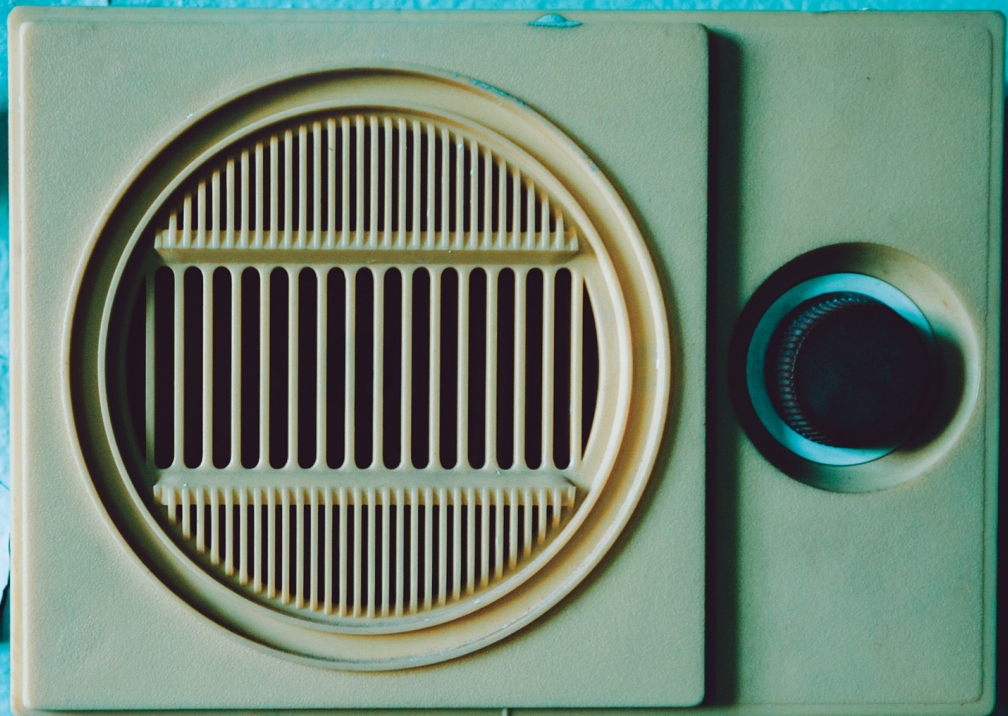


COVERAGE OF MUSLIM-RELATED TOPICS IN GEORGIAN, RUSSIAN, AZERBAIJANI AND TURKISH TRADITIONAL AND NEW MEDIA



Hedayah
countering violent extremism



COVERAGE OF MUSLIM-RELATED TOPICS IN GEORGIAN, RUSSIAN, AZERBAIJANI AND TURKISH TRADITIONAL AND NEW MEDIA



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INTRODUCTION

The report reflects the media monitoring findings conducted by the Media Development Foundation (MDF). The goal of the media monitoring was to study the factors conducive to radicalization of Muslim youth and explore the role of media in this process.

The target of media monitoring was the Georgian, Russian, Azerbaijani and Turkish media named by the young Muslims as the information sources during the survey commissioned by MDF.

The report highlights the methodology, key findings of the study and provides overall data on coverage of Muslims and related topics in different language media outlets. The separate part reviews the characteristics of terrorism coverage in Georgian and Russian TV channels. After overview of general data, separate chapters are dedicated to four language media outlets and social media: I – Georgian media, II – Russian media, III – Azerbaijani media , IV – Turkish media, V – the social media.

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KEY FINDINGS

The media monitoring revealed the following trends:

- Comparison of the coverage of Muslims and related topics on Georgian and Russian TV channels shows that Russian media dedicated much more time to the coverage of such issues as Middle East conflicts (32.8%), terrorism (28.5%) and politics (15.5%).
- The human rights topic (16.5%) was covered by Georgian TV channels most extensively after terrorism while Russian TV channels covered it scarcely (3.1%). Georgian TV channels also give priority to the issues with local focus.
- If Georgian media covers human rights (22.2%) most extensively, Azerbaijanian gives preference to religion (23.9%) and Turkish – to international relations (21.7%).
- If the intensity of covering the issue of terrorism by Georgian TV channels was increasing along with the number of terrorist acts worldwide, the issue of terrorism was always in the lead on Russian TV channels and frequently the agenda of terrorism was created artificially.
- While Georgian media covered anti-terrorist activities carried out by the United States, European Union and Turkey, with some minor exceptions, Russian media outlets actually neglected these activities. On the other hand, Georgian TV channels provided less coverage of anti-terrorist operations carried out by Russia, Syria and their partners.
- The Georgian media, more or less neutrally covered the issues of Muslims and related topics. The exception was TV “Obiektivi” and the online edition “Georgiana and the World” the editorial policy of which is closer to the Russian than to the mainstream Georgian media.
- Alongside promoting anti-migrants sentiments, Georgian fringe media (Obiektivi TV, Georgia & the World) made attempts to shift the emphasis from Georgia’s current security threats (Russian occupation) onto historic threats (Ottoman occupation), thereby reopening historic trauma and instilling an opinion that Russia is not the only occupier but Turkey is an occupier too.
- Russian media outlets [NTV, Channel One, RTR Planeta] mainly covered the topic of Muslims and related issues in context of anti-Western propaganda.
- In news programs, Russian TV presenters often failed to observe journalistic neutrality, identifying themselves with the Russian government and pitting it against the USA and the West (we vs them).

- At the first glance, the Georgian-language edition of Sputnik seems to use a neutral style of reporting, but by manipulating facts and photos and speculating on the topic of migrants, discreetly promotes the narratives identical to those of comment-oriented Russian TV news programs.
- Russian media is linking terrorism to Islam, migrants and migrants of Eastern nationalities; and promotes the idea that the European policy towards migrants creates a fertile ground for terrorism, while the US encourages terrorism.
- Russian media outlets try to promote the opinion that Russia is the only secure space where people are protected, ISIL is banned and the government is able to prevent terrorism
- Russian journalists often tried to justify dictatorial regimes and were insisting that accusations of the use of chemical weapons by Bashar al-Assad are unfounded.
- Azerbaijani media outlets, dominated by religious topics, showed conservative attitudes in certain cases (for instance, negative coverage of the use of modern technologies in religious rituals by Big.az).
- Turkish media covered most topics neutrally. The negative tone was mainly related to the terrorism and relationship of Turkey with the West.
- Both Georgian and foreign-language religious and community Facebook pages were dominated by religious rituals including with participation of children and conflicts, mainly in connection with the Myanmar developments.
- The most popular posts of four ultranationalist Facebook pages were mainly directed against migrants of Asian and African identity, as well as LGBT people.

MONITORING METHODOLOGY

The aim of media monitoring is to identify factors conducive to radicalization of Muslim youth and explore the role of media in this process.

The object of monitoring is the coverage of Muslims and related topics by those media outlets that were selected through a survey conducted among a specific target audience.

MONITORING SUBJECTS. Subjects of monitoring were selected on the basis of survey commissioned by the Media Development Foundation (MDF) and conducted by the GIDS in April-May 2017. The survey was conducted among youth aged between 16 and 29 living in Akhmeta district (Pankisi), mountainous Ajara and Kvemo Kartli and it covered 1,206 respondents. Results of the survey showed that the Muslim community of Georgia receives information from Georgian, Russian, Turkish and Azerbaijani media outlets. Therefore, media outlets in four different languages were selected as the subjects of monitoring.

The table below shows primetime news programs of monitored TV and online media outlets by language groups:

TABLE 1. MONITORED TV NEWS PROGRAMS AND ONLINE MEDIA OUTLETS

GEORGIAN	TV	Rustavi 2, Kurieri 21:00 (Monday-Sunday)	Imedi, Qronika 20:00 (Monday-Sunday)	1 st Channel of Georgian Public Broadcaster, Moambe 20:00 (Monday-Sunday)	Ajara Public Broadcaster, Mtavari, 21:00 (Monday-Sunday)
	ONLINE	Georgia and World	IPN	PIA	Netgazeti

RUSSIAN	TV	NTV, Segodnya, 19:00 (Friday; Saturday); Itogi Dnya 23.35 (Monday; Thursday), Itogi Nedeli 19:00 (Sunday)	Channel 1, Vremya 21:00 (Monday-Sunday)	Planeta RTR, Vesti 20.00 (Monday-Sunday)	
	ONLINE	Sputnik-Georgia (in Georgian)			
TURKISH AND AZERBAIJANI	TURKISH ONLINE	Cumhuriyet.com.tr	Milliyet.com.tr		
	AZERBAIJANI ONLINE	Oxu.az	Big.az		

The methodology of media monitoring is mixed and involves the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. For the qualitative analysis, the list of Georgian language media outlets and products were extended to include the talk shows of the following TV channels:

1. Archevani aired at 22:00 (Tuesday; Thursday) on Rustavi 2;
2. Mtavari aired at 22:00 (Monday; Wednesday) on the Georgian Public Broadcaster (GPB);
3. Qronika aired at 20:00 (Saturday) on Imedi;
4. Ghamis Studia aired at 22:30 (Monday-Sunday) and Okros Kveta aired at 20:30 (every second Sunday) on Obieqtivi TV.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS. The quantitative analysis involves the following data:

- Time allocated in the primetime TV news programs for reports on Muslims or related topics of national and international significance; amount of words in article/publication in online media;
- Tone of coverage of reports/online materials: positive, neutral, negative tones (**positive:** a covered subject is featured in a positive light; **neutral:** the coverage rests on facts alone and is free from positive or negative connotation; **negative:** a covered subject is featured in a negative light, allegations and criticism are one-sided and the entire report has a negative connotation);
- Muslim-related topics to be monitored were determined in advance.

List of topics:

- Politics;
- Army/defense;
- Economics/business/agriculture;
- Social affairs;
- Justice;
- Crime;
- Education;
- Culture;
- Religion;
- Ethnic minorities;
- Human rights;
- Discrimination;
- Gender;
- Migration/emigration;
- Diaspora;
- Integration;
- Terrorism;
- International relations (with the West);
- International relations (with Eastern countries);
- International relations (with Russia);
- International relations (with other countries);
- Regional cooperation (with Turkey);
- Regional cooperation (with Azerbaijan);
- Regional cooperation (with Iran);
- Middle East conflicts;
- Caucasus conflicts.

The quantitative analysis also looked into the choice of information sources made by the media outlets in covering international events when they did not have their own correspondents on the scenes.

The report also identifies negative terms applied towards Muslims.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS. The qualitative analysis of news items and Georgian language talk shows involves the following data:

- Instances of discriminatory coverage of Muslims and ethnic/national groups representing the Muslim community, including migrants, as well as the typology of messages;
- Sources of discrimination;
- Discriminatory terminology;
- Anti-Western messages blaming the West for inciting conflicts and creating local problems;
- Sources of anti-Western messages.

¹ MDF (2016), Hate Speech. <http://mdfgeorgia.ge/geo/view-library/55>

The aim of additional monitoring of Georgian language talk shows and their sources in the qualitative analysis is to identify the extent to which the Georgian language xenophobic discourse contributes to the process of radicalization. Apart from three nationwide TV channels – Rustavi 2, Imedi and the GPB, the monitoring includes Obieqtivi TV, the outlet with links to the far right political party Alliance of Patriots and a main source of Turkophobic and Islamophobic messages, according to MDF studies of 2016¹ and 2014–2015².

² MDF (2014–2015),), Hate Speech and Xenophobia. Media Monitoring Report 2014–2015.
<http://mdfgeorgia.ge/geo/view-library/19>

OVERALL DATA

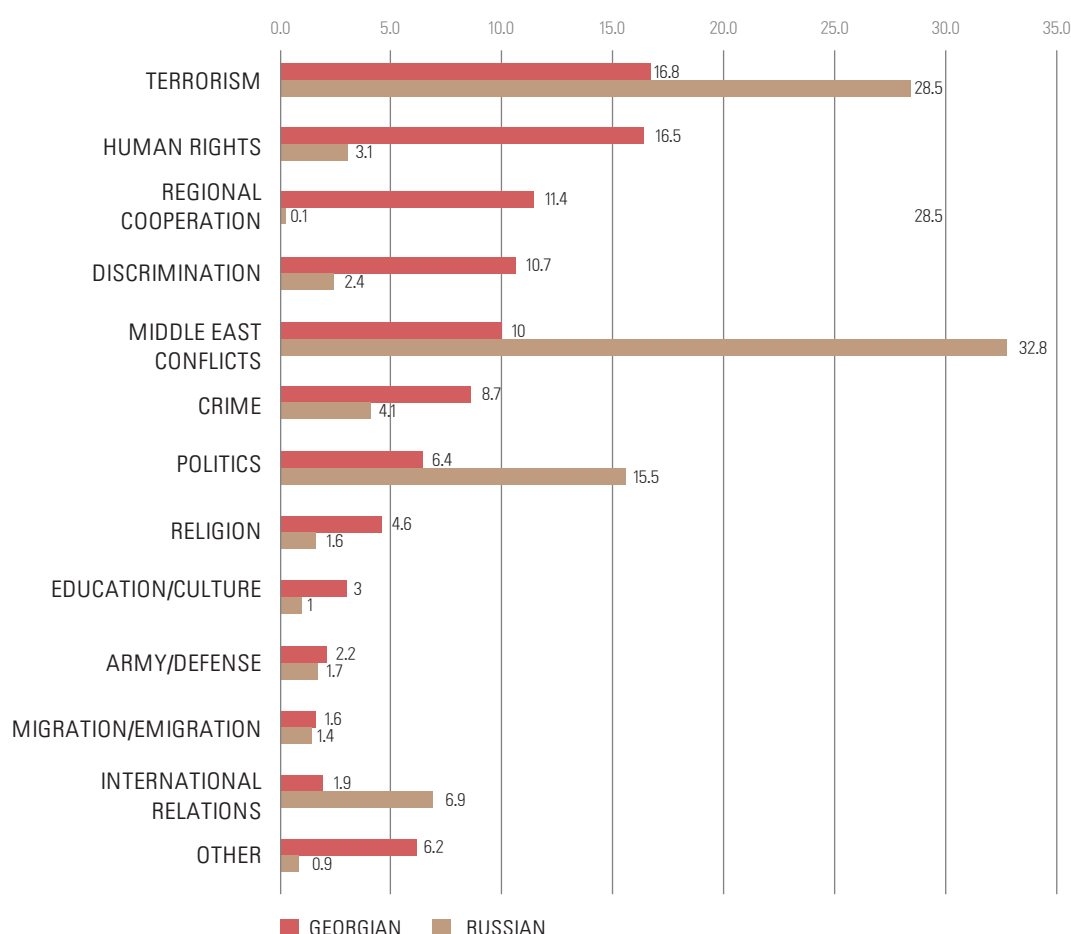
GEORGIAN AND RUSSIAN TV CHANNELS. Comparison of the coverage of Muslims and related topics on Georgian³ and Russian⁴ TV channels shows that during the monitoring period (June 15 – September 15) Russian media dedicated much more time to the coverage of global issues, such as Middle East conflicts (32.8%), terrorism (28.5%) and politics (15.5%). Chart 1 shows that the same topics are covered by Georgian TV channels three or two-fold less (Middle East conflicts – 10%; terrorism – 16.8%; politics – 6.4%). The issue of human rights (16.5%) that was covered by Georgian TV channels most extensively after terrorism was scarcely covered by Russian TV channels (3.1%). Georgian TV channels also give priority to the issues with local focus such as discrimination (10.7%) (Russian TV – 2.4%); crime (8.7%) (Russian TV – 4.1%); religion (4.6%) (Russian TV – 1.6%); education/culture (3%) (Russian TV – 1%).

High figures of covering human rights issues on Georgian TV channels and in online media (see chart 2) were linked to legal aspects of detention of the representatives of two neighboring countries (Azerbaijani journalist Afgan Mukhtarli and Manager of Private Demirel College in Tbilisi, Mustafa Emre Çabuk). Georgian media outlets mainly portrayed these detentions as an influence of a neighboring country on Georgian institutions.

³ Rustavi 2, Imedi, Channel One of Georgian Public Broadcaster, Adjarian Public Broadcaster

⁴ HTB, 1 Канал, РТР-Планета

CHART 1. COVERAGE OF MUSLIMS AND RELATED TOPICS –
GEORGIAN AND RUSSIAN TV CHANNELS



GEORGIAN, RUSSIAN, AZERBAIJANI AND TURKISH ONLINE MEDIA. Although the online editions covered by monitoring are presented unequally by countries⁵, comparison of the topics covered by them reveals certain tendencies.

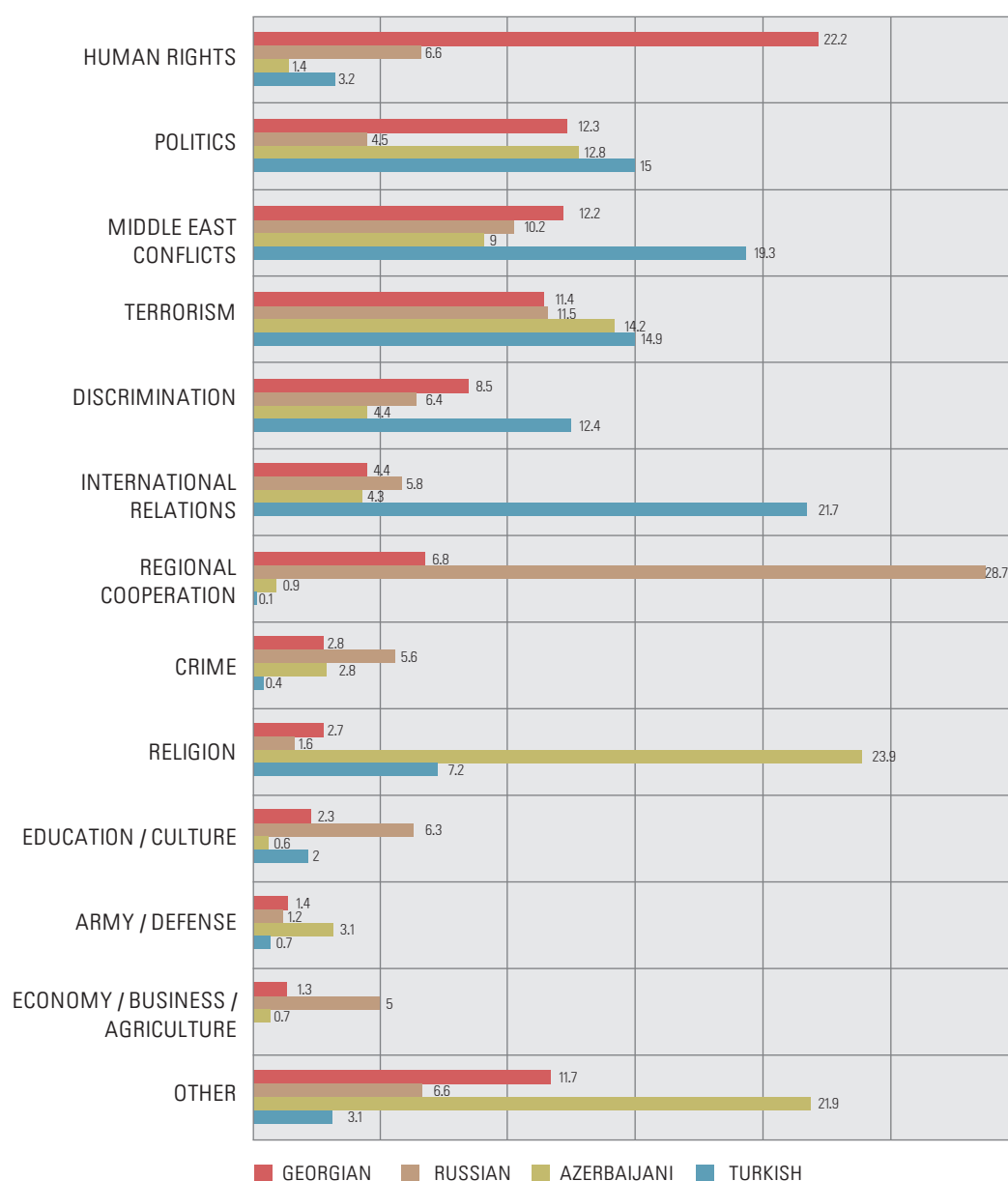
If Georgian media covers human rights (22.2%) most extensively, Azerbaijanian gives preference to religion (23.9%) and Turkish – to international relations (21.7%). Russian media, which was also covered by monitoring only through Sputnik-Georgia, covered Georgia’s regional cooperation with Azerbaijan, Turkey and Iran (28.7%) most extensively.

The topic of terrorism was covered most extensively in Turkish (14.9%) and Azerbaijani (14.2%) online editions. While the monitoring covered four Georgian and one Russian online media outlets, the issue of terrorism was almost equally covered by Russian (11.5%) and Georgian (11.4%) online editions.

It should also be noted that Russian Sputnik-Georgia dedicated more space to the coverage of such local topics as education/culture (6.3%), crime (5.6%), economy/business/agriculture (5%) than Georgian, Azerbaijani and Turkish online editions.

