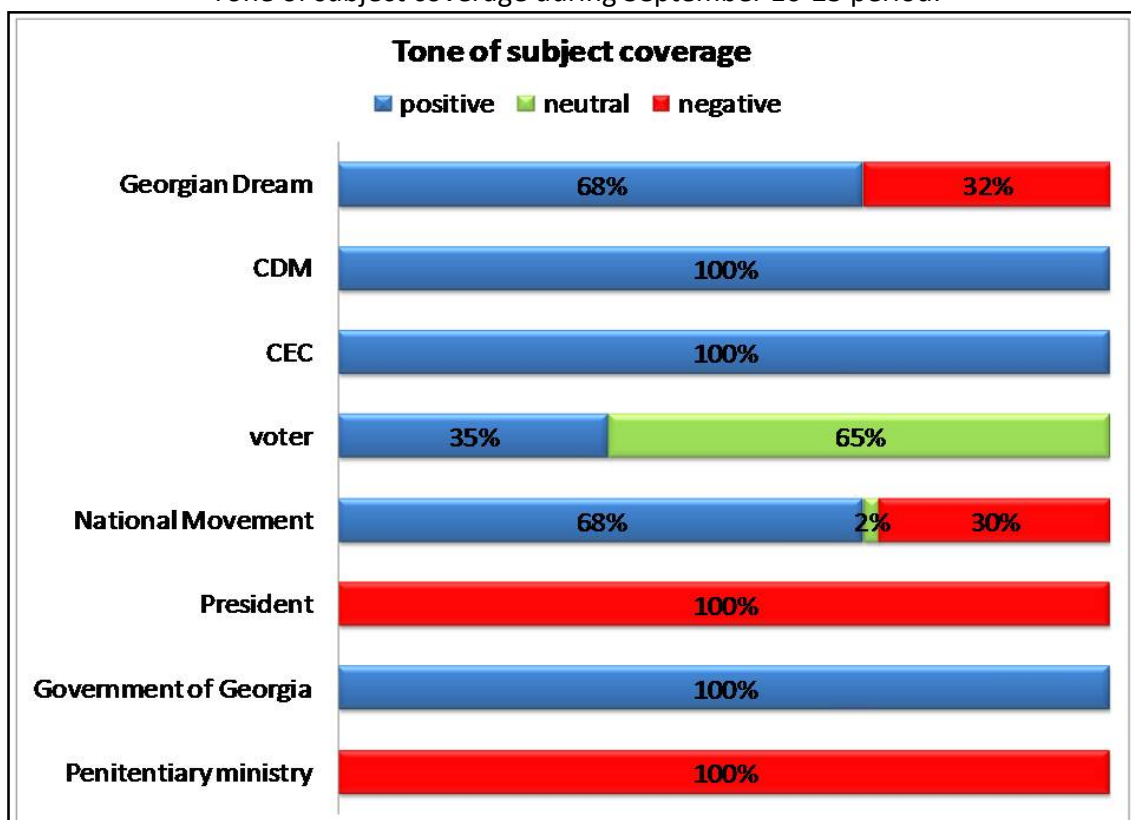
Most frequently aired advertisements during the period of September 10 -23 were:



Kavkasia frequently aired so-called anti-advertisements which aimed to discredit election subject – initially it was Georgian Dream and then National Movement and president. Maestro and TV9 refused to air similar advertisements. As for TV-Company Kavkasia, its leadership said they will stop airing them if/when court passes relevant verdict.

Anti-advertisements about Mikheil Saakashvili were: 1) Georgia (not) for Sale” showed various public speeches of Mikheil Saakashvili where he had stated that opposition parties were spies of Russia and enemies of Georgia. In parallel to it those strategic enterprises were listed which were sold to Russia by the government of Georgia. 2) First in Georgia – presented degradation and poverty of the Georgian population on the background of the President’s caricature and laughing.

Tone of subject coverage during September 10-23 period:



Open support for concrete political party was observed on Kavkasia on August 9 when Davit Akubardia, anchor of the TV-Program Spektri invited leader of the political party *Green Party* Giorgi Gachechiladze to the program. Akubardia directly called upon the TV-viewers to vote for the Green Party on the Election Day, and mentioned its election number 39.

October 1 – November 18

After elections, no advertisements relevant to our media-monitoring were aired on Kavkasia. An interesting tendency was observed in the post-election period – number of commercial advertisements significantly increased on Kavkasia. They also air social ads.

Kavkasia airs only one pre-election TV-Program prepared by Regional Broadcasters Association “Elections 2012,” which invited candidates for the position of the Georgian Public Defender and their views about the activities of the ombudsman were discussed in the program.

