

ANTI-GENDER AND ANTI-LGBTQI MOBILIZATION IN GEORGIA 2023



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The report was prepared by the Media Development Foundation (MDF) as part of the project “Gender Disinformation and Inclusive Media Reporting”, with financial support from International Media Support (IMS). The views and opinions expressed in the report are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position of International Media Support.

The report is based on data obtained as a result of media monitoring conducted by the Media Development Foundation within the framework of the USAID “Unity through Diversity” Program. The program is implemented by the United Nations Association of Georgia (UNAG) with financial support from the US Agency for International Development (USAID). The views and opinions expressed in the publication are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the position of the United States Agency for International Development or the United Nations Association of Georgia.

INTRODUCTION

The first half of 2023 was marked by further growth of anti-Western, anti-liberal, sexist, and homophobic discourse in Georgia. The main sources of sexist and homophobic hate speech over the years have been antiliberal and extreme right-wing actors, which have recently been reinforced by conservative rhetoric actively used by the authorities.

The politicization of the term “gender” and the use of gender themes for political struggle is a common recent trend. In the case of Georgia, sexist and homophobic content was used to incite anti-Western and anti-liberal sentiments and strengthen pro-Kremlin influence, as well as to discredit opponents.

The aim of this study is to analyze anti-gender and anti-liberal discourse, reveal the main actors that present topics related to gender and LGBTQI identity in a manipulative or false context, and identify gender-related messages used by anti-liberal, extreme right-wing, and conservative forces to mobilize public opinion.

Part I of the report provides an overview of quantitative data on the use of sexist and homophobic hate speech and the terminology applied. Part II presents a qualitative analysis based on indicators of sexist hate speech, and Part III presents the main messages disseminated to mobilize the public on the false grounds of protecting identity, values, the institution of family, and children.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of the study is to analyze anti-gender and anti-liberal discourse, identify the main actors and targets of sexist and homophobic hate speech, and gender-related messages disseminated by anti-liberal, extreme right-wing, and conservative forces to mobilize public opinion.

To collect data for the study, the team of monitors of the Media Development Foundation (MDF) monitored the media. The study area included anti-Western, anti-liberal, far-right, and conservative media platforms, which are the main sources of sexist and homophobic messages, as well as pro-government and pro-opposition media. Traditional media outlets (TV channels, online media, and print media) as well as social media subjects were selected for the study. Social media were monitored using Facebook's analytical tool, Crowdtangle.

This report covers the period from January 1 to May 31, 2023. Data collected through media monitoring was analyzed using a mixed methodology, in particular, using quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

The monitoring was aimed at identifying topics, sources, addressees of gender-based discrimination and stereotyping, terminology used, and types of violations.

The topics range from broad areas such as politics, legislation, education, gender, etc., to specific sensitive issues that, based on earlier MDF studies, have been identified as the main topics used to mobilize public opinion.

These specific topics are:

- Protection of values
- Protection of identity
- Protection of the institution of the family
- Protection of children

The typology of hate speech violations was determined according to the Gender Barometer indicators that were developed by the organization Sapari^I based on expert focus groups. The violations identified through the monitoring are categorized in this study according to the six indicators that previous studies^{II} have found to be used most frequently. These are:

1. **ANTIFEMINISM / MISOGYNY^{III}** – attacking women and women’s rights;
2. **OFFENCE/RIDICULE ON THE GROUND OF APPEARANCE** – offending and ridiculing based on body, appearance, manner of speaking, clothing;
3. **OFFENCE/RIDICULE ON THE GROUND OF MENTAL ABILITIES** – belittling intellectual ability, skills, experience, competences;
4. **ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA** – attacking on the basis of moral values;
5. **AGEISM** – discriminating based on age;
6. **CRITICISM BASED ON GENDER STEREOTYPES** – attacking women based on stereotypical views about women’s roles, behaviors, functions, activities or other attributes.

SELECTION OF MEDIA MONITORING SUBJECTS. Media monitoring subjects were selected from traditional media (12 media outlets: seven TV channels, three print publications, and three online publications), as well as social media, namely, Facebook accounts (151).

TV CHANNELS: The talk-shows of the leading TV channels in terms of viewership: “Imedi Live” on Imedi TV and “Mtavari at Night” on Mtavari TV, which have different editorial policies and represent opposite extremes of polarization (pro-government and pro-opposition); and the pro-government POSTV (program, “Three and Co.”), which has a partly anti-liberal editorial policy.

Talk-shows on anti-liberal and pro-Kremlin TV platforms that were selected for their anti-liberal editorial policies. These include:

- The Obiektivi TV (program “Studio №8), affiliated with the pro-Kremlin political party Alliance of Patriots,
- Alt-Info (program “Alt-Analytics), affiliated with the Conservative Movement,
- Sezoni TV (program “Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze”), owned by Stalinist and members of the Together for a Strong Georgia party, former boxer Giorgi Kandelaki,
- ERI Media (program “Smart”)

NEWSPAPERS: Asaval-Dasavali, and Alia, publications with anti-liberal and anti-Western editorial policy. Online publications with pro-Kremlin editorial policy: Georgia and World (www.ge-world.ge), and Split News (www.spnews.io/ge) related to the former.

In addition to traditional media, the following Facebook accounts were selected for monitoring:

1. **EXTREME RIGHT-WING, ANTI-WESTERN, ANTI-LIBERAL/PRO-KREMLING GROUPS:** Accounts related to: a) Alt-Info/Conservative Movement; b) Alliance of Patriots; c) Georgian March; d) Georgian Idea; e) Primakov Russian-Georgian Center; f) Levan Vasadze, Georgian representative at the World Congress of Families; and other actors.

2. **RELIGIOUS GROUPS:** Facebook pages and individual accounts of individual clergy, religious Facebook accounts.
3. Various antiliberal/conservative platforms.
4. Accounts affiliated with the government.
5. Accounts affiliated with political opposition.

The full list of monitored Facebook accounts, which is periodically updated, is available on the Gender Barometer webpage at <https://genderbarometer.ge/methodology/>.

I Giorgi Urchukhishvili, Georgian Indicators of Sexist Hate Speech, Report on Focus Groups, Sapari, Tbilisi, 2020

II T. Kintsurashvili, T. Gogoladze, study report, Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQI Mobilization in Georgia, Media Development Foundation, 2023, <https://genderbarometer.ge/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Gender-Publication-ENG-web.pdf>

III In this study this indicator has been designated as antifeminism/misogyny (in previous study the same indicator is called sexism/misogyny)

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KEY FINDINGS

- During the reporting period (January 1 – May 31, 2023), media monitoring identified 2,527 sexist and homophobic discriminatory statements, with more than half of them (1,569) disseminated through traditional media.
- The share of sexist/gender stereotyping comments/posts (54%) in both traditional and social media, was higher than the share of homophobic ones (37), and both sexist and homophobic comments/posts accounted for 9%.
- The dynamics by month showed that the frequency of the use of sexist and homophobic hate speech increased in parallel with the growth of pro-Western civic protest and political activity of opposition, which suggests the use of sexist and homophobic attacks as a political tool against opponents.
- The frequency of the use of sexist and homophobic hate speech sharply increased in March 2023, against the background of mass civil protests against the Law on the Transparency of Foreign Influence adopted by the Parliament of Georgia in its first reading.

SEXIST HATE SPEECH / GENDER STEREOTYPING

- The highest proportion of sexist discourse in traditional and social media was related to politics, with female politicians and civil society activists being the main targets.
- According to the analysis of sexist hate speech by six indicators, attacks based on moral criteria were the most frequent, and antifeminist and misogynistic discourse in traditional media was also high.
- Gender stereotypes were promoted, according to which the behavior of female politicians is unbalanced because they are hysterical; politically and socially active women are sexually frustrated and have unsettled private lives; and they need a “master” to control and guide their behavior.
- Messages containing insults on the basis of appearance ridiculed appearance, style of dress, tone of voice, weight, lack of feminine features in women, and “excessively feminine” features in men.

- A fairly common trend was to refer to young women politicians and civic activists as girls in order to belittle their importance, influence, and competence.
- Anti-liberal, extreme right-wing, and conservative actors have portrayed women politicians and women's rights defenders as agents of a Western conspiracy.
- The label "fascist feminism" was used to discredit politically and socially active women. Defenders of women's rights were often labeled as fascist or fascists-feminists.
- Women's political and social activities were presented as a threat to the country. It was argued that legislation protecting women's rights promoted a women's agenda in Georgia, which was dangerous because it weakened men, and weakening men would make the country vulnerable to existing challenges.
- Sexist hate speech/gender stereotyping were most frequently found on the pro-Krmlin Sezoni TV and pro-government POSTV. As for print media, this trend was observed in the newspaper Asaval-Dasavali, known for its xenophobic and anti-Western sentiments.
- Among political parties, the largest number of sexist statements was made by the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement, whose leaders are also presenters on Alt-Info TV channel.

- Among the clergy, the leader in terms of the number of sexist comments made was Archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili, a supporter of the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement.

HOMOPHOBIA

- Of the 1,163 homophobic statements identified during the media monitoring, 839 were made in traditional media, and 324 were made on social media.
- The main sources of homophobic statements were politicians (34%), followed by traditional media (24%) and social media (13%), civil society organizations (10%), and clergy (9%).
- Among political parties, the highest number of homophobic statements were made by Alt-Info/Conservative Movement, compared to the small number of statements made by the Georgian Dream and the Alliance of Patriots.
- In terms of the frequency of homophobic messages among the media, the leaders were Sezoni TV, and Georgia and World; among the clergy it was Archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili; and among civil society organization, it was the Society for Children's Rights.
- One of the main threats presented in homophobic messages was the visibility of LGBTQI representatives in public spaces, and thus, any form of expression, be it a march, a film, or participation in a TV program, was seen as aggressive propaganda. The largest number of homophobic terms identified in the course of the monitoring were related to gay propaganda.

MOBILIZATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF IDENTITY, VALUES, THE INSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY, AND CHILDREN

- Four topics were identified that anti-liberal groups used to mobilize the public. Slightly more than half of the 850 comments analyzed related to the protection of identity, with another half related to the protection of children, values, and family, distributed in almost equal proportions between them.
- The largest proportion of comments related to identity protection were directed against the West, including in the context of the Russian-style law “On Transparency of Foreign Influence,” which passed its first reading.
- The prevailing claims were that the West and European integration endanger our traditional identity by imposing homosexuality and depravity, that Russia is trying to protect identity by restricting homosexuality and defending traditions, and that the war in Ukraine is a “Western experiment” aimed at fighting God and imposing homosexuality.
- Against the backdrop of civil protests against the Foreign Agents law, accusations that Western funding was spent mainly on the fight against identity and LGBTQI propaganda and that people with pro-Western and liberal views were agents of the West and a “fifth column” increased.
- The majority of child-related statements dealt with the topics of sex reassignment and gender identification of minors.
- School and preschool education, media, films, and books were blamed for the propaganda of debauchery among children.
- Gender-neutral learning in educational institutions, civic education, and sex education, as well as pedophilia, were portrayed as harmful Western influences and a targeted fight against traditional identity.
- Messages that Western values and liberalism are incompatible with a virtuous/Christian society were cultivated mainly by the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement and its associated media and clergy, who claimed that the purpose of the fight against traditional values was to encroach on the country’s sovereignty, rule it, and use it as a foothold against Russia.
- On occasions, far-right actors also argued that the authorities’ recent attempts to fit into a conservative niche were due to the fact that Western values had no support in Georgia.
- Messages about the family as a union of a woman and a man were mainly linked to Georgian Prime Minister Irakli Gharibashvili’s participation in a conference of American ultra-conservatives held in Hungary, where he built his rhetoric on “protection of the family” on manipulating homophobic topics.
- The topic of family protection was dominated by the issue of abortion, which was never considered in the context of women’s reproductive health and was presented as the responsibility of women only, not men.

- Feminism was accused of purposefully destroying the family and weakening the hierarchy of the traditional family.
- Revisionist statements were also disseminated that demanded changes in legislation prohibiting violence against women and domestic violence and claimed that men were portrayed as offenders without justification.

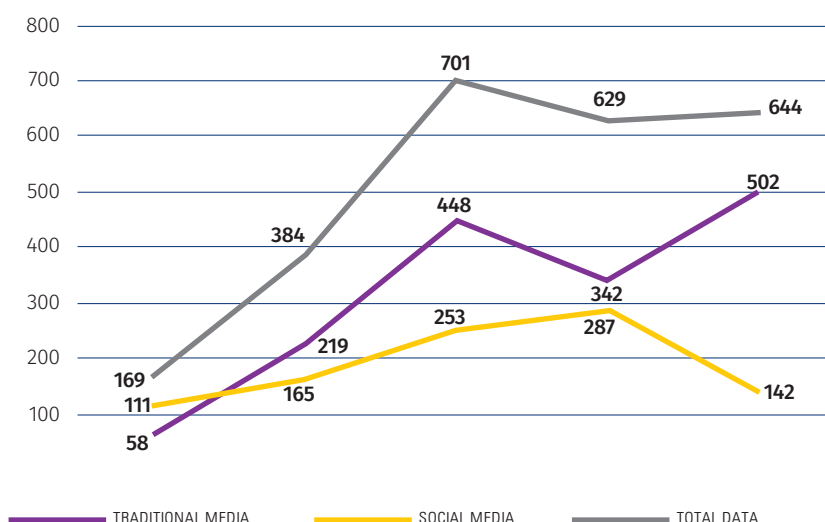
I. SEXIST HATE SPEECH / GENDER STEREOTYPING AND HOMOPHOBIA

1.1. TOTAL QUANTITATIVE DATA

During the reporting period (January 1 – May 31, 2023), media monitoring identified 2,527 cases of sexist and homophobic discrimination, of which 1,569 cases were identified in traditional media and the remaining 958 cases in social media.

The surge in the use of sexist and homophobic hate speech occurred in March 2023, amid massive civil protests against the law on the transparency of foreign influence adopted by the Parliament of Georgia in its first reading.¹ While in February the media monitoring study recorded 384 cases of sexist and homophobic statements, in March the number of such statements almost doubled and totaled 701.

FIGURE 1. NUMBER OF SEXIST AND HOMOPHOBIC COMMENTS/POSTS BY MONTH (JANUARY-MAY 2023).

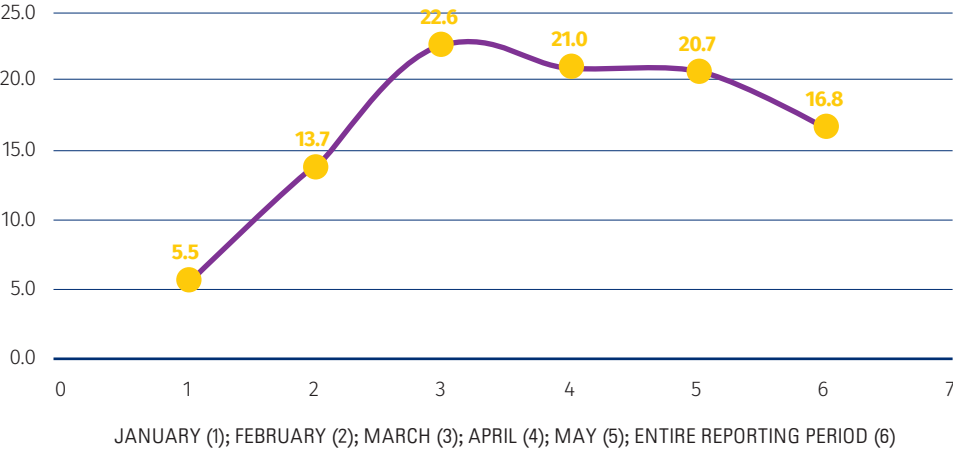


¹ As a result of the civil protests, the Georgian parliament withdrew the law. Radio Liberty, March 10, 2023. "Parliament dropped the 'Agents' bill." <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/32311562.html>

To illustrate the intensity of the use of sexist and homophobic hate speech, we calculated the average daily statistical indicator of the number of comments/posts identified during the media monitoring, both for each month of the reporting period and for the entire reporting period (from January 1 to May 31, 2023).

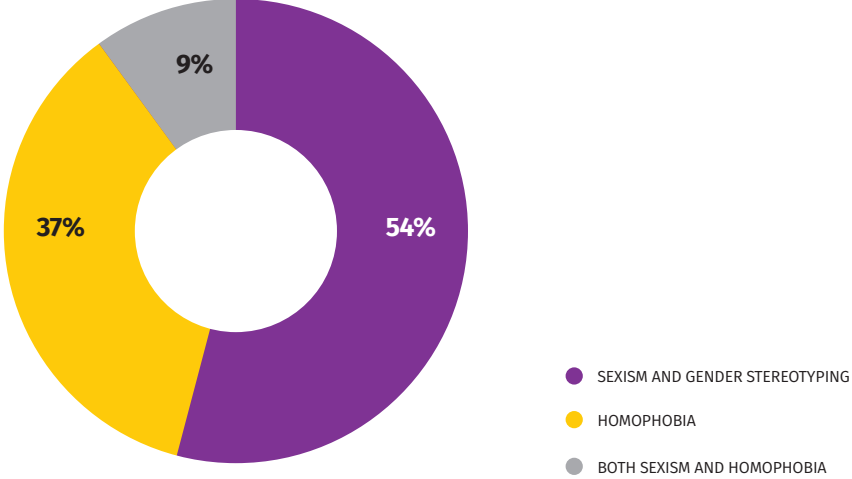
The highest average daily number of detected cases was observed in March, which amounted to 22.6 cases per day. The lowest indicator was in January, with 5.5 comments/posts per day on average. The average rate of sexist and homophobic content for the entire reporting period was 16.8 comments/posts per day.

FIGURE 2. AVERAGE DAILY STATISTICAL INDICATOR OF THE USE OF SEXIST AND HOMOPHOBIC HATE SPEECH BY MONTH.



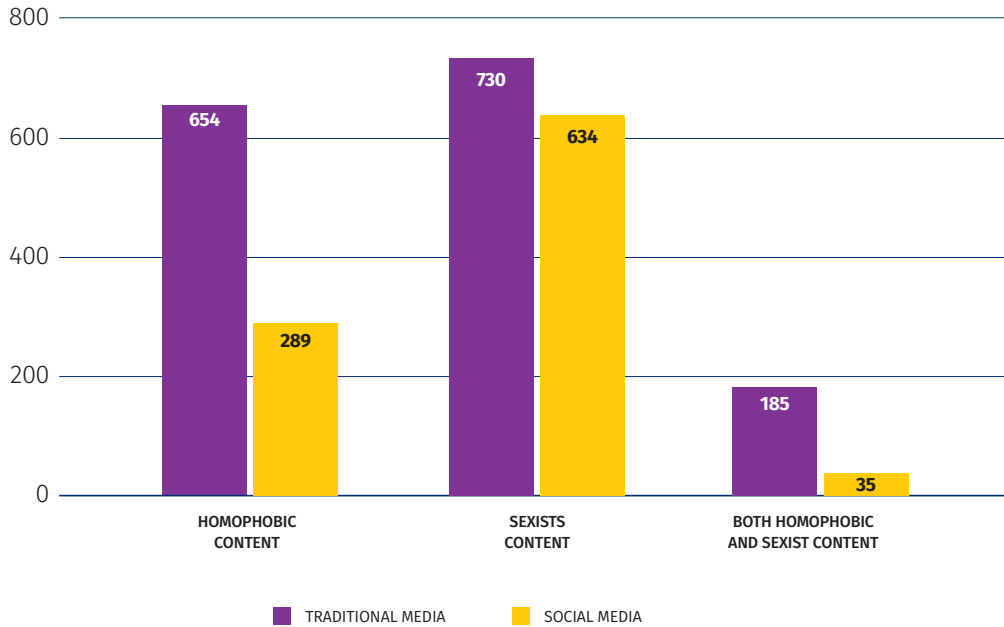
Of 2,527 comments/posts identified in the course of media monitoring, 1,364 (54%) contain sexist hate speech and gender stereotyping, 943 (37%) are homophobic, and 220 (9%) are both sexist and homophobic.

FIGURE 3. RATIO OF SEXIST AND HOMOPHOBIC COMMENTS/POSTS.



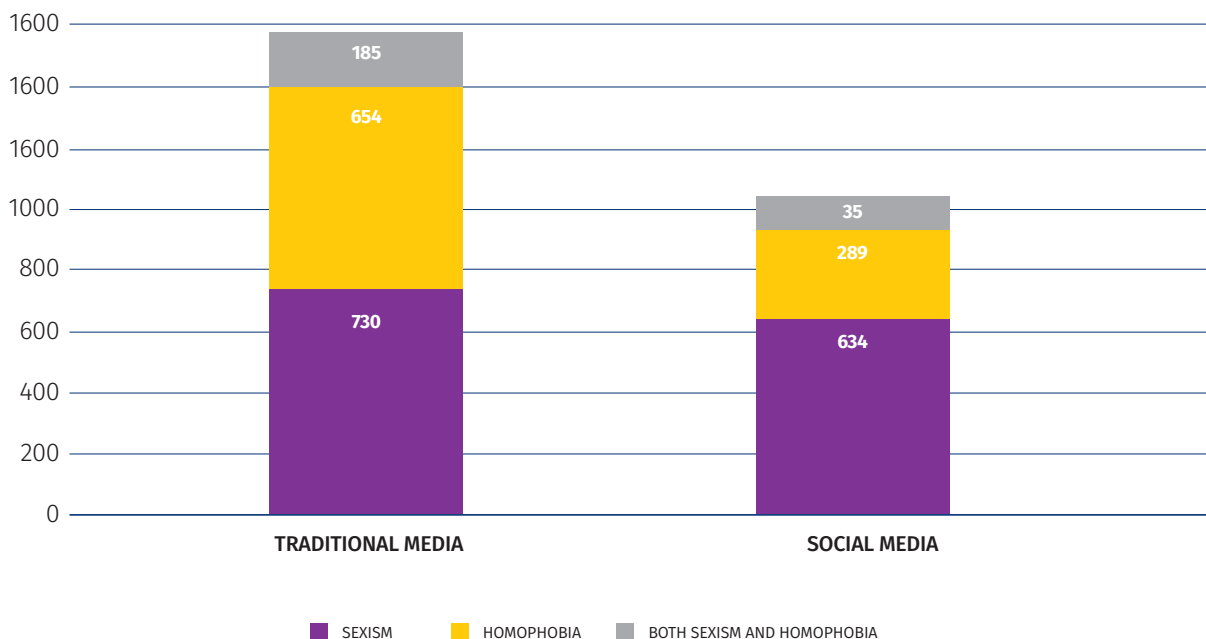
The monitoring recorded a greater number of statements with sexist hate speech and homophobia in traditional media than in social media.

FIGURE 4. NUMBER OF SEXIST AND HOMOPHOBIC COMMENTS / POSTS IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA.



During the reporting period, the number of sexist/gender stereotyping comments/posts was higher than homophobic ones in both traditional and social media.

FIGURE 5. HOMOPHOBIC AND SEXIST COMMENTS/ POSTS IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA.