⁵ Georgian (4): IPN, PIA, Netgazeti, Georgia and the World; Azerbaijani (2): Oxu.az, Big.az; Turkish (2): Cumhuriyet, Milliyet; Russian (1): Sputnik-Georgia

CHART 2. MUSLIMS AND RELATED TOPICS –
GEORGIAN, AZERBAIJANI, TURKISH AND RUSSIAN ONLINE EDITIONS



COVERAGE OF TERRORISM IN RUSSIAN AND GEORGIAN TV CHANNELS

Besides the fact that Russian TV channels⁶ covered the issue of terrorism almost twice as much as Georgian TV channels⁷ (28.5%/16.8%), the comparison of coverage dynamics shows that frequently Russian TV channels either artificially created the agenda of the terrorism, or did not cover anti-terrorist operations carried out by the United States and its allies.

As Chart 3 shows, the comparison has revealed the following trends:

- The intensity of covering the issue of terrorism by Georgian TV channels was increasing along with the number of terrorist acts worldwide (Paris (2), London (2), Jerusalem, Hurghada, Hakkâri Province, Hamburg, Afghanistan, Lahore, Ouagadougou, Barcelona, Turku, Surgut, Kabul, Kiev, Bagram Airfield). The issue was covered most extensively on August 17–19, following the Barcelona terrorist attack.
- Unlike Georgian TV channels, the issue of terrorism was always in the lead on Russian TV channels and frequently the agenda of terrorism was created artificially. As chart 3 shows, on June 25 Georgian TV channels did not cover the issue of terrorism at all, while Russian TV channels aired seven stories, most of which were not part of the current affairs: three TV channels simultaneously aired identical stories dedicated to the rise of terrorism in Europe “as a result of European policy” and vulnerability of European space towards terrorism⁸. Three stories were dedicated to Russia’s threats to ban the Telegram⁹, and one covered the threats coming from ISIS, mainly in connection with training minors as terrorists¹⁰.
- While Georgian media covered anti-terrorist activities carried out by the United States, European Union and Turkey, with some minor exceptions (arrest of a Russian citizen in Turkey on charges of terrorism), Russian media outlets actually neglected these activities. On the other hand, Georgian TV channels provided less coverage of anti-terrorist operations carried out by Russia, Syria and their

⁶ HTB, Channel One, RTR Planeta

⁷ Rustavi 2, Imedi, Channel One of Georgian Public Broadcaster, Adjarian Public Broadcaster

⁸ RTR Planeta, Alarming Chain, 25.06.2017 <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3311373>

Channel One, Black June in London, 25.06.2017 <https://goo.gl/7jW8ro>

⁹ NTV, June 25, <https://goo.gl/wgGNFJ>

Channel One, Faulty Links, June 25, <https://goo.gl/fqjtWZ> RTR Planeta, What is the Fate of Telegram? June 25 <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3311346>

¹⁰ NTV, June 25. <https://goo.gl/5n9Ymz>

partners. The only exception was Russia's air strikes on Raqqa on May 28 and reports on apparent death of ISIL leader al-Baghdadi – the issue was covered by all subjects, except Rustavi 2, in their primetime news programs. Adjarian Public Broadcaster was the only Georgian TV channel, which covered the report on preventing a terrorist act in Russia on August 14.

DATE	GEORGIAN TV CHANNELS (RUSTAVI 2, IMEDI, GEORGIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER, ADJARIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER)	RUSSIAN TV CHANNELS (NTV, ORT, RTR PLANETA)
June 16	Russia's air strikes on Raqqa on May 28/ apparent death of al-Baghdadi ¹¹	Russia's air strikes on Raqqa on May 28/ apparent death of al-Baghdadi ¹²
June 17	Turkey's anti-terrorist measures: 4 128 Russian citizens were declared personas non grata in Turkey on charges of alleged links to ISIL. ¹³	-----
August 8	The U.S. plans to destruct ISIL base in the Philip-pines ¹⁴	-----
August 10-11	Russian citizen arrested in Turkey on terrorism charges ¹⁵ ; ISIL video address – members of the terrorist organi-zation threaten with terrorist acts in Tehran. ¹⁶	Russian citizen arrested in Turkey on terrorism charges ¹⁷
August 14	Prevention of a Terrorist Act in Russia ¹⁸	Prevention of a Terrorist Act in Russia ¹⁹ ; Anti-terrorist operation of Russia and Syria against ISIL in Syria ²⁰

¹¹ GPB, Georgian Public Broadcaster, reports on the death of al-Baghdadi, June 16. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3309576>

Imedi: Is the Leader of the Islamic State Liquidated? June 16. <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/3301112>

Adjarian television, June 16. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U4vd7lhbiYQ>

¹² Channel One, June 16. <https://goo.gl/J78JMi>

NTV, ISIL (ИГИЛ) without the leader? June 16. <https://goo.gl/D2s8Vd>

¹³ Adjarian television, July 17. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3331879>

¹⁴ Imedi, U.S. – the Philippines, August 8. http://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=3349903

Adjarian television, August 8. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3351842>

¹⁵ Rustavi 2, Arrest of a terrorist in Turkey, August 10. https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=3351289

Imedi, Russian citizen arrested in Turkey, August 10. http://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=3351200

Adjarian Public Broadcaster, August 10. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3353665>

¹⁶ Adjarian Public Broadcaster, August 10. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3353644>

¹⁷ Channel One, August 10. <https://goo.gl/2D341L>

NTV, August 10. <https://goo.gl/3oiHyU>

RTR Planeta, August 10. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3353677>

Channel One, August 11. <https://goo.gl/pv4UBi> RTR Planeta, August 11. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3353817>

NTV, Accelerated Agreement, August 11. <https://goo.gl/ZNKnQG>

¹⁸ Adjarian Public Broadcaster, August 10. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3353644>

¹⁹ Channel One, August 14. <https://goo.gl/Bv1Vrv>

NTV, August 14. <https://goo.gl/1F7xoz>

RTR Planeta, August 14. <https://goo.gl/PLBZtZ>

²⁰ Channel One, August 14. <https://goo.gl/g5Br5C>

DATE	GEORGIAN TV CHANNELS (RUSTAVI 2, IMEDI, GEORGIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER, ADJARIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER)	RUSSIAN TV CHANNELS (NTV, ORT, RTR PLANETA)
August 23	Iraqi government carries out mass attack against the city of Tal Afar ²¹ Trial of Barcelona terror attack suspect in Madrid ²²	Russia's operation against a group of militants in Ingushetia ²³
August 25	EU anti-terrorist measures: new security measures in Europe ²⁴	Russia, Syria, Iran and Iraq carry out anti-terrorist operation against ISIL – operation to gain control over the Deir al-Zour fortress ²⁵
September 5	EU anti-terrorist operation: special operation in Paris ²⁶ Turkey's anti-terrorist operation: prevention of terrorist act in Turkey ²⁷	Russia, Syria, Iran and Iraq carry out anti-terrorist operation against ISIL – special operation to liberate the Deir al-Zour airdrome ²⁸
September 6	EU anti-terrorist operation: special operation in Paris ²⁹	Story about a prison, which jails Russian citizens for their involvement with ISIL ³⁰

■ It should be noted that coverage of the issue of terrorism by Georgian TV channels was relatively neutral. Journalists of Russian TV channels frequently identified themselves with the Russian government activities when describing the issues related to terrorism (“as a result of the air strikes conducted by our Aerospace Forces”, “our aircrafts”). During one of the cases of violating journalistic neutrality in the format of a news program, two different anchors described one and the same development in different time periods with an identical text (see photo below): the story about Russia's anti-terrorist operation and apparent death of ISIL leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi was presented by Ekaterina Andreeva, anchor of Vremya news program on Russia's Channel One, and Valery Fadeyev, anchor of the same news program, with identical texts on July 11³¹ and July 16³², respectively. The focus was made on the fact that Russian forces carried out precision bombing in order not to damage the adjacent areas, including the mosques.

²¹ Imedi, Islamic State Loses Positions in Iraq, August 23. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3362204>

²² Imedi, August 23. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3362203>

Adjarian Public Broadcaster, August 23. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3365971>

²³ Channel One, August 23. <https://goo.gl/w6rRFv>

²⁴ Georgian Public Broadcaster, New Security Measures in Europe, 25.08.2017 <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3365146>

²⁵ NTV, Operation in Syria, 25 August. <https://goo.gl/aPp4nd>

²⁶ Adjarian television, 5 September. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3381237>

²⁷ Adjarian television, 5 September. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3381231>

²⁸ NTV, 5 September. <https://goo.gl/Lq2Khh>

Channel One, 5 September. <https://goo.gl/o1D9to>

²⁹ Rustavi 2, Special Operation in Paris, 6 September. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3373998>

Imedi, Anti-terrorist operation in the suburb of Paris, 6 September. https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=3374038

³⁰ Channel One, 6 September. <https://goo.gl/iLQxqr>

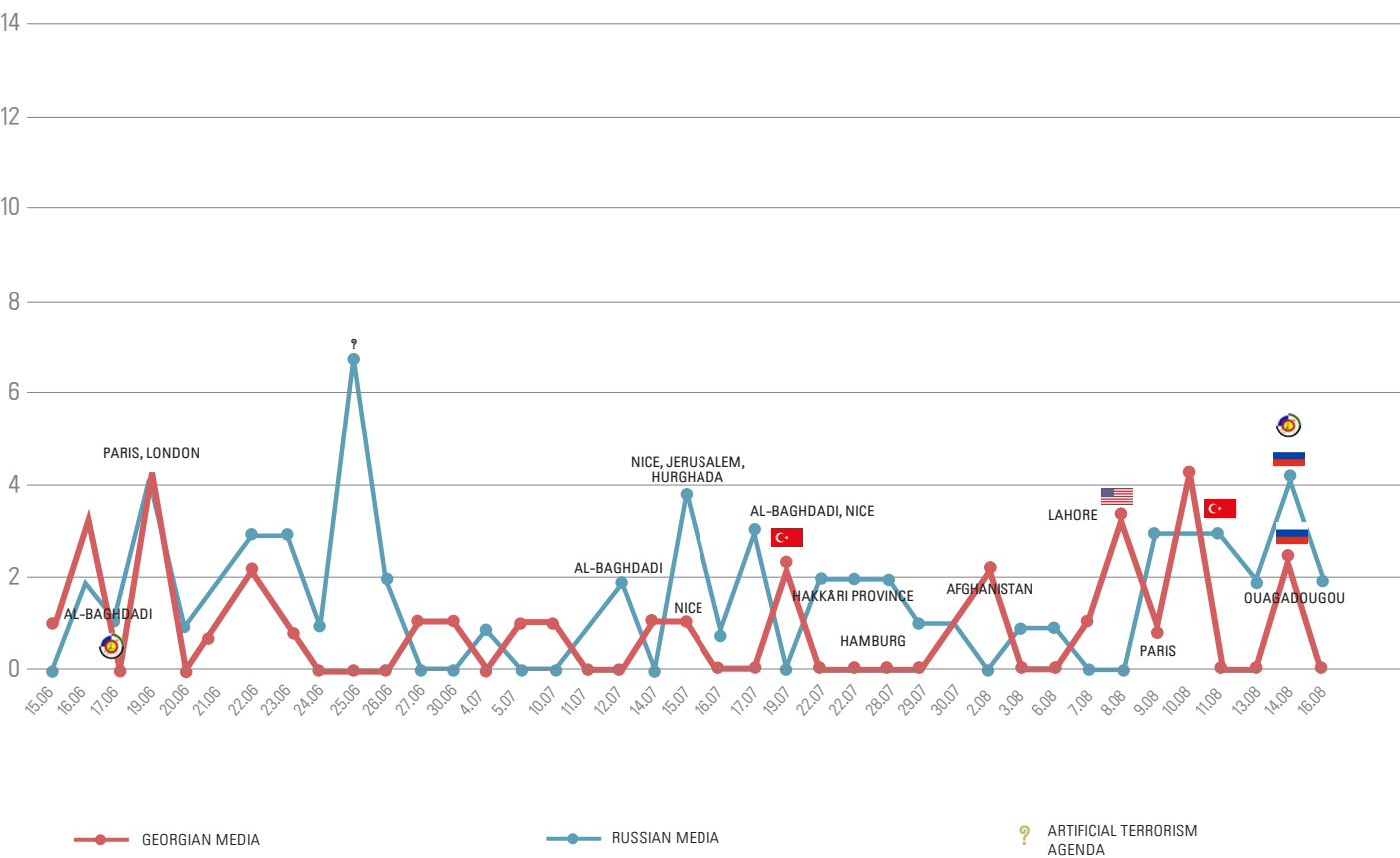
³¹ Channel One, July 11. <https://goo.gl/1KMW1E>

³² Channel One, July 16. <https://goo.gl/3DXYT6>

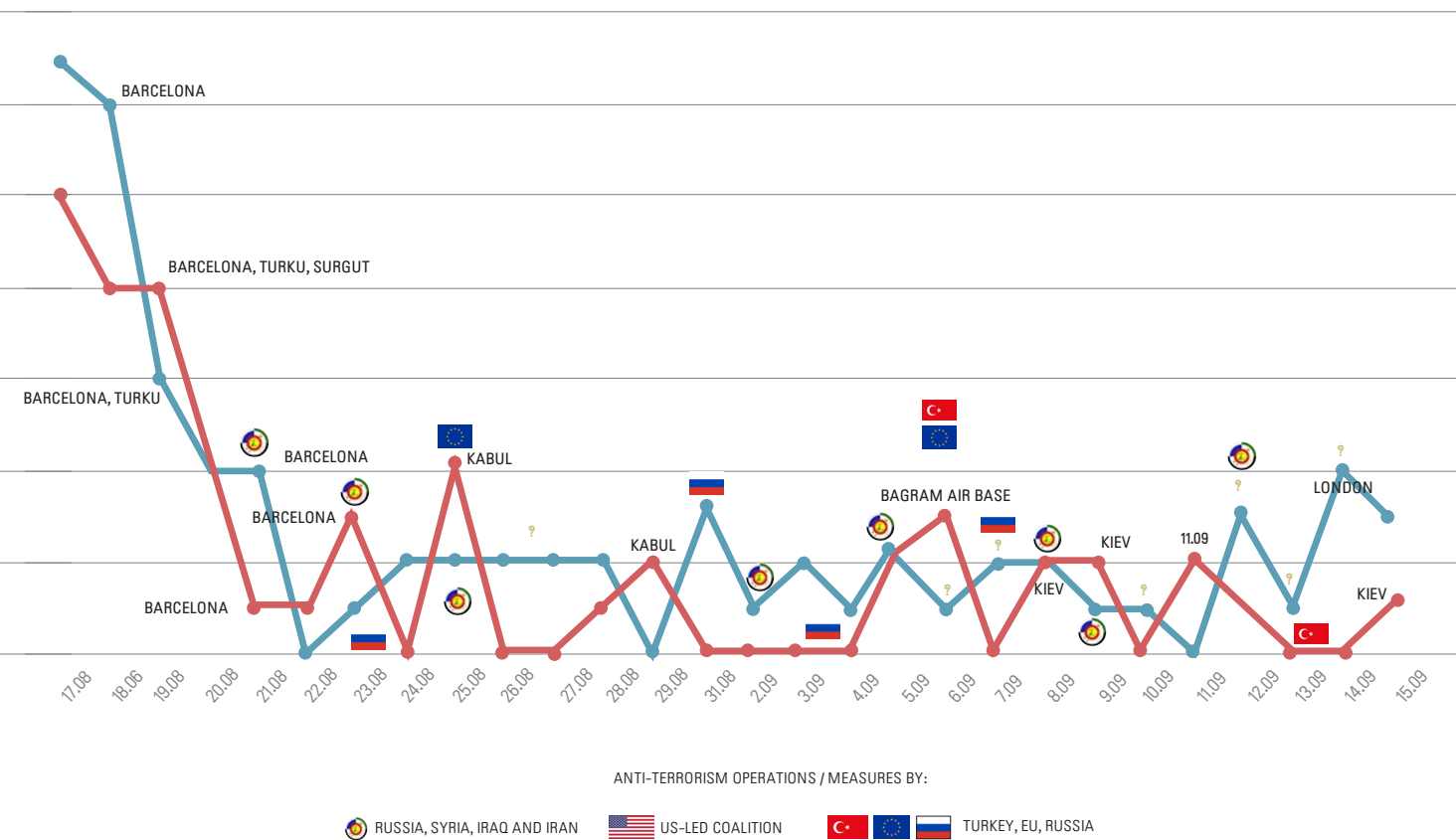


Ekaterina Andreeva (July 11), Valery Fadeyev (July 16), anchors of Vremya: “Let us remind you that earlier the Russian Defense Ministry said that number one terrorist may be destructed as a result of air strikes conducted by our Aerospace Forces. On May 28, our aircrafts dropped bombs on the complex of buildings in Raqqa, where the bandits planned to gather. About 300 terrorist were killed. It seems that al-Baghdadi was among them. Let us also remind you that as a result of precision bombing, not a single neighboring building, including a mosque, was damaged.”

FIGURE 3. DYNAMICS OF TERRORISM COVERAGE IN RUSSIAN



AND GEORGIAN TV CHANNELS (15 JUNE – 15 SEPTEMBER, 2017)



I. GEORGIAN MEDIA

The Georgian media, apart from several exceptions, neutrally covered the issues of Muslims and related topics. Majority of televisions and some online editions, widely presented the current local affairs.

In case of televisions, “Obiektivi” was an exception. Its talk-shows were used in the qualitative part to illustrate the turkophobic and xenophobic editorial policy of the media outlet; the edition “Georgia and the World” can be discussed as such exception in online media the editorial policy of which is closer to the Russian than to the mainstream Georgian media.

1. GEORGIAN TV CHANNELS – RUSTAVI 2, IMEDI, GEORGIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER, ADJARIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER

QUANTITATIVE DATA. The three-month monitoring (June 15 – September 15) has revealed that the issue of Muslims and related topics were covered most extensively by Imedi TV (138 stories, the total duration 27 430 seconds), followed by Moambe TV program on Georgian Public Broadcaster’s (GPB) Channel One (100 stories, 25 926 seconds) and Kurieri on Rustavi 2 with almost equal airtime (94 stories, 25 310 second). Adjarian Public Broadcaster’s news program Mtavari dedicated the least airtime to the issue of Muslims (86 stories, 6 231 seconds) that is largely determined by its small format.

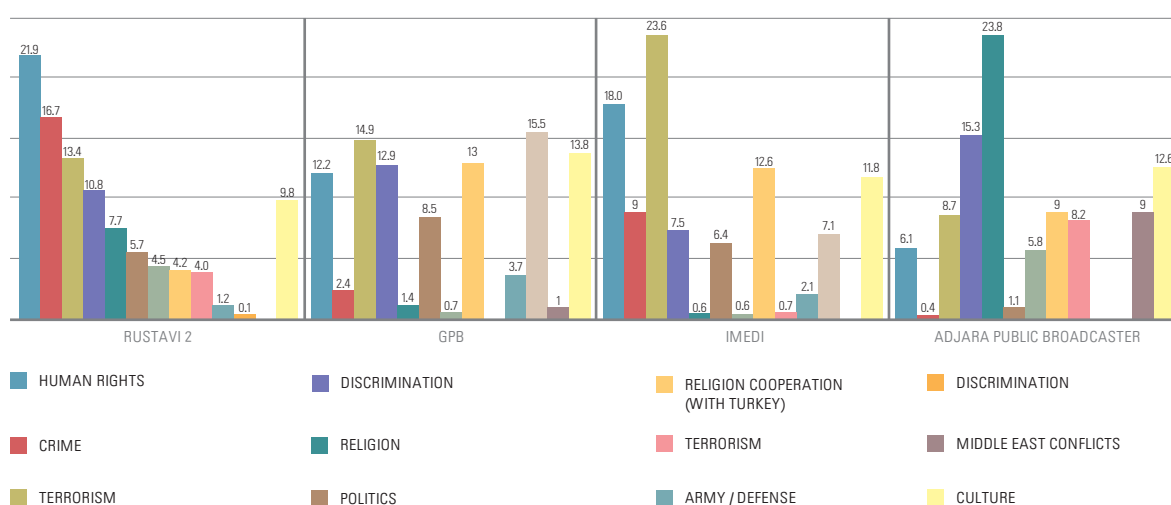
The issue of human rights was covered most extensively (21.9%) by Rustavi 2 TV largely due to alleged kidnapping and arrest of Azerbaijani journalist Afgan Mukhtarli, as well as arrest of Turkish citizen Mustafa Emre Çabuk, one of the managers of Private Demirel College in Tbilisi, upon the request of the Turkish side allegedly for having links to Fethullah Gülen-associated FETÖ organization. Georgian Public Broadcaster covered the human rights issue (12.2%) only after covering regional cooperation with Azerbaijan (15.5%), terrorism (14.9%), Middle East conflicts (13%) and discrimination (12.9%).

Among other Georgian televisions, the issue of terrorism was covered most extensively (23.6%) on Imedi TV, followed by human rights (18%).

Middle East conflicts were covered most extensively on GPB (13%) and Imedi (12.6%). Rustavi 2 dedicated the least airtime to this issue (4.2%) that can be explained by the fact that international news blocs were not frequently included in the primetime news programs.

