



HATE SPEECH AND GENDER REPRESENTATION

PRE-ELECTION **MONITORING**

1 April – 15 October, 2016



Kingdom of the Netherlands

**FREE
PRESS
UNLIMITED**

Authors:

TAMAR KHORBALADZE

TINA GOGOLADZE

Peer review:

JEAN MARIE COAT, FPU

Expert Researchers:

TAMAR GAGNIASHVILI, SOPHO GOGADZE, KHATIA LOMIDZE, ROMAN BAINURASHVILI, TAMAR SOPROMADZE, TINA GOGOLADZE, IRAKLI TSKHADADZE, MARIAM TSUTSKIRIDZE, NATIA GOGELIA, NATIA GOGOLASHVILI, DALI KURDADZE

Editor:

TAMAR KINTSURASHVILI



Kingdom of the Netherlands

The report is prepared by Media Development Foundation (MDF) in the framework of the project “Transparent and Accountable Media for Enhancing Democratic Practices during Elections” supported by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Georgia. The contents of this report is the sole responsibility of the MDF and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Embassy.

©2016, MEDIA DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION MDF

GEORGIA.GE

MEDIAMETER.GE/GE

INTRODUCTON

Media Development Foundation (MDF) is conducting a pre-election media monitoring from April 1 to October 15, 2016. The monitoring is carried out with the financial support of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands in Georgia within the frame of the project Transparent and Accountable Media for Enhancing Democratic Practices during Elections.

The methodology for MDF's monitoring was developed by Dominique Thierry, consultant of Free Press Unlimited (FPU)¹. The report was reviewed by FPU expert Jean-Marie Coat.

Primetime news programs of the following TV channels were selected as monitoring subjects: the Georgian Public Broadcaster (Moambe at 20:00), Rustavi 2 (Kurieri at 21:00), Imedi (Kronika at 20:00), Maestro (Kontakti at 20:00), Kavkasia (Dges at 20:30), Tabula (Focus at 19:00), GDS (20/30 at 20:30). From 1 June the list was extended to include TV Obiektivi as this TV channel launched its news program (Akhali Ambebi at 19:30) on 16 May.

The monitoring subjects in online media are: Inter Press News (IPN), PiA, Netgazeti, Pirveli Radio, Marshalpress.

The monitoring is conducted on the cases of use of hate speech by political subjects and against them, as well as gender representation of political subjects in media and gender discrimination.

The present report covers the period from April 1 to October 15.

¹Details of the monitoring methodology see at (<http://mdfgeorgia.ge/uploads//Elections-eng.pdf>)

CONTENTS

Key Findings	4
1. Hate Speech	6
2. Gender Representation of Political Subjects and Gender Stereotypes in Broadcast and Online media	13

KEY FINDINGS

The following tendencies were revealed during the monitoring period (April 1 – October 15):

HATE SPEECH

- Out of 41 expressions of hate speech made by political subjects and against them, which were covered by media 67 times, 20 were homophobic in nature. In addition, the monitoring has revealed seven cases of intolerance and encouraging violence against political opponents, six cases of xenophobic expressions, four cases of discrimination of people with mental illness and two cases of racist expressions.
- The majority of homophobic statements (14) were made by representatives of the ruling GDDG party. One out of two racist expressions was made by Georgian Ambassador to the United States, Archil Gegeshidze, who presently does not hold this position; the other was made by Zaza Mamaladze of opposition Alliance of Patriots.
- In 4 (GPB - 2, Imedi – 1, Kavkasia - 1) out of 13 stories, which were aired by TV news programs during the monitoring period and which contained homophobic statements, media outlets did not mention that the expressions were discriminatory.
- The monitored televisions did not mention in the editorial texts of their four stories (Obiektivi – 3, Kavkasia – 1) that the xenophobic statements made by political subjects were discriminatory in nature.
- As far as online media is concerned, only Netgazeti observed the standards of covering the cases of hate speech. This media outlet clearly indicated what type of expression it was covering. A different tendency was observed on other web portals (Marshalpress, IPN, PIA, Pirveli Radio), which also covered the cases of hate speech, though their editorial texts did not indicate that these expressions were discriminatory in nature. Out of 13 homophobic and discriminatory materials published on Marshalpress, the titles of nine articles contained violent or discriminatory quotations by respondents.

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN MEDIA

- Gender representation of electoral subjects in TV news programs and online media is almost identical. The distribution of gender representation stands at 84% men vs. 16% women on TV and at 85% men vs. 15% women in online media. Among TV channels, Obiektivi TV dedicated most of its airtime to female politicians (19%); Maestro (14%) and Imedi (14%) dedicated least of their airtime to female politicians. Among online media portals, PIA news agency dedicated most of its space to coverage of female politicians (18%) and Marshalpress dedicated least of its space (13%).
- Direct coverage by TV media is higher when it comes to female politicians (75%) compared to male politicians (65%). Direct coverage of female politicians (59%) also prevails over that of male politicians in online media.
- Female politicians are mostly covered by TV media in the following three thematic groups: issues related to justice (18.7%); events of political parties, nomination of candidates (17.5%) and election-related legislative or other issues (16%).