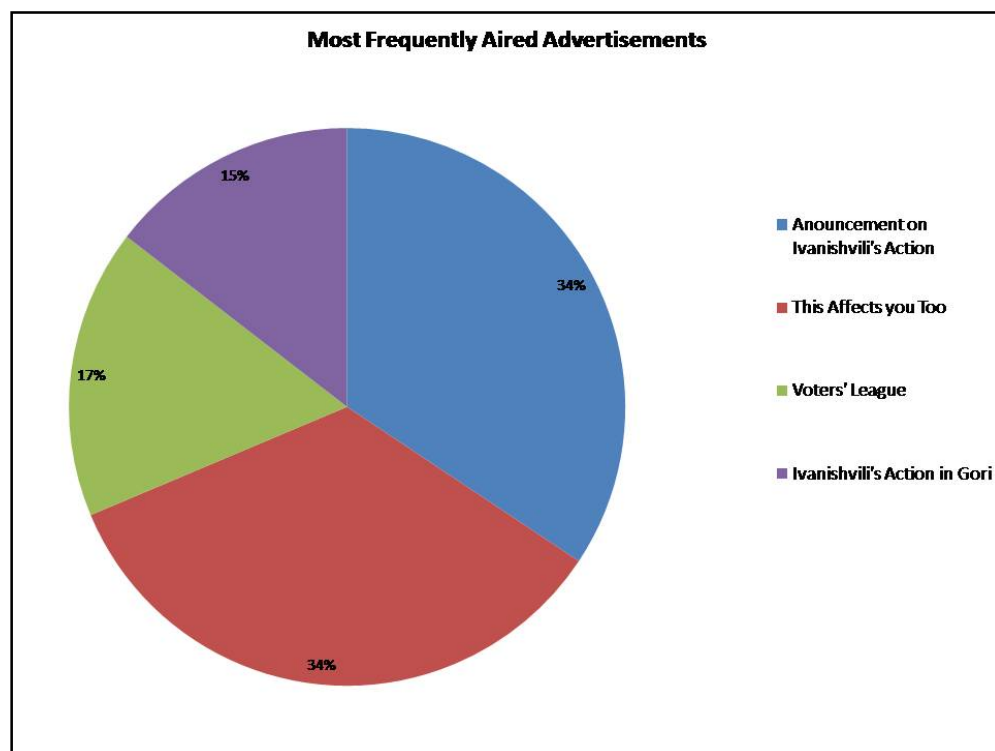
TV9

June 18-August 1

At the starting stage of media-monitoring, in the period between June 18 and August 1, only one political advertisement was aired by TV9 and it was announcement of the public assembly scheduled by the Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili in Mtskheta on July 1. The ad lasted only 30 seconds. Besides this advertisement, most part of advertisement intervals was spent on TV-companies rolls with the following slogans: “We are journalists,” “Try to see more,” “everything starts with question,” “never oppose your conscience,” “first of all we publish the truth.” Each of them lasted 10-20 seconds. A political message is detected in one of those rolls, which is still aired: withered roses are thrown in the bin that presumably indicates at the necessity of political changes. However, each advertisement roll with different scenarios was released several times in one advertisement interval.

In July, in the prime-time of TV9 we observed commercial clip of the civic movement “This Affects You!” Announcements of other TV-programs were also added to advertisement intervals. For example, announcements of the TV-programs: “Hill of Thoughts” and Master Class. A new roll – Voters’ League also appeared in advertisement intervals. Political and pre-election promises were added to the announcement about Bidzina Ivanishvili and Georgian Dream’s assembly in Gori on July 15: launch of agriculture development program; creation of 1 billion lari foundation; protection of land ownership; modernization of agricultural sector; equipment with agricultural techniques; assisting farmers in collecting harvest and selling it on larger market.

Most Frequently aired advertisements during the period of June 18 – July 29 were:



At the end of July, number of advertisements significantly reduced on TV9. Instead, number of announcements of new TV-programs and television intervals was increased. The only ad, which can be categorized as paid advertisement, was 10-second short message of the Voters’ League about errors they had detected in the voters’ lists.

August 1-October 1

In August, coalition and its leader Bidzina Ivanishvili became subjects of the advertisements of the Georgian Dream; tone of coverage was positive as well as tone of coverage of National Movement and CDM in their advertisements. From the first half of August, balance between election advertisements between

different election subjects was more or less protected that was supposedly caused by the launch of Must Carry in the country.

21-second advertisement of the CEC took short advertisement time.

At the end of August, Georgian Dream's pre-election advertisement with conditional name "1 000 000 000 lari budget foundation to aid agriculture" was most frequently aired on TV9. Advertisements of the UNM were also frequently aired with conditional names "1000 lari voucher," "employment ministry," and CDM's advertisement "healthcare," etc.

At the beginning of September, agitating and awareness-raising roll about Must Carry was most frequently aired on TV9. It suggested population to sign special petition on TV9's website. Pre-election advertisement of the Georgian Dream with conditional name "1 000 000 000 lari budget foundation to aid agriculture" was leader among pre-election advertisements. Advertisements of the UNM were also frequently aired with conditional names "1000 lari voucher," "employment ministry," and CDM's advertisement "healthcare," as well as "1.1 billion for agriculture," etc.