Considering regional peculiarities, the issues of religion were covered most extensively (23.8%) by Adjarian Public Broadcaster and they were mainly related to religious events of local Muslims. The issue of discrimination (15.3%) related to disputable issuance of mosque construction permit in Batumi, as well as the issue of culture (9%) was also covered extensively.

FIGURE 4. COVERAGE OF MUSLIMS AND RELATED TOPICS IN GEORGIAN TV CHANNELS – RUSTAVI 2, GPB, IMEDI, ADJARA PUBLIC BROADCASTER (JUNE 15 – SEPTEMBER 15, 2017)



SOURCES: Along with western media outlets, the following media outlets were also referred to as the sources by the subjects of monitoring:

FOREIGN MEDIA SOURCES	RUSTAVI 2	IMEDI	GEORGIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER	ADJARIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER
Turkish	DHA	DHA, Haberturk, Huriet, Iha, MC eu		TRT WORLD, Samsun Canli Haber
Arabic			SANA, Arab24	
Azerbaijani	APA		APA	
Iraqi	Al Iraqiya		Al Iraqiya	
Egyptian			on-eg.com	
Russian	Russia Today, Дождь	ПРАЙМ КРАЙМ, Россия	Russia Today	
Ukrainian		KYIV OPERATIVE	Hromadske.ua	

TONE OF CONTENT IN COVERAGE OF TOPICS: Coverage of most topics by Georgian Public Broadcaster (GPB) and Adjarian Public Broadcaster was 100% neutral; a share of religion and ethnic minority issues was small in total coverage and mostly congratulation messages by officials during religious events and certain activities related to ethnic minorities were covered positively.

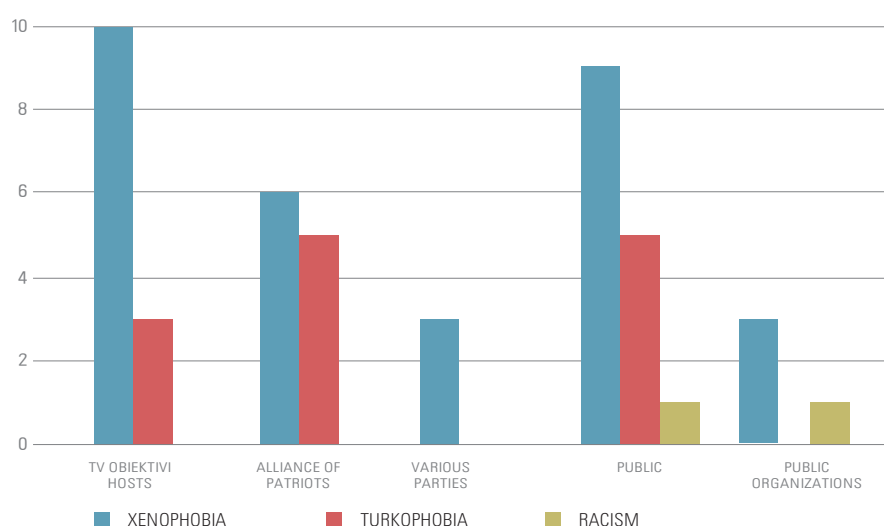
Coverage of topics by Rustavi 2 and Imedi was mainly 100% neutral, but some topics were still covered negatively. For example, Rustavi 2 TV's negative coverage (18.8%) involved accusations voiced by Giorgi Targamadze of opposition European Georgia party against Shota Chichiashvili³³, local of Pankisi Gorge, on masterminding a terrorist act against him³⁴. Imedi TV covered negatively the issue of discrimination (19.1%) related to the March of Georgians as well as the issue of education³⁵ (0.6%) that was related to the Education Ministry's decision to suspend the authorization for Private Demirel College in Tbilisi.

2. TV TALK-SHOWS: OBIJEKTIVI CASE

The subjects of the observation in the qualitative part in addition to news programs were TV talk-shows of four TV channels³⁶, xenophobic content was revealed only in case of the talk-show of Obiektivi – TV Channel affiliated with a right-wing populist party the Alliance of Patriots. It should be noted that TV Obiektivi and Alliance of Patriots were observed as the main source of turkophobic attitudes in media monitoring carried out in 2014–2016.

During the monitoring period (June 15 – September 15) the Obiektivi talk-shows “Night Studio” and “Okros Kveta” broadcasted 46 discriminative comments, authors of 13 of which were the hosts of the shows themselves, while respondents (Alliance of Patriots and other parties, representatives of the society, public organizations) were sources of other discriminative comments.

FIGURE 5. TYPOLOGY OF HATE SPEECH AND THEIR SOURCES – TV “OBIJEKTIVI”



³³ In 2005, he was sentenced to 22 years in prison for his involvement in kidnappings, murders and banditry, including in connection with a number of high-profile cases, involving kidnappings of a British banker, Spanish businessmen, International Red Cross Committee members and MP Petre Tsiskarishvili.

³⁴ Rustavi 2, P.S. June 25 <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3309358>

³⁵ Imedi, Kronika, Authorization of Private Demirel College Suspended, August 30. https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=3367857

³⁶ Rustavi 2 (Archevani), Georgian Public Broadcaster (Mtavari), Imedi (Saturday “Qronika” talk-show segment), Obiektivi (“Night Studio”, “Okros Kveta”).

Xenophobic editorial policy was demonstrated in selection of respondents by Obiektivi TV Channel as well. The typology of the messages was the following:

- **AGAINST MIGRANTS.** Alongside labeling all the migrants as illegal, they were linked to the specific crimes, for instance to sexual harassment (Nino Ratishvili, host: *“If for example one and the same crime is committed by representatives of one and the same country, we need to think, what is happening?”*³⁷).
- **AGAINST FOREIGN INVESTORS.** The main xenophobic messages were against foreign investors of Asian identity (Bondo Mdzinarashvili, host: *“They need to dress clean at least and now this dirty people walking in the streets, how can we call them investors?!”*³⁸).
- **TURKOPHOBIA/REVIVAL OF THE HISTORIC TRAUMA.** Both hosts of the show and their respondents made attempts to shift the emphasis from Georgia’s current security threats (Russian occupation) onto historic threats (Ottoman occupation), thereby reopening historic trauma and instilling an opinion that Russia is not the only occupier but Turkey is an occupier too (Bondo Mdzinarashvili, host: *“So after 100 years Russia will no longer be an occupant? Now it has been exactly 100 years since Turkey took away these territories”*³⁹). Vazha Otarashvili, Alliance of Patriots: *“If Russia seized over 22% of the Georgian territory, Turkey seized over 32% of the Georgian territory. It has been less than a century since Turkey took away these lands, so Turkey is no longer an aggressor?”*⁴⁰).
- **ETHNONATIONALISM.** The host of the program as well as respondents were underlining the advantage of the ethnic Georgians over the ethnic Azerbaijanis (Nino Ratishvili, host: *“...I am very sorry that the second biggest family name in Georgia is Mamedov. I am not against Mamedovs, but I would be happy if the second biggest family name in Georgia would be a Georgian family name”*⁴¹).

3. ONLINE MEDIA: IPN, PIA, NETGAZETI, GEORGIA & THE WORLD

QUANTITATIVE DATA: Most information on Muslims and related topics was presented by the news agency IPN (757 information, 102 972 words), followed by the agency PIA (380 materials, 46 569 words). Online edition Netgazeti prepared 163 articles (47 873 words) and Georgia & the World – 86 (58 498 words).

Human rights issues were most prioritized by Netgazeti to which the edition allocated most of the space, almost half of the articles (49.4%). It should be noted that Netgazeti most consistently and comprehensively covered the topics of the arrest of the Azerbaijani journalist, Afgan Mukharli in suspicious circumstances, as well as human right aspects of detention of the Demirel School Manager upon Turkish Government request. The human right topic was also priority to be covered by IPN (26.4%).

The Middle East conflict (20%) and terrorism (19.1%) was most covered by the agency PIA which covered the human rights issues only after these two main topics (9.9%).

Regional cooperation of Georgia with Turkey (7.1%) and Azerbaijan (3.3%) was most covered by Netgazeti.

³⁷ Obiektivi, Night Studio, July 11 https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=3326008

³⁸ Obiektivi, Night Studio, July 26 <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3339019>

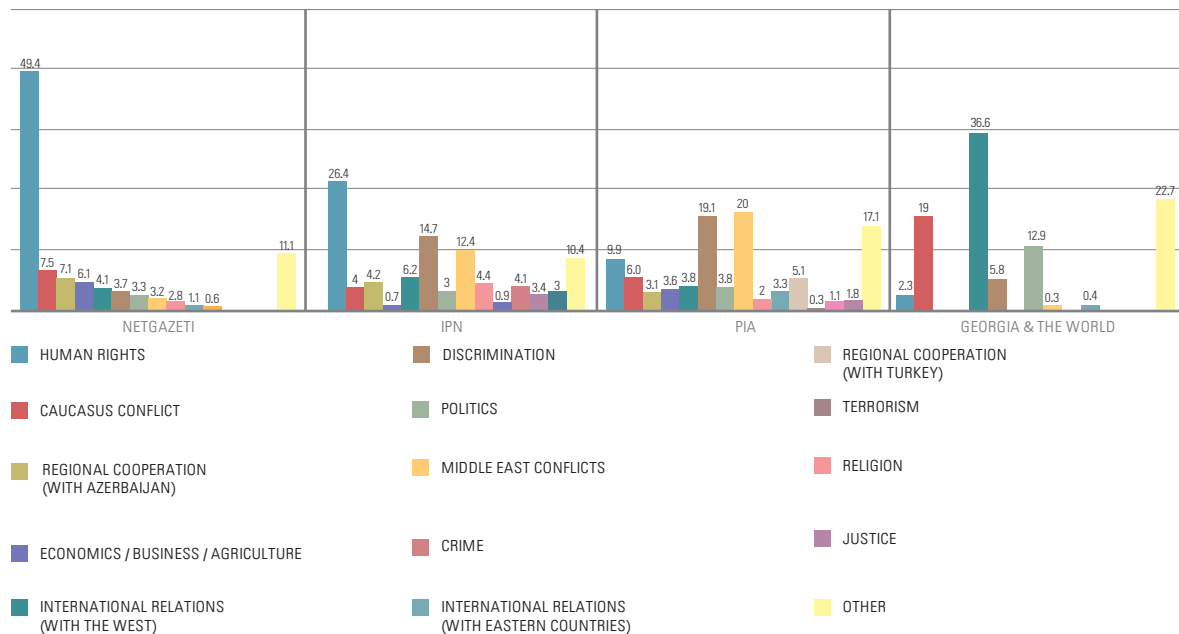
³⁹ Obiektivi, Night Studio, September 6 <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3374130>

⁴⁰ Obiektivi, Night Studio, September 6 <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3374130>

⁴¹ Obiektivi, Night Studio, July 14 http://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=3328619

It should be noted that the integration activities of the government was covered within the service contracts with budgetary organizations on dissemination of information by PIA (1.3%) and IPN (0.8%) and the materials were posted with the acronym (NS – News from Subscriber).

FIGURE 6. COVERAGE OF MUSLIMS AND RELATED TOPICS IN GEORGIAN ONLINE MEDIA – NETGAZETI, IPN, PIA, GEORGIA & THE WORLD (JUNE 15 – SEPTEMBER 15, 2017).



SOURCES: Apart from the Western media the editions use the following media as sources:

FOREIGN MEDIA SOURCES	IPN	PIA	NETGAZETI	GEORGIA AND THE WORLD
Turkish	Anadolgu, Daily Sabah, Hurriet, Diken, Milliyet, T24	Haberturk, Hurriyet, Yeni Safak, Turan, Sabah	CNN Turk , Hurriyet	
Russian		TACC, Риа новости, ИНТЕРФАКС, Dni.ru, Ura.ru	Кавказский Узел, Риа новости, Osinform.ru	ИЗВЕСТИЯ, Комсомольская правда, Взгляд, Sputnik Arabic, REN.tv, Риа Новости, Fodsk.ru, Труд
Azerbaijani	Meydan TV	APA, Trend	APA	
Arabic	SANA, SPA			
Iranian	IRINN	Tasnim		
Iraqi	Al Sumaria	Al Sumaria		
Afghan	Tolo News	Tolo News		
Libyan		Libya Herald		

TONE OF CONTENT IN COVERAGE OF TOPICS: Netgazeti covered most of the topic with 100% neutrality during the monitoring period or in some cases with positive attitude. Human rights (8.1%) and various topics (8.8%) were covered positively.

IPN. Majority of the topics were covered with 100% neutrality by *IPN* as well, the agency positively covered the topics: army/defense (34.6%), regional cooperation with Iran (22.7%), Azerbaijan (11.2%). The positive tone of the topics was mainly connected to the government activities as well as positive tone in one information (1.5%) covering terrorism in which a representative of the legislative authority speaks about Georgian achievements in terms of fighting the terrorism⁴².

Negative coverage of terrorism on *IPN* (0.9%) concerned quotation of the Polish Intelligence Service Head in the title (“The places with high concentration of Muslims represent the natural basis for terrorists”) and connection of terrorism with Muslims and migrants⁴³. The negative tone of terrorism coverage (6.8%) was mainly connected to identification of nationality of the Asian country (Turkey and Iran) representative convicts in the news titles, which contributed to stereotyping and affiliation of crime with specific nationalities. It should be noted that identical titles were observed in case of the Georgian news agency *PIA* and Russian *Sputnik-Georgia* as well.

TITLES

“The court sentenced a citizen of the Islamic Republic of Iran to 6 years in prison for a pervert act against minors”⁴⁴

“Batumi city court sentenced a citizen of Turkey to 8 years imprisonment”⁴⁵

“MIA Releases information on detention of Iranian citizen for drug related crime in Anaklia”⁴⁶

“Citizen of Iran detained for drug related crime at Tbilisi International Airport”⁴⁷

PIA. In case of *PIA* the positive attitude is observed in information connected to the activities of the government: culture (87.4%), social issues (87.2%), army/defense (67.3%), education (26.8%), regional cooperation with Azerbaijan (19.6%), with Turkey (16.9%), integration/government (19.4%). *PIA* negatively covered topics of discrimination (44.6%), mainly connected to the racist rally organized by the Georgian March when the agency was unilateral and uncritical to replicate the racist and xenophobic narratives of the organizers of the rally. Human rights topics were negatively covered (8.9%) conditioned by the repetitive criticism based on one respondent of Afgan Mukhtarli who disappeared from Georgia and was detained in Azerbaijan and his family member⁴⁸. The negative tone was connected to the biased coverage of the Caucasian conflict based on one source (7.4%) and criminal (5.4%).

⁴² IPN, Irakli Beraia – Progress of Georgia in fighting the terrorism is recognized by our American and other partners, July 21. <http://bit.ly/2gbMMTd>

⁴³ August 21 <http://bit.ly/2g25Sra>

⁴⁴ June 20. <http://bit.ly/2xxrSAI>

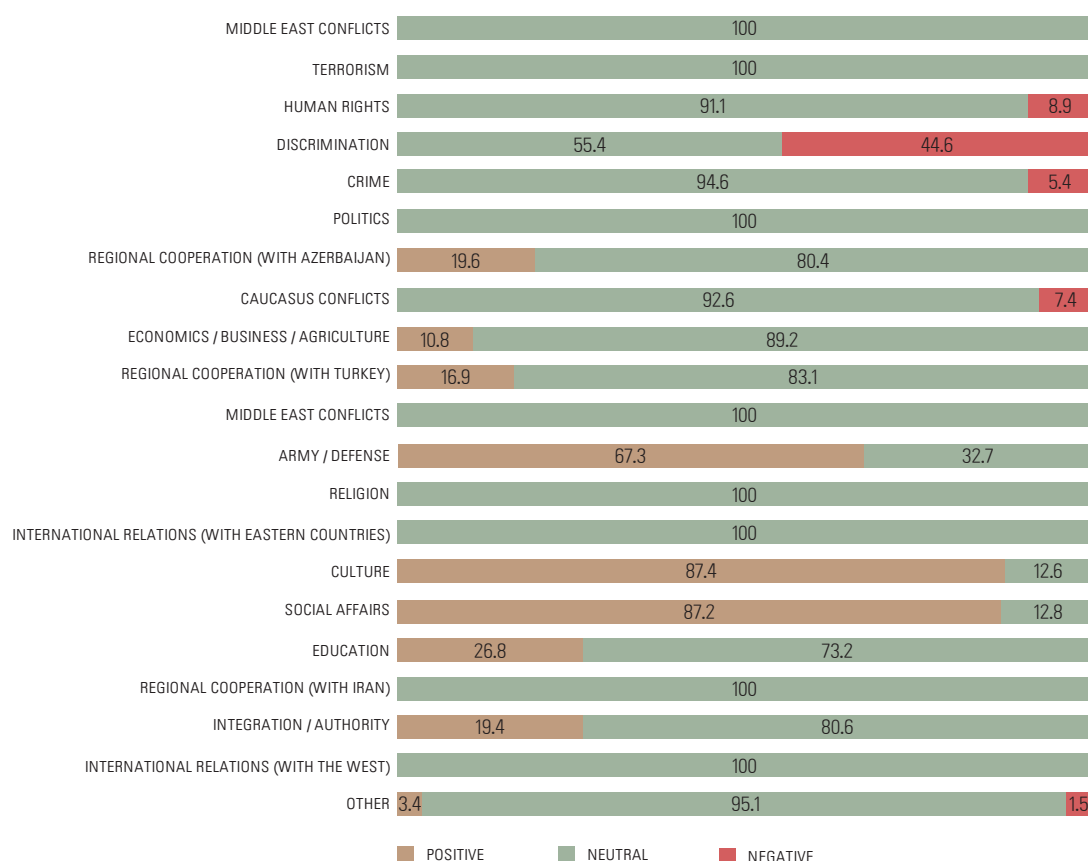
⁴⁵ August 9 <http://bit.ly/2xxe3lo>

⁴⁶ August 8 <http://bit.ly/2ybmBAy>

⁴⁷ September 9 <http://bit.ly/2yeRHc4>

⁴⁸ For example, “The director believes that the third sector turned into the fifth colony”, June 28. <http://bit.ly/2gvcQFK>

FIGURE 7. TONE OF CONTENT IN COVERAGE OF TOPICS – PIA



PIA linked criminality with national identity like IPN and Sputnik-Georgia. In addition, Iranians were assimilated with the threat in a title of one of the discriminative material:

TITLES

Georgia facing threat of Iranization? – Alarming statistics ⁴⁹

An Iranian sentenced to 6 years imprisonment for a pervert act against minors⁵⁰

An Iranian citizen beaten for urinating at cross in Zestaponi ⁵¹

An Iranian citizen arrested for drug near GEM Fest ⁵²

An Iranian citizen arrested for drug in Ganmukhuri ⁵³

XENOPHOBIA. PIA news agency published a xenophobic article entitled “Georgia facing threat of Iranization? – Alarming statistics”. Journalists presents the growing number of Iranian tourists in Georgia within the framework of visa-free travel as a security threat to the country and links this process with the demands of ultra-radical group “Georgian March”.

⁴⁹ August 18 <http://bit.ly/2hzjryA>

⁵⁰ July 20 <http://bit.ly/2yXIS42>

⁵¹ July 10 <http://bit.ly/2hZXRqF>

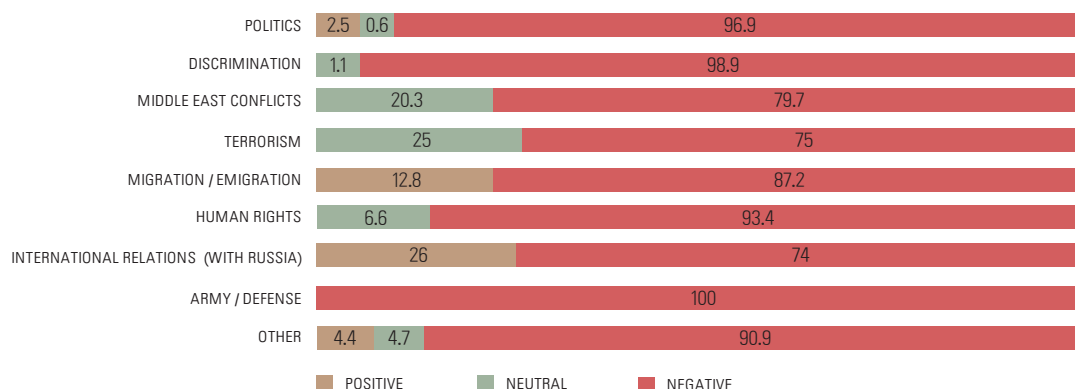
⁵² August 8 <http://bit.ly/2wMO0vQ>

⁵³ August 7 <http://bit.ly/2yeax3v>

Eka Tchigladze, journalist: “Georgian March” challenged the government with radical demands – to prevent Georgians from the violence of foreigners, abuse of cultural monuments, mass and compact settlement of foreigners. It is not yet clear how the government regulates the issuance of citizenship or residence permit for foreigners, but the danger of mass migration of Iranians, which experts and politicians identified, is not far from the reality”.