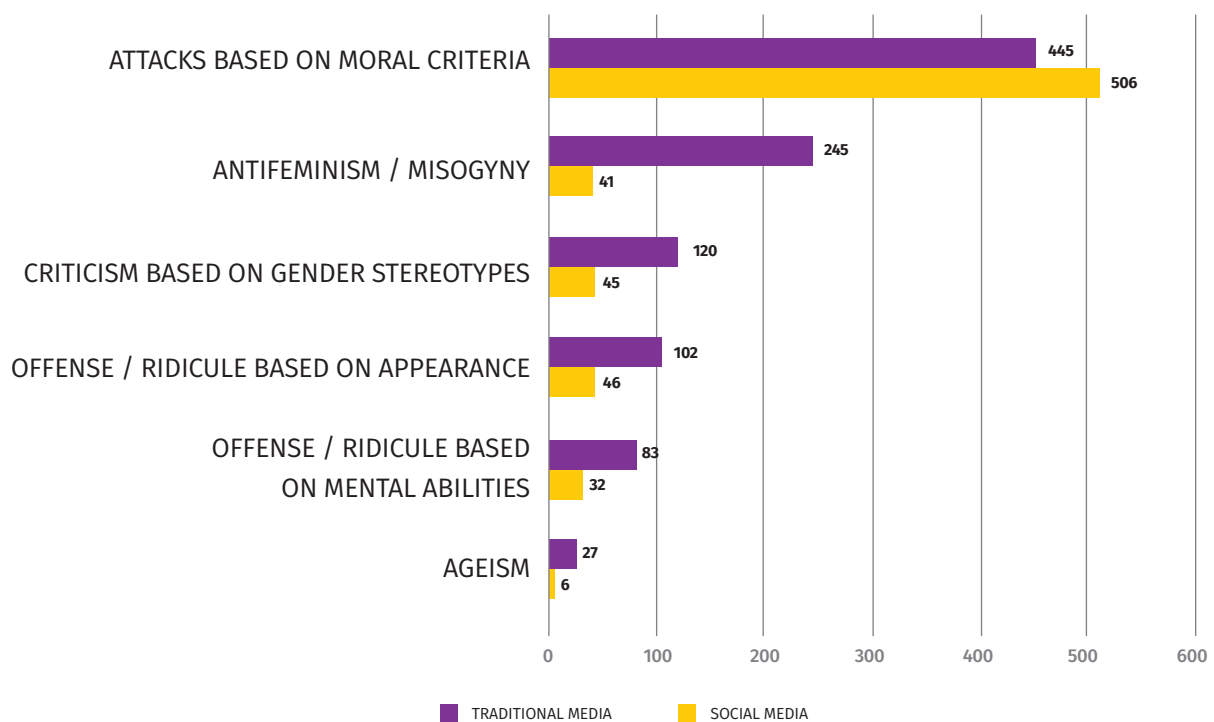
1.2. SEXIST HATE SPEECH / GENDER STEREOTYPING

Of the 1,584 statements containing sexist hate speech and gender stereotyping, 915 were observed in traditional media and 669 in social media.

TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS. The sexist content identified through the monitoring was categorized according to the six indicators of sexist hate speech described in the section on methodology. Some comments/posts fell under several types of violations. The number of statements corresponding to more than one type of violation was 7% of all sexist comments/posts.

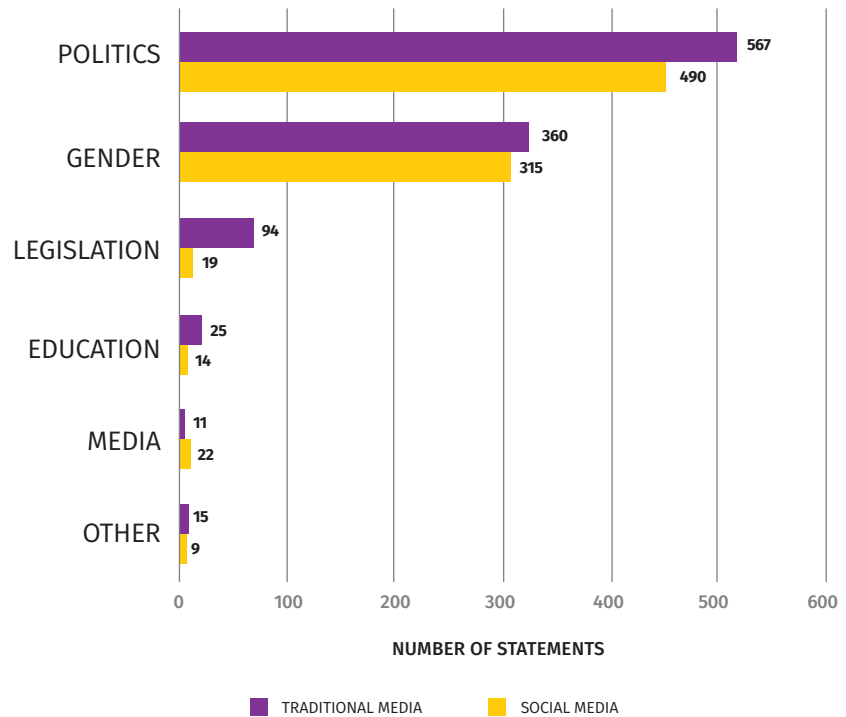
Of the six indicators of sexist hate speech, attacks based on moral criteria were most frequent in comments/posts on both social media (506 cases) and traditional media (445 cases). The number of antifeminist and misogynistic statements (245 cases) was also high in traditional media, followed by examples of gender stereotyping (120), offence/ridicule on the grounds of appearance (102) and mental abilities (83). The number of antifeminist/misogynistic statements (41), gender stereotyping (45), and appearance-based offences (46) in social media was almost the same and lower than in traditional media.

FIGURE 6. TYPOLOGY OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH / STEREOTYPES IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA.



TOPICS. The bulk of sexist comments/posts in both social media (567) and traditional media (490) were related to politics. The majority of the comments related to politics were directed against women politicians and civic activists. The number of comments/posts directly related to gender was 360 in traditional media and 315 in social media. Comments/posts related to legislative issues totaled 95 in traditional media and 19 in social media.

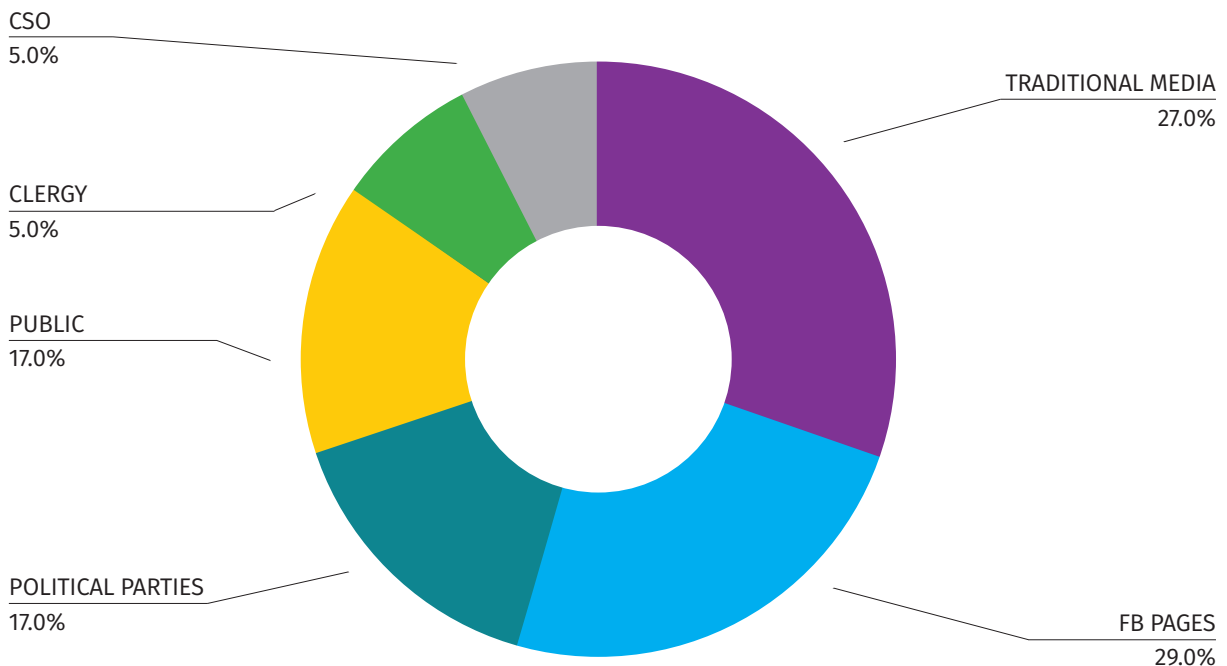
FIGURE 7. TOPICS RELATED TO SEXIST HATE SPEECH / STEREOTYPES IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA.



SOURCES. According to aggregated data from traditional and social media, the largest share of the use of sexist hate speech was found in the monitored media. In this regard, the monitored Facebook pages (458) were in the lead, followed by the monitored traditional media outlets (421).

In the reporting period, 268 sexist comments were made by politicians, 269 by representatives of the public, 80 by clergy, and 84 by representatives of civil society organizations.

FIGURE 8. SOURCES OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH / STEREOTYPES BY SPHERE.



Of the monitored media outlets, sexist hate speech/gender stereotyping were most frequent on pro-Kremlin Sezoni TV and pro-government POSTV. In the case of the latter, the main reason for such speech was the accusation of sexual harassment against the POSTV director, Shalva Ramishvili.² Among the print media, sexist content appeared most often in the newspaper Asaval-Dasavali, notorious for its xenophobia and anti-Western sentiments.

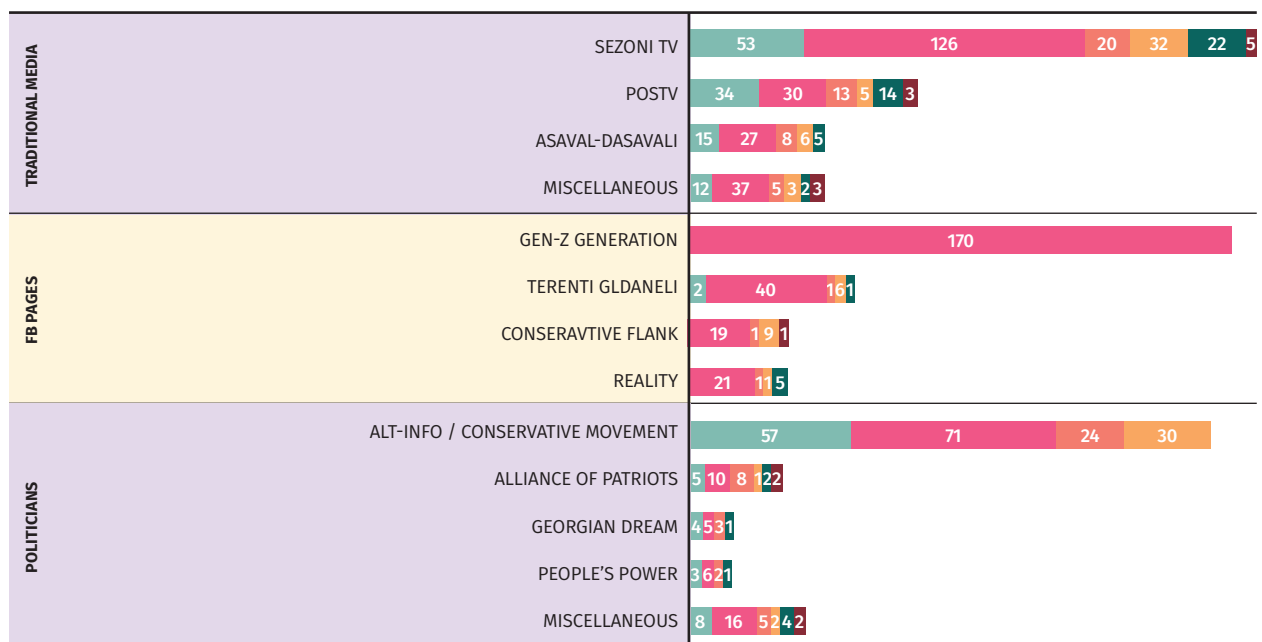
Among the political parties, a pro-Kremlin party, Alt-Info/Conservative Movement, whose leaders are also hosts of Alt-Info TV channel, made sexist statements most often, mainly using this media platform to disseminate such statements. Another pro-Kremlin political party, the Alliance of Patriots, made such statements less frequently. The ruling Georgian Dream party and its affiliated People’s Power made far fewer sexist statements than the Conservative Movement.

Among the clergy, the leader in sexist statements was archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili, a supporter of the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement and a frequent contributor to Alt-Info TV. He also has several Facebook accounts (“Father Spiridon Tskipurishvili” and “Archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili”).

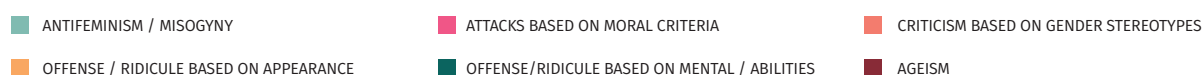
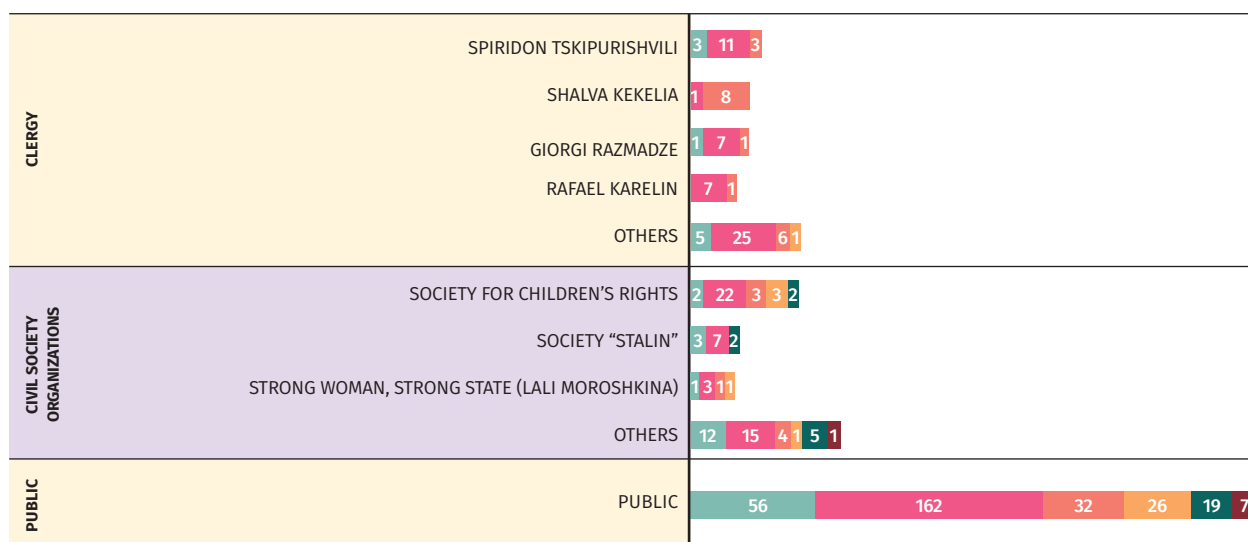
During the reporting period, the highest number of sexist posts were published on the Facebook pages “Gen-Z Generation,” “Terenti Gldaneli,” “Reality,” and “Conservative Flank.” It should be noted that the Facebook page “Gen-Z Generation” was created on April 3, 2023, shortly after the March protests, specifically to discredit those young people who played a decisive role in the protests against the so-called Russian-style “foreign agent law.” “Terenti Gldaneli” is a pro-government page dedicated to discrediting opponents of the government.

While in the case of the traditional media and political parties, all six categories of sexism and gender stereotyping could be observed, in the case of Facebook accounts and clergy, attacks based on moral criteria were more common.

FIGURE 9. TYPOLOGY OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH/STEREOTYPES BY SOURCE



² Radio Liberty, March 21, 2023. “Women vs Shalva Ramishvili – POSTV director accused of sexual harassment.” <https://bit.ly/30C18lv>



1.3. HOMOPHOBIA

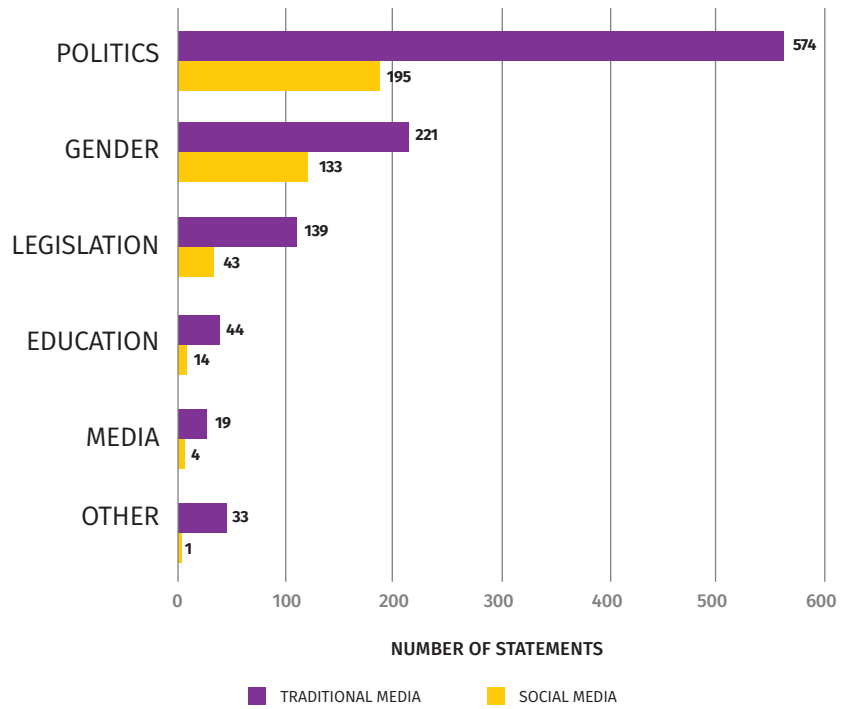
Of the 1,163 homophobic statements identified during the five-month media monitoring, 839 were made in traditional media, and the remaining 324 were made on social media.

TOPICS. The majority of homophobic statements made in traditional media were related to politics (574 cases). The number of comments/posts directly related to gender was 221, which was followed by content related to legislation (139).

The distribution of statements related to politics and gender in social media was more or less equal: 195 cases were related to politics and 133 to gender.

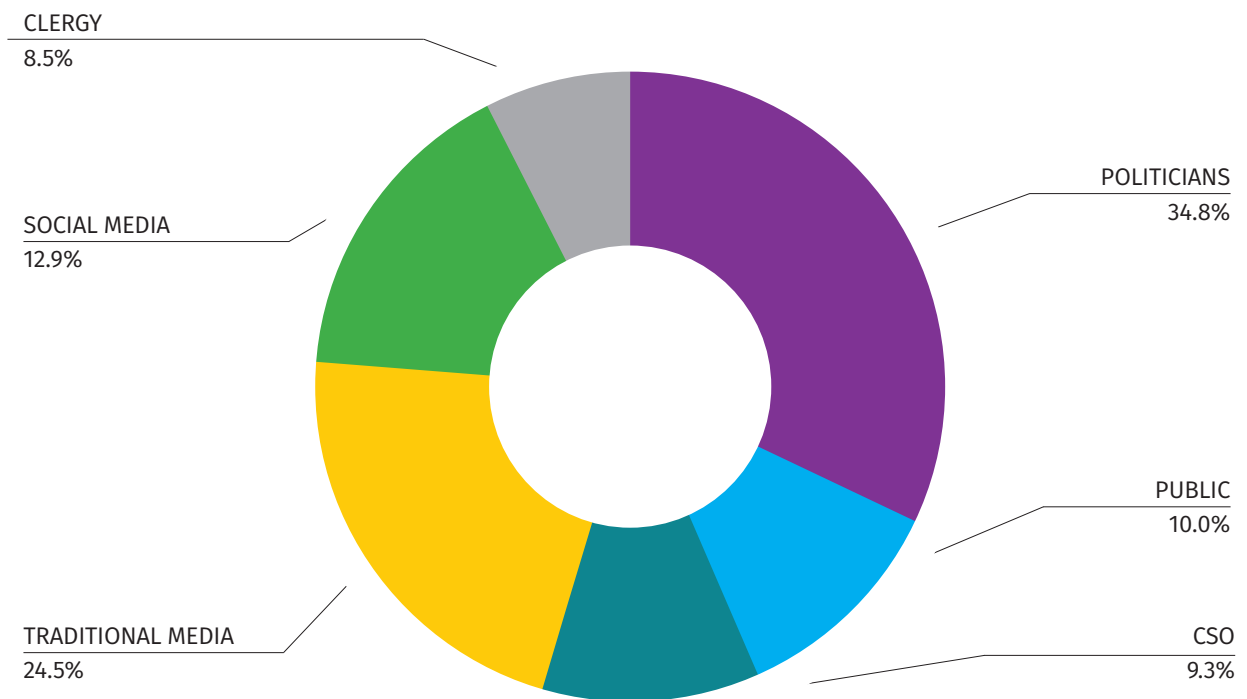
Homophobic comments/posts related to legislation totaled 139 in traditional media and 43 in social media. On the one hand, these comments/posts criticized legislation against discrimination and domestic violence, the law on quotas, the code of child’s rights, and juvenile justice, while on the other hand, they positively assessed the draft law on the influence of foreign agents and legislative initiatives banning “gay propaganda.”

FIGURE 10. TOPICS OF HOMOPHOBIC STATEMENTS IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA



SOURCES. The main sources of homophobic comments/posts were politicians (34.8%), followed by traditional media (24.5%), social media (12.9%), civil society organizations (9.3%), members of the public (10%), and clergy (8.5%).