In the report period, political, social and a few commercial advertisements were aired on TV9. They aired advertisements of three political subjects – UNM, Coalition Georgian Dream and Christian Democrat Movement.

Two assumed social advertisements about necessity of women's participation in politics were aired on TV 9 alongside advertisements of the Central Election Commission which suggested voters to respect each other.

Advertisement of the election website electionsportal.ge took big part of advertisement intervals. Advertisement of partebi.ge was also aired in the report period several times. Subjects of those advertisements were international and local nongovernmental organizations, subjects relevant to our media-monitoring.

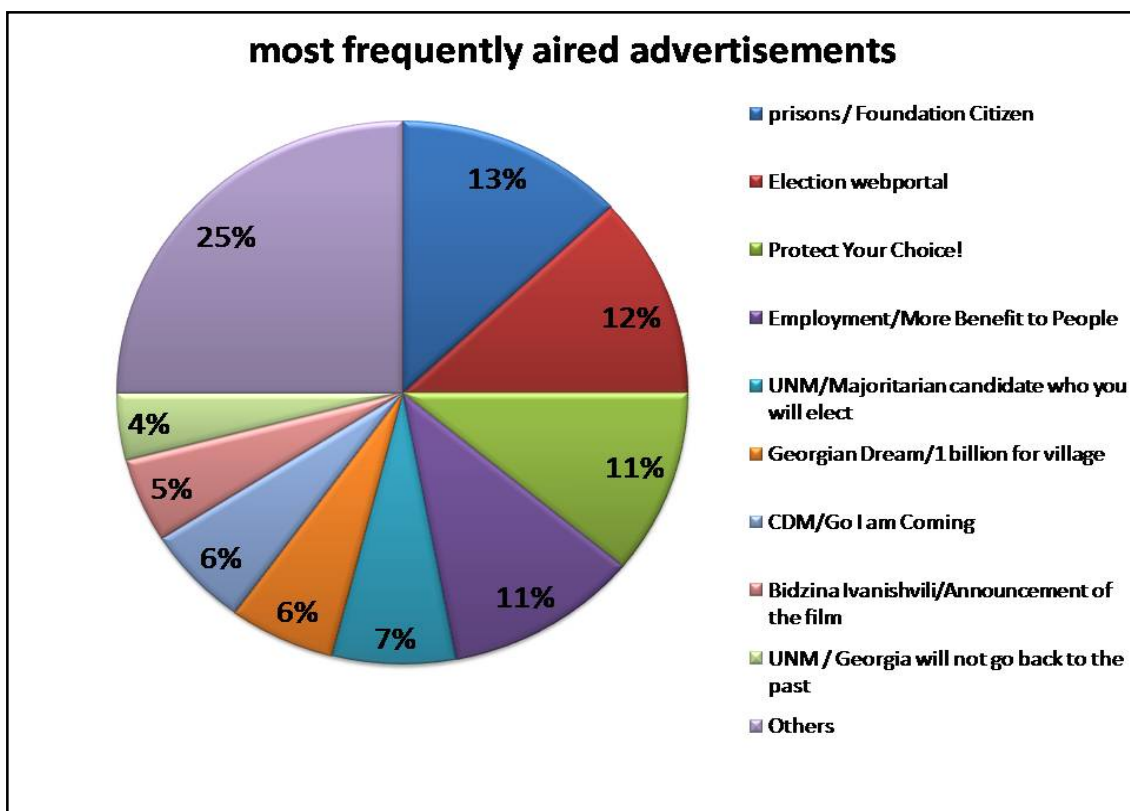
On September 22 and 23 cycle of advertisements with the title "Protect Your Vote!" took big part of advertisement time on TV9. They reminded population of the election procedures on the Election Day and convinced them in the privacy of ballot procedures.

Advertisements of four political advertisements – CDM, UNM, Free Georgia and Georgian Dream - were frequently aired during the last week before the Election Day.