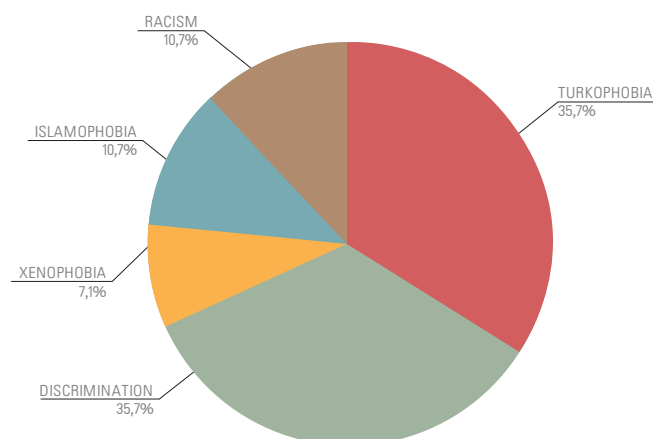
GEORGIA AND THE WORLD. Among Georgian media outlets, **Georgia and the World** is the only edition, which covered Muslims and related topics highly negatively. The only topic with the highest indicator of positive coverage (26%) was related to international relations of eastern countries with the Russian Federation; the same topic was also covered with highly neutral tone (74%). Highly neutral tone (87.29%) was revealed in covering migration/emigration issues that mainly involved purely news on migration issues. In other instances, surplus of negative coverage (politics, discrimination, Middle East conflicts, terrorism, human rights, army/defense) was mainly revealed in editorials or op-eds released by the on-line edition that basically created xenophobic and anti-Western context.

FIGURE 8. GEORGIA AND THE WORLD – TONE OF COVERAGE



Qualitative Research– Georgia and the World. The Georgia and the World authors published 28 xenophobic comments during the monitoring period most of which (10) were of Turkophobic nature or against migrants (10); three comments had Islamophobic content; three – racist and two concerned different groups.

FIGURE 9. TYPOLOGY OF HATE SPEECH – GEORGIA AND THE WORLD



TURKOPHOBIA (10). The Turkophobic narrative was primarily focused on the emergence of historical traumas and presented the occupation of the Ottoman Empire as a counterweight to the Russian occupation:

Davit Mkheidze, author: “So Russia is an occupant and Turkey is a friend? Those whose ears can hear through history will hear the screams of the beautiful Georgian girls and boys driven to the slave market of Istanbul by Turkish Janissaries during three centuries. According to the recent researches of historians, for three centuries the number of Georgians who died on the battlefield was way fewer than of those sold to the Istanbul slave market. That’s why I cannot put a sign of equality between modern Turkey and Russia⁵⁴”.

At the same time, Georgia’s integration into the North-Atlantic Alliance was equalized to intervention of Turkey, as of the NATO member state and to its consequent threats:

Iza Tamazashvili, author: “NATO entering Georgia means Turkey entering Georgia which is way more dangerous for our country⁵⁵”.

DISCRIMINATION OF MIGRANTS (10). Xenophobic statements towards the migrants implied the following messages:

- Middle-East and North-African migrants are sexual offenders (“as for the **sex offence by the migrants**, it is known that German women were attacked in Cologne (Germany) at New-Year’s Eve by Middle-East and North-African migrants in 2016 – up to **1000 cases were recorded... The Arabs call collective attack, collective sexual violence “taharrush⁵⁶”**).
- The entry of foreigners (from Asian countries) should be restricted (“Right now, today a **moratorium on the uncontrollable entry of the aliens to Georgia should be declared⁵⁷**”).
- Selling the land to aliens is a danger to the country and should be restricted (“**those – selling Georgian land to them and giving them Georgian citizenship, settling them with families in Georgia forever – are traitors. Shah Abbas tried expulsion of Georgians from Georgia and insemination with the aliens⁵⁸**”).
- Migration causes “demographic Catastrophe”, “destruction of the national mentality” and outflow of the youngsters from the country (“**construction of the Arabic, Indian and Chinese villages**, destruction of the national mentality and outflow of the youngsters from the country will last for 25 years. Do you believe this God-given country will still be called Georgia after 25 years?⁵⁹”).

⁵⁴ September 6, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2xOA5l2>

⁵⁵ August 3, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2woGXE9>

⁵⁶ July 12, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2ui2fFM>

⁵⁷ July 12, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2ui2fFM>

⁵⁸ June 23, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2tfbPbU>

⁵⁹ June 23, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2t2UXp6>

ISLAMOPHOBIA (3). The edition linked Islam with terrorism (**“An attack attempt on Emmanuel Macron made Europe remember that Islamist refugees are not the only threat of the domestic terrorism⁶⁰”**), and discussed the faith (Muslims Vs Orthodoxy) in the foreign policy discourse:

Davit Mkheidze, author: “Mr. Jansugh (Charkviani) willingly or not set an equality sign between the Arabs, Turks, Seljuks, Persians, Ottomans, other predators and Russians with inappropriate “Muslim-Russlim” (a mocking combination of “Muslim” and “Russian”) action, which is unacceptable for any Georgian thinking normally and one single reason for this could be the fact that Russia, unlike the enemies listed, had the same faith⁶¹”.

RACISM (3). There were three cases of racism revealed. In one of them the edition, based on a Russian source, names extinction of the white race as one of the threats of globalization:

Nika Korinteli, journalist: [According to Andrey Alekseev article]: “We live in a reality where white Christian people still does not know each-other well but they actively assimilate with other races. Thus, a major stage of development is omitted, and this means that there is no racial harmony... Despite the dictatorship of tolerance, discussions of the racial war becomes more and more active in Europe. It is not the case that Muslim culture is alien to us, but that we have not yet matured for mutual understanding... The white race will be extinct soon⁶²”.

ANTI-WESTERN ATTITUDES (59). Majority of the Anti-Western comments (42) are against USA, 17 are against West in general, including Europe with the following content:

- America is guilty of the developments in Syria, Washington supports terrorists (**“Terrorists in Syria, including Al Qaeda, are puppets in the dirty war in the Syrian Arab Republic started by the West... Any action that the West takes against the Syrian army or the government is helping terrorists because the Syrian army and the Middle East are the main force fighting against “militants”⁶³”**. **“Washington is thriving to hit Assad and his Iranian allies and not the “Islamic State”⁶⁴”**).
- USA created extremist groups during the Cold War to defeat the Soviet Union (**“In the late 1970s and 1980s, the US, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan founded the extremist Islamic-Wahhabi movement, which later became “Al Qaeda” and “Taliban”. This was done to defeat the Soviet Union in the Cold War and to destabilize the Pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan⁶⁵”**).
- America is protecting Saudi Arabia, which is a “Sunni-Wahhabi” ideology cradle, which supports jihadists related to Al Qaeda and the Islamic State. They are funded by Saudi Arabia⁶⁶.”
- USA is abuser (**“Biological war: USA is using cholera to kill Yemeni inhabitants”⁶⁷**).

⁶⁰ July 21, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2tNkXRB>

⁶¹ September 6, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2xOA5l2>

⁶² July 21, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2vFtrfS>

⁶³ July 16, 2017. According to Global Research. <http://bit.ly/2gcqZtX>

⁶⁴ June 28, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2skV53D>

⁶⁵ August 9, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2yqwLvS>

⁶⁶ August 9, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2yqwLvS>

⁶⁷ August 9, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2yqwLvS>

- The US encourages protest movements in the Middle East (**“Qatar became the main partner of the USA in the Arab Spring process. Protests in Middle East were prepared by the US Centers⁶⁸”**).
- Increased migration to Europe supports revival of fascism (**“The increased migration of the Middle East and North-African refugees to the European countries strengthened the nationalist sentiments and the threat of the fascism revival is high⁶⁹”**. **“The tolerance that some countries show towards the nests of Islamism on their territories is totally incomprehensible⁷⁰”**).
- The European institutes oblige Georgia to repatriate deported Meskhs, to ratify regional language charter and protect Azeri journalist, Afgan Mukhtarli.
- Georgia lost its historic territories due to the western countries (**“Thanks to current “strategic allies” of Georgia a large the territory (over 12 thousand sq. km.) of Georgia is today part of the “historic friend”, Turkey⁷¹”**).

The edition often published fake information about the West. One of such articles was a fabrication of an interview with John Scarlett, a former Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service of the Great Britain which was first disseminated by a fake website, imitating the British Guardian⁷². The material included conspiracy that the plan of Russian collapse aimed to bring radical Islamists to Chechnya, Dagestan, North Ossetia and Circassia to power.

John Scarlett, Former Head of the British foreign intelligence service: “The second stage of the [US and British Intelligence services] plan envisaged bringing of radical Islamists to power in Chechnya, Dagestan, North Ossetia and Circassia. Meetings of the Chiefs of the Central Intelligence Division, MI6 as well as Turkish and Saudi Arabian special services were behind the plan and if Islamists would be able to keep the political power in the regions of Russia, the military forces of NATO would have an access to the northern regions of Caucasus⁷³”.

TERMS: The following discriminative and Anti-West terms are observed in the edition:

MIGRANTS	RELIGIOUS-NATIONAL GROUPS	WEST
Aliens, Insemination with aliens	Muslim-Russlim	NATO supported terrorists
Invaded wicked ones	The Mohammedan Army	Imperial Terrorism (USA)
Aliens who came as enemies	“Historical Friend” Turkey	Islamization of the USA, #1 Terrorist Country (USA)
Islamist Refugees – Domestic Threat	Historical Enemy (Turkey)	Arab NATO
Imposed refugees		
Islamization of the Europe		
Different kinds of aliens		
Illegal Migrants		

⁶⁸ June 16, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2tuku7l>

⁶⁹ July 21, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2vFtrfS>

⁷⁰ July 5, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2spgYuJ>

⁷¹ July 26, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2v2fquS>

⁷² Myth Detector, August 16, 2017. Geworld.ge and Sakinform Post Fake Interview with Former MI6 Chief <http://mythdetector.ge/en/myth/geworldge-and-sakinform-post-fake-interview-former-mi6-chief>

⁷³ July 16, 2017. <http://bit.ly/2wPt03e>

II. RUSSIAN MEDIA

Russian media outlets (HTB, 1 КАНАЛ, РТР ПЛАНЕТА, Sputnik-Georgia) [NTV, Channel One, RTR Planeta] mainly covered the topic of Muslims and related issues in context of anti-Western propaganda. As Figure 11 shows, TV journalists and presenters often made xenophobic and anti-western comments and assessments, supporting them with identical opinions of respondents. In news programs, Russian TV presenters often failed to observe journalistic neutrality, identifying themselves with the Russian government and pitting it against the USA and the West (we vs them):

Valeriy Fadeev, presenter: “Americans downed a Syrian airplane, trying to provoke us, but all this is a hopeless and weak attempt.”⁷⁴

Irada Zeinalova, journalist: “This is what seems to be called a democratic path. This is what we are trying to explain to Washington.”⁷⁵

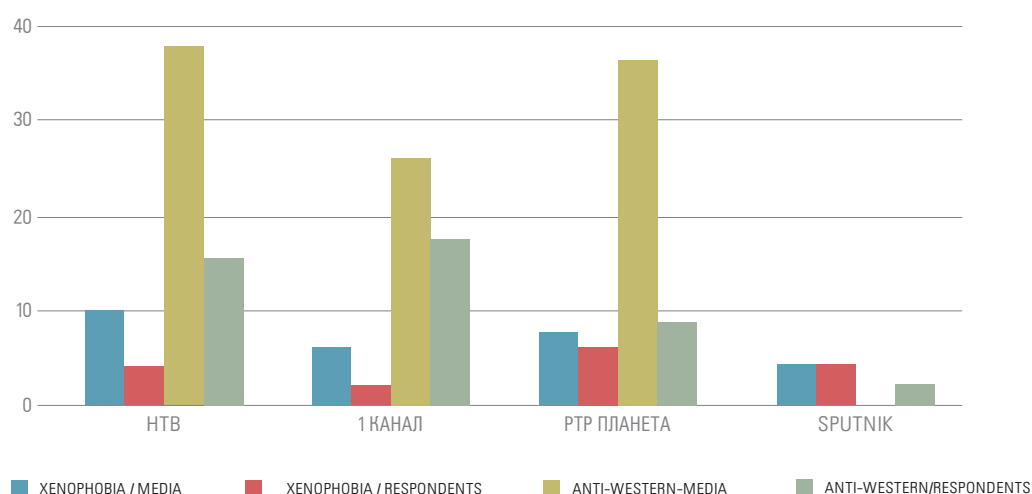
In contrast to comment-oriented Russian TV news programs, the online media outlet, Sputnik-Georgia, Russian government’s propaganda project which faced the problems of trust and legitimacy from the very day of its establishment, applies a different tactic. At the first glance, the Georgian-language edition of Sputnik seems to use a neutral style of reporting, but by manipulating facts and photos and speculating on the topic of migrants, discreetly promotes the narratives identical to those of comment-oriented Russian TV news programs.

⁷⁴ Channel One, Vremya, 25 June.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUiOse2hpQQ&index=17&list=PLoirvJ-GlzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl&t=9s>

⁷⁵ NTV, Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 9 July. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QLOr7h8uOlw&feature=youtu.be>

FIGURE 11. XENOPHOBIA AND ANTI-WESTERN ATTITUDES IN THE COVERAGE OF MUSLIM ISSUES IN RUSSIAN MEDIA



Regarding the Muslim topic, Russian media outlets try to promote the following opinions:

- **TERRORISM/ISLAM/MIGRANTS:** Terrorism is linked to Islam, migrants and migrants of Eastern nationalities;
- **EUROPE/MIGRANTS/TERRORISM:** The European policy towards migrants creates a fertile ground for terrorism; Europe is vulnerable to terrorism;
- **RUSSIA/SECURE SPACE/ISIL BANNED IN RUSSIA:** Russia is the only secure space where people are protected, ISIL is banned and the government is able to prevent terrorism;
- **USA/TERRORISM:** The US encourages terrorism;
- **RUSSIA/TERRORISM:** Russia conducts a real fight against terrorism; establishes peace in Syria;
- **JUSTIFICATION OF DICTATORIAL REGIMES:** Accusations of the use of chemical weapons by Bashar al-Assad are unfounded; the West is to be blamed for developments in Libya;
- **USA/OFFENDER:** The USA establishes democracy by violence;
- **USA/THREAT:** The USA is a source of biological threats;
- **USA/COALITION/RESPONSIBILITY:** The coalition under the US leadership⁷⁶ is responsible for civilian casualties in Syria; the Western sanctions harm population of Syria.

2.1. NTV

QUANTITATIVE DATA: During the reporting period (15 June – 15 September), monitoring was conducted on three primetime news programs of the NTV – *Сегодня* (Segodnya),⁷⁷ *Итоги дня* (Itogi Dnya),⁷⁸ *Итоги недели* (Itogi Nedeli),⁷⁹ which altogether produced 130 reports on the Muslim community or Muslim-related topics (the total length of reports comprised 17 862 seconds). The largest share of this coverage

⁷⁶ USA, Britain, Canada, Turkey, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark.

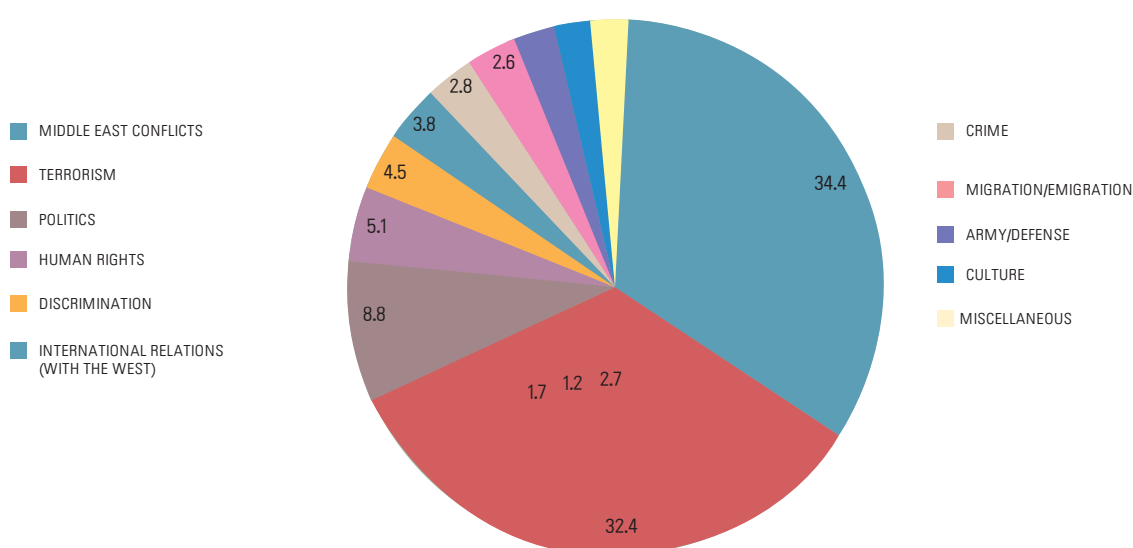
⁷⁷ 19:00 (Friday, Saturday).

⁷⁸ 23:35 (Monday, Thursday). Was not broadcast from 6 July to 21 August.

⁷⁹ 19:00 (Sunday). Was not broadcast from 9 July to 27 August.

(34.4%) accounted for conflicts in the Middle East, which was followed by terrorism at a slightly lower share (32.4%). In total, the Middle East conflicts and terrorism made up the largest share of reporting on the Muslim topic, almost 70% of the coverage. Moreover, a negative tone prevailed in this coverage. Topic of politics which along with other issues included Muslims or the Muslim world, accounted for a relatively low share – 8.8%. The NTV allocated little time to human rights (5.1%) and discrimination of Muslim community (4.5%), international relations with the West (3.8%). The least time was allocated to the reporting about relations with Iran (0.1%); this topic is categorized under “Miscellaneous.” The category of Miscellaneous also include the coverage of religion which accounted for 0.9% of the reporting.

FIGURE 12. COVERAGE OF MUSLIMS AND RELATED TOPICS BY THE NTV



TONE OF CONTENT IN THE COVERAGE OF TOPICS: The tone of coverage by the NTV of migration/immigration and discrimination topics, which comprised, respectively, 2.6% and 2.8% of the total coverage, was 100% negative. The highest shares of negative tone were observed in the reporting on three main topics: relations with the West (81.1%), terrorism (57.9%) and Middle East conflicts (47.7%). A positive tone in the coverage of Middle East conflicts (17.8%) mainly aimed at featuring the role of Russian Federation in Syria in the positive light and included issues such as Russia’s humanitarian aid to Syria,⁸⁰ the restoration of religious buildings with the assistance of Russia,⁸¹ the establishment of peace in the de-escalation zone with the help of Russian police,⁸² et cetera. A positive tone observed in the coverage of terrorism (5.3%) concerned the reports about alleged death of ISIL leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: the report emphasized Russia’s exceptional role in and positive contribution to the fight against terrorism.⁸³

⁸⁰ NTV, Segodnya, 9 August. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TiEblHZs6ac&index=77&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4l-MojPII8Ssy

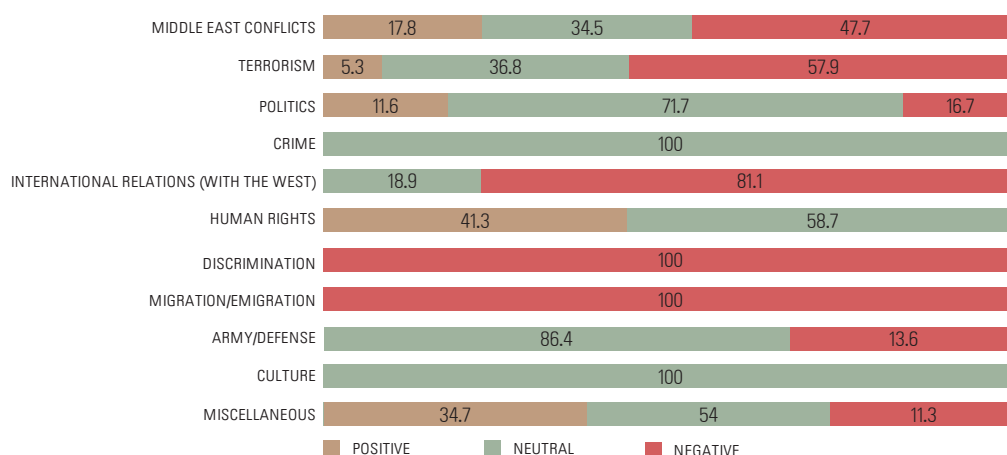
⁸¹ NTV, Segodnya, 15 September. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqQihAZZX38&feature=youtu.be>

⁸² NTV, Segodnya, 24 July. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqQihAZZX38&feature=youtu.be>

⁸³ **Vladimir Kondratyev, commentator:** “Whether al-Baghdadi is still alive or not, in any case, a successful operation of Russian military servicemen against ISIL is a proof of Russia’s crucial contribution to the fight against global terrorism.” NTV, Segodnya, 16 June. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dKZvATNwoew&t=16s&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4l-MojPII8Ssy&index=3

A high share of positive tone (41.3%) in the coverage of human rights topic was observed in reports about the return of children to Russia, who arrived in the Middle East conflict zone by illegal crossing of the border; these reports also positively covered the role of the leader of Chechen Republic, Ramzan Kadyrov, in the return of these children to Russia.⁸⁴

FIGURE 13. TONE OF CONTENT IN THE COVERAGE OF TOPICS – NTV



SOURCES: In covering international news, the TV company NTV mainly relied on its correspondents and also used Western media outlets and sometimes, Arabic (Arab 24), Syrian (sana.sy) outlets as well as the Arab-language Russia Today (arabic.rt.com).