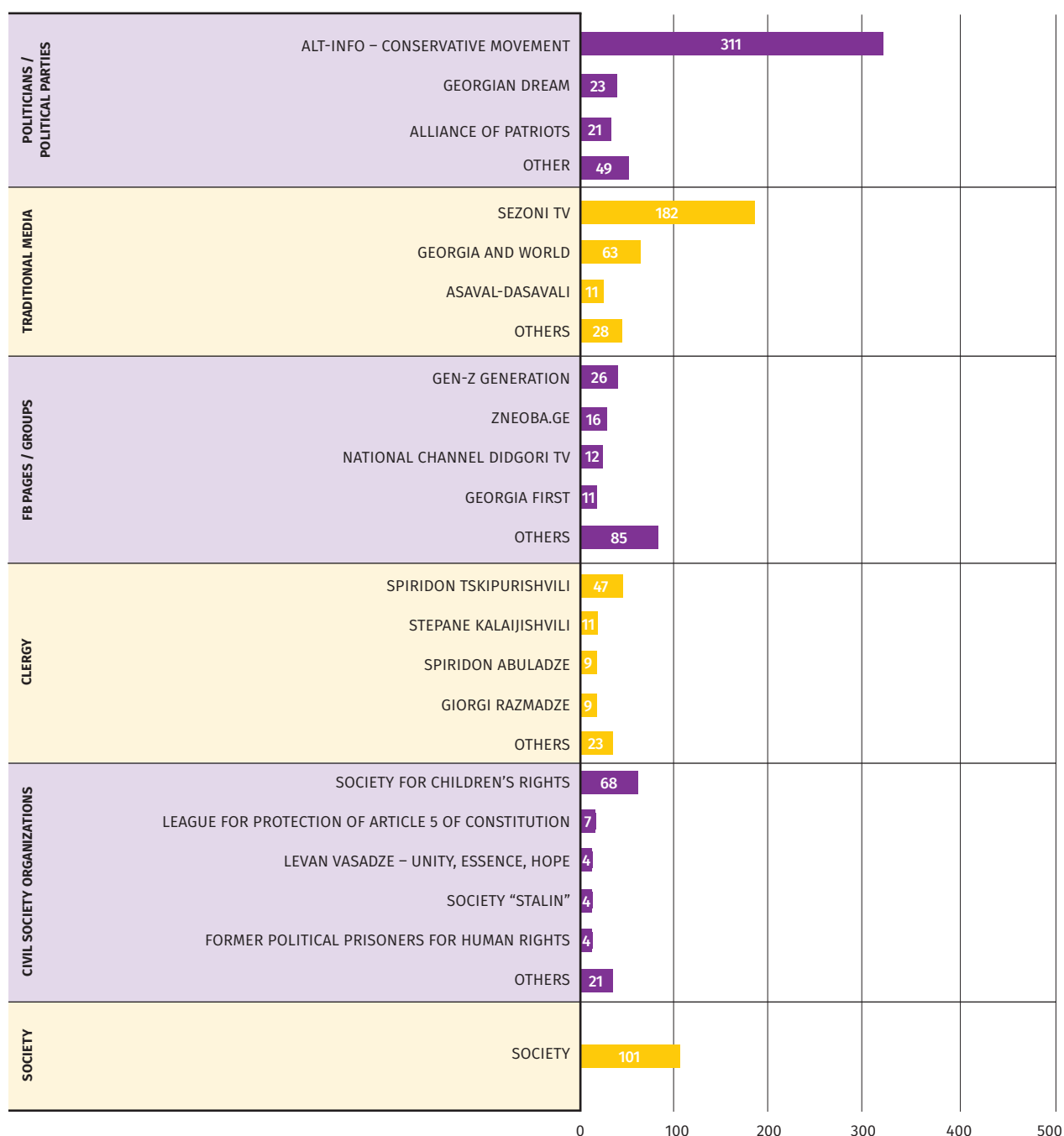
FIGURE 11. SOURCES OF HOMOPHOBIC HATE SPEECH



Among the political parties, the highest number of homophobic comments was made by Alt-Info/ Conservative Movement (311), compared to the number of such statements made by the Georgian Dream (23) and the Alliance of Patriots (21).

Among the media, the leaders in disseminating homophobic messages were Sezoni TV (182) and Georgia and World (63); among the clergy, Archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili was in the lead (47); and among civil society organizations, the leader was the Society for Children’s Rights (68).

FIGURE 12. HOMOPHOBIA – SOURCES BY SUBJECT



1.4. TERMINOLOGY

Of the 2,526 sexist and homophobic statements identified during the media monitoring, 1,703 comments/posts (67.7%) contained offensive terms.

Offensive language was used more frequently in traditional media than in social media. In particular, offensive terms were found in 81% of sexist and homophobic statements identified in traditional media. On social media, where the focus is more on images and photo manipulation, offensive terms were found in 45% of homophobic and sexist messages.

The main targets of hate speech/insults are political opponents, so sexist and homophobic hate speech is used as a tool of political technology in the process of political rivalry. The intensity of hate speech and insults increases during “hot” periods when political and civic activism escalates.

Sexist and homophobic messages identified in the course of the monitoring were often saturated with profanity.

ANTI-GENDER. Sexist and gender stereotyping terms are categorized according to the frame that was used to categorize the types of sexist hate speech violations. Consequently, the terms are divided into six categories, with the largest category, attacks based on moral criteria, further broken down into five sub-categories. These sub-categories are:

1. Slut-shaming;
2. Unacceptable moral behavior, which partly contains the category of slut-shaming;
3. Anti-national/anti-religious;
4. Anti-state/mercantile;
5. Anti-liberal, when the term “liberal” is used in a negative context, mostly against civic activists.

TABLE 1. OFFENSIVE TERMINOLOGY ACCORDING TO THE SIX CATEGORIES OF SEXISM AND GENDER STEREOTYPING

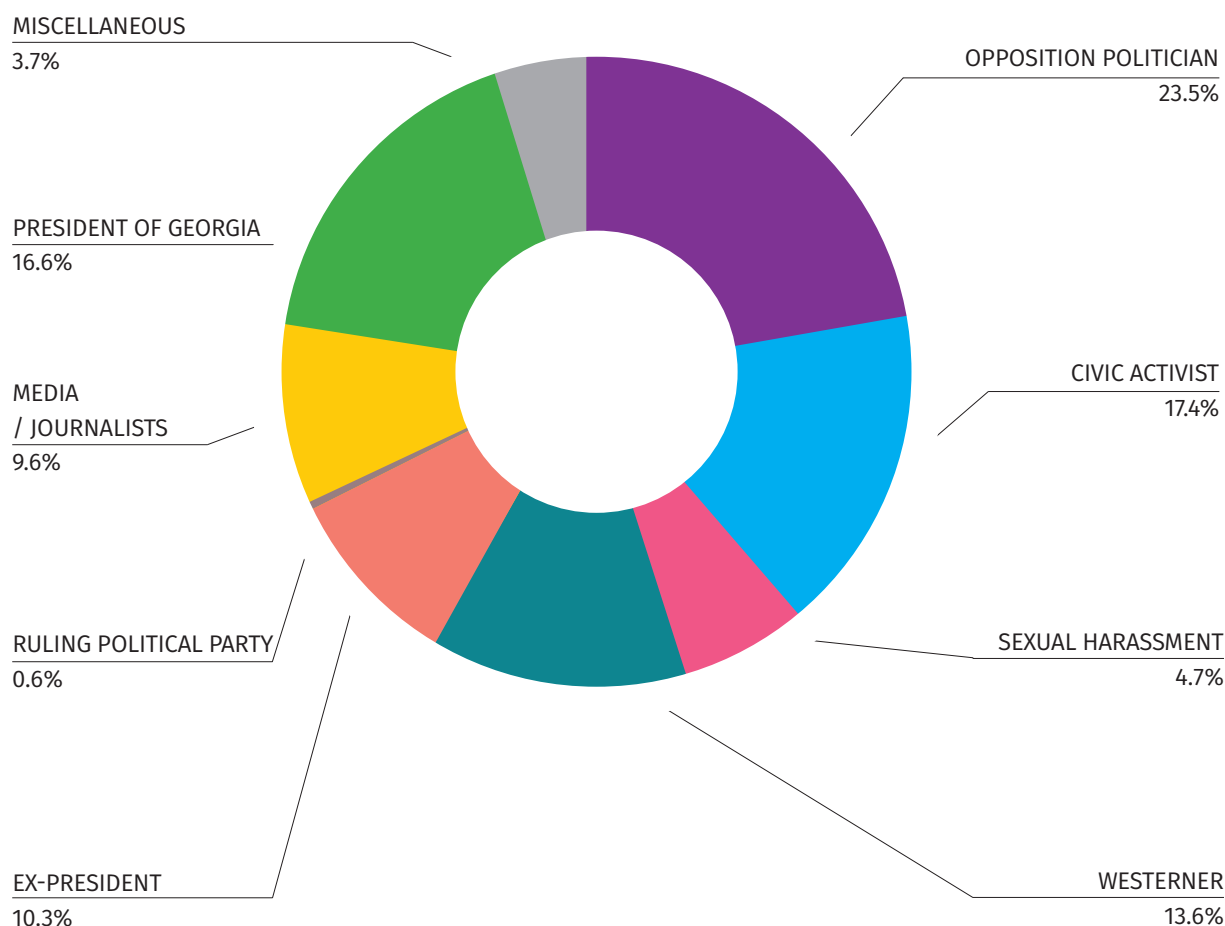
ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA	
SLUT-SHAMING	Exalted three-penny women Kiku / depraved woman / easy-going girl / creature of depraved behavior / deviant / pervert / unbridled / debauched / lustful woman / prostitute in spirit and flesh / sex whore / Saakashvili’s five-lari whore / being in Saakashvili’s bed / Saakashvili’s puttanas / Saakashvili’s lovers / degraded hooker / slut / call girl / bawd / harem member / avaricious / streetwalker / hooker at the circus / tart / descendant of whores / escapee from brothel / puttana from Roena’s brothel / unsatisfied woman / looking like a mad horse / lustful / almost naked / dressed in revealing clothes / dressed in erotically attractive clothes / married to the godfather of her child / TV-diva / TV-sex representative / 10 times divorced / hopper / prostitute / degraded chippie / promiscuous / Euro-whore / national whores

UNACCEPTABLE MORAL BEHAVIOR	Immoral woman / immoral creature / aggressive / unbridled / degraded / disgraced / unashamed / scoundrel / rogue / liar / unabashed / insolent / impolite / rude / misbehaving / brazen/ dishonest woman / girl with low social responsibility / filthy creature / monster / excuse-maker / fraudsters' advocate / controlled/ elected by force / humble slave / record-breaker of mass hatred / political whore / cold-blooded taskmaster / ordinary fascist/ sondercommando-provocateur / KGB informer/ Gestapo woman/ grey cardinal/ bolt / shameless pig / clockwork monkey/ snakelet / political swindler / traitor in spirit and flesh / UNM-sondercommando jjjjjjournalist/
ANTI-NATIONAL/ANTI-RELIGIOUS	Servant without a homeland / guilty before the laity and clergy / disgrace of Georgia / non-Georgian with a Georgian surname / enemy of Georgia / devoid of any Georgian quality / fascists without a homeland / stateless woman / Kizilbash / eager to destroy Georgia / enemy of Georgian identity / supporter of war / apostle of hell / ugly / devil, possessing the body of a fragile girl / blasphemer / desecrator / impure person / defender of devil's interests / female devil / Satanist / Satan's apostle / earthly devil / spy swearing at the church / anti-Christian forces
ANTI-STATE / MERCANTILE	Anti-state person / female traitor / spy / resident / p-resident / renegade / traitor / spy number one / hereditary spy / plague of Georgian politics and one-time disease / chief organizer of assaults and bloodsheds / cuckoo's egg / enemy of our country / subunit of traitors / remnant of colonial thinking / mankurt without a homeland / schizophrenic traitor Foreign-funded and encouraged NGO-agent / Georgian hungry slave NGO-worker / grant eater / greedy for dollars / resorting to anything for money / greedy for money / imp of Soros / selling her soul / paid female scoundrel / woman selling country / immoral saleswoman / obsessed with money / officially receiving royalty in rubles / Rublyovna / Rublyaka
ANTI-LIBERAL ACCUSATIONS	Proponents of liberal fascism / collective of colored people / worst part of liberals / liberal sect / liberal-fascist LGBT forces/brought by liberasts / puppet of Soros
ANTIFEMINISM / MISOGYNY	Prostitute feminists / liberast-feminists / fascists feminists / feminist-fascists UNM sectants / sondercommando-fascist feminist sect / liberal and gender fascism / Gestapo women / ordinary fascists / little fascists / quasi-Amazons / Samkharadze-type Babutsa-Lomjarias
OFFENSE / RIDICULE BASED ON APPEARANCE	Provincial tone of voice / devil devil painted on a rock / cat dipped in water / mosquito buzz effect / frumpy / unkempt / ugly woman / Droa's woman / weak donkeys / cow /shapeless / women with cellulite / smelly woman / beauty of the Round Garden / female Gubazi / Giuli in a fur-coat / fur-coat addict / self-proclaimed misunderstanding, wrapped in furs like a pig caught in barbed wire / frightful-looking / unsightly / model Giuli

<p>OFFENCE BASED ON GENDER STEREOTYPES</p>	<p>Imps / cannot be called women / unsuitable for woman / witches with tails on broomsticks / extremely unpleasant image of women / hysterical women / aggressive / boisterous / rabid dog / insane / creaming / whining women / unbridled / debauched / uncontrollable women / uncontrolled stone-hurling women / pig forest female dweller / unserious woman / foolish woman / coquettish / tramp / flirty / woman-provocateur / beggar / girlie / in dirty underpants / female by gender / resembling a woman / not a woman / wrong woman / tomboy / woman, looking like a man / Artura / Otara / Gogia's boy / Helen with balls / bulldozer / tractor</p> <p>A man covered by a woman's underwear lying at a woman's feet / a mentally castrated man / a knitting boy / feminine men / womanly / feminal</p>
<p>RIDICULE BASED ON MENTAL ABILITIES</p>	<p>Brainless girls / idiots of screen / stupid women / silly women / foolish women / Duck Tasiko / wise Kinaloco / illiterate / witless woman / crazy / empty-headed / nonrational / simpleminded / mad / lunatic / insolent / idiot / loony / moronic / "wunderkind" / ungifted / uneducated / degenerate / bookless / ignorant / untaught / dim / empty-headed / imbecile woman / airheaded woman / single-celled amoeba / reptiloid / parrot</p>
<p>AGEISM</p>	<p>Grannie / 80-year-old woman / some 90-year-old woman / French retiree / aged woman / elderly / vulgar, old, gray-haired bitch / horrible female, victim of age crisis / "eight-grade student" / distinguished for 18-year-old looks / woman of retirement age / menopausal women / light-headed shameful old bitch / old Parisian turkey</p> <p>Gen-Z cattle / imbecile generation / liberast segment of the new generation / dimwitted, unidentified-sex, disoriented youth / feminine mediocre youth / some girl / infantile girl / little urinous girl</p>

ADDRESSEES. Politicians constituted the largest group among the addressees of sexist hate speech: female politicians from the opposition – 23.5% of offensive messages, the President of Georgia, Salome Zourabichvili – 16.6%, foreign female diplomats and politicians – 13.6%, female officials from the ruling party – 13.6%, which made up 54.3% of the total number of such messages. About 17.4% of sexist messages were directed against NGO representatives, 10.3% against family members of ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili's (mainly his mother, Giuli Alasania), 4.7% against women related to the case of exposing a POSTV presenter for sexual harassment, and 3.7% against representatives of various spheres.

FIGURE 13. WOMEN WHO WERE TARGETS OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH, ACCORDING TO INSTITUTIONAL AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS



The sexist attacks identified during the monitoring period were most often directed at female politicians and civil society activists. Among these women, President of Georgia Salome Zourabichvili was the most frequently targeted. There were 182 cases identified of using offensive language against her.

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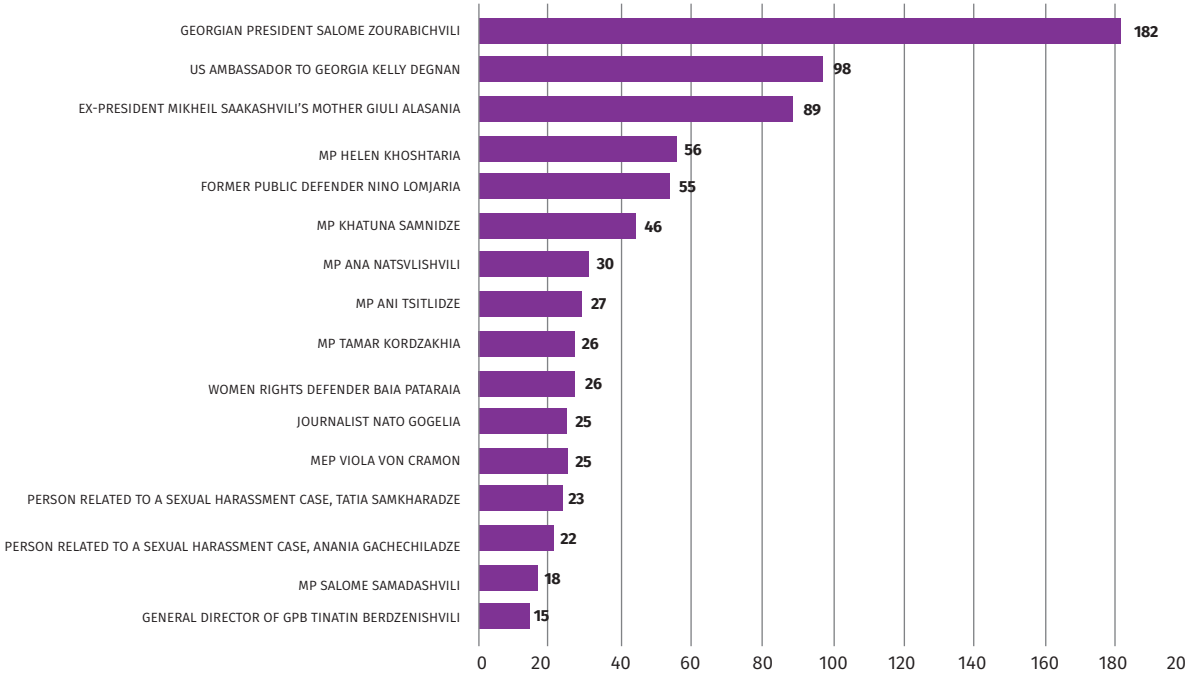
As for foreign diplomats and politicians, US Ambassador to Georgia Kelly Degnan was the most frequent target of insulting language (98 cases). Member of the European Parliament Viola von Cramon was also frequently attacked (25 cases).

President Saakashvili's mother, Giuli Alasania, was also a frequent target (89 cases). Discrediting individuals associated with the former president was part of a broad campaign against Saakashvili. Messages directed against Giuli Alasania contained denigration based on moral criteria and gender stereotypes, as well as ridicule based on appearance and ageism.

Among female MPs, the most frequent targets of sexist hate speech were Helen Khoshtaria (56), Khatuna Samnidze (46), Ana Natsvlshvili (30), Ani Tsitlidze (27), Tamar Kordzaia (26), and Salome Samadashvili (18). The number of cases of attacks against female politicians increased dramatically in March 2023, when female MPs played a major role in the protest against the draft law on foreign agents of influence. There were few cases where the addressees of sexist hate speech were high-ranking female representatives of the ruling party: Nino Tsilosani (3), Thea Tsulukiani (2), and Ketevan Dumbadze (1).

During the monitoring period, sexist hate speech was frequently used against former Public Defender Nino Lomjaria (55 cases), as well as against women who accused the POSTV presenter of sexual harassment (Tatia Samkharadze – 23 cases, Anania Gachechiladze – 22 cases). The campaign to discredit the Director of the Public Broadcaster, Tinatin Berdzenishvili, which was built on the allegations of her using the First Channel for “LGBT propaganda,” contained both sexist and homophobic messages.

FIGURE 14. ADDRESSEES OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH (MOST FREQUENT)



HOMOPHOBIC TERMINOLOGY. Homophobic terms identified during the media monitoring period (from January 1 to May 31, 2023) were classified according to the frame developed for the research report “Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQI Mobilization in Georgia”³ conducted by the Media Development Foundation in 2022.

According to the said frame, homophobic terms are divided into four categories, which are further divided into sub-categories.

3 T. Kintsurashvili, T. Gogoladze, Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQI Mobilization in Georgia, Media Development Foundation, 2023, <https://genderbarometer.ge/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Gender-Publication-ENG-web.pdf>

1. Behavior-related terms

- 1.1 Equating homosexuality with sin
- 1.2 Viewing homosexual relations as depravity/immoral
- 1.3 Viewing LGBTQ identity as a disease/abnormality
- 1.4 Viewing the LGBTQI community's freedom of expression as propaganda
- 1.5 Terms associated with same-sex marriage
- 1.6 Equating homosexuality with pedophilia/incest

2. Identity-related terms

- 2.1 References to an unidentified gender/identity
- 2.2 Denigration on the basis of identity
- 2.3 Dehumanization

3. Terms combining anti-Western and homophobic content

- 3.1 Homophobic terms of an antiliberal nature
- 3.2 Portraying Europe and the West in general as a source of depravity.

In homophobic messages, the visibility of LGBTQI representatives in public spaces is considered one of the main threats, so any form of expression – a march, a film, participation in TV programs – is considered aggressive propaganda. Accordingly, the largest number of terms (363) fell into the subcategory related to propaganda.

Equating LGBTQ identity with pedophilia is quite common (44). An opinion circulated that society's greater tolerance of different identities also meant the normalization of pedophilia.

Some homophobic terminology with anti-Western content was assigned to the subcategory of antiliberal terms (176), and some (56) to the subcategory depicting the West as a source of depravity.