- As for coverage of female politicians by online media, political parties and candidates are in the lead (26.4%), followed by assessment of political developments by various political actors (12.8%) and election issues (11.4%).
- Six gender stereotyping statements were made by various representatives of political parties. These statements were covered by the monitored media outlets 12 times with GDDG party being the source of four of them; two statements were made by the Labor Party.

1. HATE SPEECH

Regulations. According to the recommendation adopted by the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers in 1997², the term "hate speech" shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin.

Georgian legislation does not criminalize hate speech except those cases, when it creates a threat of immediate, irreversible and apparent violence. Programme restrictions related to hate speech are envisaged only in case of broadcasting. According to Article 56.3 of the Law of Georgia on Broadcasting, "Broadcasting of programmes intended to abuse or discriminate against any person or group on the basis of disability, ethnic origin, religion, opinion, gender, sexual orientation or on the basis of any other feature or status, or which are intended to highlight this feature or status, are prohibited, except when this is necessary due to the content of a programme and when it is targeted to illustrate existing hatred".

Hate speech restriction standards are also set by the Code of Conduct for Broadcasters, Code of Conduct of the Georgian Public Broadcaster and Charter of Journalistic Ethics. The Code of Conduct for Broadcasters has been adopted by the Georgian National Communications Commission (GNCC) as a normative act. Pursuant to the code, self-regulatory mechanism (commission and an appeal body) has been created in the broadcasters since 2009 to deal with violations. According to the CoE report³, the effectiveness of the self-regulatory mechanisms is hampered by the different definition of "affected party" among different broadcasters when NGOs and representative of the certain groups are deprived a right to lodge a complaint.

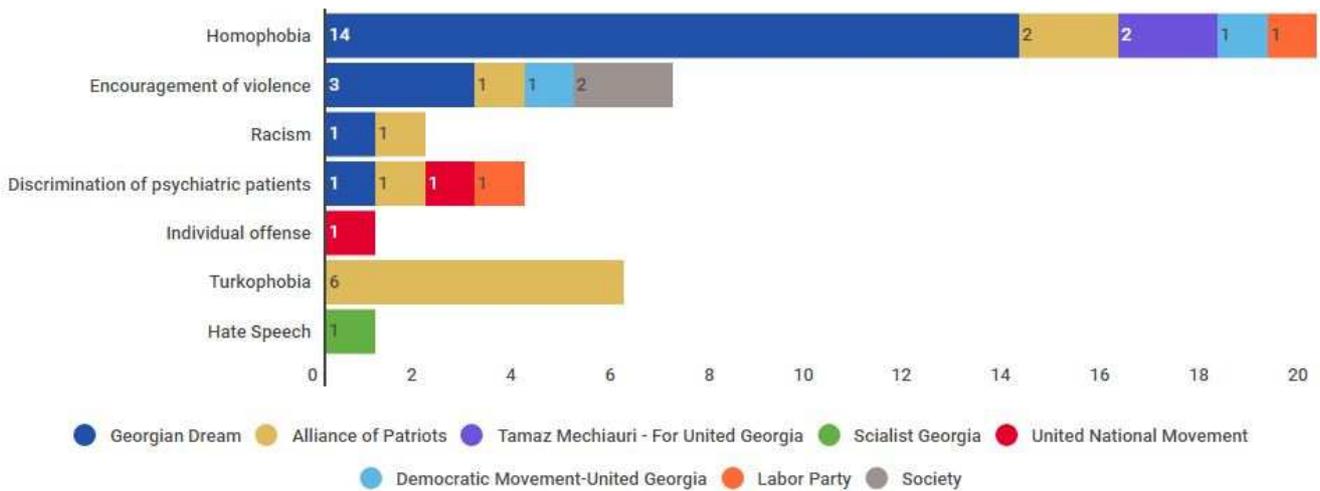
QUANTITATIVE DATA

41 expressions of hate speech made by political subjects and against political subjects have been observed in the monitored TV news programs and online media (67) during the reporting period (April 1 – October 15, 2016). Most of these expressions (20) were homophobic in nature, followed by xenophobic statements (6). In addition, the monitoring has revealed seven cases of intolerance against political opponents and encouragement of violence; four cases of discrimination of people with mental illness and two cases of racist expressions.

²Recommendation of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers on Hate Speech
[http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/hrpolicy/other_committees/dh-lgbt_docs/CM_Rec\(97\)20_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/hrpolicy/other_committees/dh-lgbt_docs/CM_Rec(97)20_en.pdf)

³ CoE report on journalistic ethics and responsibilities in Georgia (December 10, 2015).

Chart 1.1. Typology of hate speech by sources



The majority of homophobic statements (14) were made by representatives of the ruling GDDG party. They concerned the GD-initiated constitutional amendments on defining marriage as a union of a man and a woman. By number of homophobic expressions, GDDG is followed by Alliance of Patriots (2), Tamaz Mechiauri – for United Georgia (2), Democratic Movement – United Georgia (1) and Labor Party (1).

Below are separate examples of hate speech by typology covered by media outlets in a period between August 1 and October 15; the examples covered by media in a period between April 1 and August 1 are fully provided in the Interim Report on Pre-Election Media Monitoring⁴.