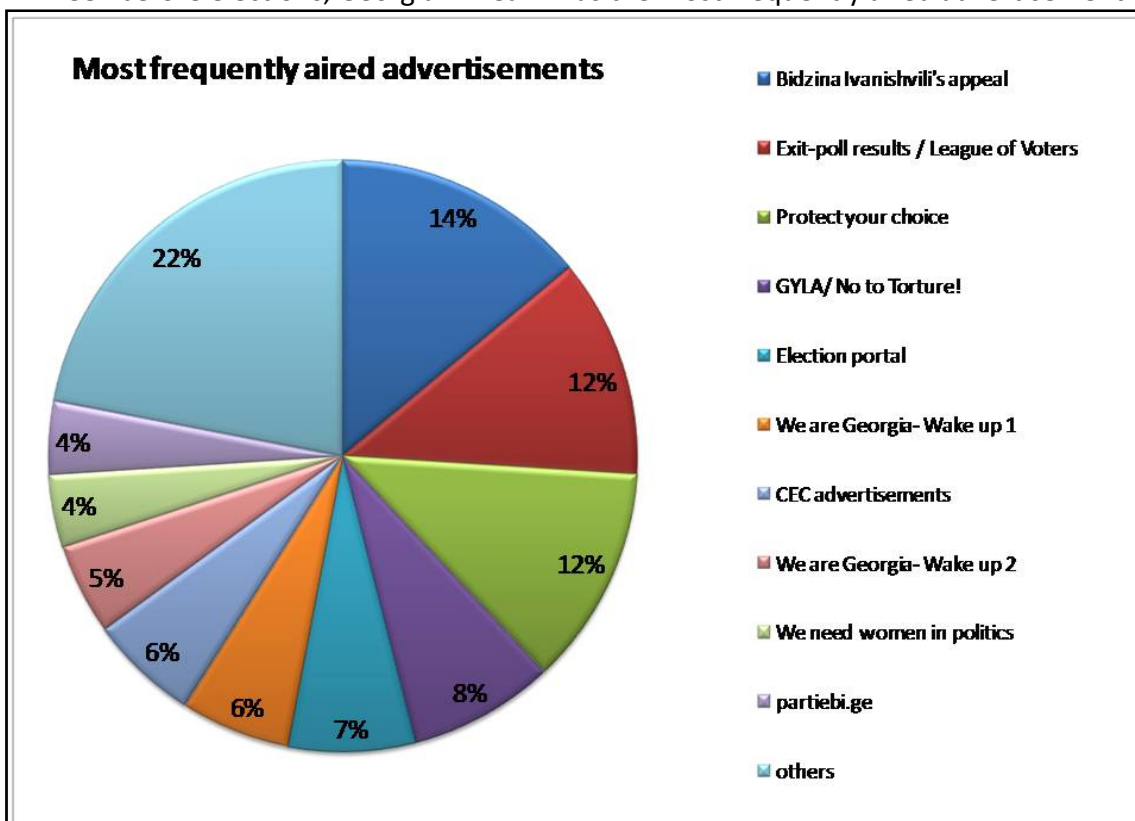
It is noteworthy that advertisement of the Free Georgia was aired in the last week of the pre-election period; before we did not observe its advertisement on TV9.

We also observed social advertisements, like "No to torture!" of the Young Lawyers' Association "Women in Politics," "Foundation Citizen," which informed society about prisoners' torture and published charity bank account. Advertisement of the Voters' League also had social status which informed society about the results of their report on October 2.

During the period of September 10-23, advertisements of National Movement were shown more frequently than those of Georgian Dream. The graph shows that National Movement received 25% in sum and Georgian Dream – 6%.



A week before elections, Georgian Dream was the most frequently aired advertisement:



October 1-November 18

In the post-election period TV9 did not air any political advertisement. Announcements of TV-programs and social advertisements occupied the main time of advertisement intervals; main message of social ads was to stop prisoners' torture and hold former senior officials responsible for them.

In the report period, TV9 did not air any advertisement relevant to our monitoring, which could be somehow connected with pre or post election period.

Whilst before October 1, TV9 only aired TV-programs' announcements, pre-election and social ads, in the post-election period commercial advertisements eventually took more advertisement time on TV9. It is easy to infer that the changed political climate due to the October 1 parliamentary elections also changed the trends of the advertising market too; business groups became more active and assertive, so as to place their advertisements in the TV-Companies which were previously perceived as "oppositional" ones.

No advertisement relevant to our media-monitoring, which could be connected with the pre-election or post-election period with its style, context or other form, was aired by TV-Company in this period.

From November 5 to November 7, TV9 aired announcements of special program dedicated to the fifth anniversary of the November 7, 2007, where scenes from the dispersal of November 7 peaceful dispersal and raid of the TV-Company Imedi were presented.

As for famous video-rolls which were aired by almost every TV-Channel and aimed at discrediting of Bidzina Ivanishvili and Georgian Dream, the only official reason of the TV9 to block them was their request to the UNM to indicate either their name or logo in the clip but the ruling party did not satisfy their request.

Maestro

June 18-August 1

In this period of monitoring advertisements of only Georgian Dream and Free Georgia were aired on Maestro. As for advertisements relevant to our monitoring, we observed only ads of the Voters' League.

Political advertisements of the opposition coalition Georgian Dream and Free Georgia were first to appear on Maestro; number of Georgian Dream was higher than of Free Georgia.

Besides that, type of coverage mostly was indirect; it was direct only in case of Georgian Dream; namely, extracts from public speeches of the Coalition's leader Bidzina Ivanishvili were used in the advertisements.