QUALITATIVE STUDY

DISCRIMINATION: In three news programs of NTV (Segodnya, Itogi Dnya, Itogi Nedeli) journalists made 10 discriminatory comments. In the comments, journalists mainly linked terrorism to Islam and migrants.

HATE SPEECH/FANNING CONFRONTATION/LINKING ISLAM TO TERRORISM. In a report about a London terrorist attack on 19 June,⁸⁵ the program presenters and the journalist fanned confrontation between Muslims and British citizens of other identities, linked terrorism to Islam and associated London with threats, reflecting all these in subtitles displayed during the report and the standup:

Subtitles:

- “Terrorist attack for the sake of terrorist attack.”
- “A city of violence.”
- “An opponent to Muslims carried out a terrorist attack.”

Comments of presenters and journalist:

⁸⁴ NTV, Segodnya, 10 August. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1f0GxV6UcHo&index=79&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4l-MojPII8Ssy

⁸⁵ A van ploughed into people near a mosque.

Anna Yankina, presenter: “The location for the attack was not selected randomly. The driver ploughed into Muslims when they were exiting a notorious mosque. It has been repeatedly closed down because of extremists being among its visitors.”

Vladimir Chernishov, presenter: “Is there a threat that the terrorist has followers who will retaliate while Muslims will respond to that? Can the process become a vicious circle and the situation in London come out of control?”

Liza Gerson, journalist: “Yes, it has proved to be a banal ‘eye for eye’... A method of attack which he (the attacker) uses is actually invented by Islamists.”⁸⁶

The journalist of the news program used hate speech towards the terrorist who expressed the desire to leave ISIL and return to Britain:

Liza Gerson, journalist: “After what she (Sally Jones) did [joined ISIL terrorists], she will be rejected even by her own mother. By the way, relatives in Britain do not hope to see her alive... Of course, seizing Raqqa will not stop international terrorism; terrorists like Sally will disperse all over the world and continue their war from other spots. It is like destroying a nest of snakes but leaving the snakes alive – they will spread around.”⁸⁷

At the same time, when speaking about the 19 June terrorist attack in London, the presenter engaged in somewhat idealizing suicide bombers:

Liza Gerson, journalist: “Islamists starkly differ from Islamophobes not only by their physical qualities but internal character too; **Islamophobes are afraid of death** and that’s precisely why the terrorist arrested today is the first British terrorist who was captured alive by special services.”⁸⁸

LINKING TERRORISM TO PERSONS WITH MIDDLE EASTERN APPEARANCE. The journalist, on the one hand, created herself a stereotype according to which a modern-time terrorist, in its classical sense, was of Eastern origin and on the other hand, ascribed the creation of this stereotype to the British special services.

Liza Gerson, journalist: “Indeed, by his appearance the attacker does not look like a **classic, modern-time terrorist, he does not even wear beard...** It was not until the evening that special services branded him a terrorist as they managed to overcome a cliché which is deep-rooted in their head: **‘No beard, no terrorist attack’.**”⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Itogi Dnya, 19 June, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGpRJQA70QY&t=1s&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=6

⁸⁷ Itogi Dnya, 4 July, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ez5oBDePWzo&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=20

⁸⁸ Itogi Dnya, 19 June. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGpRJQA70QY&t=1s&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=6

⁸⁹ Ibid.

ASSOCIATING MIGRANTS WITH TERRORISM/CRIME. The topic of migrants in the context of terrorism was related to the criticism of the European policy (see, anti-Western attitudes) while associating migrants with terrorism and crime.

Vadim Glusker, correspondent: “He [a migrant] is being already awaited for there by other crime gangs who help him hide in Italy... where a migrant can instantly get dwelling – **a criminal dwelling**, or to be more precise, **a bed in an illegally seized empty house.**”⁹⁰

Liza Gerson, journalist: “**The terrorist was nationalist** but not the only one. There is a variety of nationalists in England, they long for a terrorist attack and **are very unhappy about the inflow of migrants.**”⁹¹

ANTI-WESTERN ATTITUDES. Thirty-eight anti-Western comments made by NTV journalists and presenters mainly targeted the US-led coalition and Europe. The anti-Western messages mainly served the aim to:

- Demonstrate that the only space which is protected from terrorism is Russia where terrorist organizations are banned;
- Promote the opinion that actions of the USA and its coalition encourage terrorism whereas Russia is the only power that undertakes effective measures against terrorism;
- Justify dictatorships;
- Promote the opinion that the European policy, including on migrants, creates a fertile ground for terrorism (titles: “Europe’s radicalization,” “European Caliphate”).

JUSTIFICATION OF BASHAR AL-ASSAD’S ACTIONS/CLAIMS THAT HE DID NOT USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

Irada Zeinalova, journalist: “Let’s take an overthrow of government which is so fervently supported by Washington. Before boarding the flight to Kyiv, Tillerson himself declared that Moscow opposes the regime change and therefore, our compromise is that let Moscow decide on **the fate of Assad...** Indeed, **Moscow is against the coup.** Moscow favors a normal change of power. This is what seems to be called a democratic path. This is what we are trying to explain to Washington.”⁹²

Irada Zeinalova, presenter: “This is how young people were challenged, by showing them video clips – look, brother, Assad poisons children with sarin gas, help them.”⁹³

⁹⁰ NTV, Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 10 September. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cnKBeS3_7zs&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=134

⁹¹ Itogi Dnya, 19 June. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGpRJQA70QY&t=1s&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=6

⁹² Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 9 July. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QLOr7h8uOlw&feature=youtu.be>

⁹³ NTV, Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 10 September. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7_PVMsdQKM8&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=13

A question of Russian journalist to the spokesperson for the United States Department of State, Heather Nauert: “Why are you so sure that *Assad intends to use chemical weapon?*”

Heather Nauert: Because we all know that Assad has already used the chemical weapon against his population. Is it not suffice?

Journalist: “*Are you not afraid that the opposition will take advantage of these warnings, use the chemical weapon itself and put the blame on Assad?*”⁹⁴

JUSTIFICATION OF MUAMMAR GADDAFI'S REGIME. ACCUSING THE WEST OF DEVELOPMENTS IN LIBYA.

Irada Zeinalova, presenter: “In exactly the same way Gaddafi was trying to reach out to the West [presenter is talking about the developments in Myanmar], declaring that Libya was attacked by extremists, that what was happening could not be *called a democratic revolution*. No one listened to him. Now Libya is destructed.”⁹⁵

THE USA ESTABLISHES DEMOCRACY BY VIOLENCE.

Vladimir Chernishov, journalist: “The entire world remembers and knows the aptitude of Americans in establishing democratic values by means of precision or mass bombings.”⁹⁶

THE USA ENCOURAGES TERRORISM.

Irada Zeinalova, presenter: “*Americans were reminded of all wars, training camps for Mujahedeen in Pakistan which gave birth to Al Qaida, and the war in Iraq which resulted in the creation of ISIL; this all was recalled at BRICS because the dictate of one country multiplies extremism across the world*. It was the extremism that brought tens of thousands together under the flag of ISIL, stuffed the heads of adolescents, like those in Ivanteyevka, with the nonsense that it is worth killing themselves for the idea... Let us be straightforward – when the war in Afghanistan ended and the Soviet forces pulled out of the country, *10 000 of Mujahedeen bred by the Central Intelligence Agency found themselves idle*. They were expected nowhere; they had to find something to do and *Bin Laden led them to Bosnia*. Something should be done with ISIL fighters too.”⁹⁷

CLAIMS THAT THE US AND NATO ACCUSING RUSSIA OF COOPERATING WITH TALIBAN ARE UNFOUNDED.

Irada Zeinalova, presenter: “We have heard the Pentagon together with NATO claiming that Russians support Taliban, though we have not seen any evidence of it.”⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 2 July. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kECtFR9qkUg&index=18&t=32s&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy

⁹⁵ NTV, Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 10 September. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7_PVMsdQKM8&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=133

⁹⁶ NTV, Itogi Dnya, 22 August. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E07gTGJa3gE&index=111&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy

⁹⁷ NTV, Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 10 September. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0e0ape2mj0&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=132

⁹⁸ NTV, Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 27 August. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=myZdMyLaoaU&t=4s>

ACCUSING THE USA AND ITS COALITION OF KILLING CIVILIANS.

Vasil Maximenko, journalist: “People told him (a Russia Today journalist) that the US-led Western coalition carried out indiscriminate attacks, using banned weapons, including phosphorus bombs.”⁹⁹

RUSSIA CREATES A SAFE ENVIRONMENT, THE WESTERN SANCTIONS HARM SYRIANS.

Lilia Gildeeva, presenter: “The attempts of Russian military forces to create a South-Western de-escalation zone in Syria has already born fruit, even in literal sense: population of Daraa Governorate has already resumed works in the fields and yielded good crops... *Because of a possibility to work in safe environment, local farmers extend their thanks to Russian military police forces...*”

Aleksey Ivliev, correspondent: “...Western sanctions do not allow him [a Syrian farmer] to export his produce to Europe.”¹⁰⁰

THE USA AS A SOURCE OF BIOLOGICAL THREATS/LINKING MIDDLE EAST CONFLICTS TO DANGEROUS VIRUSES.

A report titled “Deadly infection in the USA” was about a hypothetical threat of epidemics in the USA, which might be spread by rat lungworm or *Angiostrongylus cantonensi*. Although during a standup the journalist noted that the spread of bacteria was not lethal, the title of the report – “Deadly infection in the USA” – was misleading. Even more, linking by the presenter as well as the journalist during his standup the bacteria to so-called zombie-like disease and Middle East conflicts was manipulative aimed at creating a sense of danger, on the one hand, and an impression of artificial regulation of the process, on the one hand.

Vladimir Chernichev, presenter: “Several month ago, American scientists threatened the world with a new disease in which parasites cause the rotting of body; it is called a zombie-like disease...”

Alexander Veselovski, journalist: “... in both cases [viruses in the USA and zones of military actions], the disease is spread by parasites. Leishmaniasis, or as it is called zombie-like disease was detected in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, in those regions where active military actions were or are underway. Doctors believe that this disease develops in a dead body that is left unburied for a long time and then it is spread among people by insects. Doctors think that an American soldier brought this disease to the USA.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ NTV, Segodnya, 30 July. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5CuzGQohWg&list=PLoirvJ-GlzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=64

¹⁰⁰ NTV, Segodnya, 15 August. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4-wtTyUbevQ&index=93&list=PLoirvJ-GlzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy

¹⁰¹ NTV, Itogi Dnya, 4 July. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=svm5fyqrHQA&list=PLoirvJ-GlzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=21

EUROPEAN POLICY, INCLUDING ON MIGRANTS, CREATES A FERTILE GROUND FOR TERRORISM.

Vadim Glusker, reporter: “What else should happen in Europe [a terrorist attack in Barcelona] to make it wake up after all and get rid of its negligence. We have seen a similar picture of none of law enforcement representatives being in streets in Berlin, Stockholm, London and now in Barcelona.”¹⁰²

Title: “Radicalization of Europe,” “European Caliphate.”

Anna Iankina, journalist: “Radical sentiments are on the rise in calm, safe Switzerland. The country’s government has shown interest towards a Libyan imam, Abu Ramadan, who in his preaching during 13 years called on the congregation to kill Russians, Shias and Jews... *These views has not prevented him, throughout all this time, from getting a social assistance worth of 620 000 USD in total.*”¹⁰³

Irada Zenailova, journalist: “Even Switzerland which has been supporting Merkel in receiving the highest number of refugees per capita, has started to send them back.”¹⁰⁴

TERMINOLOGY: The TV channel NTV used the following terms in relation to terrorism, migrants, people of Muslim identity, and the West:

TERRORISM	MIGRANTS/MUSLIMS	THE WEST
Organization ISIL banned in Russia	Inundation of migrants	American aggression
Bearded terrorist	Criminal gangs (migrants)	Radicalization of Europe
A new generation of murderers	Criminal dwelling (migrants)	European Caliphate
Cubs of caliphate	Infidel peers	Washington plays “chemist” again
Caliphates nursery	Refugees of war	Democratic values by mass bombing
Cut-throats of infidels	Radical Islam	American exceptionalism
Live bomb	Crowd of Muslims	CIA bred Mujahedeen
ISIL children – a time bomb	Imam preaching hate	Dangerous Atlantic union
Terrorist’s mother/wife		Nationalist brawl
Nest of snakes		Schools – training camps extremists
Terrorist of Arabian appearance		
Home-bred terrorist		
Nationalist terrorist		
Seed of hate/energy of hate		

¹⁰² NTV, Segodnya, 19 August. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cX5nEV-IIHI&index=104&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy

¹⁰³ NTV, Itogi Dnya, 24 August. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JtxfdtEVIY8&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=114

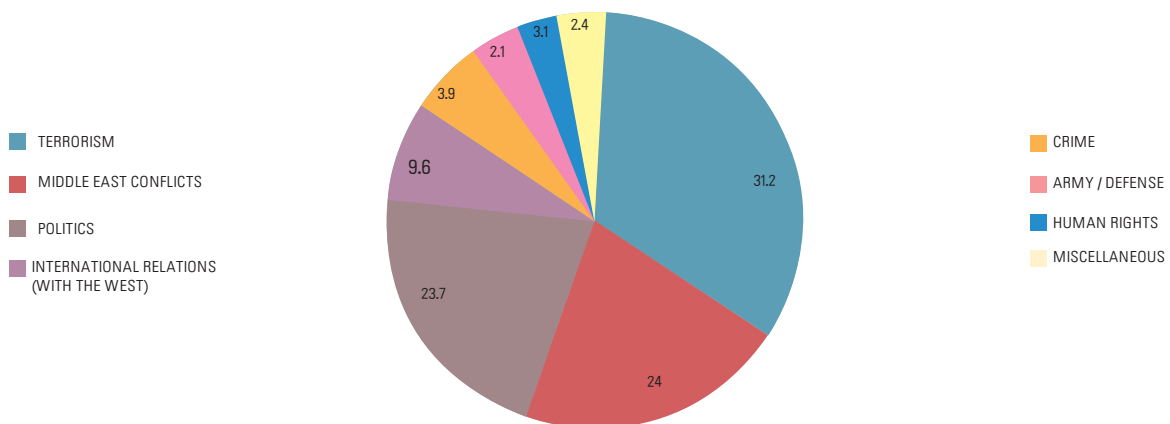
¹⁰⁴ NTV, Itogi Nedeli with Irada Zeinalova, 10 September. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cnKBeS3_7zs&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKog3AAel-_g4IMojPII8Ssy&index=134

It is worth noting that the term “organization ISIL banned in Russia” is an obligation specified in the Russian legislation,¹⁰⁵ which if breached is subject to sanctions.

2.2. RUSSIA'S CHANNEL ONE

QUANTITATIVE DATA: During the monitoring period (15 June – 15 September), in its primetime news program Vremya, Russia’s Channel One covered Muslim community issues in 167 reports (the total duration 27,277 seconds). The largest share of coverage accounted for terrorism (31.2%) and conflicts in the Middle East (24%), altogether making up more than half of the coverage (55.2%). Political issues with Muslim-related topics involved comprised 23.7% of the coverage; international relations with the West in the context of discussing Muslim topics totaled 9.6%; crime was at 3.9%; human rights at 3.1% and army and defense at 2.1%. Topics such as religion, culture, international relations with Eastern countries, integration received less than 1% of the coverage, making up 2.4% in total. It is worth noting that during the monitoring period, Russia’s Channel One did not produce reports on topics such as discrimination of Muslims or migration/emigration of Muslims. These issues, however, were touched upon in various topics.

FIGURE 14. COVERAGE OF MUSLIMS AND RELATED TOPICS BY CHANNEL ONE



TONE OF CONTENT IN THE COVERAGE OF TOPICS: A highly negative tone in a primetime news program of Russia’s Channel One was observed in the coverage of terrorism (57%); relations with the West (50.7%) that were mainly linked to terrorism and Middle East conflicts; Middle East conflicts (47%); politics (32.5%) and crime (21.1%). At the same time, in the coverage of topics where sharply negative tone prevailed, certain issues were reported in a positive tone mainly towards the aim to positively present the role of Russia. Russia’s role was positively represented in such topics as Middle East conflicts (19.9%)¹⁰⁶, army and defense (36.7%)¹⁰⁷, human rights (57.1%)¹⁰⁸ and terrorism (11.3%)¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁵ Federal Law On Countering Extremist Activity, 25 July 2002. <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901823502>

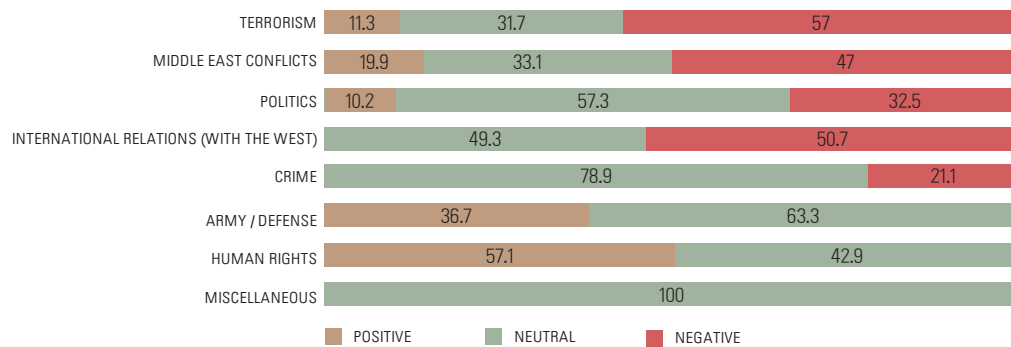
¹⁰⁶ For example, “Russia’s combat marine forces carried out an Kalibr cruise missile attack with a precision of jeweler on ISIL terrorists in Syria.” Channel One, Vremya, 23 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mM3sgmcqXNM&feature=youtu.be>

¹⁰⁷ Syrian President Bashar al-Assad was shown modern Russian weaponry in Khmeimim Air Base. Channel One, Vremya, 27 June. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6w1QcvPS_5Y&list=PLoirvJ-GlZKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl&index=20

¹⁰⁸ Children and women who have been brought back to Russia from Syria with the mediation of the leader of Chechnya Ramzan Kadyrov. Channel One, Vremya, 2 September. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZC8RbqvRhvl&index=135&list=PLoirvJ-GlZKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl>

¹⁰⁹ Syrian army, with the assistance of Russian armed forces, freed 85% of country’s territory from terrorists. Channel One, Vremya, 2 September. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jHOnCs0114c&index=158&list=PLoirvJ-GlZKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl>

FIGURE 15. TONE OF CONTENT IN THE COVERAGE OF TOPICS – CHANNEL ONE



SOURCES: Much like NTV, Russia’s Channel One, when covering international news, mainly relied on its own correspondents and along with Western outlets sometimes used Lebanese (Al Mayadeen) and Iraqi (Alsumaria) satellite TV channels.

QUALITATIVE STUDY

LINKING MIGRANTS/MUSLIMS TO THREATS/TERRORISM. During the monitoring period, the primetime news program *Vremya* of Russia’s Channel One contained five discriminatory comments of journalists and one racist comment of a respondent. In their comments, the journalists mainly associated migrants and Muslims with terrorism while stressing Europe’s vulnerability to this threat. At the same time, inequality in society was cited as a cause of terrorist attacks.

Anton Volski, reporter: “Residents of apartment blocks are unhappy [about a resettlement of migrants]. They refrain from speaking publicly, but off the camera they say that although they are not racists such a neighborhood will adversely affect the price of expensive immovable property... In experts’ opinion, an increasing inequality in society may backfire on Britain with new terrorist attacks.”¹¹⁰

Anton Volski, reporter: “Residents of London seem to have moved two millennia back to the epoch in which the city was surrounded with a high wall to defend it against invasions of barbarians... However, today, *Britain has more enemies inside it* [meaning migrants] *than outside it*... There is a cause of terrorism, even more so, each type of terrorism... They say that the burned down building is only the first warning; because of politicians’ actions there is an urgent need of refurbishment of not only the building but the entire country.”

LINKING TERRORISM TO ISLAM

Yana Padzyuban, correspondent: “Catalonia is trying to guess how come that terrorists succeeded in concealing their plans? Is it possible that relatives of attackers knew nothing about it? Every street has its own mosque; many of them have been closed without any explanation after the terrorist attacks. They admit that after the terrorist attack the congregation is afraid of not only

¹¹¹ Channel One, *Vremya*, 25 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGmGNyvBpB8&index=19&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl>

terrorists but also the attitude of population of Barcelona. However, a mosque never becomes empty, proof – we are called for prayer.”¹¹²

CITING A RACIST COMMENT OF RESPONDENT

Elvira Katzberg, guide [in Great Britain]: “Frankly speaking, there are, of course, districts, the places populated mainly with black people, where I do not like to walk even during daytime, because they are more aggressive.”¹¹³

ANTI-WESTERN ATTITUDES. Presenters and journalists of Channel One’s news program Vremya made 25 comments of anti-Western nature with the majority of them justifying Bashar al-Assad’s actions in the Syrian conflict and blaming the US and its coalition.