TABLE 2. HOMOPHOBIC TERMS

TYPOLOGY		TERMS	FREQUENCY OF USE
Varieties of terms used to refer to people with LGBTQI+ identity	LGBT	LGBT activists / LGBT propagandists / pro- LGBT / LGBT spies / LGBT terrorist / LGBT sonedercommando / LGBT imp / LGBT depravity / LGBT filth/ LGBT ugliness / LGBT sin / LGBT propaganda / LGBT agitation / LGBT perversion / aggressive propaganda / LGBT ideology / LGBT dictatorship / LGBT laws / LGBT agenda / flirting with LGBT agenda / LGBT fascist forces / fascists LGBTQ propaganda / LGBT culture / LGBT topic / LGBT propaganda film / filthy LGBT festival / LGBT brothel / LGBT minion / LGBT clothes / LGBT image / week of LGBT filth	283
	Gay	Gay activists / gay activists of thousand types / gay propagandists / gay politicians / elderly gays / gay boy / gay Conchita / latent gays / gay fascists / gay revolutionaries / gay spies / gay propaganda / gay and sex propaganda / gay march / gay organization / gay culture / gay report / gay animated movie / gay clothes / gay orgy / gay agenda / gay media / gay violence / gay revolution / gay mafia / gay state / gay minister / gay flag	251

TYPOLOGY	TERMS	FREQUENCY OF USE
	<p>“Pederast”</p> <p>Pederasts / official pederast / pederast in tights / totally pederasts / local poor pederasts / pederasts by mindset / pederast with earring / bearded pederast / a smiling pederast / volunteer pederasts / pederastic elements / activists of pederasty / pro-pederasty / pro-pederast boy / generation of pro-pederasts / collective pederast community / becoming pederast / pederasty / becoming pederast by reasoning / pederasts’ parade / pederasts’ pride / a fighting pederast / pederast hurling Molotov cocktail / Lazare Pederastidisi / blue-pederast-Bolsheviks / pederast-NGOs / pederast-mass media / pederastic orientation / pederastic law / pederastic way / pederastic organization / pederast spy / filthy-pederastic orgy / pederastic appearance</p>	236
	<p>Transgender</p> <p>Pro-transgenderism / some transgender / transgender-type / transgender youth / transgender admiral / negro transgender / white transgender / transsexual in mini skirt / woman from afar man at close range / man transformed into woman / propaganda of transgenderism / pederastic-transgender diversity / million variations of transgenders / transgender identity / transgender transformation / trans symbols / trans-thematic products / transsexual masquerade</p>	130
	<p>Lesbian</p> <p>Lesbian woman / lesbian manager / lesbian channels / lesbian films / lesbian series / becoming lesbian / lesbianka / acting as lesbians</p>	63
	<p>Faggot</p> <p>Faggot / faggotry / faggot-type / filth of faggotry / propaganda of faggotry / lobbyists of faggots / minion of faggots</p>	43
	<p>Homosexual</p> <p>Homosexuals with status / battalion of homosexuals / sodomy-homosexualism / Manifest of homosexuals</p>	28
	<p>Sapphist</p> <p>Sapphist / sapphism / sapphic</p>	8
Behavior-related	<p>Sin</p> <p>Children of sin / sinners / proponents of Sodomy / Sodomites / Sodomite / Obsessed with sodomic lust / filthiest sodomites / LGBT sin / filthiest sin / deadly sin / terrible sin / sin of sodomy / Sodom-Gomorrah sin / Sodom-Gomorrah road / flag bearer of Sodom-Gomorrah battle / Sodom-Gomorrah abyss / Sodom-Gomorrah swamp / Sodomization / Sodom filth / Sodomite relations / Sodomy-homosexualism / den of Sodomy / aggressive propaganda of Sodomy / propaganda of sodomic sin / propagandists of sodomy / Sodomite TV channels / Sodomite political parties / sodomite prides / lessons of sodomy / sodomite day / sodomite laws / sodomite dictatorship / government legalizing sodomy / sodomite authorities / cultivation of sodomite ugliness / flag of sodomy / satanist / satanic forces imposing sodomy / targeted satanic actions / Satan’s apostle</p>	168
	<p>Depravity / immorality</p> <p>Depravity / sexual depravity / cult of sexual depravity / debauchery / unchastity / filth / immorality / disgrace / unimaginable obscenity / uncontrolled sexual relations / depravity-obscenity / bacteria of filth / microbe of depravity / filth of faggotry / filthiest obscenity / propaganda of filth / propagandists of filth / filthy / corrupt boy / pervert people / ideology of obscenity / unbridled system / filthy parade / depraving children / apotheosis of LGBT depravity</p>	185

TYPOLOGY	TERMS	FREQUENCY OF USE
Disease / abnormality	Deviation / illness / pathology / anomaly / madness / abnormality / LGBT deviation/ degradation / degeneration / worst form of mental pathology / mental disorder / transgenderic schizophrenia / stupidity / mistake of nature / psychological disorder / untraditional sexual direction / unnatural relations / distorted thinking / distorted ideology / distorted sexual relations / abnormal sexual ties / wrong people / pervert / person living according to a wrong rule / defective individual / sick person / person with AIDS	155
LGBT propaganda / self-assertion	Propaganda of depravity / filth promotion/ aggressive propaganda of immorality / propaganda of sodomic sin / propaganda of faggotry/ promoters of filthy sodomy/ brothel televisions / TV-brothel / propaganda of abnormal sexual orientation / unhealthy propaganda / unconstrained aggressive propaganda / Pederast-propaganda / pederast-pride / gay pride / large gay pride / parade of LGBT community / LGBT march / gay propaganda / gay media / propaganda of gender / LGBT films / film propagating lesbianism / liberast propaganda / LGBT agenda / LGBT agitation / LGBT dictatorship / ardent propagandist of faggotry / sodomite dictatorship / blue occupation / blue terror	363
Marriage	A man marrying a man / a boy marrying a boy / married people / person whose brother is married to a man / “wedding” of sodomites / dirty puddle of same-sex marriage propaganda / LGBT wedding / same-sex marriage	20
Linking the community to pedophilia	Pedophiles / depraved pedophiles / pedophile perverts / gay pedophile / pederasts perverting children / group of British pedophiles / pedophile deputy / propaganda of pedophilia / pedophilic cultural norms / pedophilic show / normalization of pedophilia	44
Identity-related	Unidentified gender / some gender / other genders / representatives of unidentified sex / representation of some other orientations / representative of unidentified sexual orientation / gendered ambiguity / a character with gender identity / gender-based stupidity / new LGBT-type gender / genderization / untraditional orientation / ambiguous orientation / filthy gender (LGBT) theory / gender ideology / simulated man / tomboy / “machos” / mix of identity / loss of identity / distortion of sexual identity / 70 genders / unexhaustive number of genders	53
Denigration on the basis of identity	A colored person / collection of colored persons / colored savages / colored clown / someone with earrings / colored students with earrings / with ponytail, European youth with earrings / abhorrent people with earrings / manicured men with painted nails / Conchitas / GenZ conchitas / idol of Conchitas / president of Conchitas / Emperor of Conchitas / little boys of poisoned by Conchitas / collective Lazares / such people / idol of pederasts	50

TYPOLOGY		TERMS	FREQUENCY OF USE
	Dehumanization	Horse-gender animals / cattle / animalism / transgender cattle / GenZ cattle / LGBT monkey / some monkeys / “hen” / row of hens / shit-crowd / phallus eater / with torn buttocks / sodomite / freedom of buttocks / some creature / a biomass with distorted identity	60
Anti-Western	Anti-liberal	Liberast / trendy liberast / local and Georgian neoliberals / sodomite Euroliberal / wretched liberast / some liberast / liberast domain / liberalization / liberastization / tolerantization / insufficiently tolerantized / liberal before changing orientation / sodomite-liberast forces / liberal sodomization / liberal dictatorship / liberast cultural activities / liberast attack / liberal flank / pro-Western liberal forces / liberast media / liberast ideology / liberal fascism / metropolis of liberal fascism / liberast revolution / liberast sect / liberast forces / collective Georgian liberast	179
	Gay Europe / depraved West	Gay Europe / European LGBT Union / gay Europeans / representatives of gay Europe / fucking Europeans / liberast European activists / Anglo-Saxon faggots / Anglo-Saxon LGBT individuals / US LGBT individuals / liberasts of the collective West / pro-Western gay colored activists / LGBT representatives encouraged by the West / pro-Western sodomization / Sodom-Gomorrah-Euro-America’s pervert political elite / Sodomite Europe / USA’s sectarian-sodomitic empire / Biden’s LGBT administration / Western sodomite organizations / liberal-globalist West / international export of LGBT theme / pandering to the EU’s whims / gay EU flag / Westernization / total LGBTization of the world	56

II. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH / GENDER STEREOTYPING

2.1. ANTIFEMINISM / MISOGYNY

The media monitoring revealed 286 messages with antifeminist and misogynist sentiments. Of these, 245 were identified in traditional media and 41 in social media. These messages contained extremely negative attitudes towards the idea of equality, feminism, women’s movements, women’s organizations, and defenders of women’s rights.

Antifeminist/misogynistic statements mainly came from clergy, the radical religious organization Orthodox Parents’ Union⁴ and extreme right-wing groups:

CLERGY	
Davit Isakadze, Orthodox Parents’ Union	Feminism is “disease,” Feminists are “spiritually degraded people.” ⁵ “Proponents of emancipation call for women to free themselves once and for all from the dictates of men, and under this model, the functioning of a normal family is impossible.” ⁶
Stepane Kalaijshvili, Metropolitan	“A true woman, a person with a sense of self-worth, cannot be poisoned by the bacteria of feminism.” ⁷
Davit Kvlividze, Archpriest	“Unfortunately, a situation has developed where women’s rights have been directly defended ... In some cases, women even have superiority over men in the family, and all conditions have been created for men not to work and women to work, keep money in their hands and manage the family.” ⁸
RELIGIOUS PAGES	
ZNEOBA.GE	“The essence and goals of feminism have not changed since the days of the God-fighters Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg, but the forms and means of expression have evolved – they have become more sophisticated, more ruthless, cruel and merciless.” ⁹

4 Myth detector, Orthodox Parents’ Union, profile <https://bit.ly/3QJlpgU>

5 qadageba.ge, January 24, <https://bit.ly/44hx2zE>

6 qadageba.ge, January 24, <https://bit.ly/44hx2zE>

7 Diocese of Chkondidi, January 22, <https://bit.ly/44dIYUj>

8 qartuliidea.ge, February 19, <https://bit.ly/44hxbDc>

9 ZNEOBA.GE, March 8, <https://bit.ly/3OIPD23>

RELIGIOUS PAGES	
Sioni church in Akaurta	“8 March is International Prostitutes’ Day... Don’t offend each other... don’t congratulate the ladies on the 8th of March.” ¹⁰
EXTREME RIGHT, PRO-KREMLIN GROUPS	
Alternative World • ალტერნატიული სამყარო	<p>“Feminists before – women should have the right to study and work. Feminists now – we will not shave our armpits and grow long hair because men want us to do so.”¹¹</p>

Anti-liberal, extreme right-wing, conservative actors regard female politicians from the political opposition and women’s rights defenders as agents of a Western conspiracy.

NIKOLQZ MZHAVANADZE, PRESENTER: “The grants that are allocated, the EU grants and American grants, are all given to these feminists and these sondercommando fascists. And then they conduct trainings about women’s right, about femicide.”¹²

MAIA NIKOLEISHVILI, MEDICAL EXPERT: “Millions in grants go to finance organizations, but if this becomes transparent, it will turn out that... they go to finance destruction, riots, hype, provocative actions related to gender, shouting, whistling, snarling, biting, and attempts to discredit the country, attempts to change government!!!”¹³

¹⁰ Sioni church in Akaurta, March 8, <https://bit.ly/45uGbGg>

¹¹ Alternative World • ალტერნატიული სამყარო“, April 19, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3qtvTHH>

¹² Nikoloz Mzhavanadze’s Sum-up of the Day, Sezoni TV, March 22, <https://bit.ly/47FBg7s>

¹³ Split-news, March 6, <https://bit.ly/45AhbNK>

Women’s political and public activities are seen as a threat to the country. Opinions are expressed that legislation protecting women’s rights promotes a women’s agenda in Georgia, which is extremely dangerous because it weakens men, and weakening men consequently weakens the country and makes it vulnerable to existing challenges.

SHOTA MARTINENKO, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “It is important to understand, in general, what form of cultural agenda is meant by this radical feminism... In fact, an agenda is being established in which some women are simply given the opportunity... to just say something on television and on the basis of that to destroy the reputation of those who are against it.”¹⁴

LEVAN VASADZE, UNITY, ESSENCE, HOPE: “I do not want to live in this disgusting matriarchal situation, when a Georgian male has is forbidden to express his opinion, to speak the truth.”¹⁵

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “What liberals proposed is oppression of men and consequently, the disappearance of the state, because the feminist women will not be able to hold our neighbors! No one plans to tolerate feminism and Anania Gachechiladze-type behavior there!”¹⁶

During the reporting period, women politicians and civic activists were subjected to constant insulting attacks aimed at discrediting women’s political and social activism. Women politicians were called “quasi-Amazonas,”¹⁷ “witches on broomsticks,” “the plague of the Georgian politics,”¹⁸ “agitated women.”¹⁹

It should be noted that the Facebook card titled Mdedrioni (agitated women), on which Georgian President Salome Zourabichvili was depicted together with female politicians from the opposition, was disseminated by the anonymous pro-government pages “Political Absurd” and “Terenti Gldaneli,” which participated in campaigns to discredit opponents of the authorities in the past. Moreover, the Facebook page “Political Absurd” even sponsored the aforementioned advertisement.



¹⁴ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 27, <https://bit.ly/47BwZSa>

¹⁵ Amier-Imieri, February 24, <https://bit.ly/30Hx26h>

¹⁶ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 7, 2023, <https://bit.ly/45AThBF>

¹⁷ Lali Moroshkin, “Strong Woman, Strong State”: Split News, March 31, <https://bit.ly/47zDwwP>

¹⁸ Tamar Chiburdanidze, People’s Power, Split-news, March 5, <https://bit.ly/44e1JWC>

¹⁹ Political Absurd, April 4, <https://bit.ly/45fc4mj>

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The media monitoring has shown that malicious actors often label politically and socially active women as fascists or feminist-fascists.

The use of the term “liberal fascism” to discredit pro-Western actors is a fairly clear-cut trend, which has recently been expanded by the use of the label ‘fascist feminism’ against women opponents in order to discredit their activities.

In media outlets pursuing pro-government and conservative editorial policies, politically and socially active women are labeled as “fascist feminists,” “Sondercommando-fascist feminist sect,”²⁰ “feminist-fascist members of the UNM sect,”²¹ “Gestapo women,”²² “ordinary fascists,”²³ “little fascists.”²⁴ The exposure of Shalva Ramishvili in sexual harassment by female journalists was labeled a fascist campaign,²⁵ while MEP Viola von Cramon was declared a “genetic and spiritual” descendant of Luftwaffe Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring.²⁶

2.2. ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA

Of the messages identified during the reporting period that contained attacks on moral grounds, 506 were revealed in traditional media and 445 in social media.

²⁰ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, presenter: Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 22, <https://bit.ly/3E2yTOi>

²¹ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze’s Sum-up of the Day, Sezoni TV, March 22, <https://bit.ly/3QFN7MF>

²² Reality, March 19, Tamar Chiburdanidze, <https://bit.ly/44uQPMt>

²³ Dito Samkharadze, Georgian Dream, Split-news, March 10, <https://split.spnews.io/ka/archives/164238>

²⁴ POSTV, Three and Co., April 12, Lacha Baslandze, POSTV producer, about ConceptArt manager Teona Jorbenadze, <https://bit.ly/45sHo0A>

²⁵ Mamuka Mdinaradze, Georgian Dream, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 22, <https://bit.ly/30HsAo3>

²⁶ Myth Detector, April 13. DISINFORMATION, AS IF VIOLA VON CRAMON IS THE DESCENDANT OF HERMANN GÖRING, <https://bit.ly/3P1fMu8>

Attacks based on moral criteria were mainly directed against politically and socially active women with the aim of undermining their reputation and discrediting them.

SLUT-SHAMING. One of the forms of sexist hate speech, slut-shaming, was actively used in attacks based on moral criteria.

Female politicians from the opposition were called “lustful women,”²⁷ “whores for five lari,”²⁸ President of Georgia Salome Zourabichvili was called “hooker,”²⁹ “prostitute both in spirit and flesh,”³⁰ “depraved woman,”³¹ “whore,”³² “hustler”³³. Female members of European Parliament were called as “Euro-whores,”³⁴ one of the women who exposed the POSTV presenter of sexual harassment was called a “prostitute” and “an easy-going creature of depraved behavior.”³⁵

NIKOLAZ MZHAVANADZE, PRESENTER: “Probably, there are more decent ladies in Roena’s brothel than the members of this harem, these Samadashvilis, Chugoshvilis, Samnidzes, Kordzaias.”³⁶

The slut-shaming case against Salome Zourabichvili also contained a visual fabrication:³⁷ Zourabichvili’s face was photoshopped on someone else’s photo taken from porn sites. The photo fabrication appeared after she pardoned one of the founders of the pro-opposition TV channel, Mtavari Arkhi.



AUTHENTIC PHOTO (LEFT), ALTERED PHOTO (RIGHT)

²⁷ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Asaval-Dasavali, March 20-26.

²⁸ Tristan Tselashvili, military expert, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 3, <https://bit.ly/30Kcwly>

²⁹ Ermile Nemsadze, May 20, <https://bit.ly/47xJazH>

³⁰ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, presenter: Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 17, <https://bit.ly/47Hazis>

³¹ Davit Okitashvili, President of Chamber of Culture of Georgia, Split News, March 31, <https://bit.ly/3smSOVK>

³² Khatuna Kheria, former MP, Split News, March 31, <https://split.spnews.io/ka/archives/166383>

³³ Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 2, <https://bit.ly/3smSFSc>

³⁴ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Asaval-Dasavali, March 20-26

³⁵ Shota Martinenko, Conservative Movement, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 27, <https://bit.ly/3YIRacN>

³⁶ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 2, <https://bit.ly/44itMEq>

³⁷ See Gender-Based Disinformation 2023, Media Development Foundation <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/241/>

The mother of ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili, Giuli Alasania, was a frequent target of slut-shaming. During the reporting period, allegations continued to circulate that the imprisoned ex-president’s mother married Giorgi Chaladze, a member of the United National Movement. This trend was also identified in a previous study by the Media Development Foundation.³⁸

The anonymous pro-government Facebook page “Terenti Gldaneli” posted a photo of Giuli Alasania’s visit to the European Parliament with the following captions: “Misha’s [fucking] darlings came to meet members of European Parliament,”³⁹ “celebrated a wedding in Europe.”⁴⁰



The same pro-government page “Terenti Gldaneli” posted a manipulated photo⁴¹ against Tatia Samkharadze, who in the past exposed POSTV director, Shalva Ramishvili, of sexual harassment and won a lawsuit against him. Samkharadze was targeted by pro-government media after other women also publicly accused Ramishvili of harassment. POSTV journalist Natia Beridze prepared a report alleging that UNM member Dimitri Chikovani locked Tatia Samkharadze in a wardrobe. Natia Beridze even called the patrol police to protect Samkharadze from the alleged violence by Chikovani.⁴² It was the incident that prompted the attack on Samkharadze, which involved both visual and narrative judgments.

TATIA GABRICHIDZE, ALT-INFO: “The brother of Kezerashvili’s wife, Mr. Chikovani, claims that this is a purposeful provocation staged against him. However, we have yet to get an answer to the question why Tatia Samkharadze, who is portrayed as a victim of violence, was in Chikovani’s apartment and, in particular, in the wardrobe?”⁴³

38 T. Kintsurashvili, T. Gogoladze, research report, Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQI Mobilization in Georgia, Media Development Foundation, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3E1MLlr>, pg. 36.

39 They travelled to members of European Parliament arrived, Terenti Gldaneli, March 14, 2023, <https://bit.ly/44gjbK7>

40 They celebrated wedding in Europe, Terenti Gldaneli, March 14, 2023, <https://bit.ly/44jm3FU>

41 Terenti Gldaneli, March 26. <https://www.facebook.com/terentigldaneli2/posts/pfbid04cLsujsLsGjTQhcvtchauJB9SuSYGNVHBScxDfQ7XxZTF3FUE3mnJWbqioV5sVxX2I>

42 Nino Bidzinashvili, Netgazeti, March 27, The State vs Tatia Samkharadze <https://netgazeti.ge/life/66221/>

43 Alt-News, March 25 https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=765863388385394



In its turn, the “Political Memes” Facebook page associated with the United National Movement targeted POSTV journalist Natia Beridze who produced an unethical report about Tatia Samkharadze and, accompanied by the police, attempted to unjustifiably interfere in her private space. The page published slut-shaming posts,⁴⁴ containing obscene language against Beridze and hints that she resorts to immoral means to achieve professional success.

ANTI-STATE / ANTI-NATIONAL / MERCANTILE ACTIONS. Attacks based on moral criteria were not limited to slut-shaming. Women politicians, women’s rights defenders, and female civic activists were accused of acting against the state, pursuing the interests of foreign states, engaging in espionage, and receiving money in exchange for infringement of national interests.

Georgian President Salome Zourabichvili was a frequent target of such messages. She was called “enemy number one of our country,”⁴⁵ “agent,”⁴⁶ “foreign body of Georgia,”⁴⁷ “non-Georgian president with a Georgian surname,”⁴⁸ “enemy of Georgia,”⁴⁹ “traitor by the calling,”⁵⁰ “genetic traitor.”⁵¹

Women politicians from the opposition, civic activists, and journalists were referred to as “shameless grant-eaters,”⁵² “foreign-funded and encouraged NGO agents,” “agents of foreign influence,”⁵³ “spies curing the church,”⁵⁴ “Soros’ imps,”⁵⁵ “liberal-fascist journalist.”⁵⁶

44 Political Memes, March 20, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=766070541757646&set=a.309823030715735>

Political Memes, March 22, <https://www.facebook.com/Politicalmemez/posts/pfbid0JEimdchxVjRBjRj9QAD6nworQtAkdxGZREZ1HnL5NEGq7AZKJEohr2Jr7ForpPRUI>

45 Split News, March 31, Davit Okitashvili, President of Chamber of Culture of Georgia, <https://split.spnews.io/ka/archives/166380>

46 Khatuna Khoperia, former MP, Split News, March 31, <https://bit.ly/3sbWucy>

47 Gia Abashidze, Split-news, April 10, <https://bit.ly/44gji8v>

48 Zurab Tsutskiridze, member of the Academy of Education Sciences, SPLIT-News, March 29, <https://bit.ly/45fLKbY>

49 Maia Nikoleishvili, forensic medical expert, Split News, March 31, <https://bit.ly/47GsMwu>

50 Publicist.ge, May 27, <https://bit.ly/3YEhEfH>

51 Ermile Nemsadze, March 31, <https://bit.ly/47Ge74I>

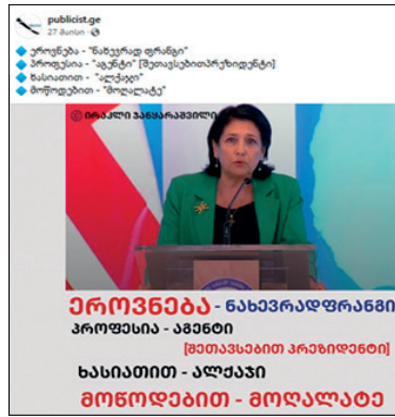
52 Terenti Gldaneli, March 2, <https://bit.ly/3YX2baV>

53 Foreign Influence Agent, Corridor of Shame, March 10, <https://bit.ly/45eey4E>

54 Patriotic Page, March 2, <https://bit.ly/44gJnnG>

55 Charlie’s Angels, imps of Soros, Aleksandre Palavandishvili, March 3, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3P4TqYZ>

56 Patriotic Page, March 18, <https://bit.ly/45ewmwx>



The opinion circulated that people with pro-Western, liberal, and feminist views were opposed to national interests and acted to the detriment of the country:⁵⁷

GURAM PALAVANDISHVILI, SOCIETY FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS: "Why are most liberasts, pederasts, feminists, enemies of the church, narco lobbyists, scolders of predecessors... proponents of the West?!"