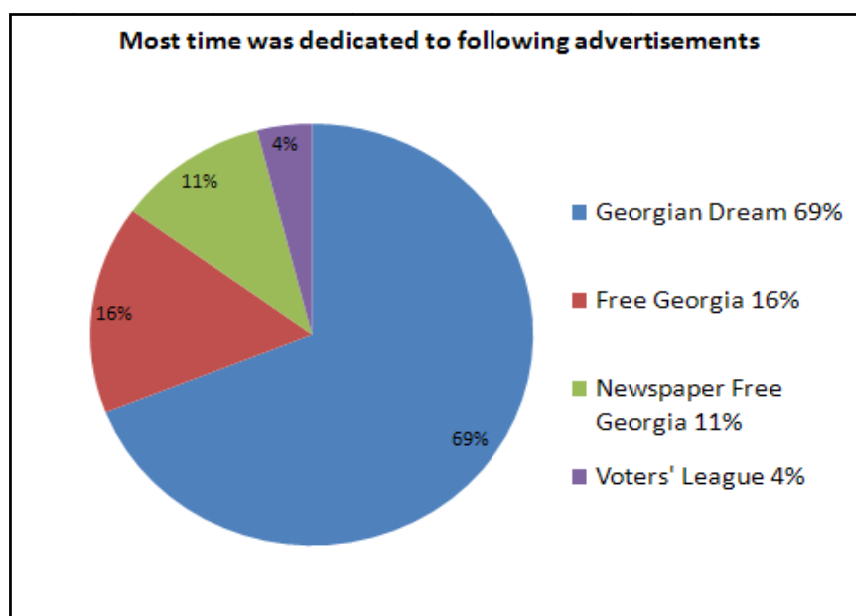
Advertisements of the Voters' League tell about errors detected in the election lists in different election districts.²⁵

During June 18 – July 29 most time was dedicated to following advertisements:

During the prime-time, we did not observe any relevant social advertisements among those social ones which were aired by Maestro according to the official information provided by the TV-Company. We did not detect signs of hidden political advertisements in the advertisements.