JUSTIFYING BASHAR AL-ASSAD’S ACTIONS CLAIMING THAT HE DID NOT USE CHEMICAL WEAPON

Valeriy Fadeev, presenter: “The statehood of Syria has been preserved and President Assad remains in power, however, it is not even about Assad but it is about the state...”¹¹⁴

Maxim Semyon, journalist: “Instead of conducting an investigation, Americans attacked the Shayrat air base *citing suspicious activity there as a reason... though, they knew they could find no evidence of the use of chemical weapon by the government; even more, the attack targeted a location where terrorists planned to convene... Moreover, the Syrian government army not only fights against terrorists but is very effective in doing that.* Lavrov reiterated that only militants can take advantage of the created situation.”¹¹⁵

Vitaliy Eliseev, journalist: “Terrorists plan to stage a provocation regarding the use of chemical weapon in order to justify American attacks on Syria’s government armed forces.”¹¹⁶

Valeriy Fadeev, presenter: “Everyone there [in Washington] prefers their own scarecrows... The Syrian authorities have repeatedly declared that they do not possess the chemical weapon. In due time it was taken out of the country under the international monitoring... However, Washington exploits a plain recipe – declares that the Assad regime intends to use chemical weapon and threatens to attack if he does so.”¹¹⁷

¹¹² Channel One, Vremya, 21 August. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3LFZ5FRjZrY&t=46s>

¹¹³ Channel One, Vremya, 25 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGmGNyvBpB8&index=19&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHysCY>

¹¹⁴ Channel One, Vremya, 25 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUiOse2hpQQ&index=17&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHysCYmLwI&t=9s>

¹¹⁵ Channel One, Vremya, 29 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFbvW91GHQ4&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHysCYmLwI&index=27>

¹¹⁶ Channel One, Vremya, 6 July. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CqMUyYdLgu8&index=46&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHysCYmLw>

¹¹⁷ Channel One, Vremya, 2 July. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=loklrp-zmIQ&index=28&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHysCYmLwI>

THE USA ENCOURAGES TERRORISM

Grigoriy Emelyanov, journalist: “An official objective [of the USA] is to supply the so-called moderate opposition (Syrian opposition) with the familiar, Soviet-vintage weaponry. *This all started during the administration of ex-president Obama when another special operation – the training of moderates (Syrian opposition) proved a failure. Instructors working with them, actually, admitted that in reality they were training Jihadists.*”¹¹⁸

RUSSIA FIGHTS AGAINST TERRORISM IN REALITY

Evgeniy Baranov, journalist: “Russia’s aims in Syria were pronounced right upon the start of our operation and they remain unchanged to date: to destroy nest of terrorism near its borders, to preserve the state of Syria and its statehood with the guarantee of its own presence in the region... ISIL is being defeated... Many terrorist who arrived in Syria from Russia and former Soviet countries have been killed. Consequently, the threat of terrorism in Russia is reduced... In Syria *we achieved* a strategic *success*. Now Americans are trying to save their face in some other direction.”¹¹⁹

THE USA TRIES TO PROVOKE RUSSIA

Valeriy Fadeev, presenter: “Americans downed a Syrian airplane, trying to provoke us, but all this is a hopeless and weak attempt. It is the fact that Russia has achieved a strategic success in Syria.”¹²⁰

ACCUSING THE USA AND ITS COALITION OF KILLING CIVILIANS

Yekaterina Andreeva, presenter: “Fierce fighting is under way in the streets of Raqqa. Organized evacuation from the city was not carried out; nor were humanitarian corridors opened. Civilians found themselves in crossfire between terrorists and Western coalition.”¹²¹

ACCUSING THE USA OF “PLANNED EXPLOSION” AT A MOSQUE, BASED ON TERRORISTS

Vitaliy Yeliseev, journalist: “Representatives of coalition claim that militants destroyed the building [mosque] when Iraqi fighters were approaching it. Terrorists blame *US bomber aircrafts* in all that and if you look at this footage you will notice several explosions happening at once; hence, *it was a pre-planned explosion.*”¹²²

¹¹⁸ Channel One, Vremya, 13 September. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_L3wKpdqD8w&index=156&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl

¹¹⁹ Channel One, Vremya, 25 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUiOse2hpQQ&index=17&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl&t=9s>

¹²⁰ Channel One, Vremya, 25 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUiOse2hpQQ&index=17&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl&t=9s>

¹²¹ Channel One, Vremya, 25 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vN5UDRHHDew&index=74&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl>

¹²² Channel One, Vremya, 22 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWYoAeng3LI&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl&index=12>

WESTERN SANCTIONS HARM POPULATION OF SYRIA

Klim Sanatkin, journalist: “Local population receives assistance on a daily basis. Medicines are available but because of sanctions, those medicines which come from Western countries are in shortage – antibiotics, insulin, medicines for oncological patients.”¹²³

ACCUSING THE WEST OF DEVELOPMENTS IN LIBYA

Valeriy Fadeev, presenter: “We see the consequences of this in Libya: killings of people, ruined economy, flows of refugees.”¹²⁴

TERMINOLOGY: In its primetime news program, Russia’s Channel One used the following terms in relation to terrorism, migrants, persons of Muslim identity and the West:

TERRORISM	MIGRANTS/MUSLIMS	THE WEST
ISIL organization banned in Russia / the so-called Jabhat al-Nusra	Invasion of barbarians (in relation to migrants)	Washington’s provocations
Pseudo-Caliphate		Washington’s plain recipe
Real fights against ISIL		Muslim Spain
So-called Jihadmobile		
Terrorist international		
Islamist underground		
Telephone terrorism		
Sauditis		
Closed, dormant cells (terrorist)		
ISIL’s fanatics		

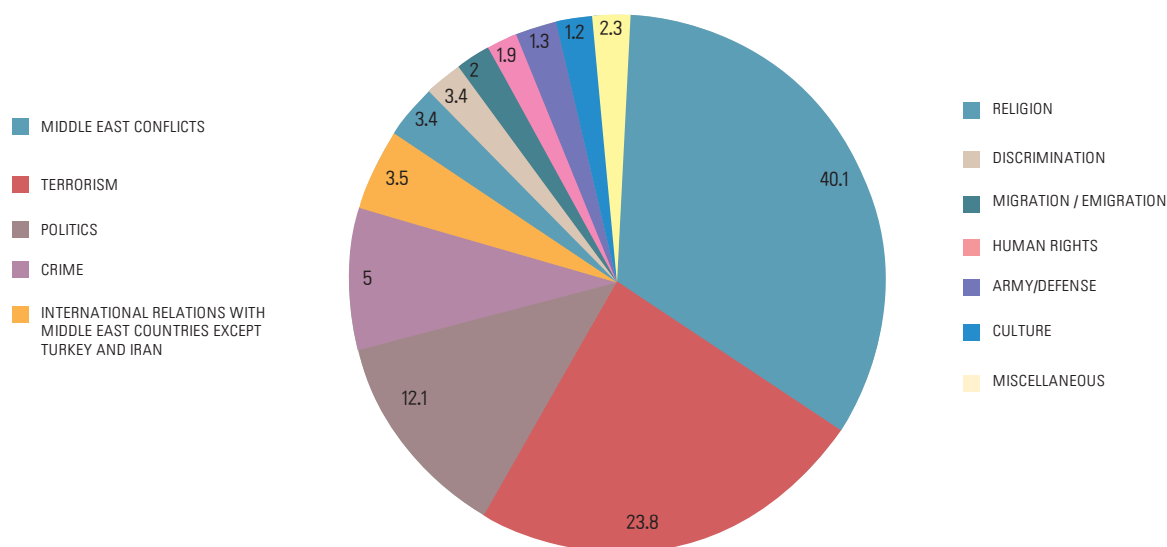
2.3. RTR PLANETA

QUANTITATIVE DATA: During the monitoring period (15 June – 15 September) the primetime news programs of RTR Planeta (Vesti, Vesti Nedeli) produced 167 reports (duration 29,802 seconds) on Muslims and related topics. The largest amount of time was spent on reporting Middle East conflicts (40.1%) and terrorism (23.8%), which in total made up well above the half of the coverage – 63.9%. These were followed by politics (12.1%) which, alike other Russian TV channels, was related to Middle East conflicts; crime (5%) and bilateral relations with Middle East countries (except Turkey and Iran) – 3.5%. Compared to other Russian TV channels, RTR Planeta allocated more time to Muslim-related religious topics (3.4%) and discrimination (3.4%). The TV channel allocated 2% of the coverage to migration/emigration, 1.9% to human rights, 1.3% to army/defense and 1.2% to culture.

¹²³ Channel One, Vremya, 9 July. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XuovEyqaqLY&index=41&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl>

¹²⁴ Channel One, Vremya, 25 June. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUiOse2hpQQ&index=17&list=PLoirvJ-GIzKrPj-a8QsjCRkHyusCYmLwl&t=9s>

FIGURE 16. COVERAGE OF MUSLIM-RELATED TOPICS BY RTR PLANETA



Tone of content in the coverage of topics: The highest share of negative tone was observed in RTR Planeta's coverage of politics (46.2%), migration/emigration (46%), Middle East conflicts (42.5%), discrimination (42%) and terrorism (24.5%).

High positive tone was observed in the coverage of religion (77.5%) which comprised 3.4% of the total coverage. It should be noted that the religious topic was mainly covered in relation to religious holidays in various territorial units of the Russian Federation,¹²⁵ and the pilgrimage to Mecca from Crimea¹²⁶ and Chechnya.¹²⁷ This coverage also included the report about the construction of an Orthodox church in Chechnya, which aimed at highlighting a positive role of the leader of Chechnya, Ramzan Kadyrov, in this process.¹²⁸ One should also note that overall, the coverage of Ramadan was positive; however, the report touched upon, in a somewhat artificial manner, the issue of fighters who had left for so-called Islamic State – a trend observed in the Russian media to constantly “reinvigorate” the topic of terrorism. Much like other Russian TV channels, a positive tone in the coverage of Middle East conflicts (25.4%) served the aim of highlighting Russia's positive role in the conflict.¹²⁹ A tone was 100% positive in covering human rights topic which comprised 1.9% of the total coverage and related to the evacuation of Russian children from Syria with representatives of Russian government, namely, the head of Chechen republic, Ramzan Kadyrov, being featured as the main actor.¹³⁰ A positive tone (45.1%) in the coverage of cultural topic (1.2% of the total coverage) related to the listing of religious building in Tatarstan as a UNESCO world heritage site.¹³¹

¹²⁵ RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 25 June. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3311380>

¹²⁶ RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 14 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3355443>

¹²⁷ RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 18 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3360321>

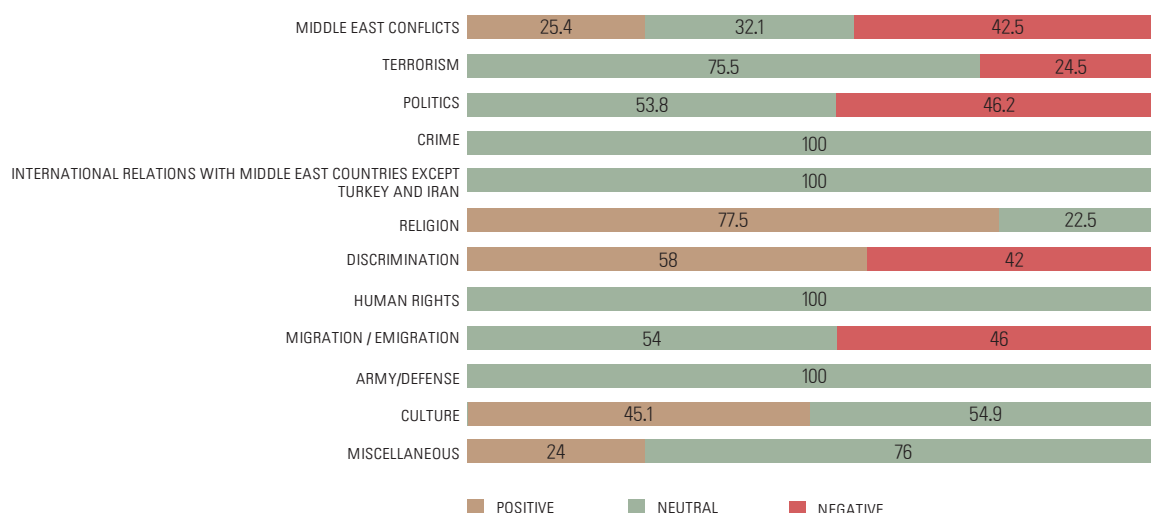
¹²⁸ RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 14 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3355298>

¹²⁹ For example, “so-called moderate opposition agreed to truce only under the guarantee of Russian military forces,” 13 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3354690>

¹³⁰ RTR Planeta, Vesti, Children found in Mosul, 10 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3353687>

¹³¹ RTR Planeta, Vesti, 10 June. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3327313>

FIGURE 17. TONE OF CONTENT – RTR PLANETA



SOURCES: Alongside Western outlets, RTR Planeta used the Syrian news agency Sana and Turkish news agencies DNA and ADANA as sources of information.

QUALITATIVE STUDY

LINKING TERRORISM AND CRIME TO ISLAM AND MIGRANTS/ANTI-WESTERN ATTITUDES. Presenters and journalists of RTR Planeta’s primetime news programs, Vesti and Vesti Nedeli, made seven comments associating Islam and migrants with terrorism and crime. These comments aimed at highlighting weaknesses of Europe and were of anti-Western nature.

LINKING CRIME TO ISLAM/INCREASE IN CRIME IN EUROPE

Anton Lyadov, journalist: “Specially trained people take efforts to *register enraged youth* and this happens not only in Spain. Hardly a day passes without information being released in Europe about a new incident. At 7a.m. on Saturday in Marcel, France, a man armed with a knife attacked pedestrians, wounding three people. This incident was not qualified as a terrorist attack because the offender suffered from a mental problem. On Thursday in Brussels, Belgium, a soldier was attacked with a knife. *Later, the attacker would be found carrying two copies of Quran.*”¹³²

EUROPEAN POLICY ON MIGRANTS CREATES A FERTILE GROUND FOR TERRORISM

Evgeniy Popov, presenter: “The European leadership is reluctant to change anything even in the face of threat of killing of its citizens. This is precisely what Angela Merkel said after the Barcelona terrorist attack – we will not allow these murderers to change the mode of our life. This means giving again a green light to migrants. Tolerance is European ‘melting pot’.”¹³³

¹³² RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 27 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3372490>

¹³³ RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 20 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3362213>

OTHER ANTI-WESTERN STATEMENTS. At the same time, 37 comments were made about the USA and its allies in the Syrian conflict, fanning anti-Western sentiments:

JUSTIFICATION OF BASHAR AL-ASSAD'S ACTIONS/CLAIMS THAT HE DID NOT USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Andrey Kondrashov, journalist: “Washington’s next steps are easily predictable; the attack on Syria, carried out in April, already boosted Trump’s personal rating. *Such actions of the US are assessed in Moscow not only as anti-Syrian, but also as anti-Russian... Moscow presented a plan of gradual liquidation of chemical weapon in Syria. But now, Assad is being accused of preparing the use of poisonous substance which he has not had for a long time now. According to some data of White Helmets, famous for their fake news, something is being secretly filmed in one of Syria’s morgues while the USA has everything prepared for attacking the country.*”¹³⁴

Andrey Kondrashov, journalist: “Now there is a significant danger that extremists in Syria will take advantage of Washington’s statement and stage themselves a provocation with chemical weapon.”¹³⁵

THE USA'S ILLEGAL DEPLOYMENT IN SYRIA

Evgeni Padubni, correspondent: “Military servicemen of the US special operations department are illegally deployed in Syria and act in breach of norms of international law.”¹³⁶

THE USA AND ITS COALITION ENCOURAGE TERRORISM

Andrei Kondrashov, presenter: “American special services are evacuating ISIL field commanders from Deir ez-Zor. Journalists learned about this today from military diplomatic sources. *As terrorist groups in Eastern part of Syria are being destructed, increasingly more facts transpire about a direct support provided by separate countries of the international coalition to ISIS fighters.*”¹³⁷

THE USA/WEST DOES NOT ACTUALLY FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

Dmitry Kiselev, journalist: “...[the USA] seems to be fighting against terrorism, however, at the same time always supports those terrorists who oppose Russia. Putin sensed this, on the example of Chechnya, right away upon his election as the President... They are also double-dealing in Syria where Americans act uninvited. They pretend to fight terrorism, but in reality they try to fulfill their objectives by creating difficulties to Russia.”¹³⁸

¹³⁴ RTR Planeta, Vesti, 29 June. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3313479>

¹³⁵ RTR Planeta, Vesti, 28 June. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3312363>

¹³⁶ RTR Planeta, Vesti, 31 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3373295>

¹³⁷ RTR Planeta, Vesti, 7 September. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3377599>

¹³⁸ RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 25 June. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3311338>

ACCUSING US AND ITS COALITION OF KILLING CIVILIANS

Yevgeni Rashkov, journalist: “In contrast to Syria’s Aleppo, [coalition forces] did not open humanitarian corridors in Mosul and did not cease fire to evacuate civilians and wounded, which resulted in enormous toll among civilians. Almost one million persons have turned into refugees.”¹³⁹

AMERICAN MEDIA PLANS TO PLAY ON “NATIONAL SENTIMENTS”

Andrey Kondrashov, journalist: “Emphasis is placed on the Chechen language [in programs of Radio Liberty and Voice of America]. One may easily guess what, under the instruction received from America, Chechens will be told about Ramzan Kadyrov. Money is distributed among a number of news sites for various-language-speaking regions of Russia. It seems American specialists intend to play on ‘national sentiments’. This, however, reminds us of an overt attempt of Americans, undertaken in the 1990s, to upset the balance in Russia’s Caucasus regions. Back then broader instruments were used which also involved intensive actions of American special services. For example, a server of extremist site Kavkazcenter is still based in Finland. In due time, it was established with foreign money by Movladi Udugov and of course, it was used by Shamil Basayev as his forum. Now, one of America’s targets is Crimea.”¹⁴⁰

TERMINOLOGY. The TV channel used the following terms in relation to terrorism, migrants and representatives of Muslim identity as well as the West:

TERRORISM	MIGRANTS/MUSLIMS	THE WEST
ISIL organization banned in Russia	Enraged youth (in relation to Muslims)	Opponents to Europe’s Islamization
Pseudo-Caliphate/fanatics of pseudo-Caliphate/barbaric pseudo-Caliphate	Uncontrolled flow of migrants – Trojan Horse of terrorists	Christian Spain/non-Muslim Spain
Notorious preacher of Abu Hamza Undefeated Taliban	Provoked flow of migrants	Tolerance – European “melting pot”
Telephone terrorism		“FINDING a shelter under the garment” of Europe (migrants)
		German “tolerance” (towards migrants)
		Incident of brutality under the supervision of US army

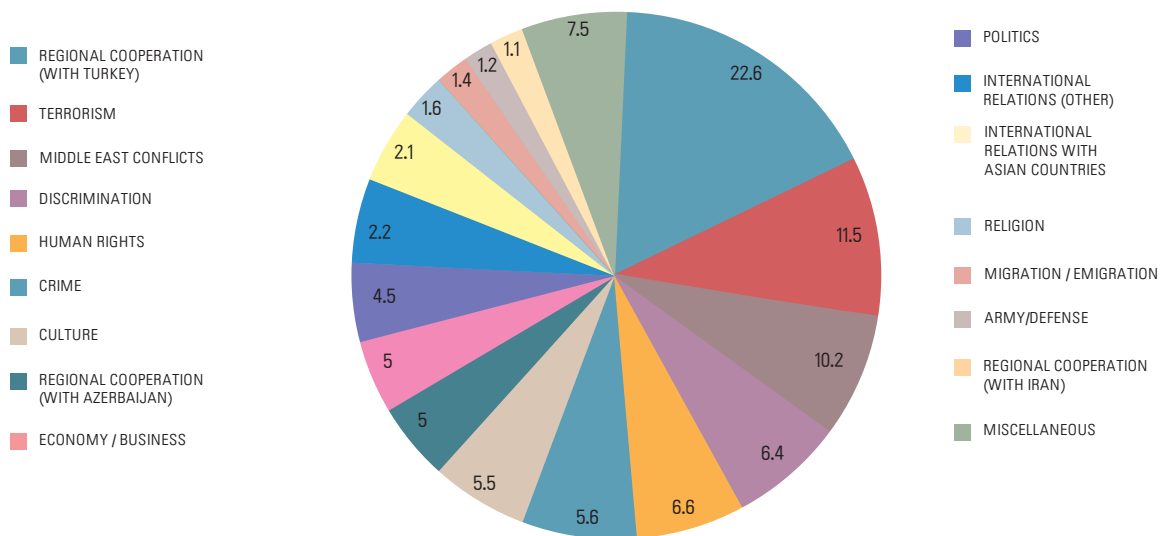
¹³⁹ RTR Planeta, Vesti 20:00, 10 July. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3327281>

¹⁴⁰ RTR Planeta, Vesti Nedeli, 6 August. <http://www.myvideo.ge/v/3350813>

2.4.SPUTNIK-GEORGIA

QUANTITATIVE DATA: During the three-month monitoring period (15 June – 15 September), Sputnik-Georgia published 179 materials (37,441 words) concerning Muslims and related topics. Bearing in mind that the outlet has a regional focus and mainly covers developments in Georgia, its choice of themes, as compared to the monitored Russian media outlets, is somewhat different and more diversified, which may be explained by the influence of information field and different agenda of Georgian media. In the monitoring period, Sputnik allocated the largest space to Georgia’s regional cooperation with Turkey (22.6%) though alike other Russian media outlets, the second dominant topic was terrorism as well (11.5%), followed by Middle East conflicts (10.2%). The topic of discrimination comprised 6.4% while human rights totaled 6.6% which, similarly to Georgian media outlets, was related to the abduction of Azerbaijani journalist Afgan Mukhtarli from Georgia. Sputnik spent 5.6% of its coverage on crime, in which citizens of Eastern countries, by means of identification of their nationalities, were associated with the crime. The media outlet also covered, almost equally, the following topics: culture (5.5%), regional cooperation with Azerbaijan (5%), economics/business (5%), politics (4.5%). As Figure 18 shows, other topics have a relatively smaller share in the coverage of Sputnik but are more diversified.