Accusations of anti-state and mercantile actions were frequent in messages directed against MP Helen Khoshtaria. She was called "Droa's horse,"⁵⁸ "Miss Lyaka Rublova,"⁵⁹ "Rublyaka,"⁶⁰ "Rublyovna,"⁶¹ "Helen 'ruble' Khoshtaria."⁶² A photo of a Russian banknote with her image pasted into it was disseminated.⁶³ Last year, Khoshtaria was also the subject of a discrediting campaign aimed at presenting her as a supporter of Russian interests, using for this the facts that Khoshtaria studied in Russia and one of her family members received royalties from Russia.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Guram Palavandishvili, 14F, January 24, <https://bit.ly/30I2Fgj>

⁵⁸ „Asaval-Dasavali, May 22, 2023, №24

⁵⁹ Dito Chubinidze, journalist of Asaval-Dasavali, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 26, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3slm2nS>

⁶⁰ Ar Agarevinebt ["Won't let you make a mess of things"], May 16, <https://bit.ly/45xo42o>

⁶¹ Ar Agarevinebt ["Won't let you make a mess of things"], May 18, <https://bit.ly/3qBTBBs>

⁶² POSTV - analytics, January 24, <https://bit.ly/45fNB0o>

⁶³ Time for Truth, January 18, <https://bit.ly/44hhA6E>

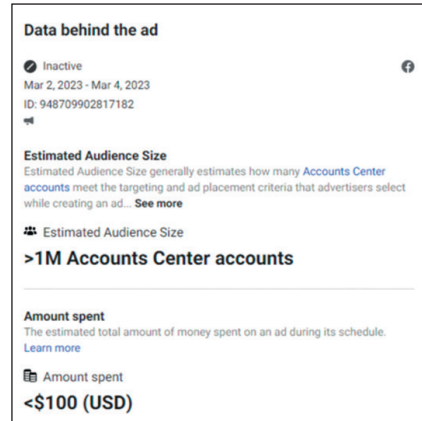
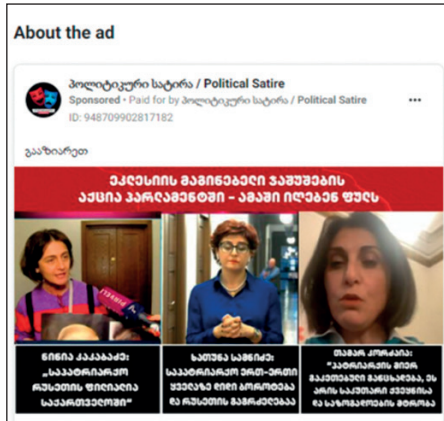
⁶⁴ Tamar Kintsurashvili, Tina Gogoladze, Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQI Mobilization in Georgia, <https://bit.ly/45uUfA9>



In response to the active stance of women politicians from the opposition in the events of March 2023, posts accusing them of anti-national actions, in particular fighting the Orthodox Church, and calling them “spies cursing the church” were actively disseminated on social media.⁶⁵ An anonymous pro-government page “Political Satire” sponsored an identical post.⁶⁶



65 Patriotic Page, March 2, <https://bit.ly/44gJnnG>
 Corridor of Shame, March 2, <https://bit.ly/44vRrS1>
 Time for Truth, March 2, <https://bit.ly/3Klwaxh>
 “People should know who funds spies curing the church,” Political Absurd, March 2, <https://bit.ly/30HWTLv>
 66 Political Satire, March 2, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3Klt8Z7>



In addition to Georgian politicians, Western politicians were also accused of acting against Georgia’s interests. Mostly, such accusations were made against the US Ambassador to Georgia, Kelly Degnan, although attacks were also frequent against MEP Viola von Cramon. Kelly Degnan was called “a village gossip,”⁶⁷ “Kelly-Asineta,”⁶⁸ “snake Degnan protecting the devil’s interests.”⁶⁹ MEP Viola von Cramon was called “2% von Cramon,”⁷⁰ “the midwife of Georgian quasi-fascists.”⁷¹ It should be noted that both posts published by pro-government anonymous pages against the US Ambassador and the MEP were sponsored. Moreover, the campaign to discredit Kelly Degnan was also sponsored by pro-government anonymous pages in the past,⁷² and the campaign against Viola von Cramon involved the dissemination of disinformation.⁷³



67 Levan Gabashvili, journalist, Georgia and World, May 2, <https://bit.ly/3YIzMVN>
68 Ibid
69 Snake Degnan, Political Absurd , April 6, <https://bit.ly/3qEEV0>
70 Political Satire, 8 September, 2022, <https://bit.ly/3E3XZfK>
71 Dito Chubinidze, journalist. Asaval-Dasavali, May 1-7.
72 Ani Kistauri, Myth detector, PRO-GOVERNMENT “FIFTH COLUMN” AND OTHERS VS KELLY DEGNAN, August 1, 2022 <https://bit.ly/3ODR1D7>
73 See gender-Based Disinformation, 2023.

2.3. CRITICISM ON THE GROUND OF STEREOTYPES

Of the statements criticizing on the ground of stereotypes, identified during the monitoring, 120 were found in traditional media and 45 in social media.

The statements criticizing on the ground of stereotypes expressed concerns about the changing roles traditionally assigned to women and men. The defense of women's rights and support for women's empowerment were perceived not as a prerequisite for achieving equality between women and men but as a deliberate policy to weaken men.

Gender stereotypes used to discredit women politicians:

- Women are hysterical, so the behavior of women politicians is unbalanced;
 - Politically active women have an unsettled private life, and they are sexually frustrated;
 - Politically and socially active women lack a “master,” there is no strong man in their families (father, brother, husband, son) who would control and direct their behavior.
- **Stereotypes about femininity and masculinity, and stereotypical definitions of female and male roles**

Statements about women's behavior and functions were made mainly by clergymen. According to Archpriest Giorgi Razmadze, a “woman must be in her place... a woman should know her place...”⁷⁴, and according to Spiridon Tskipurishvili, “motherhood, for which the God created a woman, should be the main mission of a woman.”⁷⁵

SCHEMA-IGUMEN SABA OSTAPENKO: “The Apostle Paul says that a woman should embellish herself not with braids or clothes but with humbleness, calmness, and shyness.”⁷⁶

The modern trend of women's empowerment is seen as problematic.

SHALVA KEKELIA, CLERGYMAN: “Women's nature is fragile; woman's nature is sensitive and pure. When a woman hardens and becomes like a man, there is a catastrophe that we often see on TV – a woman swearing, a woman shouting, a woman fighting, doing terrible things – all these things together are unthinkable.”⁷⁷

ZNEOBA.GE: “Today, these very values are being discredited; a socio-economic environment where women and men exchange their roles is being imposed on us, and this is undermining the foundation of traditional society.”⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, April 3, <https://bit.ly/30Z313j>

⁷⁵ Archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili, March 3, <https://bit.ly/3KMJYGR>

⁷⁶ Christ's Transfiguration Church in Vake Tbilisi, April 30, <https://bit.ly/3P3uwJ2>

⁷⁷ Christ's Transfiguration Church in Vake Tbilisi, April 30, <https://bit.ly/3P3uwJ2>

⁷⁸ ZNEOBA.GE, March 8 <https://bit.ly/30IPD23>

- Parallel to the portrayal of women’s empowerment as a threat, there are concerns expressed about the feminization and “weakening” of men.

LALI MAROSHKINA, “STRONG WOMAN, STRONG STATE”: “The number of whiny, meek men has increased.”⁷⁹

SHALVA KEKELIA, CLERGYMAN: “Men have lost their masculine qualities. Some men have become so feminized that it is impossible to guess that they are men. Women have changed so much that it is impossible to guess that they are women. It’s all mixed up.”⁸⁰

ERMILE NEMSADZE, BLOGGER: “It’s clear that we live in the era of feminists and LGBT, where there are only women and LGBT and such mentally castrated men who, covering themselves with women’s underwear at women’s feet, are deprived of any manhood ...”⁸¹

SHAMING WOMEN POLITICIANS THROUGH GENDER STEREOTYPES. Since the stereotypical description of a woman contains such qualities as calmness, shyness, and modesty, political and public activity is perceived as something inappropriate for a woman.

Often, politically active women are shamed for a lack of femininity. For example, Maia Nikoleishvili, a frequent guest of extreme right-wing, conservative media, labels⁸² female supporters of the United National Movement as “fanatics of nominally female gender,”⁸³ military expert Tristan Tsitelashvili calls female opposition MPs “creatures that cannot be called women,”⁸⁴ and Irakli Jankarashvili calls Salome Zourabichvili “quasi-female.”⁸⁵

- Attacks on women active in politics and public life are sometimes based on accusations that they have masculine qualities.

Such criticism was directed at female politicians, Helen Khoshtaria and Ani Tsitlidze. The Facebook account “Politicians starting from 1 Lari” posted a photo with the caption “Gogia’s boy,”⁸⁶ while a journalist of Asaval-Dasavali newspaper called her “Helen with balls.”⁸⁷

79 Split News, March 31, Lali Moroshkina, “Strong Woman, Strong State,” <https://bit.ly/47zDwwP>

80 Christ’s Transfiguration Church in Vake Tbilisi, April 30, April 7 <https://bit.ly/47BWt1X>

81 Ermile Nemsadze, March 12, <https://bit.ly/30FfGHd>

82 POSTV, Post Analytics, March 27, <https://bit.ly/3YJVYis>

83 Split-news, May 3, <https://bit.ly/3YJW1La>

84 Tristan Tsitelashvili, military expert, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 3, <https://bit.ly/30Kcwly>

85 Irakli Jankarashvili, Antiliberal Doctrine, March 31, <https://bit.ly/3P2CeTK>

86 Gogia’s son, Politicians from 1 Lari, <https://bit.ly/44k9qui>

87 Dito Chubinidze, journalist of Asaval-Dasavali, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 22, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4181376>

DITO CHUBINIDZE, JOURNALIST OF ASAVAL-DASAVALI: “Helen from the Droa political party, the daughter of traitor Gogia Khoshtaria, is not a woman! As it turned out, Helen Khoshtaria is actually a bulldozer or tractor!... Lyaka with balls is the nasty daughter of this villain.”⁸⁸

Split News published a message with photo manipulation, posted on the social network by Asaval-Dasavali journalist Dito Chubinidze, which reads as follows: “The UNM has furtively planted a man instead of a woman. Ana Tsitlidze is actually a man, and her name is Otar.”⁸⁹



■ Discrediting women politicians by accusing them of being hysterical and aggressive

As observed during the monitoring, women politicians are often discredited by being accused of being hysterical and unbalanced. This trend was particularly evident in the March 2023 coverage of demonstrations against the foreign agents law, in which the main targets of attacks were women opposition MPs who vehemently opposed the bill during the debates in the parliament. They were called “crazy,”⁹⁰ “unbalanced ladies from the Republican Party,”⁹¹ “shamelessly hysterical,”⁹² “absolutely hysterical,”⁹³ “the most aggressive, the most insolent,”⁹⁴ “evil spirits,”⁹⁵ “imps,”⁹⁶ “witches with tails and big teeth on broomsticks.”⁹⁷

⁸⁸ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Asaval-Dasavali, May 22 -28, 2023

⁸⁹ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Split News, March 1, <https://bit.ly/3KMXz0U>

⁹⁰ SPLIT-News, March 2, <https://bit.ly/3QKZqHi>

⁹¹ “Unbalanced lady from the Republican Party,” POSTV-Analytis, March 2, <https://bit.ly/3qIAzJB>

⁹² Asaval-Dasavali, March 20-26

⁹³ POSTV, Post-Analytics, March 27, <https://bit.ly/3YJYyis>

⁹⁴ Obiektivi, Studio N8, March 21, <https://bit.ly/45dwFrb>

⁹⁵ Obiektivi, Studio N8, March 22, <https://bit.ly/3E1bNHO>

⁹⁶ POSTV-Analytics, March 7, <https://bit.ly/47DmePg>

⁹⁷ Tamar Chiburdanidze, People’s Power, Split-news, March 5, <https://bit.ly/44e1JWC>

SOSO SHATBERASHVILI, LEFT-WING ALLIANCE: “These ladies are the most aggressive, the most insolent, swearing, spitting, and behaving inappropriately not only for women but also for men.”⁹⁸

IRMA TSKHORAGAULI, ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS: “The line between a woman and a man has been erased, and there is no longer a barrier in their relationship.”⁹⁹

SPLIT-NEWS: “Samadasvili has again freaked out ... and she fell into the traditional hysteria at the plenary session of the parliament.”¹⁰⁰

DITO CHUBINIDZE, JOURNALIST: “It’s not surprising that the lady who has just rushed out into the street seems to have some kind of psychological disorder, and it is not excluded that she is confused about something or has mixed up a cycle, epoch, or something else.”¹⁰¹

VALERI KVARATSKHELIA, GEORGIA AND WORLD: “The psychological portrait of women in Georgian politics is extremely unattractive. From Gamsakhurdia’s ‘tent women’ to Saakashvili’s ‘harem,’ these unbridled, stone-hurling women leave the Georgian people no other option but to examine the mental health of these women as well as the overall national mental health.”¹⁰²

The pro-government POSTV channel disseminated fiery speeches of female representatives of the Republican Party against the foreign agents law in the parliament with the following descriptions: “an unstable lady from the Republican Party” (Tamar Kordzaia); “another unstable lady from the Republican Party” (Khatuna Samnidze). The newspaper Asaval-Dasavali titled the material on the same speeches “A session of Georgian witches.”¹⁰³



98 Obiektivi, Studio N8, March 21, <https://bit.ly/45dwFrb>

99 Obiektivi, Studio N8, March 7, <https://bit.ly/45dunZh>

100 Split-news, March 24, <https://bit.ly/30Z3HWp>

101 Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day, May 25, <https://bit.ly/30Khcb4>

102 Georgia and World, January 23, <https://bit.ly/47Dmu0G>

103 Unbalanced lady from the Republican Party, POSTV-Analysts, March 2, <https://bit.ly/3qlAzJB>

- The stereotype that a woman who is active in politics and public life has an unsettled private life and is sexually dissatisfied is repeated over and over again.

GRISHA ONIANI, SOCIETY “STALIN:” “We see the bickering of sexually dissatisfied women and... they spend their bubbling energy on this... don’t they have men at home to calm them down or stop them, or don’t they have children to raise, or don’t they have neighbors to talk to? How can they behave like this?”¹⁰⁴

NIKOLAZ MZHAVANADZE, PRESENTER: “Freud also said that sexual dissatisfaction causes aggression, and these unbridled female UNM activists seem to be repressed in this respect as well. Therefore... should we add an article to the code that provides for sexual gratification as a way of punishing unbridled female UNM activists?... they are almost ready to undress and scream.”¹⁰⁵

BEKA VARDOSANIDZE’S BLOG: “It’s March now and... in addition to cats’ meowing in March, I hear the meowing of sexually frustrated, exquisite women in the wretched Georgian media.”¹⁰⁶

ERMILE NEMSADZE, BLOGGER: “Oh, boy.... The shortage of men has become a huge problem for the nation; the fact is that these tormented women are in bad shape – the Georgian version of Pussy Riot ... PS: Is not there anyone out there to make these women feel power?...”¹⁰⁷

- A man should control and guide the behavior of women in the family; politically and socially active women do not have a “master.”

After showing a video clip of two women demanding the Russian nationals exercising on a sports field go to Russia, Alt-Info host, Giorgi Kardava, described the behavior of these two women as disgraceful and said, “Is there a man in trousers in the families of these women after all?”¹⁰⁸ This is a stereotypical approach, according to which a man should control and direct the behavior of women in the family. The Asaval-Dasavali newspaper adhered to the same approach towards the leader of the opposition political party, Droa.

DITO CHUBINIDZE, PRESENTER OF SEZONI TV: “I wonder, where would Lyaka lie now? That disgraceful woman. Don’t you have a master? You do not have a master... and you are unbridled.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 12, <https://bit.ly/3P6mBuM>

¹⁰⁵ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 8, <https://bit.ly/3qCsXZi>

¹⁰⁶ Beka Vardosanidze’s blog, March 27, <https://bit.ly/45EC76t>

¹⁰⁷ Ermile Nemsadze, March 4, <https://bit.ly/45CH7bt>

¹⁰⁸ Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, May 22, <https://bit.ly/44iGcMD>

¹⁰⁹ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day, May 18, <https://bit.ly/3qLEzJn>

■ Attacks based on stereotypes of motherhood

During the reporting period (from January 1 to May 31, 2023), the mother of the former president Mikheil Saakashvili, Giuli Alasania, was frequently the target of sexist hate speech. In addition to ageist remarks, ridicule of her appearance, and criticism based on moral criteria, she was the addressee of insults based on gender stereotypes. Such remarks characterized Giuli Alasania as lacking the qualities of a Georgian mother and unable to perform “the only function of a woman” – to prepare food for a child. It was discussed in detail whether the food she took to the hospital was bought or prepared by herself.

Giuli Alasania’s manner of speaking about her son’s health was also criticized as inappropriate for a mother. According to POSTV presenter Guri Sultanishvili, Giuli Alasania speaks about her son’s health like a robot, and it is “dramaturgically wrong” to speak about the son “in such a tone.”¹¹⁰

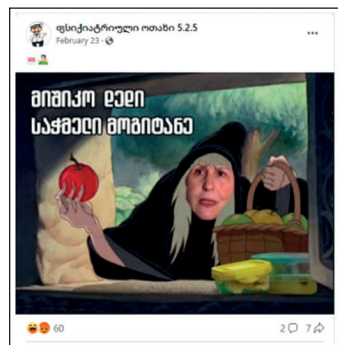
SHALVA RAMISHVILI, POSTV PRESENTER: “This woman knows nothing about family and about one of the main duties of a woman – to cook food for children; this woman knows nothing about it! ... Ms. Giuli and a traditional Georgian mother are as far from each other as I and Everest!”¹¹¹

DITO CHUBINIDZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “The woman at this age does not know how to cook food.”¹¹²

GURI SULTANISHVILI, POSTV PRESENTER: “A fox or, for example, a blackbird or, for example, a vulture, a skunk, a lemur, a snake – all of them will bring much better food to their offspring.”¹¹³

JABA KHUBUA, ASAVAL-DASAVALI JOURNALIST: “To the question: What kind of mother should no mother and especially no Georgian mother be? the answer is Giuli Alasania!”¹¹⁴

The Facebook account “Psychiatric Ward 5.2.5” posted an image with the caption, “Mishiko, darling, I brought you food,” which shows ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili’s mother in the image of an evil fairy tale character holding out a poisoned apple to her son.



¹¹⁰ Guri Sultanishvili, presenter, POSTV, The Three and Co., April 26, <https://bit.ly/3YGbeg0>

¹¹¹ POSTV, The Three and Co., February 22, <https://bit.ly/3QLw5wE>

¹¹² Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 19, <https://bit.ly/45Ti7gD>

¹¹³ POSTV, The Three and Co., February 22, <https://bit.ly/3QHCCiD>

¹¹⁴ Asaval-Dasavali, February 27 – March 5

2.4. OFFENSE ON THE GROUND OF MENTAL ABILITIES

The monitoring identified 115 comments/posts offending on the basis of mental abilities, 83 of them in traditional media and 32 in social media.

Such statements were mainly directed against female politicians (60%), as well as civic activists and journalists.

Among women politicians, the most frequent target of such messages was Georgian President Salome Zourabichvili, who was the addressee of 35 statements ridiculing her on the grounds of mental abilities.

Salome Zourabichvili was called a “stupid woman,”¹¹⁵ “simple-minded,”¹¹⁶ “empty-headed,”¹¹⁷ “imbecile,”¹¹⁸ “coquette,”¹¹⁹ “foolish woman.”¹²⁰ A frequent subject of criticism was her imperfect knowledge of the Georgian language, which was described as “Georgian blabber with Google translate.”¹²¹

GOGA KHAINDRAVA, FILM DIRECTOR: “All the other ignorance comes from the fact that you, Madam Salome, do not know your native language.”¹²²

NIKOLoz MZHAVANADZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “It is the biggest shame that this woman, who cannot be trusted with two geese, is the president.”¹²³

DITO CHUBINIDZE, ASAVAL-DASAVALI JOURNALIST: “When I saw Madam Salome on the rostrum, I had a bad feeling and thought that she would definitely say some nonsense!”¹²⁴

GULBAAT RTSKHILADZE, EURASIAN INSTITUTE: “This is an idea that came into the empty head of Salome Zourabichvili; this idea was put into her head, and she repeats it like a parrot.”¹²⁵

NINIKO MSHVIDOBADZE, DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE GEORGIAN DREAM DEMOCRATIC GEORGIA FACTION IN THE LANCHKHUTI MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY: “Ms. Salome, Louis Eschenauer was a French winemaker. I advise you to read his famous letter to his nephew; perhaps, it will help you understand something – if anything, he was French – because you are not able and never will be able to understand Vazha-Pshavela anyway!!!”¹²⁶

¹¹⁵ Elizbar Javelidze, People’s Council, Asaval–Dasavali, March 13–19, 2023

¹¹⁶ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, host, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 8, <https://bit.ly/3sixT60>

¹¹⁷ Gulbaat Rtskhiladze, Eurasian Institute, May 10, <https://bit.ly/3sjV8N6>

¹¹⁸ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, April 10, <https://bit.ly/3E3CH1G>

¹¹⁹ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, host, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 21, <https://bit.ly/3sifKW1>

¹²⁰ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, host, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 3, <https://bit.ly/3R3kSI3>

¹²¹ Ermile Nemsadze, March 31, <https://bit.ly/47Ge74I>

¹²² Split-News, March 25, <https://bit.ly/3KMLJUI>

¹²³ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day, February 23, <https://bit.ly/30GD9YK>

¹²⁴ Asaval–Dasavali, May 8–14

¹²⁵ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 10, <https://bit.ly/3sjV8N6>

¹²⁶ Splitnews, May 28, <https://bit.ly/3P4c96X>

JONDI BAGHATURIA, GEORGIAN GROUP: “Along with moral problems, the President of Georgia has a serious intellectual problem!”

In addition to ridicule on the grounds of mental abilities, the president’s role as commander-in-chief was belittled and ridiculed. In response to Salome Zourabichvili’s criticism of other branches of the Georgian government in her speech at the European Parliament, anonymous Facebook pages coordinated the distribution of posts, some of which showed her with sausages on her shoulders instead of epaulets, with the caption “sausage-in-chief” and the comment “the shame of Georgia;” other identical posts were distributed with only the comment (“shame of our country, this woman shall not be called the commander-in-chief”).¹²⁷



Insults on the grounds of mental abilities were directed against female opposition MPs. Tako Charkviani was called “stupid woman,” “imbecile;” Ana Natsvlishvili was called “bookless,”¹²⁸ “Duck Taisko,”¹²⁹ while Ani Tsitlidze was called “wunderkind in quotation marks.”¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Mariam Kavtaradze, Myth Detector, DISCREDITATION CAMPAIGN AGAINST SALOME ZOURABICHVILI <https://bit.ly/3YEJM2n>
¹²⁸ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, host, Sezoni TV, Asaval-Dasavali, May 15–21, 2023
¹²⁹ Vakhtang Talakhadze, National-Democratic Party, Split-News, March 16, <https://bit.ly/3YJBvu7>
¹³⁰ Gia Abakhidze, analyst, POSTV, Post-analytics, April 25 <https://bit.ly/3qtwg56>

SHALVA RAMISHVILI, POSTV PRESENTER (about MP Tako Charkviani): “A person who is imbecile and inactive is good; nobody bothers her, but imagine when a person is an active imbecile.”¹³¹

ZURAB MAKHARADZE, ALT-INFO PRESENTER: “Do you know why that stupid woman [Tako Charkviani] is there? What they discuss among themselves, this woman is talking about it publicly. She is useful; more such Takos for the United National Movement.”¹³²

SHALVA RAMISHVILI, POSTV PRESENTER: “Tako [Charkviani] must know, although it’s probably very difficult to understand her thoughts, that she will not get into the next parliament.”¹³³

GURI SULTANISHVILI, POSTV PRESENTER: “I am sure that this girl [Ana Natsvlshvili] uses non-academic terms; she does not know either the academic meaning of imperialism or the poetic meaning of courage; she does not know anything at all except democracy learned at trainings.”¹³⁴

European female politicians were also offended and ridiculed on the ground of mental abilities; in particular, President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen was labeled a “silly woman,”¹³⁵ and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany Annalena Baerbock was described as “uneducated” and “brainless.”¹³⁶

GULBAAT RTSKILADZE, EURASIAN INSTITUTE: “Baerbock ... is a very uneducated person... Compared to Salome Zourabichvili, who is criticized for her poor Georgian, Baerbock has a worse command of German. She speaks it but makes a lot of mistakes, not only grammatical, but also semantic. She often formulates her opinions wrongly.”¹³⁷

LEVAN CHOTORLISHVILI, PHYSICISTS: “A few remarks about the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany: ... apart from being uneducated, she is also brainless and resembles Khabeishvili in character. It was for these traits that she was chosen on the other side of the ocean, and they make her work to the detriment of Germany’s interests.”¹³⁸

Offence/ridicule on the basis of mental abilities was also used against representatives of civil society and journalists. Journalist Nene Dalakishvili was called a “single-celled amoeba,”¹³⁹ the former

¹³¹ POSTV, The Three and Co., January 30, <https://bit.ly/45EGK0p>

¹³² Alt-Info, Realpolitics with Zurab Makharadze, May 30, <https://bit.ly/44fRwZU>

¹³³ POSTV, The Three and Co., March 16, <https://bit.ly/3sIDDMn>

¹³⁴ POSTV, The Three and Co., March 27, <https://bit.ly/3YISX1v>

¹³⁵ Demur Giorkhelidze, analyst, Obiektivi, Studio 8, February 10, <https://bit.ly/3KP0syq>

¹³⁶ Levan Chotorlishvili, physicists, Asaval-Dasavali, March 27, 2023

¹³⁷ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 3, <https://bit.ly/3KJm7bh>

¹³⁸ Asaval-Dasavali, March 27, 2023

¹³⁹ Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, host, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 29, <https://bit.ly/3QRglmt>

Public Defender, Nino Lomjaria, a “popular moron,”¹⁴⁰ and civic activist Tea Tutberidze was called “dim and looney from birth.”¹⁴¹

SHALVA RAMISHVILI, POSTV PRESENTER: “Unless you tell something directly to Inga Grigolia, she will not be able to understand, for example, a comparison, a figurative comparison, an allusion, or something like that. It is impossible for her to understand because she is very fond of the truth. Her cognitive apparatus – she does not know what a cognitive apparatus is and thinks it is pejorative, although it is not pejorative – works on direct expressions... Metaphor is foreign to her; yes... she has a non-metaphorical mindset.”¹⁴²

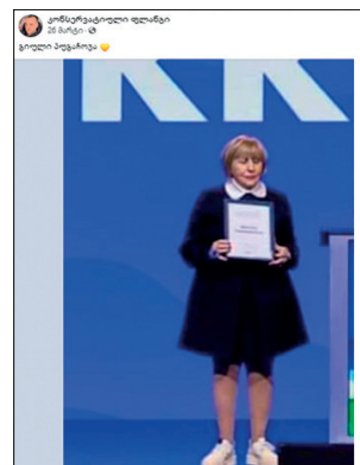
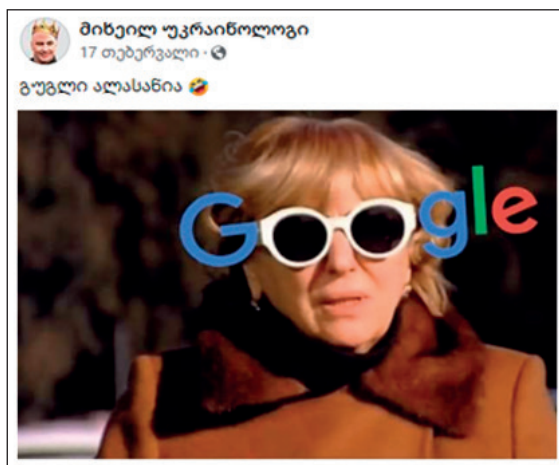
2.5. OFFENSE / RIDICULE ON THE GROUND OF APPEARANCE

A total of 148 messages offending and ridiculing on the basis of appearance were identified during the monitoring period, of which 102 were found in traditional media and 46 in social media.