Homophobia

Nukri Kantaria, Georgian Dream: “There has never been Romeo and Romeo, and Juliet and Juliet, has it? ... This still does not raise any compassion; it does not raise compassion because it is not natural; it is a deviation. Sometimes it is a mimicry, sometimes - a disease, but it is not organic” (27 May).

Shalva Natelashvili, Labor Party: “You, pederast youngster [addresses the journalist], why do not you stop airing pederasts on TV. You are a police agent (September 18).”

Giorgi Akhvlediani, Democratic Movement – United Georgia: “Today, when the issue of a referendum has become so actual, the President should agree on putting this issue on a referendum and our country, each and every citizen will have to decide in what kind of country they want to live – to legalize depravity and immorality, or to keep a traditional and Georgian rule of life?!” (August 4).

⁴ <http://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/43/>

Turkophobia

During the second stage of monitoring, Alliance of Patriots of Georgia was in the lead by number of xenophobic expressions (6). The statements reflecting the party's position in respect of Turkey were inciting fear of possible capturing Adjarian territories by this neighboring country and of the region's ideological expansion. These statements made by some leaders of the Alliance of Patriots were motivated by functioning of a Turkish school in Adjara or increasing investments by Turkish citizens in Adjara.

Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Alliance of Patriots of Georgia: "Russia occupies 22% of the Georgian territory. 98 years ago Turkey occupied 33% of our territory. Turkey is still sparing no efforts to invade Adjara" (September 1).

Irma Inashvili, Alliance of Patriots of Georgia: "The fact of opening a Turkish school in Batumi already means that ideological expansion is underway. Opening this Turkish school within the Georgian state, where Turkish teachers have been invited and where the Turkish educational system will be used in the teaching and learning process, does not serve the national interests of our country" (September 21).

Racist Statements

Two racist statements were made during the first stage of monitoring. A discriminatory statement was made by former Georgian Ambassador to the United States, Archil Gegeshidze:

"It is a fact that we still exist and had it not been for that treaty [with Russia], we, like Persians, would have had coal-black eyebrows and hair."

During the second stage of monitoring, Zaza Mamaladze of Alliance of Patriots was a source of racist expression. The politician made a discriminatory statement against Iraqi and Indian students of the Medical University:

"I do not want to walk in Saburtalo district anymore. Do you know why? Because due to this Medical University, all those black people from the whole world arrived here... There was a song "What stinks, still stinks..." Now the same situation is in Saburtalo district... Let them all stay in Iraq and India, and let me live in my city and my country!"

Discrimination of Psychiatric Patients

One case of discrimination of psychiatric patients was observed during the first stage of monitoring. Georgian Dream's representative used discriminative language against psychiatric patients in relation to a journalist of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The cases of using discriminatory expressions by politicians against psychiatric patients became more frequent with upcoming pre-election period. Similar statements were frequently made during debates on political or public issues. In her criticism of the UNM party, leader of the Alliance of Patriots, Irma Inashvili described its members as

psychically traumatized persons. Beka Basilaia of the National Movement and Shalva Natelashvili, leader of the Labor Party, made discriminative remarks against psychiatric patients in relation to Bidzina Ivanishvili.

Irma Inashvili, Alliance of Patriots: “In 2003, a group of mentally ill politicians [National Movement] came to power in the name of democracy, in the name of humanism and in the name of supreme ideals; they sustained their psychiatric traumas in the childhood and then came to power bringing this cruelty with them,” (August 29).

Beka Basilaia, United National Movement: “These people [judges of the Constitutional Court] serve not constitutional justice, but schizophrenic interests of one man,” (September 19).

Shalva Natelashvili, Labor Party: “Let me tell you that Bidzina Ivanishvili is ill with a specific type of schizophrenia, apparently named surveillance mania” (September 15).

Hate Speech

The leader of Socialist Georgia used hate speech in respect of the United National Movement.

Grisha Oniani, Socialist Georgia: “I am not getting ready for coming to power, but I will get ready for stoning you [National Movement] to death.”

Encouragement of Violence

Two cases of calling for violence are worth noting. The sources of these statements do not represent political subjects, but these statements involved calls for violent reprisals against UNM members. The both statements containing the calls for violence were published in the articles posted on Marshalpress; however, the articles did not note that these statements were violent in nature. When criticizing the decision of the association of museums, film director Giorgi Shengelaia called for violence against ex-President Mikheil Saakashvili and his wife, Sandra Roelofs, who is UNM’s MP candidate.

Giorgi Shengelaia, film director: “Sandra Roelofs as well as Mikheil Saakashvili should be hanged on the main square. Do you remember, how Mussolini was caught by guerillas, ordinary people in the forest (the state was not involved in it) and executed without any trial. Then they took him to Milan and hanged him. His lover was also hanged!”

Givi Sikharulidze’s comments posted on Marshalpress also contained the calls for violence. The actor called for violence against UNM lawmaker Mariam Sajaia, when assessing the May 17 developments:

“I recollect the statement made by Mariam Sajaia in one of the newspapers, who believes that gender does not matter in marriage. I do not know who Mariam Sajaia is, but let me tell you that she should be taken out and burned publicly. She disgraces Georgian women.”