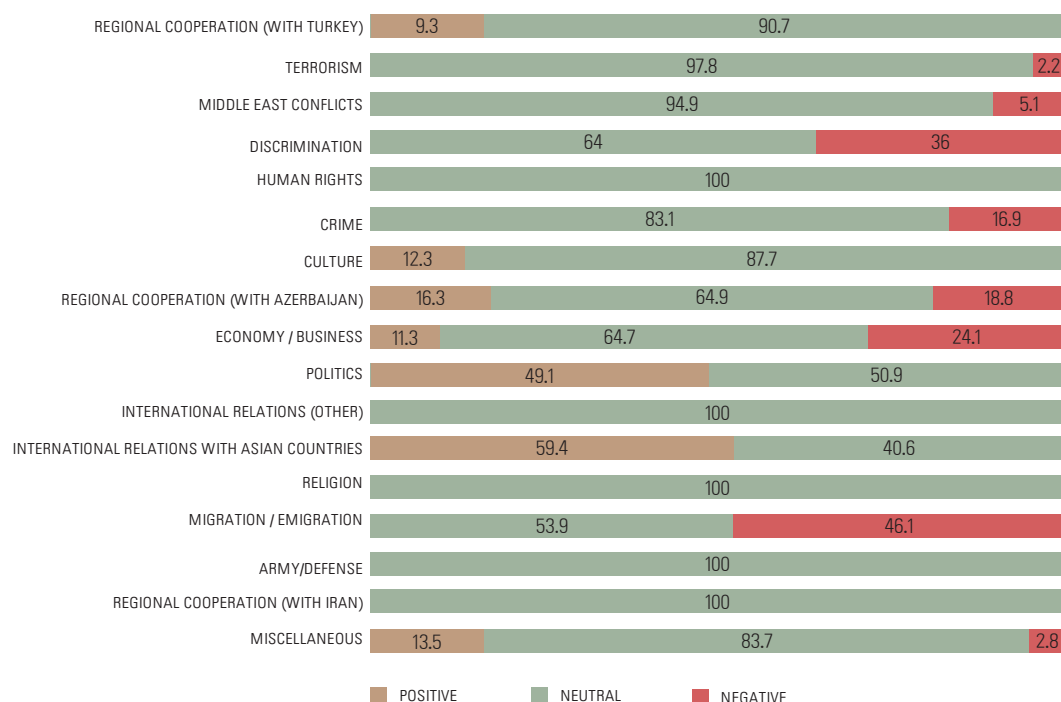
FIGURE 18. THE COVERAGE OF MUSLIMS AND RELATED TOPICS BY SPUTNIK-GEORGIA



TONE OF CONTENT IN THE COVERAGE OF TOPICS: The highest negative tone was observed in the coverage of migration issues (46.1%), which comprised 1.4% of the total coverage. A high negative tone was also observed in the coverage of discrimination (36%) with its share comprising 6.4% of the coverage. The discrimination topic was mainly related to a march staged against migrants by the ultra-radical movement “Georgian March;” and also to a call of Australian senator for the ban of burqa.

The highest positive tone was observed in the coverage of bilateral relations of Georgia with Asian countries (59.4%) and the political issues (49.1%). Other topics were covered in a more or less neutral or slightly positive and negative tones.

FIGURE 19. TONE OF CONTENT IN THE COVERAGE OF TOPICS – SPUTNIK-GEORGIA



SOURCES: Sputnik-Georgia most frequently used Russian news agency RIA-Novosti as a source (38). It also relied on the international network of Sputnik itself (Sputnik-Azerbaijan, Sputnik-Turkey, Sputnik-Latvia, Sputnik international), Turkish (Milliyet, Hurriyet), Iranian (ISNA), Kazakh (Телеканал Хабар 24) [TV channel Khabar 24], as well as various western media outlets.

QUALITATIVE STUDY

XENOPHOBIC CONTEXT/MANIPULATIVE PHOTOS AND TITLES. In contrast to other Russia media outlets and Georgian fringe media, journalists of Sputnik-Georgia did not make xenophobic comments themselves, but when describing an event they, by associating citizens of Asian identity with crime through background information, interpretation of data, manipulative photos and titles, created a xenophobic context.

GEORGIAN MARCH. A racist action, which was staged by ultra-radical movement Georgian March in Tbilisi on 15 July and according to organizers was a protest against Iranians, Arabs, Africans and people of other Asian and African nationalities, was covered by the media outlet in a xenophobic context.

Editorial materials prepared by Sputnik-Georgia referred to foreigners with the terms used by the organizers of the march, therewith promoting the idea that “illegality” and “criminal identity” of foreigners of certain origins was an undeniable fact. Moreover, by stressing Turkish and Arabic origin of shops and cafes in the location of the protest action, the media outlet indirectly associated these nationalities with crime and illegal migration:

“Participants in the action demanded the *expulsion of all those illegal migrants and foreigners who are involved in crime.*”

“Under the slogan ‘Defend Georgia’, several thousand people took to the Aghmashenebeli Avenue to voice their protest *against illegal acts of foreign citizens* on the territory of Georgia... They marched from the Bridge of Tamar along the Aghmashenebeli Avenue to the Marjanishvili Square. *This section of the avenue houses shops and cafes of Turks and Arabs.*”¹⁴¹

The above material was also illustrated with a photo captioned “Foreigners who arrived for prostitution and pedophilia shall leave Georgia,” thus further aggravating the negative context.



Caption: Georgian March carried out on the Aghmashenebeli Avenue.

Inscription on the banner: Foreigners who arrived for prostitution and pedophilia shall leave Georgia.

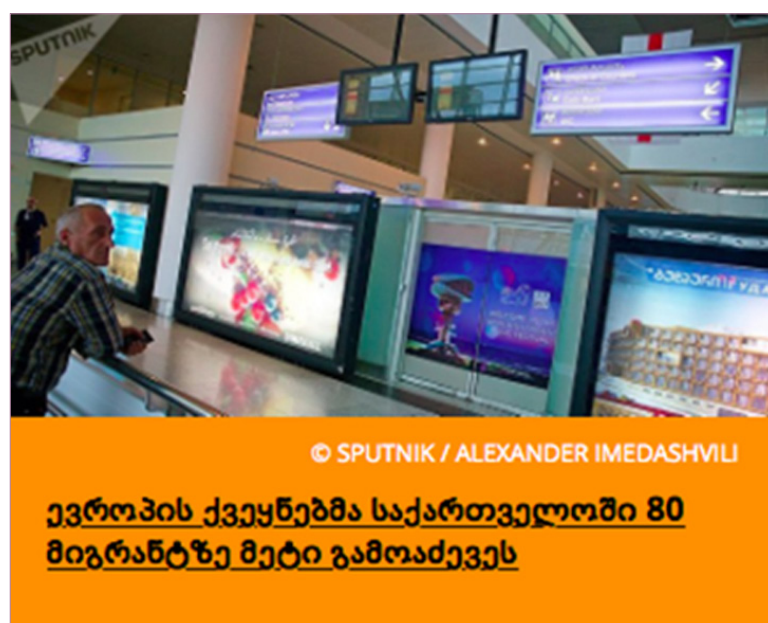
MIGRATION. Sputnik-Georgia covered the topic of migration in a manipulative manner in a material titled “Georgia ranks the 117th by migrant receipt index.” This indicator was published on the basis of information of Sputnik-Latvia and with the reference to Migrant Acceptance Index. The title was manipulative because the Index reflects the acceptance of migrants, i.e. the attitudes of separate countries towards migrants and not the receipt of migrants which in the given case creates an impression that Georgia is the 117th by the data on the receipt of migrants. The photo selected to illustrate the material was manipulative too, featuring women wearing burqas and thus identifying migrants with people of Muslim identity.

¹⁴¹ Sputnik-Georgia, “Georgian March held in center of Tbilisi. 15 July. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/politics/20170715/236640265.html>



Title: Georgia ranks the 117th by migrant receipt index

The article also includes a link to another publication titled “European countries expelled more than 80 000 migrants to Georgia,” thereby enhancing a negative attitude towards the European policy on migration.



Title: European countries expelled more than 80 000 migrants to Georgia.

LINKING ISLAM TO TERRORISM. The coverage of the action of Australian senator who arrived at a Senate wearing burqa and called for its ban was manipulative too. In the report on this action of politician who wanted such outfits banned on national security grounds (“in light of what is happening with national security... will you work to ban the burqa?”), Sputnik-Georgia provided a background information associating terrorist attacks with people of Muslim identity.

“According to reports, some time ago, Australian law enforcement agencies thwarted a terrorist plot to bring down a plane. *Two Muslim suspects*, 49-year-old Khaled Mahmoud and 32-year-

old Mahmoud Khayat, have already been charged with terror offences. As it has transpired, they intended to smuggle a bomb onto an Etihad Airways flight departing from Sydney on 15 July.”¹⁴²

TITLES. When reporting crime, Sputnik-Georgia constantly indicated ethnic or national identities of suspects, mainly Turk and Iranian persons, in its titles. Bearing in mind Turkophobia and Islamophobia in media or public discourse, association of national identity with crime, including grave crimes (sexual violence, drug sale), strengthens a stereotype that foreigners of Asian identity are criminals and perverts.

TURKS	IRANIANS
The largest share among foreigner inmates in Georgia’s prisons accounts for citizens of Turkey. ¹⁴³	A citizen of Iran was arrested in Georgia for a pervert act. ¹⁴⁴
A citizen of Turkey was sentenced in Georgia to eight years in prison for attempted murder. ¹⁴⁵	Police arrested an Iranian drug dealer in Ganmukhuri. ¹⁴⁶
Two Turks were detained in Georgia for illegal crossing of border. ¹⁴⁷	An Iranian citizen was arrested for drugs near GEM Fest. ¹⁴⁸
	An Iranian citizen was arrested in Tbilisi for drugs. ¹⁴⁹

In the information about terrorism, titled “Turkish special services detained an Azerbaijani suicide bombers,”¹⁵⁰ the emphasis in the title was placed on Azerbaijani citizens although the material itself reported that along with three Azerbaijani citizens, the Turkish authorities detained two citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina on charges of terrorism.

TERMINOLOGY: Publications of Sputnik-Georgia used the following terms in relation to terrorism and migrants:

TERRORISM	MIGRANTS
Muslim suspect	Illegal migrants
Azerbaijani suicide bombers	Migrants involved in crime
Offenders	Representatives of criminal mentality
“Motivated Islamism”	Illegal actions of foreign citizens
Attack of Jihadists	Representatives of criminal world
Seven citizens of Central Asian countries (suspects in terrorism)	

¹⁴² Sputnik-Georgia, “Australian senator arrives at a Senate session wearing burqa and called for its ban,” 17 August <https://sputnik-georgia.com/world/20170817/237010639.html> [As of 5 October, the material is not available on the site].

¹⁴³ Sputnik-Georgia, 7 August. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/society/20170807/236892913.html>

¹⁴⁴ Sputnik-Georgia, 21 July. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/georgia/20170721/236709065/IRANIS-MOQALAQE-GARYVNILEBISTVIS-DAAPATIMRES.html>

¹⁴⁵ Sputnik-Georgia, 9 August. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/incidents/20170809/236919574/turqeTis-moqalaes-saqartveloshi-rva-weli-sheefarda.html>

¹⁴⁶ Sputnik-Georgia, 7 August. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/incidents/20170807/236893898/policiam-ganmuxurshi-narkodamnaSave-daakava.html>

¹⁴⁷ Sputnik-Georgia, 11 August. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/incidents/20170811/236939270/saqarTveloSi-ori-Turqi-daakaves.html>

¹⁴⁸ Sputnik-Georgia, 7 August. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/incidents/20170807/236893135.html>

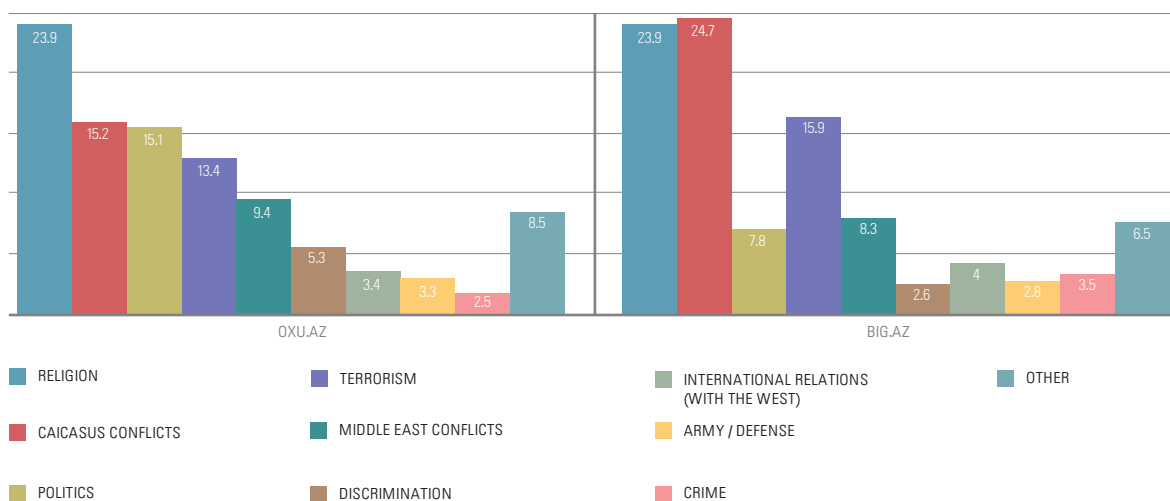
¹⁴⁹ Sputnik-Georgia, 9 August <https://sputnik-georgia.com/incidents/20170809/236915070/iranis-moqalaqe-daakaves.html>

¹⁵⁰ Sputnik-Georgia, 16 June. <https://sputnik-georgia.com/world/20170616/236334433/azerbaijaneli-teroristi-turqetshi-daakaves.html>

III. AZERBAIJANI MEDIA: OXU.AZ, BIG.AZ

QUANTITATIVE DATA. The three-month monitoring (June 15 – September 15) has revealed that Oxu.az and Big.az dedicated 206 stories (25 204 words) and 78 stories (11 676 words), respectively, to Muslims and related issues. The both editions prioritized on religion and Caucasus conflicts (Oxu.az: religion – 23.9%, Caucasus conflicts – 15.2%; Big.az: Caucasus conflicts – 24.7%; religion – 23.9%). In case of Oxu.az, the next extensively covered topics are: politics (15.1%), terrorism (13.4%), and Middle East conflicts (9.4%). Big.az also prioritized on similar topics and dedicated 15.9% to terrorism, 8.3% – to Middle East conflicts and 7.8% – to other issues of politics. The both editions dedicated less than 2% to coverage of human rights.

FIGURE 20. COVERAGE OF TOPICS IN AZERBAIJANI MEDIA
– OXU.AZ, BIG.AZ. (15 JUNE – 15 SEPTEMBER, 2017)



TONE OF CONTENT IN COVERAGE OF TOPICS: Coverage of the issues related to religion, as well as most other issues by Ox.az was 100% neutral; however, certain negative tone was observed in coverage of the issues related to crime (21.2%), discrimination (7.3%) and Caucasus conflicts (2.1%).

HEADLINES BY OXU.AZ – NEGATIVE TONE

Murderer of the Azerbaijani Arrested¹⁵¹

Armenian Provocation on the Frontline: Member of Our Army Injured¹⁵²

Insulting Muslim Women in Norway¹⁵³

In case of Big.az, the issues related to religion were covered in neutral, as well as in positive and negative tones. Negative coverage (31.5%) was related to criticism against the use of modern technologies in religious rituals. According to the article headlined “Unbelievable: mourners rejected mullah, reading the Quran from YouTube¹⁵⁴,” although the Quran does not ban the use of modern technologies, prayers feel much more pleasure in reading it from the original copy. Positive tone of covering religion (29.1%) was mainly linked to religious festivals.

¹⁵¹ <http://oxu.az/world/201810>

¹⁵² <http://oxu.az/war/205413>

¹⁵³ <http://oxu.az/world/207007>

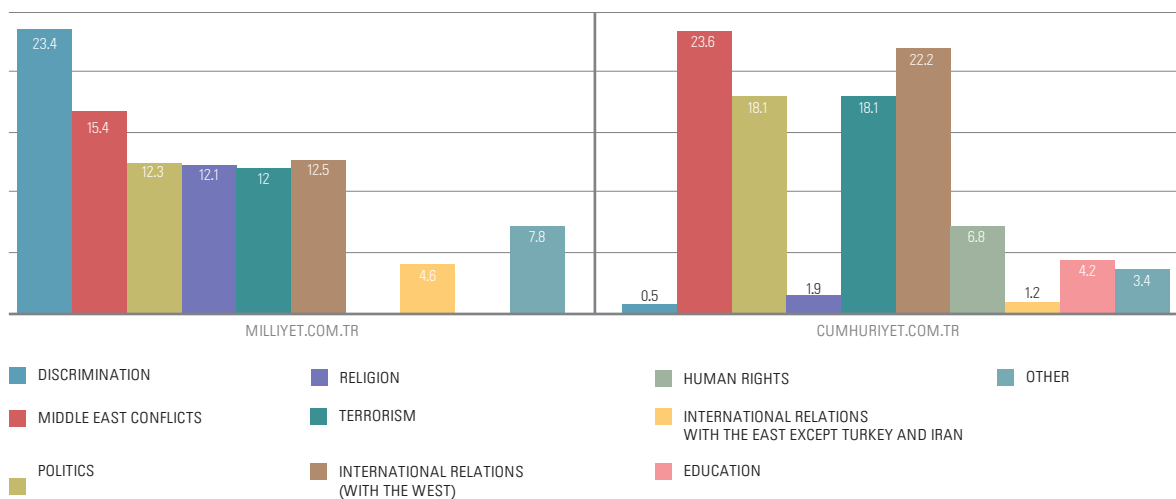
¹⁵⁴ http://big.az/284402-olu_yiyeleri_mollalardan_imtina_edir_quran_youtubedan_oxudulur.html

IV. TURKISH MEDIA: CUMHURİYET, MILLİYET

QUANTITATIVE DATA. The three-month monitoring (June 15 – September 15) has revealed that Cumhuriyet and Milliyet dedicated 101 stories (29 839 words) and 118 stories (32 659 words), respectively, to Muslims and related issues. If Cumhuriyet prioritized on Middle East conflicts (23.6%), relations with the West (22.2%) and terrorism (18.1%), Milliyet dedicated most space to discrimination (23.4%), followed by Middle East conflicts (15.4%), politics (12.3%) and religion (12.1%).

Milliyet dedicated 12.5% to covering the relations with the West and 12% – to terrorism.

FIGURE 20. COVERAGE OF TOPICS IN TURKISH MEDIA
– CUMHURİYET, MILLİYET (15 JUNE – 15 SEPTEMBER, 2017)



TONE OF CONTENT IN COVERAGE OF TOPICS. Cumhuriyet covered most topics neutrally. The only exception was a negative tone (2.6%) in covering the Middle East conflicts that was related to the situation in Syria¹⁵⁵, as well as relations with eastern countries (65.2%) concerning the agreement between the

¹⁵⁵ “Signal from Erdoğan about the operation in Syria,” June 28, <http://bit.ly/2hmrEi>

United States and Qatar¹⁵⁶. The issue of terrorism was also covered negatively (3.6%), during which a gay pride event in Spain was artificially linked to anti-terrorist operation.

CUMHURİYET HEADLINE

“Anti-terrorist operation against Jihadists was carried out in Spain before the launch of Gay Pride events: 3 persons arrested”¹⁵⁷

Milliyet also covered most topics neutrally; its negative tone was related to terrorism (30.3%) and relations with the West¹⁵⁸ (24%). Negative tone of covering terrorism issues was also related to criticism against the West¹⁵⁹.

The both editions disseminated the assessments made by Turkish officials involving negative, anti-Western messages against the United States, European Union and Germany (Milliyet – 17, Cumhuriyet – 11).