Such messages contained ridicule about appearance, style of dress, tone of voice, weight, lack of feminine features in women, and “excessively feminine” features in men.

One of the main targets of offense/ridicule on the basis of appearance was ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili’s mother, Giuli Alasania. She was called “Giuli Pugachova,”¹⁴³ “wearing a pink hat with pom pom,”¹⁴⁴ “looking like a clown.”¹⁴⁵ It was noted that Giuli Alasania’s appearance did not correspond to the image of a mother, especially the mother of a prisoner with health problems.

CONSERVATIVE FLANK: “Tell this woman that in her red jacket, leather trousers, glittery sunglasses, and transparent boots, she does not create an impression of a grieving mother of the dying son.”¹⁴⁶



140 Bacho Odisharia, host, POSTV, The Three and Co., February 28, <https://bit.ly/44bhcGU>

141 Reality, February 18, <https://bit.ly/3E2Ptxr>

142 POSTV, The Three and Co., April 27 აპრილი, <https://bit.ly/3qCrRnc>

143 Conservative Flank, March 26, <https://bit.ly/30GcdZ2>

144 Dodo Khurtsilava, art critic: Asaval-Dasavali, 6-12.02.2023

145 Ketevan Khamitsashvili, journalist, Asaval-Dasavali, 6-12.02.2023

146 Conservative Flank, January 15, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3sglWwk>

President Salome Zourabichvili was ridiculed for her outfit at a meeting with the Pope. A photo from the meeting was posted on the Facebook page “Conservative Flank,” with the comment, “Compared to her, the Pope looks like an angel.”¹⁴⁷ After the President’s speech in the European Parliament, criticizing the Georgian government, a photo manipulation combining the appearance of Salome Zourabichvili and the UNM chairperson was also circulated with the comment, “How much Madam Salome has become like Khabe.”¹⁴⁸



The Facebook page “Political Vector,” affiliated with the opposition United National Movement party, posted a photo manipulation of Culture Minister Thea Tsulukiani with the comment, “Shah Abbas is back,” depicting her as the ruthless historical figure Abbas the Great. On the one hand, this post can be seen as a visual manipulation mocking her appearance and, on the other hand, as a hint at her authoritative management style.¹⁴⁹



147 Conservative Flank, March 30, <https://bit.ly/3YJYoxy>

148 Ar Agarevinebt [“Won’t let you make a mess of things”], May 30, <https://bit.ly/47CCekI>

149 “Shah Abbas is back,” Political Vector, February 2, <https://bit.ly/30zPUEc>

Comments containing ridicule about appearance were also directed against foreign diplomats and female politicians. US Ambassador to Georgia Kelly Degnan was labeled in the anti-Western, extreme right-wing media as a “devil painted on a rock,”¹⁵⁰ “ugly woman,”¹⁵¹ “playful Kelly,”¹⁵² “a cat dipped in water.”¹⁵³

Speaking about MEP Viola von Cramon, the host of Eri Media TV, Soso Manjavidze, said, “This woman has no gender and looks like a character in a horror film.”¹⁵⁴

Journalist Dito Chubinidze accused Viola von Cramon of being a descendant of one of the leaders of Nazi Germany, Hermann Göring, and after Myth Detector debunked this disinformation,¹⁵⁵ it was replaced with ridicule of her appearance: “she cannot be a descendant of Hermann Göring because Göring was a handsome man.”¹⁵⁶

The women who accused POSTV director Shalva Ramishvili of sexual harassment also became the object of ridicule on the basis of their appearance.

LALI MOROSHKINA: “I was really much prettier than those who have accused you; we grew old together, and how come you never made advances to me but made them to those women who one cannot understand whether they have a leg or a neck, those shapeless women with cellulite.”¹⁵⁷

BEKA VARDOSANIDZE, BLOGGER: “Bring back Dorokashvili, please; instead of this Kekela and Durika duo, I prefer to see posts in Georgian lousy media, because unlike these feminists, she is at least a pretty woman.”¹⁵⁸

In addition to demeaning the addressees on the basis of their appearance, this post reproduces a widespread sexist view that feminists are ugly.

Female members of parliament were also ridiculed on the basis of appearance. They were labelled “frightful-looking,”¹⁵⁹ “unsightly,”¹⁶⁰ and “smelly.”¹⁶¹ After the fierce speeches of female MPs against the foreign agents bill, medical expert Maia Nikoleishvili criticized their tone: “Even the tone of voice of these UNM women is provincial, not to mention the culture and content!”¹⁶²

¹⁵⁰ Jambul Gamtsemidze, citizen, Asaval-Dasavali, March 20–26, 2023

¹⁵¹ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day, May 18, <https://bit.ly/3qLEzJn>

¹⁵² Shota Glurjidze, set decorator, Eri Media, April 24, <https://bit.ly/3siq5Bd>

¹⁵³ Tristan Tsitelashvili, military expert, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, April 5, <https://bit.ly/3qCuSgs>

¹⁵⁴ Soso Manjavidze, Asaval-Dasavali, April 10–16

¹⁵⁵ DISINFORMATION, AS IF VIOLA VON CRAMON IS THE DESCENDANT OF HERMANN GÖRING, Myth Detector, April 13, 2023, <https://bit.ly/44gocCf>

¹⁵⁶ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Asaval-Dasavali, 1–7.05.2023

¹⁵⁷ POSTV-analytics, March 24, <https://bit.ly/3YJDDBK>

¹⁵⁸ Beka Vardosanidze’s blog, March 27, <https://bit.ly/45EC76t>

¹⁵⁹ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Asaval-Dasavali, April 3–9

¹⁶⁰ Dito Chubinidze, journalist, Asaval-Dasavali, April 3–9

¹⁶¹ Malkhaz Dzidziguri, publicist, Split-News, May 23 დობო, <https://bit.ly/44mJePD>

¹⁶² Maia Nikoleishvili, forensic medical expert, Split-News, March 2, <https://bit.ly/3QKZqHi>

Some statements ridiculing women’s appearance criticized them for their “less feminine” looks. Such statements were made about Helen Khoshtaria, Ani Tsitlidze,¹⁶³ and Eliso Kiladze.¹⁶⁴

DITO CHUBINIDZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “Because of her, I started to despise the notion of a woman. Who is she, after all? Her name was Otar... She is a woman turned into a man, or a man turned into a woman; her name is Otar. We, Georgians, are beautiful people, but who is she? I have not seen anything like that.”¹⁶⁵

DITO CHUBINIDZE, ASAVAL-DASAVALI JOURNALIST: “When she puts on a jacket... I cannot perceive her as a woman.... She looks like Alexander Kosygin.”¹⁶⁶

Politician Ani Tsitlidze was readily criticized by male journalists for her “insufficiently feminine” look, while changes in her hairstyle and image were also readily met with compliments, which indicates that the professional skills and achievements of female politicians are being overshadowed by excessive attention to their appearance.

DITO CHUBINIDZE, ASAVAL-DASAVALI JOURNALIST: “Ms. Ani Tsitlidze... after my remarks, began to look like a woman, and if before I was sort of afraid to look at her ... now she really looks like Ani and is further improving. I am sure if she continues to work in this direction, she will become more and more beautiful.”¹⁶⁷

SHALVA RAMISHVILI, POSTV PRESENTER: “...She has become more attractive, I do not mean in a negative sense. Ms. Ana has become prettier; look, people! She has become much more beautiful, especially now. Look at her from this angle; I know inertia is strong and you cannot look at her from this angle, but look at her... What a hairstyle, what a make-up... Hair neat, lipstick in moderation...”¹⁶⁸

The Facebook account, “Mikheil Ukrainologi,” posted a photo of opposition MP Ani Tsitlidze with a changed image and wrote a comment, “Artura changed her hairstyle.”¹⁶⁹ The Facebook account “Corridor of Shame” also reacted to the image change by posting photo manipulations.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ Terenti Gldaneli, March 10, <https://bit.ly/3KN0TZW>

¹⁶⁴ Terenti Gldaneli, March 20, <https://bit.ly/3YJYwx2>

¹⁶⁵ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, April 4, <https://bit.ly/3E5amly>

¹⁶⁶ Asaval-Dasavali journalist, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 24, <https://bit.ly/3YX6aUV>

¹⁶⁷ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 24, <https://bit.ly/3KPhEDP>

¹⁶⁸ POSTV, The three and Co., April 27, <https://bit.ly/3P2MsU1>

¹⁶⁹ “Artura got her hari done,” Mikheil Ukrainologi, March 17, <https://bit.ly/45xtvhV>

¹⁷⁰ Corridor of Shame, March 10, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3QMwj6C>



Offense/ridicule on the grounds of appearance was also used against men. The most frequent target in this regard during the monitoring period was Lazare Grigoriadisi, a young man arrested for participation in the March protests on charges of using a Molotov cocktail. The monitored media described him as “someone with pro-pederast visual features,”¹⁷¹ “an individual with manicured, painted nails, and pierced ears and everything pierced.”¹⁷²

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “No one knows which is a greater crime: a Molotov cocktail or the appearance of Lazare ... It is better for a person to be in jail than to decide for unknown reasons to have such an appearance...”¹⁷³

In general, after the March civic protests, in which the youth played a major role, the media increasingly discredited young people as a social group, including offending and ridiculing them on the basis of their appearance. Participants in the March rallies were called “feminine, weak young men and girls with not very good looks.”¹⁷⁴

NIKOLOZ MZHAVANADZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “They are pierced from the inside, physically too; they do not have a single organ that has not been pierced. Look, how they look, these wretched ones.”¹⁷⁵

2.6. AGEISM

During the media monitoring (1.01-31.01.2023), 33 age-discriminatory comments/posts were identified, of which 27 were found in traditional media and six in social media.

¹⁷¹ Shota Martinenko, Conservative Movement, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 31, <https://bit.ly/3E5ayaK>

¹⁷² Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, host, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day, March 30, <https://bit.ly/45uXveR>

¹⁷³ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, April 3, <https://bit.ly/45fQPRy>

¹⁷⁴ Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 13, <https://bit.ly/47C4W5b>

¹⁷⁵ Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day, March 16, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4168755>

President of Georgia **Salome Zurbichvili** was the addressee of six ageist comments, in which she was called an “aged lady,”¹⁷⁶ “Granny Salome,” “harmful French pensioner,” “old Parisian turkey,”¹⁷⁷ “political crow.”¹⁷⁸

TB24 PUBLICATION, SPLIT-NEWS: “A harmful French pensioner who God knows what will do and when, and what damage she will do to the country.”¹⁷⁹

IRMA TSKHORAGAULI, ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS: “She is a lady of retirement age already; if not Georgia, who else would remember her as a politicians?”¹⁸⁰

Former President **Mikheil Saakashvili’s** mother, **Giuli Alasania**, was often the object of ageist remarks, calling her an “old woman.”¹⁸¹

NIKOLAZ MZHAVANADZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “Ms. Giuli aspires to return to childhood and wants to be a child... and with the famous hit “Eighths Grade Pupil,” I want to bring Ms. Giuli back to the childhood, which she longs for.”¹⁸²

In an address on the occasion of **Bidzina Ivanishvili’s** birthday, **Lali Moroshkina** called political opponents “old bitches with a failed past” and “horrible women, victims of the age crisis.”¹⁸³

The Facebook page “Blue Donkey,” affiliated with the UNM, shared an ageist post about a “fascist Georgian Dream supporter,” in which the former MP and supporter of the government **Khatuna Khoperia** is called an “old whore.”¹⁸⁴



176 Valeri Kvaratskhelia, Georgia and World, April 3, <https://bit.ly/3E4amZi>

177 Baia Amashukeli, historian, Splitnews, May 28, <https://bit.ly/3P4edfd>

178 Maia Nikoleishvili, Alia, May 29 – June 11

179 Split-news, February 17, <https://bit.ly/3qEHtjc>

180 Obiektivi, Studio N8, April 4, <https://bit.ly/3QThyPg>

181 Malkhaz Topuria, Alliance of Patriots, Obiektivi, Studio N8, January 27, <https://bit.ly/3saSgC0>

182 Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, host, Sezoni TV, Sum-up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 27, <https://bit.ly/44gm2CI>

183 Lali Moroshkina, “Strong Woman, Strong State”, Split-news, February 20, <https://bit.ly/47BKfGy>

184 “Blue Donkey,” February 21, <https://bit.ly/3YKbQKL>

A number of ageist statements were made against foreign women politicians. Alt-Info host Giorgi Kardava, called **Senator Jeanne Shaheen**, who criticized the developments in Georgia, a representative of the “aged American globalist establishment,” who “is a rather elderly senator” and “is almost 80 years old.”¹⁸⁵

GIORGI KARDAVA, CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “The United States leadership is one of the most aged in the world. To name a few, Joe Biden is 80 years old, Nancy Pelosi, I think, is even older, and the senators too.... 80 years old already calls into question a person’s ability to function.”¹⁸⁶

One of the ageist statements concerned the wife of the President of France, Brigitte Macron. In one of TV programs, Alt-Info host Shota Martinenko called Emmanuel Macron a sick person because “he has some 90-year-old woman as his wife.”¹⁸⁷

It is a fairly common trend to refer to young female politicians and civic activists as girls. To belittle their importance, influence, and competences, politically and socially active women are called “some girls,” “this girl,” “infantile girls.”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, February 20, <https://bit.ly/47DMPvG>

¹⁸⁶ Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, February 20, <https://bit.ly/3siPFGm>

¹⁸⁷ Shota Martinenko, Conservative Movement, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, April 10, <https://bit.ly/3smWS8s>

¹⁸⁸ Beso Barbakadze, journalist, Georgia and World, April 25, <https://bit.ly/3sir1Wf>

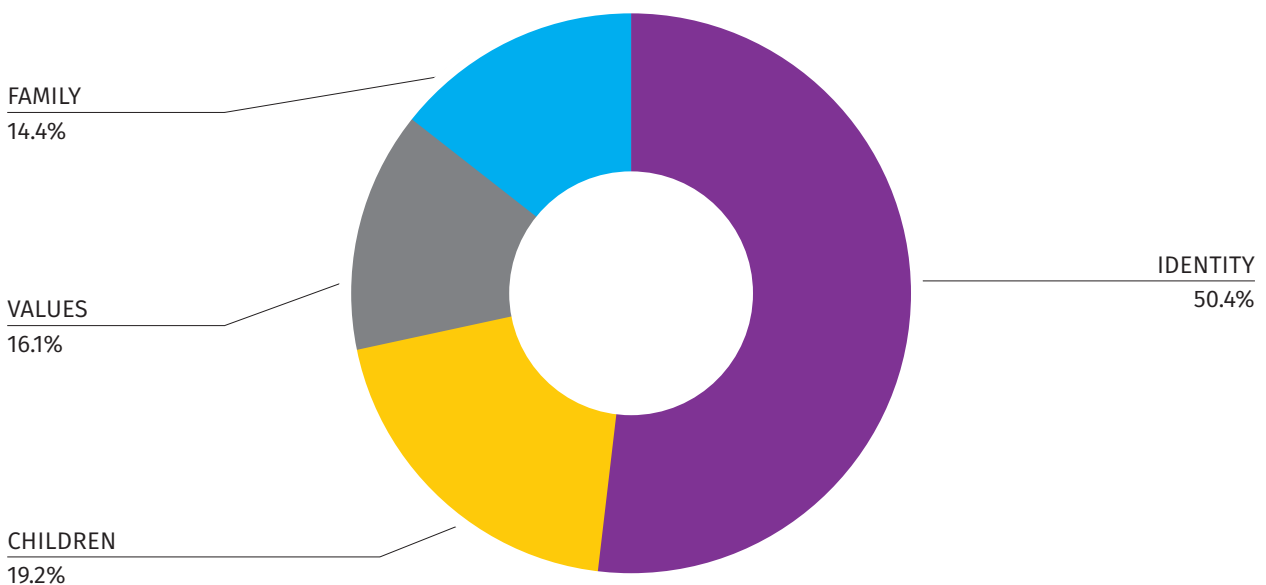
III. MOBILIZATION TO PROTECT IDENTITY, VALUES, THE INSTITUTION OF FAMILY, AND CHILDREN

Similar to the previous study, this report analyzes four specific topics whose defense has been used by antiliberal groups for years as a pretext for mobilization. They are:

1. Identity,
2. Values,
3. Institution of family,
4. Children.

Slightly more than half of the 850 comments analyzed during the monitoring period (from 1 January to 31 May 2023) were messages related to the protection of identity (50.4%), another half related to the protection of the other three topics and were distributed among them in almost equal proportions, in particular: children (19.2%), values (16.1%), and family (14.4%).

FIGURE 15. SHARES OF FOUR SPECIFIC TOPICS RELATED TO GENDER



3.1. PROTECTION OF IDENTITY

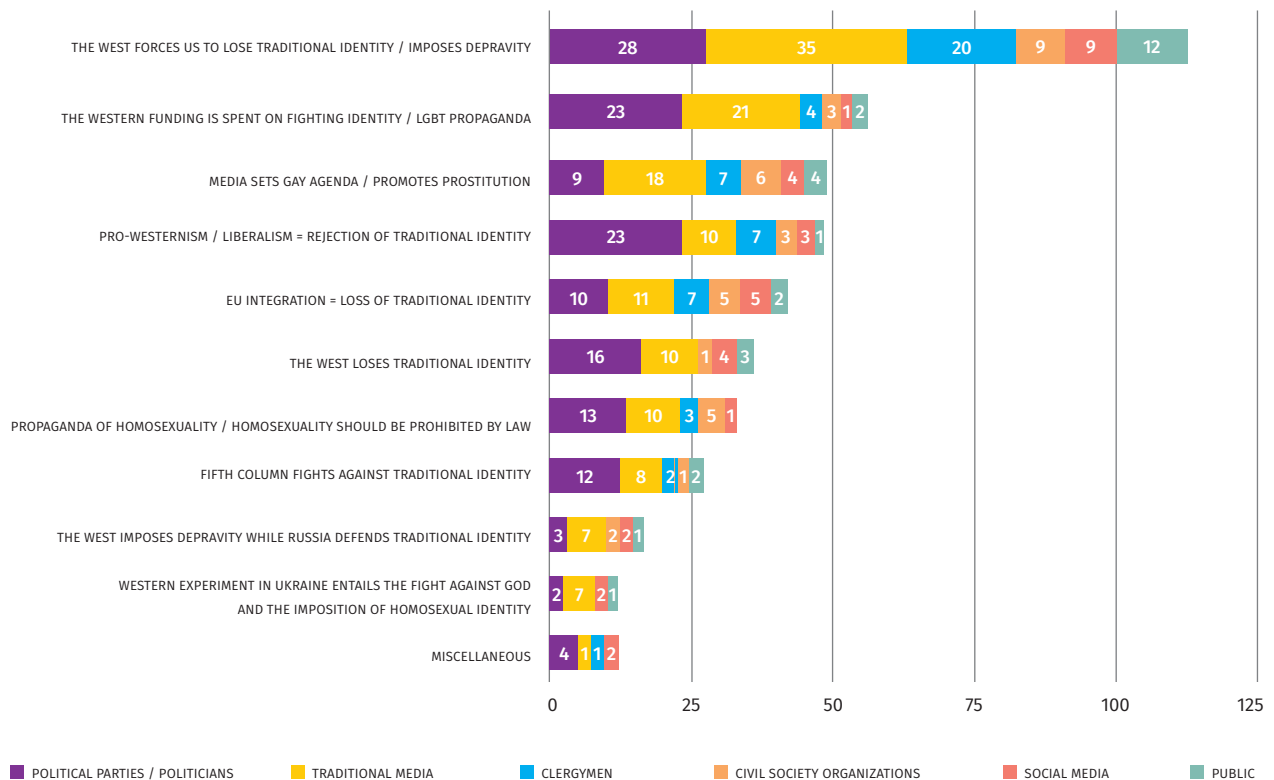
The largest share of the 428 identity-related comments was directed against the West, including in the context of the Law on Transparency of Foreign Influence, a Russian-style law passed in its first reading that the authorities were forced to withdraw following protest.

The dominant message claimed that the West, by imposing homosexuality and perversion, was forcing Georgia to lose its traditional identity (113). Allegations that Western funding was being used to fight against identity and to promote LGBTQI propaganda (54) were related to the March protests against the Foreign Agents law. Against this backdrop, attempts to present people with pro-Western and liberal views as identity fighters on the one hand (47) and, on the other hand, to label “identity fighters” as “fifth columnists” and agents of the West (25) became more frequent.

Related to political processes was the allegation that European integration would lead Georgia to lose its traditional identity (40). The view was spread that while the West itself was losing its identity (34) and imposing debauchery on us, Russia was trying to defend its identity by restricting homosexuality and protecting traditions (15). The ongoing war in Ukraine was presented as an “experiment of the West,” which was described as a struggle with God and the imposition of homosexual identity (12).