QUALITATIVE DATA

Coverage of hate speech by televisions. 3 (GPB - 2, Imedi – 1) out of 13 stories, which were aired by main news programs during the monitoring period and which contained homophobic statements made by politicians, did not mention that the expressions were homophobic in nature. Three stories (GPB – 2, Maestro – 1) clearly defined homophobic nature of expressions; Rustavi 2, Imedi and Tabula offered comments by NGOs on homophobic nature of expressions. Out of two stories aired on Kavkasia TV, only one story involved the comments by NGO representatives concerning homophobic statements made by political subjects.

The monitored televisions did not mention in the editorial texts of their four stories (Obiektivi – 3, Kavkasia – 1) that the statements made by political subjects were xenophobic in nature.

Coverage of Hate Speech in Online Media

A different tendency has been revealed in online media when covering xenophobic statements. When discussing foreign priorities in relation to Turkey in the materials (2) published by Netgazeti, the position of the leaders of Alliance of Patriots is described as “aggressive attitude” and it is noted that the party was actively advocating against the construction of Aziziye Mosque in Adjara. Standards were met when covering by Netgazeti the expression of hate speech by leader of Socialist Georgia, Grisha Oniani against UNM members.

“I am not getting ready for coming to power, but I will get ready for stoning you [National Movement] to death.”

Netgazeti’s material clearly notes that Grisha Oniani used hate speech during the debates with UNM members on Pirveli TV.

When covering homophobic statements made by political subjects in online media, Netgazeti noted in two cases that the statements were homophobic in nature, and Interpressnews noted in the title of its article that: “Tamaz Mechiauri addressed LGBT activists and journalist with insulting words.”

Among online editions, the majority of homophobic materials (12) were published on Marshalpress, but the editorial texts of these articles on Marshalpress did not note homophobic nature of expressions.

Two out of 12 articles with discriminative content contained photo manipulations. Tamaz Mechiauri's statement was reported by Marshalpress in a homophobic context, illustrated by a photomontage of a man in bride's veil. The material concerning the referendum on definition of a family in the Constitution is illustrated with a photo from an LGBT pride in a foreign country.



The material posted on Marshalpress was related to journalist Bondo Mdzinarashvili's Facebook post; the latter slammed the President for rejecting the petition for a referendum on defining marriage as union of a man and a woman. The title involves a part of the quotation: "Be so kind and explain him [the President] that nothing will threaten his diverse and rich sexual life," that is followed by the full quotation:



"President Margvelashvili thinks that by holding a referendum he will be banned from knitting. Be so kind and explain him that nothing will threaten his diverse and rich sexual life, because he has some kind of fears."

The material also contains a photomontage featuring the President with USD banknotes that creates the context of bribing and gaining financial benefits to Margvelashvili's decision not to support discriminatory amendments against LGBT people.

It should be noted that out of 12 homophobic articles published on Marshalpress, the sources of five articles were other media outlets (Obiektivi, Saerto Gazeti, Iberia, Interfactnews); Shalva Natelashvili's Facebook page was also referred to as a source.

Out of 13 homophobic and discriminatory materials published on Marshalpress, the titles of 9 articles contained violent or discriminatory quotations of respondents:

"Let them take Mariam Sajaia out and burn her on fire; write exactly this way!" – Givi Sikharulidze.

“A friend, partner means a lover, fancy woman; a gay, queer means a pederast; a sex worker means a prostitute. Has the essence changed [by changing terms]?” - Merab Kachakhidze.

“Saakashvili should be stoned to death” – It is still unknown, whether the paintings by Pirosmiani taken out from the museum by Sandra Roelofs were returned.”

“Would you like to see a hairy-bearded man wearing a bridal veil in your family?” - Tamaz Mechiauri.

“You, pederast youngster, why do not you stop airing pederasts on TV...” – Shalva Natelashvili

“Do you know what these degraded people did?” - Mikiashvili

“I will cut out that tongue with this sickle and smash that stupid head with that hammer,” – Valeri Kvaratskhelia

“They say there will be a pill which will be administered to a pregnant women and a baby will not be born as homosexual.”

“I got an impression that a psychiatric patient was interviewing Bidzina Ivanishvili.”

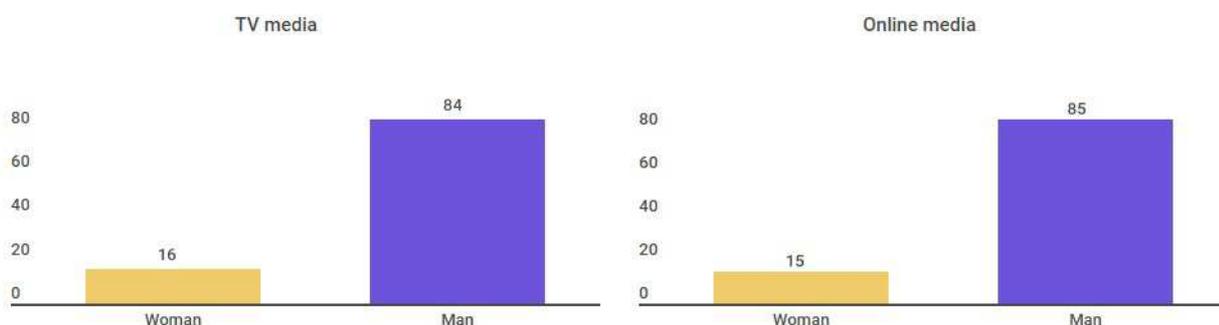
“You will get beaten once again, we are awaiting disturbances!”