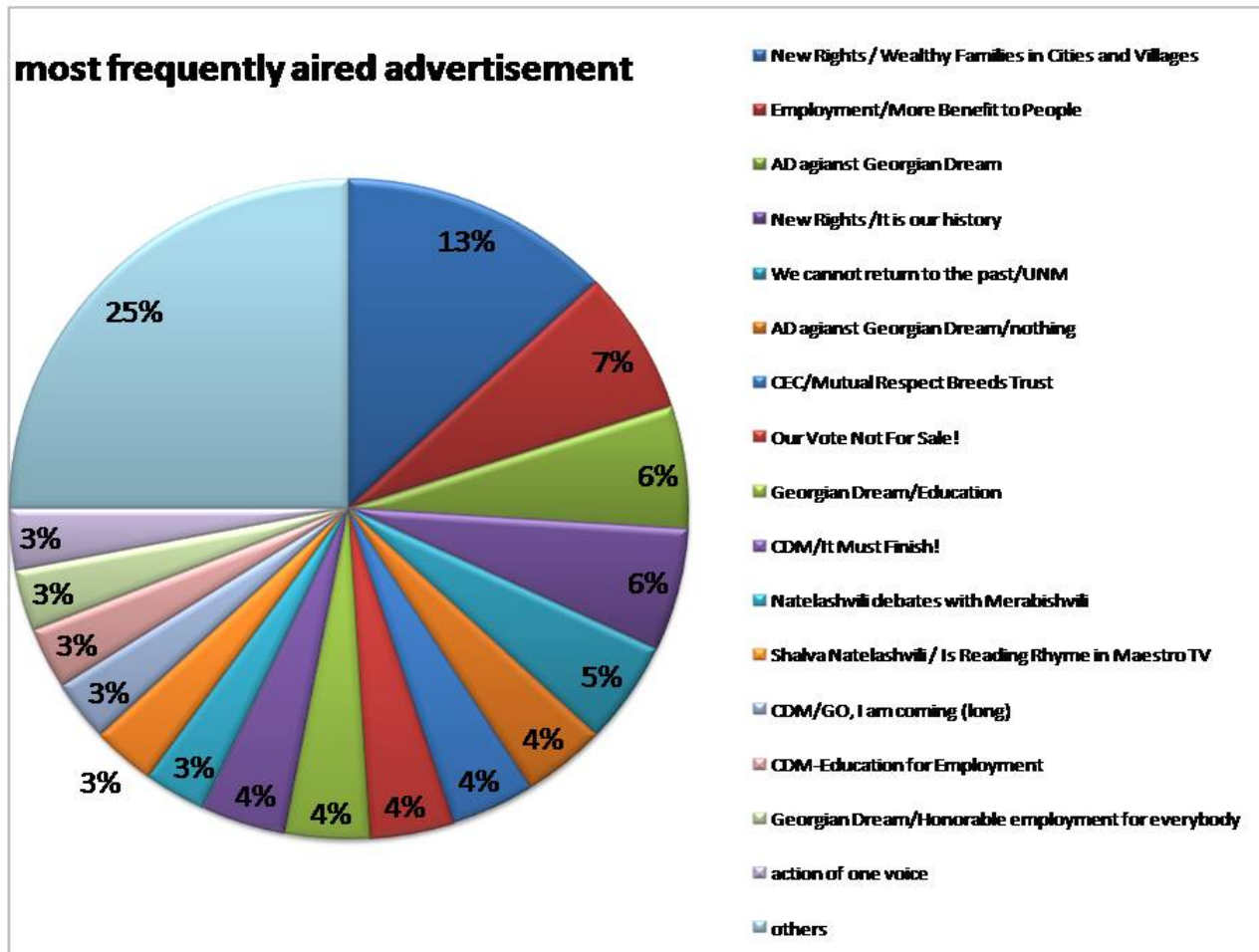
August 1-October 1

In this period of monitoring, advertisements of election subjects Georgian Dream, Free Georgia, UNM, New Rights, Movement for Just Georgia, Labor Party and CDM were aired on Maestro. Also, we observed advertisements of other subjects relevant to our monitoring – Voters' League, Georgia Not For Sale, nongovernmental organization "Future Today," Foundation Georgian" and CEC.



²⁵ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qz3gppeUn0&feature=youtu.be>

Most frequently aired advertisements during September 10 – 23 were:

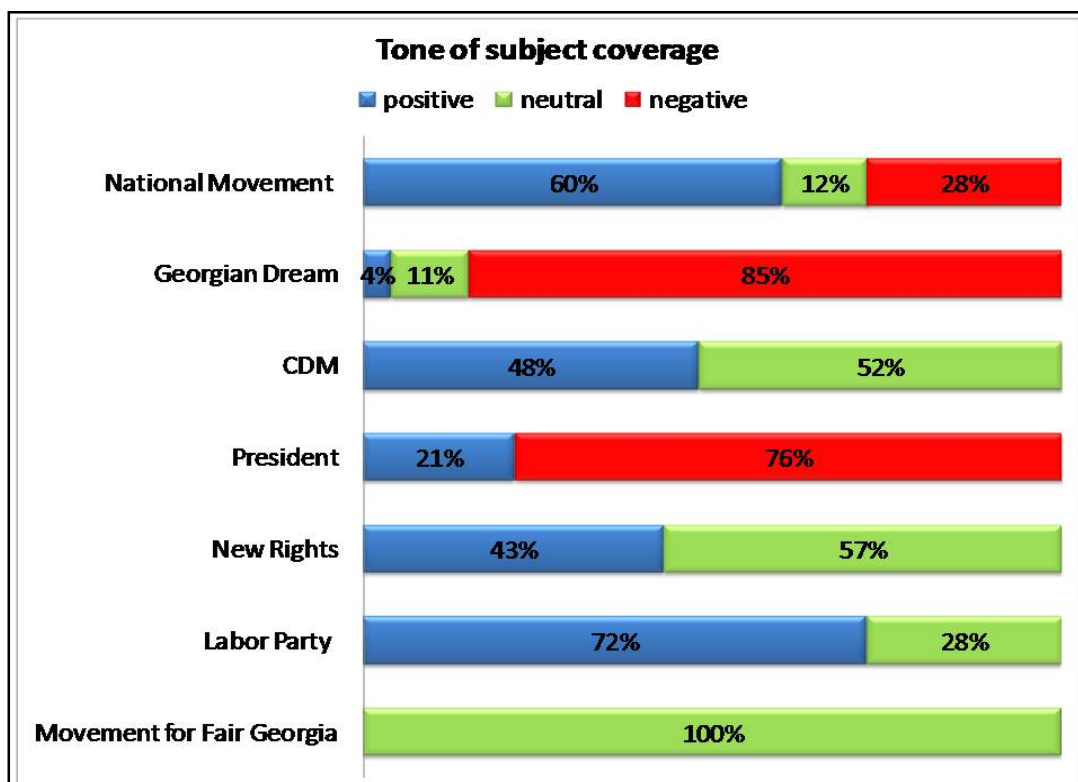


Type of coverage was mostly indirect. The coverage was direct only in case of Georgian Dream because advertisements were made of extracts from Bidzina Ivanishvili's public speeches.

UNM's most frequently aired political advertisement was "Employment/More Benefit to People." The political party promised voters to resolve unemployment problem by establishment of State Ministry of Employment.

In this report period, only Georgian Dream and UNM were covered in negative tone. Georgian Dream's anti-advertisement was result of the advertisement rolls prepared by the NGO Georgia Not For Sale against Georgian Dream. Later, UNM used them as their political ads. As for anti-advertisements about UNM, they were prepared by the NGO Future Today.

In terms of tone of coverage, during the period of September 10-23, UNM was positively covered in 60%, Georgian Dream only in 4%:



“Unpleasant Reality” was the name of a video-roll prepared by the NGO Future Day which started with an extract from Mikheil Saakashvili’s public statement. “Russia does not wants friends; it wants to have slaves,” Saakashvili said and then Russian companies were listed in the video-roll which purchased different strategic companies in Georgia during Saakashvili’s presidency. The list is quite long; at the end of the advertisement we read a text: “These companies were assigned to the state which has occupied 20% of the Georgian territory.” Those advertisements resulted into negative coverage of the president at 76%.