The media were also targeted, accused of promoting homosexuality and popularizing obscenity (48); there were continued calls to ban homosexual propaganda and, in some cases, to legislate against it (32).

FIGURE 16. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF IDENTITY

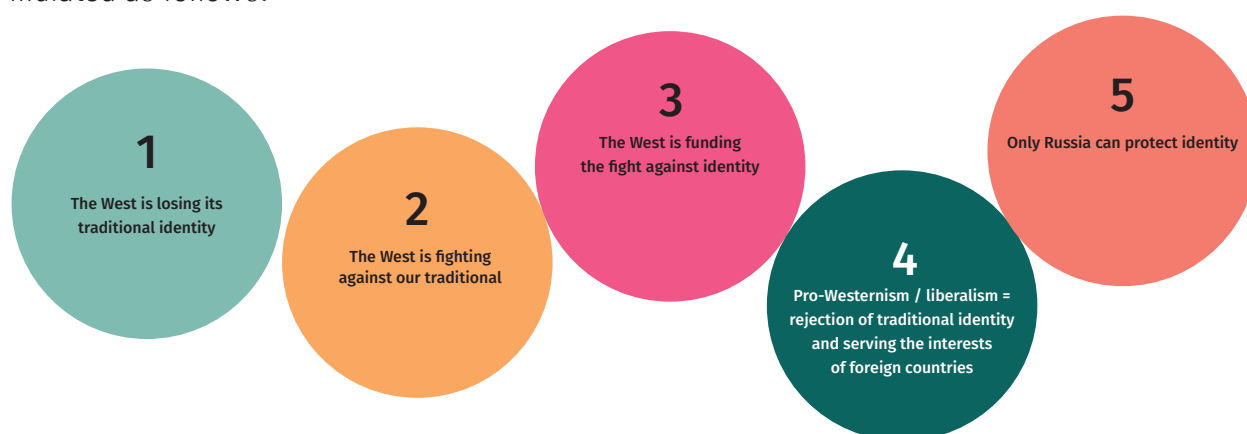


As can be seen from the figure above, identity-related comments were most frequently made by politicians (143), traditional media (138), and clergy (51). Among political parties, the most active in this regard was the pro-Kremlin Alt-Info/Conservative Movement (127), and among media, the media outlets with pro-Kremlin editorial policy: Sezoni TV (70) and Georgia and World (Geworld.ge, 47). Among clergymen, identity-related comments were made by Spiridon Tskipurishvili (25), who is a supporter of the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement and often appears on their TV channel.

The loss of traditional identity implied the loss of national, cultural, and religious identities, as well as sexual identity, which the Russian President Vladimir Putin linked to the policy pursued in Euro-Atlantic countries, which, according to him, equates multi-child families with same-sex partnerships, i.e., faith in God with faith in Satan:¹⁸⁹

VLADIMIR PUTIN, PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA: “We see many of the Euro-Atlantic countries are actually rejecting their roots, including the Christian values that constitute the basis of Western civilization. They are denying moral principles and all traditional identities: national, cultural, religious and even legal [MDF: sexual, in the original version]. They are implementing policies that equate large families with same-sex partnerships, belief in God with belief in Satan.”

The structure of messages relating to the protection of identity was five-level and was formulated as follows:



1. THE WEST IS LOSING ITS TRADITIONAL IDENTITY:

NATIONAL TELEVISION DIDGORI TV: “The Pope has already publicly endorsed **gayism, lesbianism, transsexualism, bisexuality, and all up to 40 gender-based depravities.**”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Georgia and World, January 30, “Fear me, I am Satan!” <https://bit.ly/3PfNriC>

¹⁹⁰ <https://bit.ly/3LjHL63>

2. THE WEST IS FIGHTING AGAINST OUR IDENTITY:

NIKOLoz MZHAVANADZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “Today, the West has turned [a Georgian man] into a pederast, a gay man, and a Georgian woman into a whore.”¹⁹¹

SPIRIDON TSKIPURISHVILI, CLERGYMAN: “The main goal of the West is to pervert and corrupt the occupied countries so that as many young people as possible grow up LGBT tolerant...”¹⁹²

3. THE WEST IS FUNDING THE FIGHT AGAINST IDENTITY

Messages concerning Western funding became particularly prevalent during the protests against the Law on Transparency of Foreign Influence. Like the pro-Kremlin opposition and media, as well as the clergy, the authorities insisted on the need to adopt the law, equally pointing to threats of revolutionary scenarios and the fight against identity.

IRAKLI KOBAKHIDZE, GEORGIAN DREAM: “...Firstly, everyone recognized that it is shameful to be an agent, regardless of whether it is an agent of the North, West, South, or East; now society can better distinguish between agents of foreign influence and agents of influence of people. It has become obvious to everyone that those organizations that tried to implement Bakuriani’s plan,¹⁹³ demanded the resignation of the government from the stage, tried to undermine the reputation of the Church, conducted LGBT propaganda... – are in fact not Georgian people but agents of foreign influence.”¹⁹⁴

OTAR CHITANAVA, ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS: “Most of such funding comes from the West; it comes directly from there with directives to promote LGBT activists and this perverted way of life in Georgia. Money is spent to attack the Patriarchate, to paint the Patriarchate building with colored paints, and by the way, many other government buildings too.”¹⁹⁵

LEVAN GABASHVILI, JOURNALIST OF GEORGIA AND WORLD: “For how much do young girls run with posters saying ‘my cunt is mine,’ and for how much do boys put on dresses and try to march on Rustaveli Avenue on 17 May?”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 15, <https://bit.ly/3ZeTWXR>

¹⁹² Analytics, February 8, <https://bit.ly/4631ejs>

¹⁹³ Lela Kunchulia, Radio Liberty, June 18, 2022. “Famous meeting in Bakuriani” – planning a coup or basics of democracy?” <https://bit.ly/3ZeTZD1>

¹⁹⁴ Obiektivi, Studio N8, March 14, <https://bit.ly/3LgChZX>

¹⁹⁵ Obiektivi, Studio N8, February 28, <https://bit.ly/3ZbeEaS>

¹⁹⁶ Georgia and World, February 28, <https://bit.ly/3LkhQeK>

GIORGI RAZMADZE, CLERGYMAN: “Those sums that our allies often remind us were given to us... are spent on these imps, who run around and teach pedophilia, gayism, lesbianism, perverted life, and fight against Georgian spirituality.”¹⁹⁷

4. PRO-WESTERNISM / LIBERALISM = REJECTION OF TRADITIONAL IDENTITY AND SERVING THE INTERESTS OF FOREIGN STATES.

If in previous studies the main object of antiliberal discourse was the West, the analysis of new data showed that, against the background of protests against the law on foreign agents, the stigmatization of people who support a pro-Western course and adhere to liberal ideology as the fifth column and agents has intensified.

PRO-WESTERNISM/LIBERALISM = REJECTION OF IDENTITY	FIFTH COLUMN FIGHTS AGAINST IDENTITY
<p>GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “What does pro-Westernism mean? I know, it means rejection of one’s own identity and normalization of LGBT issues...”¹⁹⁸</p>	<p>DITO CHUBINIDZE, JOURNALIST OF ASAVAL-DASAVALI: “They, those perverts and traitors, these fifth columns, are gnawing away at Georgian culture, at our identity, and at Orthodox Christianity...”¹⁹⁹</p> <p>NATIONAL TELEVISION DIDGORI TV: “By accepting the politics of the Satanist government of Biden-Obama-Clintons, you are serving the spread of gay propaganda and homosexuality in Georgia by supporting the US and Europe; you are Americanist-Europeanists, therefore you are Soro-sist-Girchists; you are anti-Christ; think about that.”²⁰⁰</p>
<p>IRAKLI MARTINENKO, CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “The pro-Western course is blatantly anti-Christian... Liberalism is an ideology devoid of Christian values!”²⁰¹</p>	<p>SHOTA MARTINENKO, CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “Our society is divided into two parts, including the hostile part; in this hostile part there is a segment of traitors, who are the army of enemies, are agents of enemies, are pro-Westerners... how can they talk about dignity when they seek to join the union of pederasty?...”²⁰²</p>
<p>ARCHPRIEST SPIRIDON TSKIPURISHVILI: “The liberal West, citing human rights, demands legalization of sodomy in Georgia. This is spiritual suicide from a religious and moral point of view... The West is not going to admit us into any union; they need us for one purpose: for war with Russia. But this means that pro-Westernism is also physical suicide.”²⁰³</p>	<p>SPIRIDON TSKIPURISHVILI, ARCHPRIEST: “When a big country finances a small nation with the aim of expanding into it and taking it over, renegade traitors in that country are bound to be tempted, such as, for example, renegade NGO representatives, and then the country is ruled by such people... Who then... These are those NGOs, those political parties that have sold out to the liberal West, the 15 gay political parties, the NGOs that are directly funded from abroad.”²⁰⁴</p>

197 Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, March 10, <https://bit.ly/3Z95LyJ>

198 Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, May 15, <https://bit.ly/3LicznK>

199 Asaval-Dasavali, January 23-29

200 <https://bit.ly/3PyKlrq>

201 Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, April 3, <https://bit.ly/3sPPJOd>

202 Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, May 26, <https://bit.ly/3PxVpoL>

203 <https://bit.ly/3qYHa32>

204 Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, January 26, <https://bit.ly/3PxzmhR>

5. ONLY RUSSIA CAN PROTECT IDENTITY

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “He [Putin] criticized Western liberal values, including LGBT propaganda, gender theories, unprecedented attempts to decriminalize pedophilia, etc., in the West where there is a huge negative attitude and skepticism towards liberal values... They will see Putin as the only white European leader, who is not afraid of this globalist, liberal machine and openly confronts it.”²⁰⁵

GURAM PALAVANDISHVILI, SOCIETY FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS: “They see Russia as a thorn in their side because it is a huge territory... They want to destroy it as an Orthodox country also because it does not fit into that European antichrist model, and also during the war it directly banned the right to LGBT propaganda, whereas in Ukraine, on the contrary, it has been legalized and they hold gay pride marches; it is a fight of good against evil.”²⁰⁶

DAVIT MKHEIDZE, GEORGIAN AND WORLD AUTHOR: “Russia will not, at least, demand that we marry our cousin, much less a man!”²⁰⁷

GEORGIA'S EU INTEGRATION = LOSS OF TRADITIONAL IDENTITY. In addition to the collective West, the threat of loss of identity was emphasized in the context of European integration. The pro-Kremlin party Alt-Info/Conservative Movement, the Orthodox Parents' Union, and other anti-liberal groups were particularly active in this regard:

GURAM PALAVANDISHVILI, SOCIETY FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS: “The European Union is imposing sodomy on our society; therefore, we have no other option but to resolutely confront this occupier.”²⁰⁸

SHOTA MARTINENKO, ALT-INFO/CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “You choose Europe and, at the same time, you want to be brave, be patriotic, you want nationality, want traditions, a decent way of life, want to be Georgian and Christian, and, at the same time, you are defending Europe; how is this possible?”²⁰⁹

GIORGI RAZMADZE, ARCHPRIEST: “As if this country has no other problems besides faggots and we are heading to the EU... is democracy measured by human buttocks?!”²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, February 21, <https://bit.ly/3sVctvV>

²⁰⁶ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day, February 9, <https://bit.ly/489V5nh>

²⁰⁷ Georgia and World, May 29, “Threat which after thwarted gay pride is suspended like a sword of Damocles over God-blessed Georgia” <https://bit.ly/465IFMQ>

²⁰⁸ Guram Palavandishvili, March 14, <https://bit.ly/3sPYNm3>

²⁰⁹ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 9, <https://bit.ly/45JasS5>

²¹⁰ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, February 13, <https://bit.ly/48doJln>

NIKOLOZ MZHAVANADZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “In fact, today, there is no talk about any European ideals but a fight for legalization of prostitution.”²¹¹

ZNEOBA.GE: “European integration is a way to sodomize Georgia.”²¹²



A representative of the extremist organization Union of Orthodox Parents²¹³ blamed the Association Agreement signed with the EU and the antidiscrimination law adopted on its basis for the problems:

AVTANDIL UNGIADZE, UNION OF ORTHODOX PARENTS: “This [Association Agreement, antidiscrimination law] is the root of the misfortune that has come upon us – the propaganda of homosexuality, the introduction of gender issues in schools, Pride marches, everything is related to this; the juvenile law, which is aimed at destroying the family; the legalization of same-sex marriage.”²¹⁴

WESTERN EXPERIMENT IN UKRAINE = FIGHTING GOD AND IMPOSING HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY

GIORGI GAKHOKIDZE: “The fascist-Trotskyist authorities of Ukraine launched an attack on Orthodoxy in conditions of war.... The Ukrainian people failed to foresee the threat and staged

²¹¹ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 15, <https://bit.ly/3Pa91Fn>

²¹² Zneoba.ge, May 26, <https://bit.ly/3Ez2r6i>

²¹³ Profile of the Union of Orthodox Parents. Myth Detector <https://bit.ly/3QJlpgU>

²¹⁴ qadageba.ge, February 7, <https://bit.ly/3ZsoLbH>

Maidan, which gave free rein to NGOs fighting Orthodoxy... keep in mind that God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and it does not matter whether it happens as a result of natural disasters or war.”²¹⁵

DEMUR GIORKHELIDZE, ANALYST: “There is such a clash of global interests going on that all means will be used for ends... LGBTs, etc., that was testing ... They wanted to get the same result of the experiment that they got in Ukraine when, in 2019, there was a huge LGBT demonstration on Khreshchatyk with military personnel participating in it.”²¹⁶

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “Ukrainian slogans have become pederastic – ‘Glory to Gays’.”²¹⁷

GEORGIA AND WORLD: “Through Ukraine, the US Democratic Party promotes LGBT in the Catholic world.”²¹⁸

PROPAGANDA OF HOMOSEXUALITY / HOMOSEXUALITY MUST BE PROHIBITED BY LAW. Legislative prohibition of propaganda of homosexuality was in some cases presented as a step to distance oneself from the West and move closer to Russia, Turkey, and China:

GURAM PALAVANDISHVILI, SOCIETY FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS: “If we want to distance ourselves from the West, we must adopt a law banning propaganda of homosexuality.”²¹⁹

GURAM PALAVANDISHVILI, SOCIETY FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS: “If we adopt a law banning LGBT propaganda, it will be a major blow to American, and **this law unites us with Russia, unites us with Turkey, China** and this alliance that opposes America.”²²⁰

The demand for banning propaganda of homosexuality legally was also voiced on pro-government TV channel (PosTV), and on an anonymous pro-government Facebook page (“Political Absurd”):

GIORGI AKHVLEDIANI, PRESENTER: “Observing the perversion, the absolute majority of the Georgian people also demands that this debauchery be banned and that this debauchery be deprived of any privilege, including legal privileges.”²²¹

²¹⁵ Georgia and World, March 30, “Giorgi Gakhokidze: The fascist-Trotskyist authorities of Ukraine launched an attack on Orthodoxy in conditions of war and they were prompted to do that.” <https://bit.ly/42X8YTt>

²¹⁶ ERI-Media, Smart, February 8 [9:43–11:33] <https://bit.ly/3P5vqDK>

²¹⁷ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, February 28, <https://bit.ly/3Pgelak>

²¹⁸ Georgia and World, February 10, “Through Ukraine, the US Democratic Party promotes LGBT persons in the Catholic world”

<https://bit.ly/3P55bNy> eadaily.com, February 9, Демпартия США через Украину сует ЛГБТ в католический мир <https://bit.ly/3YPGKHу>

²¹⁹ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, April 4, <https://bit.ly/3Le0U9p>

²²⁰ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, April 4, <https://bit.ly/467Ar5o>

²²¹ Giorgi Akhvlediani, host, POSTV-Analytics, May 6, <https://bit.ly/3Zbf1Ci>

A post published on the anonymous pro-government Facebook page “Political Absurd”²²² with the call, “If you agree that the propaganda of faggotry must be banned, share this post!” was sponsored.

The image shows a Facebook post from a page named "პოლიტიკური აბსურდი" (Political Absurd). The post features a man with a beard, wearing a black hat and a vibrant, rainbow-colored shirt, holding a metal spring. Below the image is a red banner with white Georgian text: "გააზიარე, თუ ეთანხმები, რომ მამათმავლობის პროპაგანდა უნდა აიკრძალოს!" (Share if you agree that the propaganda of pedophilia should be banned!). To the right of the post, a sidebar displays ad details: Library ID: 182841124547387, Inactive, Apr 3, 2023 - Apr 4, 2023, Platforms, Categories, Estimated audience size: >1M, Amount spent (USD): <\$100, Impressions: 7K - 8K. Below the ad details, the post is identified as sponsored by Ramaz Beridze.

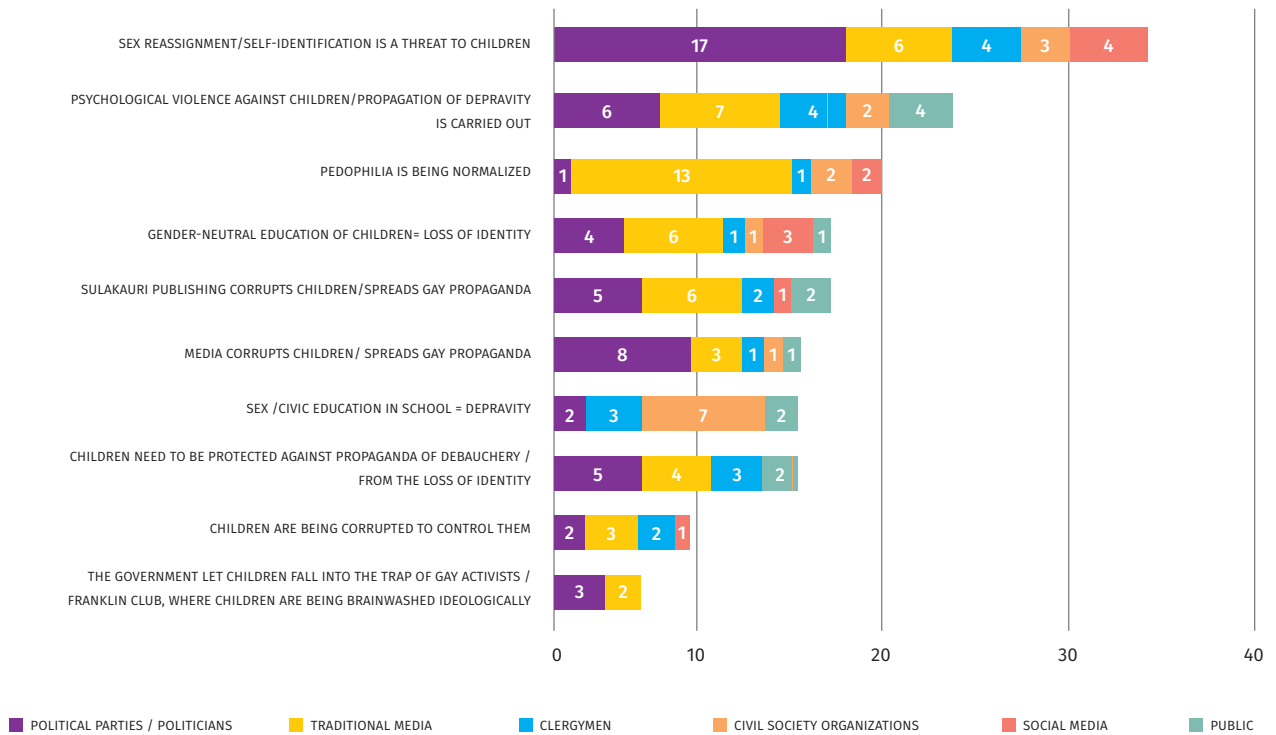
3.2. PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

Protection of children was the second topic in terms of the number of messages (163), which was mainly used in the context of threats related to European integration and integration into the West in general. The majority of child-related messages concerned the topics of sex reassignment and gender identification among minors (34); an opinion also circulated that psychological violence against children and the propagation of depravity among them were deliberately carried out (23). The messages about normalizing pedophilia in the West (19) were accompanied by various pieces of disinformation on this topic²²³, mostly taken from Russian sources.

²²² <https://bit.ly/3EvvY0k>

²²³ Tamar Kintsurashvili, Media Development Foundation, 2023, “Gendered Disinformation.” <https://bit.ly/3RiGUXm>

FIGURE 17. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN



School and preschool education, mass media, films and books were blamed for the propaganda of debauchery among children.

TABLE 3. EDUCATION/COMMUNICATION CHANNELS PRESENTED AS A THREAT TO CHILDREN

SCHOOL AND PRESCHOOL EDUCATION	PUBLISHING HOUSE/BOOKS	MEDIA	MOVIE THEATERS
Introduction of gender-neutral teaching principles	Children’s books published by Bakur Sulakauri Publishing House:	Public Broadcaster’s TV series “Beyond Love” one of whose characters was a lesbian ²²⁴	Screening of films about or featuring LGBTQ community
Concealment of gay propaganda in textbooks	“Bedtime Stories for Rebel Girls.”	Broadcasting of films with LGBTQ characters	Screening of cartoon films depicting a relationship between two boys
Civic education	“The Donkeyskin” by Charles Perrault.	Reporting on representatives of LGBTQ community and inviting them to the studio.	
Sex education			

SCHOOL AND PRESCHOOL EDUCATION. Gender-neutral education in educational institutions, as well as civic education and sex education, were presented as a harmful influence of the West and a targeted fight against traditional identity. For example, a representative of the Alliance of Patriots

²²⁴ Public Broadcaster, “Beyond Love;” <https://ltv.ge/show/siyvaruls-mighma/>

attributed the introduction of gender-neutral teaching methods in kindergartens to the Bologna Process, which actually concerns university education:

IRMA TSKHORGALI, ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS: “It is because of this Bologna Process, which was introduced by Saakashvili, that in pre-school educational institutions, boys are forced to play the roles of girls and vice versa, and offered different toys there, with different genitalia.”²²⁵

RAFAIL KARELIN, ARHIMANDRIT: “In a number of countries, sexology has been introduced in schools as a subject where the ‘teacher’ turns into a director of erotic games. Boys and girls have to imitate the relationships of spouses... Sexology lessons that turn a school into a road to a brothel are unacceptable and shall be banned.”²²⁶

ARCHPRIEST DAVID: “According to the conclusions of leading psychiatrists around the world, the program of sex education negatively affects the psyche of children and inhibits their mental development, for example, in America, cases of sexually transmitted diseases have not decreased but increased.”²²⁷

NIKOLOZ MZHAVANADZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “All kinds of depravity are being introduced under the cover of the subject of civic education.”²²⁸

LEVAN VASADZE, UNITY, ESSENCE, HOPE: “My children will be taught by some perverts in pink stockings to choose whether to be a boy or a girl.”²²⁹

PUBLISHING / BOOKS. The campaign against Sulakauri Publishing House concerned two books: “Bedtime Stories for Rebel Girls,” and “The Donkeyskin,” a fairy tale by 17th century writer Charles Perrault.²³⁰

ZVIAD AVALIANI, POSTV PRESENTER: “When I am told that this is the norm, it is already perceived differently. A scandal was caused by one of the books [published by Sulakauri Publishing House], which we also reported on... The problem is not that someone can have a different sexual orientation; the problem is that 3–4-year-old children are told that they can choose whether to be a girl or a boy... This is already propaganda.”²³¹

²²⁵ Alliance of Patriots, Obiektivi, Studio N8, March 21, <https://bit.ly/3r7jKZ8>

²²⁶ ZNEOBA.GE, March 3, <https://bit.ly/3ZbfcgW>

²²⁷ qadageba.ge, February 7, <https://bit.ly/3Rc3rVH>

²²⁸ Sezoni TV, May 8, <https://bit.ly/3LjliF5>

²²⁹ ERI Media, Amer-Imieri, February 24, <https://bit.ly/30Hx26h>

²³⁰ Tabula. Pen Center: We Condemn the Appalling Russian Campaign against Sulakauri Publishing House, July 3, 2023 <https://bit.ly/45LTP8z>

²³¹ POS TV, Post Analytica, May 3, <https://bit.ly/3PbMLLk>

SOSO MANJAVIDZE, PRESENTER OF ERI MEDIA: “Bakur Sulakauri Publishing House received a grant, published this book, and from this grant gave about 450 euros to teachers to **read to children how good it is to be transgender...** So, the Ministry of Education, these gender-neutral or gender-confused comrades will be held responsible for every child... This is harm and an abomination.”²³²

MEDIA AND MOVIE THEATERS. The displeasure with the media was related to the increased visibility of representatives of the LGBTQ community, which was equated with “gay propaganda:”

LEVAN GABASHVILI, JOURNALIST FOR GEORGIA AND WORLD: “Some representatives of the LGBT community are literally TV stars, invited to various shows, and this is exactly the propaganda – children who watch those shows get a feeling that this is a normal phenomenon, that no one will condemn them for it, that being transgender is the easiest way to popularity.”²³³

Among the TV channels, the object of hate speech was the Public Broadcaster, which showed a movie about lesbian love, followed by a discussion in which teenagers participated.