2. GENDER REPRESENTATION OF POLITICAL SUBJECTS AND GENDER STEREOTYPES IN BROADCAST AND ONLINE MEDIA

The following tendencies have been revealed as a result of media monitoring (April 1 – October 15, 2016):

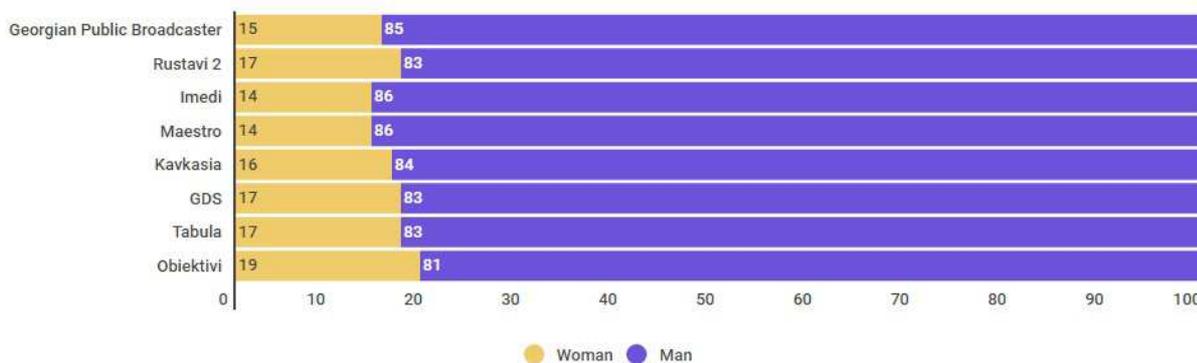
- Gender representation of electoral subjects in primetime TV news programs and online media is almost identical. The distribution of gender representation stands at 84% men vs. 16% women on TV and at 85% men vs. 15% women in online media.
- Preliminary results of the Central Election Commission (CEC), according to which number of female candidates, who have been elected in the new parliament through a proportional, party-list system, stands at 25% (19 women), shows that media outlets do not fully reflect gender representation of female politicians.
- 63.4% of female politicians covered in broadcast media are the representatives of qualified parties, followed by the representatives of the executive branch – 22.1%; President’s Administration – 5.9%; newly set up political parties – 2%; independent lawmakers or candidates – 1.28%; non-parliamentary opposition – 1.2%; interagency commission – 0.01%.
- A share of coverage of female members of the government is higher in online media and stands at 29.1%. Representation of women members of qualified parties stands at 56.4%; President’s Administration - 6.2%; CEC – 3.9%; newly set up parties – 1.9%; independent lawmakers and candidates – 1.24%; non-parliamentary opposition – 1.21%; interagency commission – 0.01%.

Chart 2.1. Gender representation of political subjects in TV and online media (April 1 – October 15, 2016)



Among TV channels, Media Union Obiektivi is in the lead by the amount of time spent on coverage of female politicians in news programs (19%), followed by Rustavi 2 (17%), Tabula (17%) and GDS (17%). Then comes Kavkasia (16%) and Georgian Public Broadcaster (15%). Maestro and Imedi spent the least amount of time on coverage of female politicians (14% both).

Chart 2.2. Gender representation of political subjects



Among online media outlets, the largest space to female politicians was allocated by PIA news agency (18%), followed by Netgazeti (17%); IPN (15%) and Pirveli Radio (14%). Marshalpress news agency allocated the smallest space to female politicians (13%).

Chart 2.3. Gender representation of political subjects in online media (April 1 – October 15)