After video-footage about the torture of prisoners in Gldani Prison # 8 was depicted by TV-Channels, Georgian Christian Democrat Movement prepared an advertisement to respond to this fact. The advertisement starts with an extract from Levan Vepkhvadze’s speech, a leader of the CDM, where he reminded MPs of the Public Defender’s Reports and requested political responsibility of the penitentiary minister.

Advertisement of the Georgian CEC advertised activities of the election administration. “Professionalism guarantees accuracy, transparency brings trust and when entire structure works like one mechanism we reflect reality... and life continues,” the ad stated.²⁶

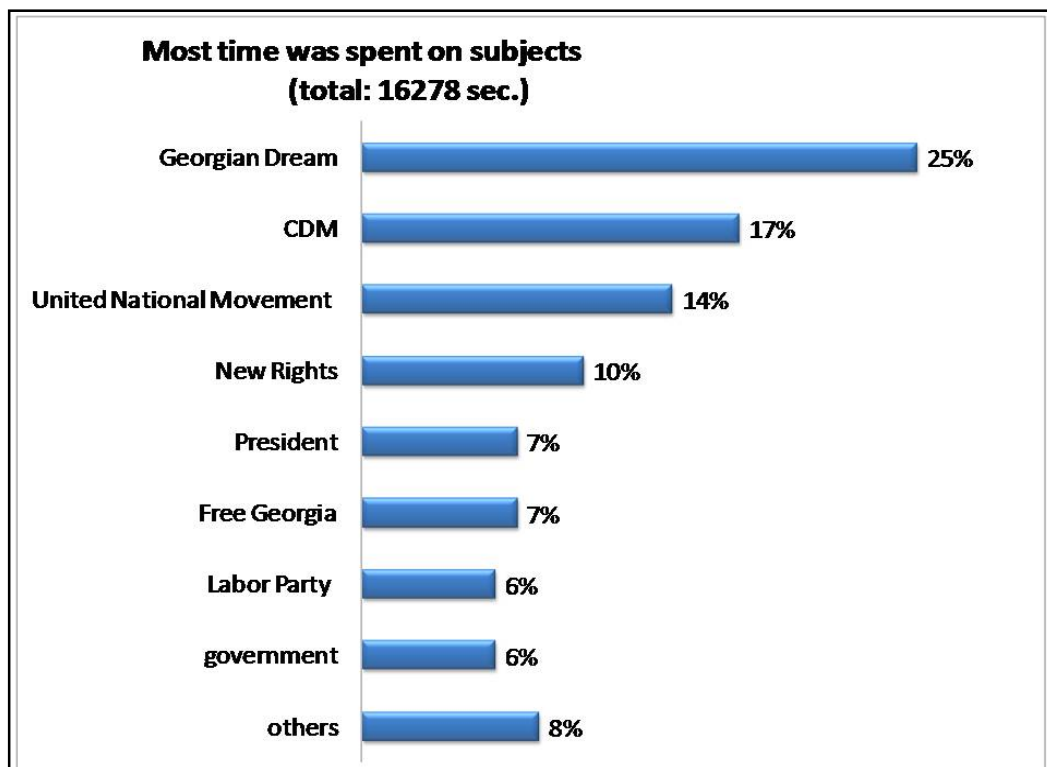
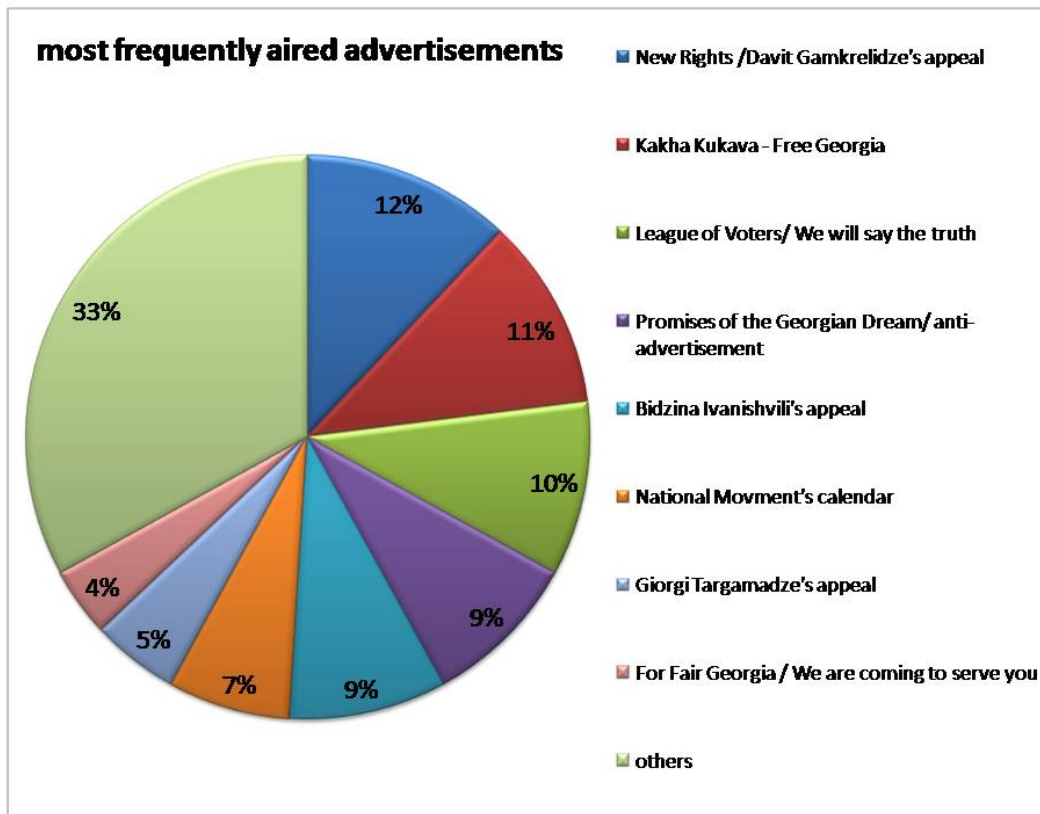
As for the Voters’ League, their advertisements exposed errors in the voters’ lists detected in different election districts.²⁷