¹⁵⁶ “Money Talks ... The United States sold a military aircraft worth USD 12 billion to Qatar,” June 15, <http://bit.ly/2AE9Zmi>

¹⁵⁷ <http://bit.ly/2zB7CCL>

¹⁵⁸ “The German Foreign Minister’s lies about Erdogan disclosed,” August 28. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/almanya-disisleri-bakani-siyaset-2509028/>

¹⁵⁹ Deputy Prime Minister Bozdağ: Kurdistan Workers’ Party and Gülen terrorist organization are protected in Germany,” August 19 <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/basbakan-yardimcisi-bozdag-dan-siyaset-2504949/>

V. SOCIAL MEDIA

METHODOLOGY. Monitoring of Facebook pages in social media was conducted through the Fanpage Karma online tool. Three types of Facebook pages were selected for monitoring: 1. five Georgian-language community and religious pages, where Georgian Muslims get information from; 2. three foreign language community and religious pages that have most users from Georgia; and 3. four pages of ultranationalist groups that contribute to the process of radicalization through their messages against migrants and Muslims. A total of 12 Facebook pages were monitored (see detailed list below).

The activity of the above mentioned pages, their most popular posts and types of these posts were monitored in a period between June 15 and September 15.

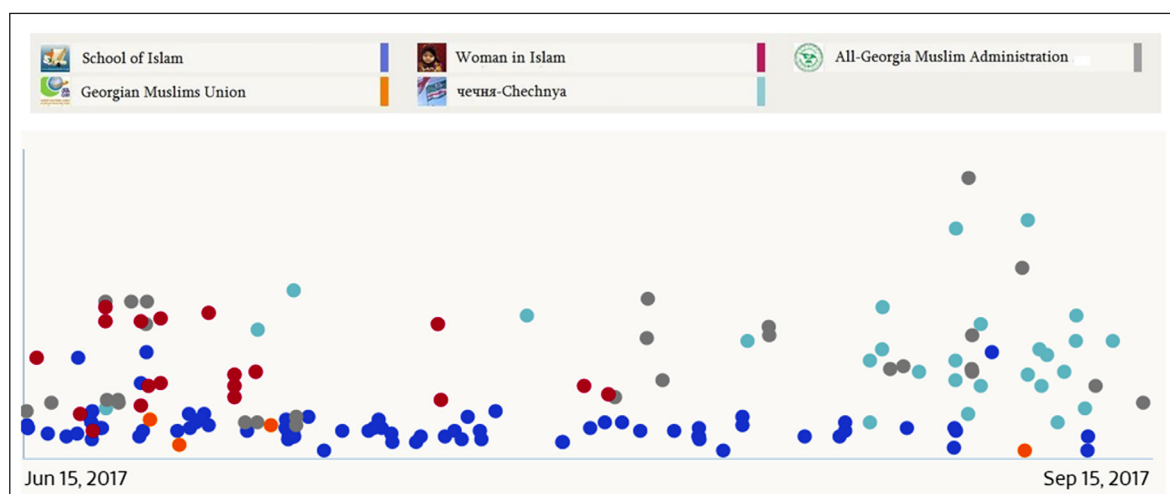
1. GEORGIAN-LANGUAGE COMMUNITY AND RELIGIOUS FACEBOOK PAGES

SUBJECTS: The following five Georgian-language community and religious Facebook pages were selected as the subjects of monitoring:

N	GEORGIAN-LANGUAGE COMMUNITY AND RELIGIOUS PAGES	VISITORS
1	ჩეჩნეთი-Чечня-Chechnya	13 153
2	ისლამში ქალი / Women in Islam	3 248
3	სრულიად საქართველოს მუსლიმთა სამმართველო / All Georgia Muslim Administration	3 078
4	ისლამის სკოლა / School of Islam	2 758
5	ქართველ მუსლიმთა კავშირი /Georgian Muslims Union	2 170

ACTIVITY. As chart 21 shows, a page Woman in Islam was most active in the first half of monitoring, and ჩეჩნეთი-Чечня-Chechnya – in the second half. The page School of Islam was equally active throughout the monitoring period.

FIGURE 21. DYNAMICS OF ACTIVITY OF GEORGIAN RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY FACEBOOK PAGES
(JUNE 15 – SEPTEMBER 15, 2017)



TOPICS. During the monitoring period, all the five pages dedicated their most popular posts to religious events. Moreover, materials depicting the process of prayers by children and militaries were also posted among popular posts on certain pages. The second category of popular posts was dedicated to the issue of conflicts, mainly in connection with the Myanmar developments.

TABLE 1. TOPICS OF POPULAR POSTS ON GEORGIAN-LANGUAGE RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY PAGES

GEORGIAN-LANGUAGE RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY PAGES					
TOPICS	CHECHNYA	WOMAN IN ISLAM	ALL-GEORGIA MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION	SCHOOL OF ISLAM	GEORGIAN MUSLIMS UNION
Religion		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Congratulations on the Night of Qadr 2. Allah is Greatest (photo depicting the prayer by Muslim soldiers). 3. Mashallah... May Allah bless you (video of youngsters' prayer) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Congratulations on Kurban Bayram; 2. Children reading the Quran in the Beshumi mosque 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kurban Bayram prayer (video from Batumi); 2. Text of the Night of Qadr prayer (photo); 3. Congratulations on Kurban Bayram from Mecca 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kurban Bayram prayer (video from Batumi); 2. Article by Oc-media.org about an open-air prayer in Batumi.
Conflicts	"First God, then Chechen" (How Chechen fighters saved Georgian girls during the conflict in Abkhazia)		"The World Keeps Silent!" (Myanmar developments)		Protest statement on the developments in Myanmar

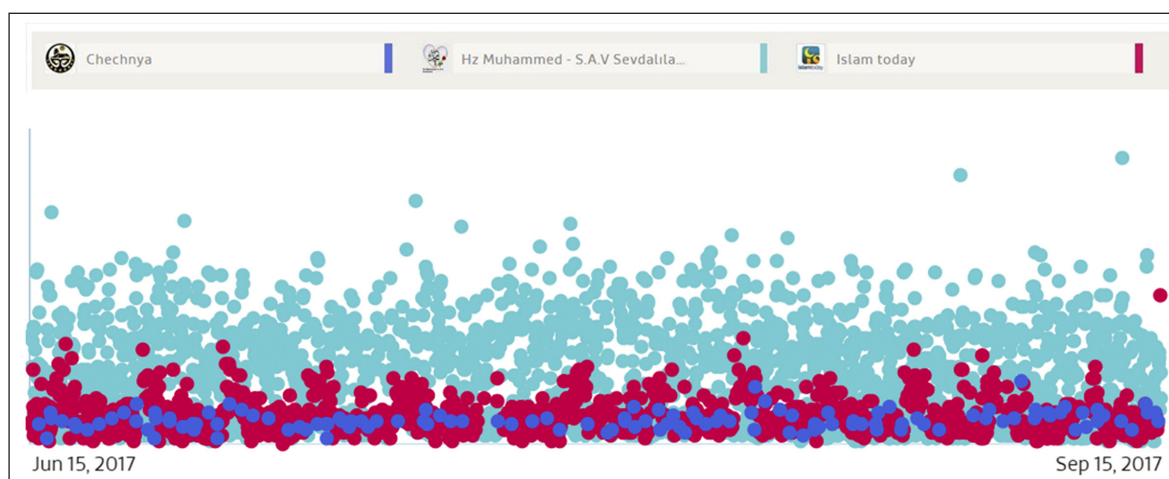
2. FOREIGN-LANGUAGE RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY FACEBOOK PAGES

SUBJECTS. Among Russian, Chechen and Turkish pages selected as the subjects of monitoring, Islam Today is a Facebook page belonging to an online edition of the same name. Following 3 foreign language religious and community facebook pages were selected for monitoring:

FOREIGN LANGUAGE RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY FACEBOOK PAGES			
LANGUAGE	NAME OF A PAGE	VISITORS	VISITORS FROM GEORGIA
Russian	Islam today	288 628	4 115
Chechen	CHECHNYA	15 541	2 149
Turkish	Hz Muhammed - S.A.V Sevdalilari	1 828 627	1 459

ACTIVITY. During the monitoring period (June 15 – September 15), Turkish-language Hz Muhammed – S.A.V Sevdallari was most active, followed by Russian-language Islam today. Relatively low activity was observed on the page of Chechnya.

FIGURE 22. ACTIVITY OF THE THREE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE FACEBOOK PAGES
(JUNE 15 – SEPTEMBER 15, 2017)



TOPICS. During the monitoring period, popular posts of foreign-language religious and community Facebook pages covered the topics identical to Georgian, as well as those related to religion and conflicts in connection with the Myanmar developments. The only exception was a page Chechnya, which posted a video depicting a flag of independent Ichkeria spread out in Kiev.

TABLE 2. TOPICS OF POPULAR POSTS ON FOREIGN-LANGUAGE RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY PAGES
FOREIGN-LANGUAGE RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY FACEBOOK PAGES

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNITY FACEBOOK PAGES			
TOPICS	RUSSIAN ISLAM TODAY	CHECHEN CHECHNYA	TURKISH HZ MUHAMMED – S.A.V SEVDALILARI
Religion	Three most popular posts involved Prayer to Allah (photos)		Armor belonging to Prophet Muhammad (photo)
Conflicts		Chechen protest rally against the Myanmar developments	Photos of persecution of Muslim in Myanmar, accompanied by Surah 9:129: “But if they turn away, [O Muhammad], say, “Sufficient for me is Allah; there is no deity except Him. On Him I have relied, and He is the Lord of the Great Throne.”
Other		#Chechen Independence Anniversary. #Украина #Ukraine (Spreading out a flag of independent Ichkeria on Maidan in Kiev – video)	

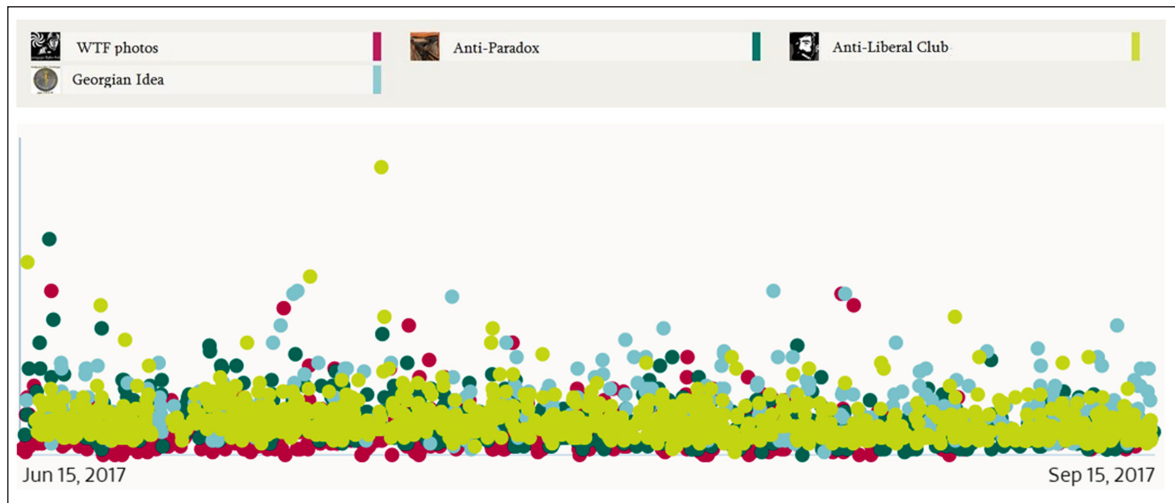
3. FACEBOOK PAGES OF ULTRANATIONALIST GROUPS

SUBJECTS. Among the subjects of monitoring, we selected four Facebook pages of those ultranationalist groups, who are distinguished by their radical and hate speech remarks and were actively involved in information support of the March of Georgians organized by these groups on July 14. The march was organized against “illegal migrants,” namely persons of Asian and African identity. These pages are:

FACEBOOK PAGES OF ULTRANATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS	VISITORS
1. WTF photos	58 181
2. ანტი-პარადოქსი / Anti-Paradox	46 671
3. ქართული იდეა / Georgian Idea	45 951
4. ანტილიბერალური კლუბი / Anti-liberal Club	32 928

ACTIVITY. During the monitoring period (June 15 – September 15), Anti-Liberal Club and Georgian Idea were most active.

CHART 23. ACTIVITY OF FACEBOOK PAGES OF ULTRANATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS
(JUNE 15 – SEPTEMBER 15, 2017)



TOPICS. The most popular posts of four ultranationalist Facebook pages were mainly directed against migrants of Asian and African identity, as well as LGBT people. The first category was mainly related to the March of Georgians organized by ultranationalist groups on July 14; the second category was about the Family Purity Day marked by the Orthodox Church in an attempt to counter the International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia.

TABLE 3. TOPICS OF POPULAR POSTS ON FACEBOOK PAGES
OF ULTRANATIONALIST GROUPS

FACEBOOK PAGES OF ULTRANATIONALIST GROUPS				
TOPICS	WTF	ANTI-PARADOX	GEORGIAN IDEA	ANTI-LIBERAL CLUB
Migrants	Photo of women in burqas “Here was Tbilisi”	Photos reading “Iranian raped five teenagers,” “Indians forced a teenager to strip naked and took a photo,” “March of Georgians planned to demand deportation of illegal and criminal migrants”		Rally of the March of Georgians against migrants
LGBT		Video “Dispersal of LGBT rally in Turkey – share if you want the same to happen in Georgia”	“Nothing will defeat the nation united in the Christ!!!” A rally against LGBT community in connection with the Family Purity Day on May 17	
Other			Prophecy by Saint Kuksha on the Enthronement of Ilia II as a Patriarch	Photo collage against liberals

APPENDIX

MEDIA PROFILES

I. GEORGIAN MEDIA

ADJARIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER: was created as a result of amendments made to the Law on Broadcasting on December 25, 2013 and on the basis of the Adjarian Television and Radio Company founded in 1987. The governing bodies of the TV compare are the Advisory Board and the Director General.

GEORGIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER (GPB): Georgian Public Broadcaster was established as a result of transformation of the State Television and Radio Corporation set up in 1956 after the Parliament adopted the Law of Georgia on Broadcasting in 2004. GPB, which currently unites two television and two radio channels, is a legal entity of public law that is independent of the state and accountable to the public. The governing bodies of the Georgian Public Broadcaster are the nine-member Board of Trustees approved by the Parliament and the Director General appointed by the Board. Article 16 of the Law of Georgia on Broadcasting defines content related obligations, according to which the public television shall “broadcast a number of programmes in certain proportions prepared in the languages of minorities, about minority groups and programmes prepared by minorities.”

IMEDI: Imedi TV company was established in 2001 by late billionaire Badri Patarkatsishvili, who held executive positions at various Russian companies in the 1990s (LogoVAZ, Russian Automobile Dealers), including at Russian TV-6 channel and the public broadcaster ORTV. In 2008, Badri Patarkatsishvili ran for president of Georgia. Imedi TV changed hands after riot police raided it on November 7, 2007. Since August 27, 2009, the TV channel became wholly owned by Georgian Media Production Group, where former Economy Minister Giorgi Arveladze of the National Movement owned 45% of shares. After the change in power as a result of the parliamentary elections in 2012, Imedi TV was returned to the Patarkatsishvili family on the basis of agreement on conceding the share at a symbolic price.

OBIEQTIVI TV: Media Union Obieqtivi was founded in August 2010. Secretary General of Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (APG), Irma Inashvili was co-founder of the TV channel. According to various surveys, Obieqtivi carries out an anti-western, Turkophobic and homophobic editorial policy. Discriminatory editorial policy of the Obieqtivi talk-shows were mentioned in the fifth monitoring cycle report of the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), which recommended the Georgian authorities “to review their contracts with media outlets and cancel or not renew them in cases where media are known to engage in racist or homo- /transphobic hate speech.”

RUSTAVI 2 TV: Rustavi 2 broadcasting company was founded in 1994 by Erosi Kitsmarishvili, Jarji Akimidze and Davit Dvali and it became the key platform of alternative opinion for political opposition. During the rule of the United National Movement in 2004–2012, Rustavi 2 TV changed hands 20 times. The first change took place in 2004, as a result of which the TV channel's shares appeared in the hand of Kibar Khalvashi, a close associate of then Defense Minister Irakli Okruashvili, and his company. Later Khalvashi sold his shares, but after Georgian Dream came to power through the parliamentary elections in 2012, Khalvashi regained control over the television channel through court. Local watchdog organizations hinted at common interests of businessman Kibar Khalvashi and the new ruling force Georgian Dream aimed at changing the TV channel's critical editorial policy. In March 2017, the European Court of Human Rights decided to suspend the enforcement of the Supreme Court's 2016 ruling, which granted the ownership rights to Kibar Khalvashi. According to local and international watchdog organizations, the ownership dispute launched ahead of the 2016 parliamentary elections would pose a threat to media pluralism in Georgia.

GEORGIA & WORLD: The founder of the newspaper Georgia & World and its online-edition www.geworld.ge is LTD Historical Heritage. The establishment of Historical Heritage in 2009 was publicly welcomed by the then President of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev. One of the members of the public council of Historical Heritage is Aleksandre Chachia, a political scientist whom Dmitry Medvedev, in July 2008, awarded an order for "great contribution to friendship and cooperation with the Russian Federation." Another pro-Russian NGO, Eurasian Institute, is also a partner of Historical Heritage. Along with anti-Western attitudes, the publication is notorious for its Turkophobic, racist and homophobic content.

INTERPRESSNEWS (IPN): Interpressnews (IPN.ge) was founded in 2002 and is one of the largest private news agencies in Georgia. The news agency is part of Media Palitra Holding which owns radio and television frequencies, publishing house. The news agency has contracts with various ministries and budgetary organizations on dissemination of information.

NETGAZETI: Online edition Netgazeti was established by the newspaper "Batumelebi" in 2010. Netgazeti implements various projects with the support of international organizations.

PIA: The news agency Pirveli (PIA) was established in November 2006 by private persons. Editions linked to PIA are: Daijesti.ge, rubrica.ge, funtime.ge. The news agency PIA receives budget revenues from the contracts signed with state entities on dissemination information.

II. RUSSIAN MEDIA

NTV: The TV company NTV was founded by businessman Vladimir Gusinski in 1993. After Vladimir Putin came to power, Gusinski was charged with criminal offences while the TV company was taken over by Gazprom Media, a subsidiary of oil giant Gazprom owned by the Russian government. Since change of ownership, the TV channel is engaged in propaganda of the Russian government policy.

RUSSIA'S CHANNEL ONE: Russia's Channel One is the successor of the Soviet-era state TV and radio company Ostankino. It started broadcasting in 1995 and until 2002, was known as the Russian Public Broadcaster (ORT). In January 2001, the company's 49% of the shares, owned by Russian oligarch Boris Berezovsky, was taken over by the companies associated with Roman Abramovich, a billionaire with close ties to the Russian government, while the Board of Directors was almost completely

manned with representatives of state agencies. Following the redistribution of the shares among various companies over several years, in February 2016, after the company was purchased by OPT-KB, Abramovich officially owns 24% of the shares in Channel One; 38.9% of the shares is owned by the federal agency of the state property management (Росимущество) while 25% of shares belongs to the company Rostcom-2002 which is owned by a close ally of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

RTR PLANETA: The state TV and radio company РТР ПЛАНЕТА [RTR Planeta] is one of largest media holdings of Russia, which was established in 1990. The TV channel RTR started broadcast in 1991. It is a round-the-clock news and entertainment channel. At present, the holding combines TV channels Россия1, Россия24, Россия РТР, РТР-Планета [Rossiya1, Rossiya24, Rossiya RTR, RTR Planeta]. All these channels have news programs in common (Vesti, Vesti Nedeli). The state is the owner of 100% of shares of RTR Planeta.

SPUTNIK-GEORGIA: Sputnik is an international multimedia project created on the basis of Russian President's Decree of 9 December 2013. Sputnik, which is owned by the Russian government, has replaced, to a certain extent, the news agencies Ria-Novosti and the Voice of Russia on the international arena. In Georgia, Sputnik made an attempt to illegally start the radio broadcast on FM 101.4 frequency in November 2014, which was followed by a sanction from the Georgian National Communications Commission (GNCC). Sputnik-Georgia was officially registered in the Public Registry of Georgia on 23 January 2015. The 100% of its shares is owned by Anton (Tato) Laskhishvili who was the editor-in-chief of the Svobodnaya Gruzia newspaper since 1991. The Georgian-language platform of Sputnik is a source of anti-Western attitudes and various disinformation.

III. AZERBAIJANI MEDIA

BIG.AZ: Biz.az is an entertainment online edition founded in 2005. Besides international and local show-biz news, the online edition also covers ongoing developments.

OXU.AZ: Oxu.az news agency, part of Garant Media Holding, was founded in 2013. The news agency is available in Azerbaijani, Russian and English languages.

IV. TURKISH MEDIA

CUMHURIYET: A print version of Cumhuriyet has been issued since 1924, online edition – since 1998. It is owned by Cumhuriyet Foundation. Cumhuriyet advocates liberal values. As a sign of solidarity, the newspaper reprinted cartoons from Charlie Hebdo, a French satirical magazine which had depicted the Islamic prophet Muhammad and been subject to a terror attack.

MILLIYET: Milliyet is a Turkish news agency founded in 1950. Presently, it is the most popular online edition in Turkey. It is owned by the Demirören Group. The edition's major scandal is related to firing journalist Ece Temelkuran after Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan publicly criticized her for the article critical of the government.