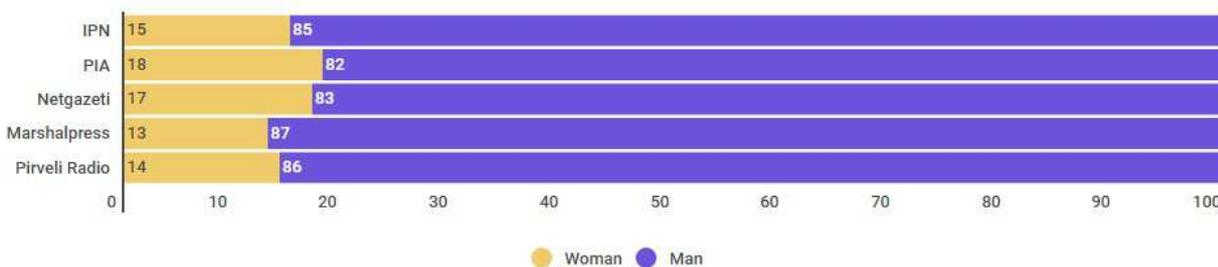
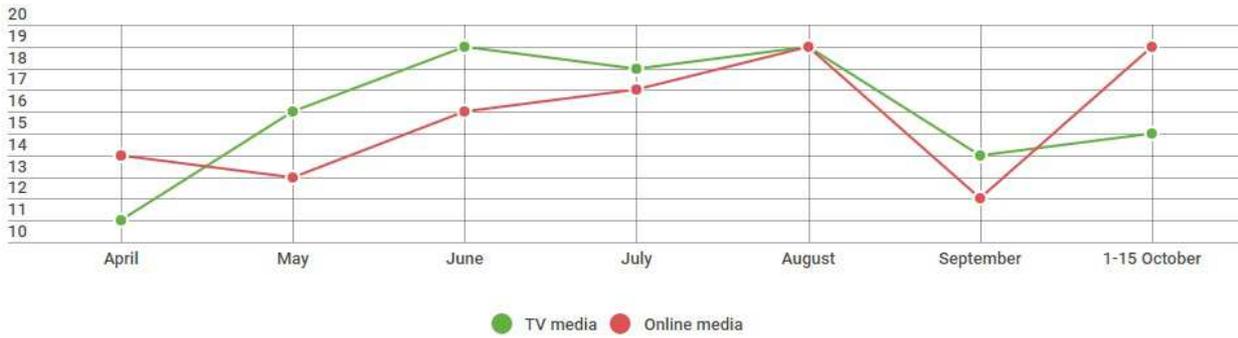


Chart 2.4 reveals different dynamics in coverage of female politicians during the six-month monitoring period:

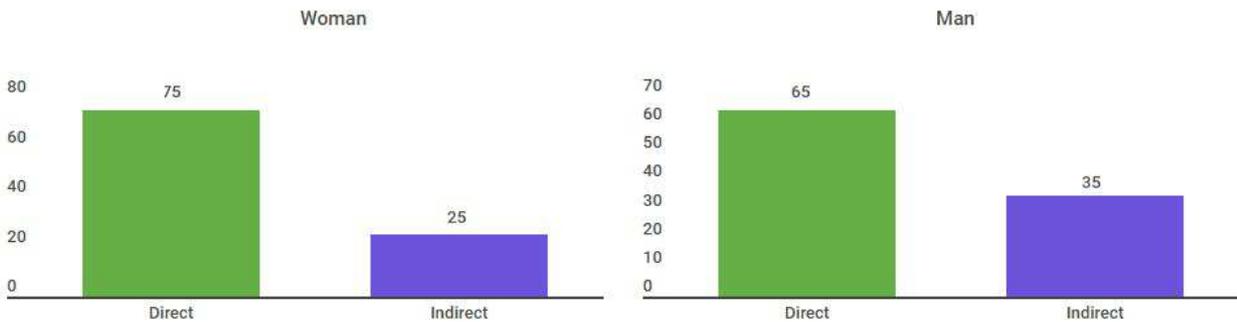
- While at the beginning of the reporting period (April), coverage of female politicians in broadcast media stood at 11%, in June it reached its peak (18%), followed by gradual decline to 14% in September. It should be noted that during some weeks before and after elections, statistical data of reporting on female politicians slightly increased in TV media (15%).
- In online media the indicator increased from initial 14% in April to the highest 18% in August, followed by sharp decline in September (12%) and 19% increase ahead of elections and a week after them.

Chart 2.4. Dynamics in coverage of female politicians by months (April 1 – October 15)



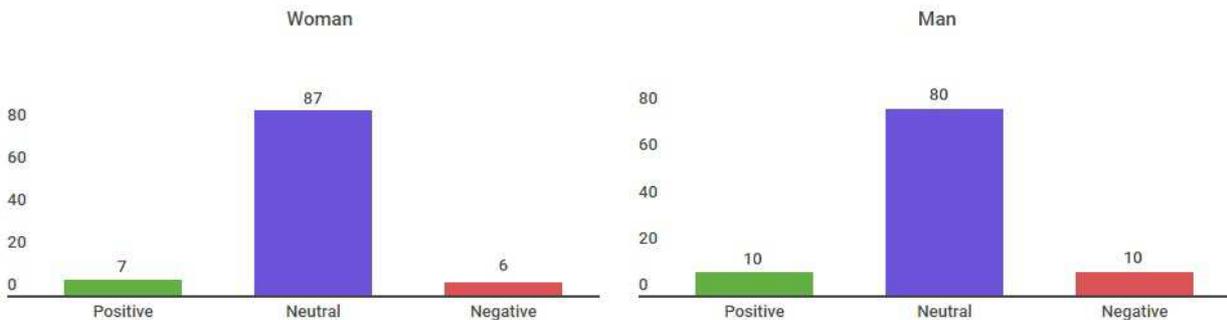
The tendency revealed in the first four months of monitoring has been maintained during six and a half months, when direct coverage of female politicians (75%) prevailed over that of male politicians (65%).