We did not detect signs of hidden political advertisement in the prime-time of the TV-Company Maestro. The company did not air social advertisements either.

²⁶ http://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=1782745

²⁷ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1qz3gppeUn0&feature=youtu.be>

Results of media-monitoring during September 24 – October 1:



October 1-November 18

In this period of media-monitoring, Maestro did not air advertisements relevant to our monitoring in its prime-time. However, there was one exception – an advertisement with the following text: ““Combat of torture is absolute right; state is authorized to investigate them! The investigation shall be prompt and effective. Horrified society and hundreds prisoners request to impose legal and political responsibilities on Bacho Akhalaia, Khatuna Kalmakhelidze, Dimitry Shashkin, Davit Chakua, Data Akhalaia, Zurab Adeishvili and Murtaz Zodelava,” the advertisement reads; after that famous public figures state: “Do not humiliate personal dignity! Investigate! Expose perpetrators! Restitute justice! No to Impunity! No to torture!” At the end we see logo of the Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association.²⁸

Recommendations

1) Make an amendment to Election Code of Georgia and adopt a definition of surreptitious political advertisement: *“Any information spread in any form by mass media source (TV-story, TV-program, etc) that is not directly related with the coverage of pre-election campaign and which reflects or/and mentions election subject/election subject candidate his/her name or slogan and/or election number (if it is associated with the election party/candidate /political party/candidate-to-be) and/or other visible requisites. Dissemination of information about participation of political subject when he/she is performing his/her responsibilities is not hidden advertising.”* (Definition worked out by Georgian nongovernmental organizations in the frame of the campaign This Affects You)

2) In order to avoid hidden political advertisement in social advertisements, the status of a social advertisement shall be re-formulated. In accordance to the new definition, a social advertisement shall be **the advertisement intended to promote public good and achievement of charity goals that is neither commercial nor pre-election advertising and that does not contain any advertising of the government of Georgia, governmental institution, administrative body of Georgia or other state institution, a legal or physical entity as well as work implemented by them, their achievements and service provided by them. Political official, chief or leading public servant of a public agency, a leader of a political party as they are defined in the Election Code of Georgia shall not participate in the social advertisement; an election subject-to-be, election subject or its election number shall not used in the social advertisement either.**

3) Social advertisements shall have relevant subtitle – **social advertisement** – when aired by TV-Company in order to inform audience which particular advertisement or music clip has social status granted based on independent decision of the TV-Company.

The client of the advertisement shall be clearly presented in the political advertisement, including the ads which negatively present rival political subject.

4) It should be clear from the political advertisement who ordered it including advertisements which show the opponent in negative context.

²⁸ <http://goo.gl/99MMg>

5) TV-Company shall be more careful with regard to music clips containing hidden advertisement, shall combat its dissemination or note its status, including the funding structure or organization.

Periodic Reports of Media Monitoring

Final Report of Media Coverage of Parliamentary shows the main tendencies featured during the pre-election and post-election period. See detailed information on concrete periods in the reports found in the web-portal of Human Rights Center - www.humanrights.ge:

- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – Results of June 18 – July 29](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – Results of July 30 – August 12](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – Results of August 13 - August 26](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – August 27 – September 2](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – September 3 – September 9 Results](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections- September 10 – 23](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – September 24 - October 7](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – October 7 – 21](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – October 22 – November 4](#)
- [Monitoring of Media Coverage of Parliamentary Elections – November 5 – 18](#)



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