Chart 2.5. Direct/indirect coverage of female politicians in broadcast media (April 1 – October 15)



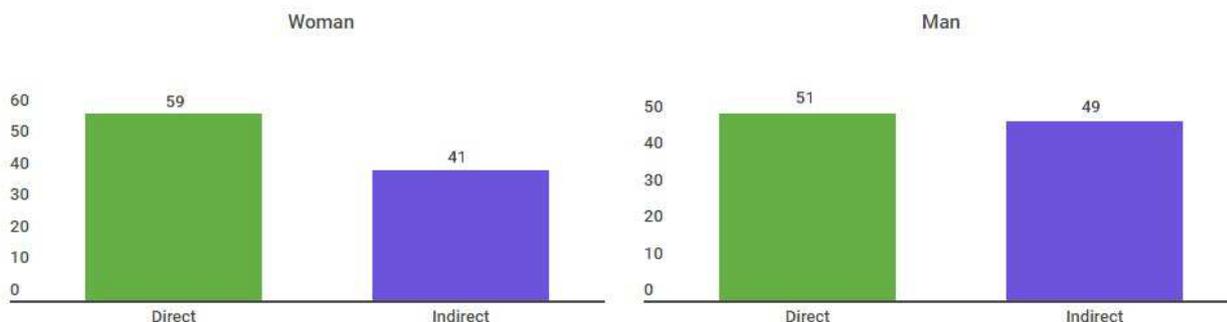
In broadcast media, neutral coverage is higher when it comes to female politicians (87%) compared to male politicians (80%). At the same time, positive and negative tones of coverage of female politicians (7% and 6%, respectively) are lower than those of male politicians (10% and 10%, respectively). Compared to the first four months of monitoring, negative coverage of political subjects has generally increased during the past two months, regardless of gender.

Chart 2.6. Tone of coverage (content) of female and male politicians in TV media (April 1 – October 15)



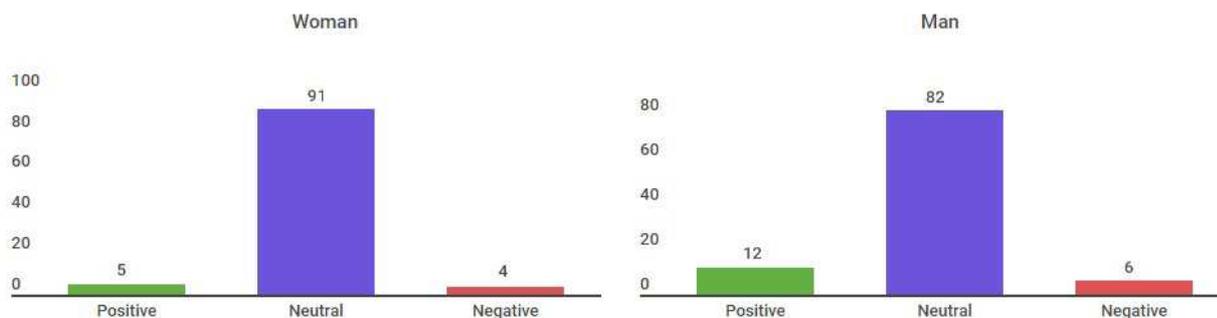
Like in broadcast media, direct coverage of female politicians in online media (59%) prevails over direct coverage of male politicians (51%). At the same time, indirect coverage of female politicians in online media (41%) significantly exceeds the relevant indicator of broadcast media (25%).

Chart 2.7. Direct/indirect coverage of female and male politicians in online media (April 1 – October 15)



Like in TV media, neutral tone of content about female politicians in online media (91%) exceeds neutral tone of content about male politicians (82%). At the same time, like in the first four months of monitoring, male politicians were covered more positively, as positive content stands at 12% in their total coverage, whereas in case of female politicians this indicator is twice less – 5%. There is a smaller difference in negative coverage (woman 4%; man 6%).

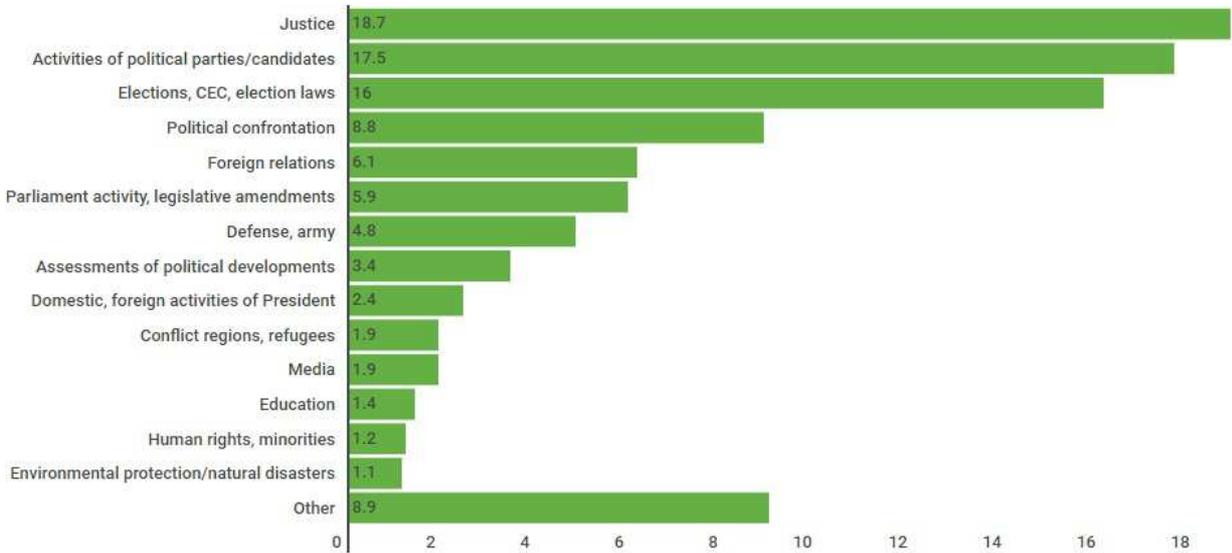
Chart 2.8. The tone of content about female and male politicians in online media (April 1 – October 15)



Topics covered in reports about women politicians. Thematic analysis of media coverage for six months has shown that female politicians are mostly covered by TV media in the following thematic groups: issues related to justice (18.7%); events of political parties, nomination of candidates (17.5%); election-related legislative or other issues (16%) and political confrontation (8.8%). If during the first four months of monitoring the percentage of defense issues was rather high (8%) that can be explained by the fact that the Defense Minister and her deputy were both women, after they quit their positions (August 1), the indicator of coverage of defense issues involving female politicians decreased and according to the indicator for six and a half months, it stands at 4.8%. The percentage

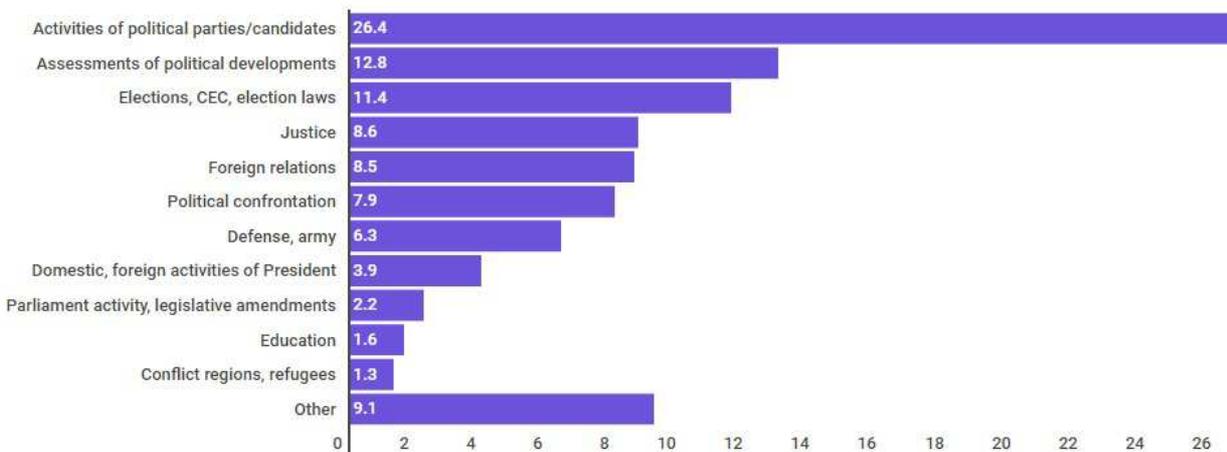
of education stands at 1.4%; human rights and minority issues - 1.2%; environmental protection – 1.1%; social issues, healthcare and other issues – below 1% (they are united in the category “other”).

Chart 2.9. Topics covered in reports about female politicians in broadcast media



The priorities in covering female politicians somewhat differs in online media with political parties and candidates being in the lead (26.4%), followed by assessment of political developments by various political actors (12.8%); election issues (11.4%); justice issues (8.6%) and foreign relations (8.5%). Only 1.6% was dedicated to education and 1.3% - to conflict regions and IDPs. The category “other” unites those issues, where coverage is below 1%: religion - 0.1%; healthcare – 0.2%; culture, sport – 0.2%; environmental protection, natural calamities – 0.4%; economy, agriculture, infrastructure – 0.7%; human rights, minorities – 0.8%, etc.

Chart 2.10. Topics covered in reports about female politicians in online media (April 1 – October 15)



Gender stereotypes/discrimination. During the six months of monitoring, six gender stereotyping statements were made by various representatives of political parties. These statements were covered by media outlets subject to monitoring 12 times with Georgian Dream Democratic Georgia being the source of four of them (among them seven media outlets covered most intensively Kakha Kaladze’s statement about the judges of the Constitutional Court: “We are dealing with gossiping, when the women are simply gossiping”); two statements were made by the Labor Party and they were identical (Shalva Natelashvili and Giorgi Gugava). In most cases, media outlets do not indicate at discriminatory nature of statements based on gender and limit themselves by stating the facts without any comments.

Shalva Natelashvili, Labor Party: “He [Bidzina Ivanishvili] has no ideas; he has no intellect; but he knows how to conduct surveillance and how to gossip like a woman on a country road” (Pirveli Radio, September 16).