ALEKSANDRE PALAVANDISHVILI, SOCIETY FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS: “With 100 million laris of state funding, the First Channel is corrupting children with sodomy.”²³⁴

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “This is a film that openly promotes LGBT issues; it is, so to speak, an attempt to normalize this ideological view, and it is broadcast openly. In whose hands is the Public Broadcaster?!.. It is a pity that minors were also involved in the propaganda of this film!”²³⁵

During the monitoring period, movie theaters, whose repertoire was also assessed as “gay propaganda,” were also attacked:

Jaba Zhvania, presenter, Alterinfo: “A gay propaganda cartoon film dubbed by the Ministry of Culture, where the main characters are teenage boys in love, is nothing but propaganda and the normalization of depravity among children.”²³⁶

²³² ERI Media, Smart, April 24, <https://bit.ly/3PfH9Q4>

²³³ Georgia and World, February 28, “Why is the West against finding out where NGOs registered in Georgia are financed from?” <https://bit.ly/3LkhQeK>

²³⁴ Aleksandre Palavandishvili, February 13 <https://bit.ly/3RiM5q2>

²³⁵ Alt-Analytics, February 13, <https://bit.ly/44KSfSX>

²³⁶ Alt-Info, Alterinfo, Commentary of the Day, January 23, <https://bit.ly/452wb6F>

PEDOPHILIA. Messages that the West was normalizing pedophilia were disseminated in an anti-Western context mainly by the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement and also, by pro-Kremlin Georgia and World, in some cases relying on Russian politicians and media:

SHOTA MARTINENKO, ALT-INFO/CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “The normalization of pedophilia has already begun in the West. To be pro-Western means to be pro-pedophilia... Those who support integration into it are actually supporting the establishment of a pedophile agenda.”²³⁷

VLADIMIR PUTIN, PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA: “Look at what they do to their own people: the destruction of families, of cultural and national identities and the perversion that is child abuse all the way up to pedophilia are advertised as the norm.”²³⁸

In addition to quoting the Russian President on this topic, deliberate disinformation was disseminated against the Pope and the UN, often coming from Russian media and detailed in the report on gender-based disinformation.²³⁹

DELIBERATE DEGRADATION OF CHILDREN. On several occasions, the view was promoted that children were deliberately being corrupted in order to control them, and the government was criticized for allowing young people to fall into the trap of gay activists and the Franklin Club, where ideological zombification of youngsters was taking place. This criticism came against the backdrop of the March protests, in which young people played an exceptional role:

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “We let the mechanisms for educating the future generation out of our hands and handed them over to LGBT activists, feminists, and perverts funded by the West.”²⁴⁰

VALERI KVARATSKHELIA, AUTHOR OF GEORGIA AND WORLD: “They [Americans] are everywhere creating a “fifth column” of such a spirit, which they themselves nurture by brainwashing the still immature youngsters, educating them, financing them, inciting them, and raising them against their own people. One such organization was even named by the Prime Minister – the Franklin Club²⁴¹... Thousand types of gay activists and other scourges that are being used against Georgia are financed by the very money whose transparency and inflow were so vehe-

²³⁷ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, April 20, <https://bit.ly/3PvCUkK>

²³⁸ Georgia and World, February 22 “We must ensure Russia’s right to be strong!” Putin’s address to the Federal Assembly. <https://bit.ly/44UScNS> source: kremlin.ru

²³⁹ Tamar Kintsurashvili, Media Development Foundation, 2023. “Gender-Based Disinformation”. <https://bit.ly/3RiGUXm>

²⁴⁰ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, April 24, <https://bit.ly/3RyuDhF>

²⁴¹ Nika Burduli, Netgazeti, March 14, “patent lie” – the Franklin Club about accusations made by Ghariabshvili.” <https://bit.ly/3RgJnRX>

mently opposed by anti-Georgian forces operating inside and outside the country. Such forces are numerous in Europe.”²⁴²

CALLS FOR LEGISLATIVE CHANGES AND THE IDEALIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE. The topic of child protection also involved calls for legislative regulation of “propaganda of depravity,” and in certain cases, the Russian experience and initiatives were presented as exemplary:

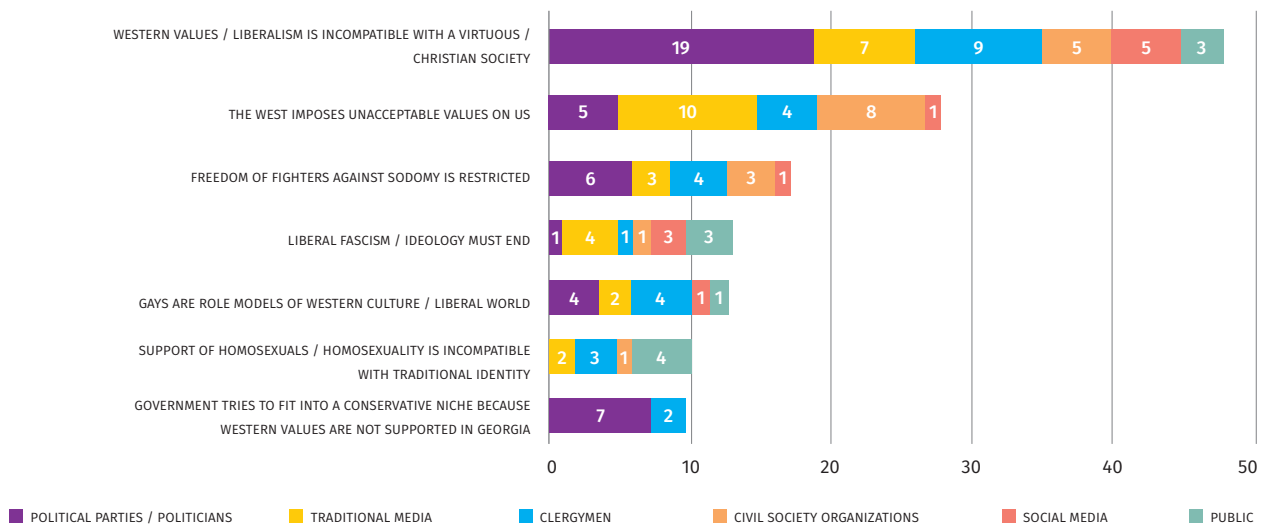
GIORGI GACHECHILADZE, JOURNALIST: “Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Mikhail Mishustin, adopted the concept of information security for children... The concept emphasizes that it is necessary to continue work to prevent illegal dissemination on the territory of the country of information aimed at: ...propaganda of non-traditional sexual relationships as well as pedophilia; * incitement of children’s desire to change sex.”²⁴³

3.3. PROTECTION OF VALUES

The messages related to values also had mostly anti-Western content. The dominant claims were that Western values and liberalism were incompatible with a virtuous/Christian society (48); that the West was imposing unacceptable values on us (28); and that liberal fascism and ideology must be done away with (13). As well as presenting homosexuals as role models of Western culture (12), it was claimed that those who fought against sodomy were either arrested or had their freedom of expression restricted (17).

On separate occasions, extreme right-wing actors also alleged that the authorities’ recent attempts to fit into a conservative niche were due to the fact that Western values had no support in Georgia.

FIGURE 18. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF VALUES



²⁴² Georgia and World, March 13, “Question of doubt.” <https://bit.ly/3PzPMGO>

²⁴³ Giorgi Gachechiladze, journalist, Georgia and World, May 6, “Mishustin adopted the concept of information security for children.” <https://bit.ly/3RfbSiQ>

WESTERN VALUES / LIBERALISM ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH A VIRTUOUS / CHRISTIAN SOCIETY. These messages were mainly cultivated by the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement and associated media and clergy, who claimed that the purpose of the fight against traditional values was to encroach on the country's sovereignty, rule it, and use it as a foothold against Russia:

DAVIT AKHVLEDIANI, PRESENTER OF ALT-INFO: "Using radical political groups controlled by the Americans and with their **corrupt and amoral values** that are alien to our culture, **the West tries to destroy the cultural sovereignty of small countries and establish control over them.**"²⁴⁴

SPIRIDON TSKIPURISHVILI, CLERGYMAN: "Historically, we are a nation defending Orthodox Christianity; **the historical mission of Georgia is to defend Orthodox Christianity, not pro-Western sodomization.**"²⁴⁵

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: "If you are establishing liberalism for me, **you contradict, among other things, my national interests**; if you are **destroying my religion and cultural identity**, you thereby are weakening me, and hence, obliterating me; I am becoming dependent on you... **A liberal cannot offer any resistance because he is a pacifist, a feminist, a pederast, wears earrings...** On the one hand, they want to turn Georgia into a foothold against Russia, but on the other hand, in order to establish this idea, you have to spread your ideology; first of all, **liberals cannot establish Christianity for you, because it is against their interests.**"²⁴⁶

STEPANE KALAIJISHVILI, METROPOLITAN: "These **feminist insinuations and the dictatorship of stupid women, depraved men, and homosexuals** are what is being imposed on us today and are **key attributes of Western values.**"²⁴⁷

GOGA KHAINDRAVA, FILM DIRECTOR: "The only thing that Georgian society will never allow is the substitution of faith with debauchery; it is impossible!... Georgian society will in no way accept this progress by any means because this is regression, whether it is Western or Martian..."²⁴⁸

The opinion was promoted that supporting homosexuals/homosexuality was incompatible with traditional values and that Europe should accept us with those values that make up our traditional identity:

²⁴⁴ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, January 19, <https://bit.ly/44M2wyj>

²⁴⁵ Alt-News, May 3, <https://bit.ly/44NqOru>

²⁴⁶ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 10, <https://bit.ly/3Z9JL6J>

²⁴⁷ Diocese of Chkondidi, January 22, 21:00 <https://bit.ly/44dIYUj>

²⁴⁸ Imedi TV, Imedi LIVE, April 30, <https://bit.ly/45Lq4Vm>

SPIRIDON TSKIPURISHVILI, CLERGYMAN: “David the Builder did not build a country of faggots and lesbians; David the Builder, when he came to power, started to build the country of manly men, while Zelenskyy and the wing of local liberasts here have been trying to build a country of faggots, whores, lesbians, and drug addicts in Georgia for 30 years now.”²⁴⁹

ELIZBAR JAVELIDZE, PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY: “If Georgia enters Europe, we will enter it with dignity, with our culture and traditions, which do not recognize neither same-sex families nor gender reassignment among children. I was proud to listen to Irakli Gharibashvili’s speech in Hungary, who made the whole of Europe hear the voice of the Georgian people that the homeland, language, and faith are our main values!”²⁵⁰

There were also statements about the need to do away with liberal ideology:

SPIRIDON TSKIPURISHVILI, CLERGYMAN: “...We will definitely defeat them, this disease, liberalism, which, like a plague, has spread all over the world.”²⁵¹

3.4. PROTECTION OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE FAMILY

As in the previous study, the topic of family was dominated by the issue of abortion, which was considered a sin and murder (46) and blamed mainly on women.

Other family-related messages identified were:

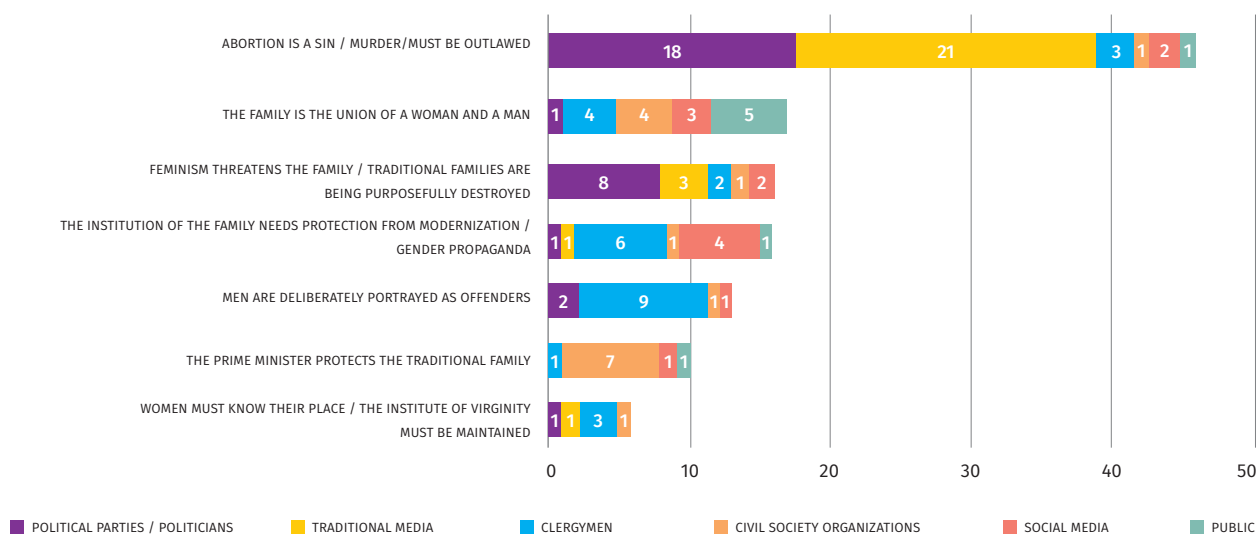
- The family is the union of a woman and a man (17);
- Feminism threatens the family/traditional families are being purposefully destroyed (16);
- The institution of the family needs protection from modernization/gender propaganda (14);
- Men are deliberately portrayed as offenders (13);
- The Prime Minister protects the traditional family (10);
- Women must know their place/the institute of virginity must be maintained (6).

²⁴⁹ Vardigora Monks’ Monastery, February 15, 2:40 <https://bit.ly/465QuRu>

²⁵⁰ Asaval-Dasavali, May 15-21.

²⁵¹ Vardigora Monks’ Monastery, February 1, 3:46 <https://bit.ly/45XN8jy>

FIGURE 19. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF THE INSTITUTION OF FAMILY



ABORTION. The topic of abortion was the subject of the attention mainly of clergymen or Facebook pages of religious nature, such as “Abortion is murder of children,” and Zneoba.ge, which are interlinked pages, as well as qadageba.ge and “Archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili.”

It should also be noted that abortion was discussed in detail in the materials posted on religious pages, whereas in the commentaries of traditional media, abortion was considered mainly as one of the threats on the list of problems, and only in two cases was it discussed relatively broadly. The statements on abortion considered the problem in a religious and moral context; never in the context of women’s reproductive health; rarely mentioned socio-economic and legal aspects of abortion, but in a negative context; and blamed only women for the decision to have an abortion.

To mobilize public opinion against abortion, the following key messages were disseminated:

- Abortion is the murder of children
- A woman who has an abortion is a murderer of children
- Abortion is a grave sin for which the woman will be punished by God
- The use of any contraceptive method is a sin
- Liberals and feminists promote abortion
- Abortion should be outlawed.

ABORTION IS THE MURDER OF CHILDREN. Harsh expressions were used to describe abortion, such as: “murder of children,” “bloodbath of unborn children,”²⁵² “slaughter of a baby in the mother’s womb.”²⁵³

²⁵² Abortion is the murder of children, February 28, <https://bit.ly/45MRdX0>

²⁵³ Abortion is the murder of children, April 28, <https://bit.ly/3Ex90X1>

DAVIT NOZADZE, ARCHPRIEST: “Abortion is the murder of a helpless human being, the killing of a helpless child who has a soul at conception.”²⁵⁴

GIORGI KARDAVA, ALT-INFO / CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “No one has the right to kill a human being, a child. That embryo is also an ordinary human being; this has been established, moreover, repeatedly established by scientists.”²⁵⁵

A WOMAN WHO HAS AN ABORTION IS A MURDERER OF CHILDREN. Anti-abortion actors placed all responsibility for the abortion on the mother. None of the comments identified during the monitoring period said anything about the sin of the father, his inner conscience, and morality.

ARCHIMANDRITE RAFAIL KARELI: “A mother who kills her child silences her inner conscience and becomes a murderer of her own morality. The murder of a child shows that such a mother considers herself to be of supreme value, i.e., it is a blatant manifestation of refined egotism and egocentrism.”²⁵⁶

ABORTION IS A GRAVE SIN FOR WHICH THE WOMAN WILL BE PUNISHED BY GOD

SABA CHIKAIKIDZE, CLERGYMAN: “I say to every woman who at least once consciously murdered her child in the womb to remember that all the misfortunes and all the pain that may happen in her life are attributed to this, and to thank God a thousand times that she is given time and opportunity to atone, that she is not struck by thunder, that not every car hits her, that not every bullet fired hits her, so grave is this sin.”²⁵⁷

The use of any contraceptive method is a sin. In the statements against abortion, contraception was not seen as an alternative to abortion or an acceptable way to avoid an unwanted pregnancy. Even the use of a condom was considered a sin of lust, and the use of control pills was equated to the killing of an embryo:

ALEKSANDRE PALAVANDISHVILI, SOCIETY FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS: “Sexual relations should take place only between spouses, and even more so, without artificial abstinence from conceiving children. Because such practice itself contains the sin of lust (for example, with the so-called rubber), and the so-called contraceptive pills are in fact not prevention of conception but the murder of an already conceived, few-day-old little person, a person who, despite its small size, already has an immortal soul and unique genetic code.”²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ Archpriest Davit, qadageba.ge, February 7, <https://bit.ly/3ZsoLbH>

²⁵⁵ Gorgi Kardava, Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, April 5, <https://bit.ly/3rhioei>

²⁵⁶ Archimandrite Rafail Karelin, ZNEOBA.GE, May 16, <https://bit.ly/3Pgg0fU>

²⁵⁷ Saba Chikaidze, clergymen, Christ's Transfiguration Church in Vake, April 28, <https://bit.ly/48aVaQR>

²⁵⁸ January 27, <https://bit.ly/3PxxXrC>

LIBERALS AND FEMINISTS PROMOTE ABORTION. Anti-abortion actors linked the idea of legislative authorization of abortion with liberal values and feminism:

DAVIT NOZADZE, ARCHPRIEST: “In the days of Stalin, who was called a dictator, a person performing abortion was considered a murderer. Now they are humanists, democrats, they protect even dogs and cats, and a person who performs an abortion is considered a doctor.”²⁵⁹

ABORTION IS THE MURDER OF CHILDREN: “The Bolsheviks executed people according to class principle, the fascists according to racial principle, and today’s “humanist” liberals determine who should be born and who should be killed in the womb according to the economic state and the so-called green agenda.”²⁶⁰

THE FAMILY IS THE UNION OF A WOMAN AND A MAN/THE PRIME MINISTER PROTECTS THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY. Messages about the family as the union of a woman and man were mostly related to the participation of Georgia’s Prime Minister Irakli Gharibashvili in the conference of American ultra-conservatives (Conservative Political Action Conference, CPAC), held in Hungary, where he built his rhetoric about the “defending the family” on the manipulation of homophobic topics. The same thesis was elaborated by clerics, including the patriarchal locum tenens:

SHIO MUJIRI, METROPOLITAN, PATRIARCHAL LOCUM TENENS: “We can clearly see how in some countries there are attempts to destroy and undermine traditional values when marriage between a woman and a man is attacked as the only normal form of marriage established by God.”²⁶¹

IRAKLI GHARIBASHVILI, PRIME MINISTER: “We also protect the rights of the majority, for whom the family is a union between a man and a woman; where a woman is a mother, and a man is a father, the rights of the vast majority of the population, who supported my initiative in 2014, upon which our political party later included in the Constitution the definition of the marriage as the union between a man and a woman... We will not support the minority’s attempts to change with aggressive propaganda the values, which the majority of our population considers to be given by God, on which the Georgian identity, uniqueness, and our entire history are based.”²⁶²

IRAKLI GHARIBASHVILI, PRIME MINISTER: “How do forces that oppose the freedom and truth try to achieve their goals? Definitely, by destructing the traditional family values and coercing

²⁵⁹ qadageba.ge, January 28, <https://bit.ly/3r7k1eC>

²⁶⁰ Abortion is the murder of children, May 11, <https://bit.ly/3PgezOH>

²⁶¹ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, May 17, <https://bit.ly/3sLZnRU>

²⁶² Imedi TV, Imedi Live, May 4, <https://bit.ly/3EyrxST>

false freedoms – through LGBT propaganda and attempts to legislate gender-affirming procedures for children – bypassing their parents, as well as by forcing so-called “innovations” that will cut people off from their own roots, family, traditions, culture, and history. They do so because it is easy to control a rootless person – someone who has forgotten his/her history and faith. Therefore, in such difficult times, our main weapon and foundation is traditional, Christian, conservative, family values.”²⁶³

VIOLENCE IS JUSTIFIED TO PROTECT FAMILY. Levan Vasadze, who has close ties to the Kremlin, the Russian Church, and the World Congress of Families, as well as representatives of the extremist Alt-Info/Conservative Movement, justified the use of violence to protect a traditional family whose autonomy is interfered with by external actors:

LEVAN VASADZE, UNITY, ESSENE, HOPE (archive footage that was re-distributed): “For example, if they enter your house and just destroy your family members, what should you say?! No to violence? You have to take up arms and defend your family members from being destroyed. It’s the same in this case. Propaganda of debauchery, propaganda of drugs, propaganda of gambling – this is violence against the body of the nation, and everyone who tolerates it, everyone who coexists with that, is an enemy of the body of the nation.”²⁶⁴

SHOTA MARTINENKO, ALT-INFO/CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “If we do not agree that violence is permissible against some behavior, then it cannot be outlawed because the law is a form of violence, i.e., society agrees that something is so unacceptable and that certain values, for example, the value of the family and traditional views, are so important and form the basis of society, that in order to protect this and prevent abnormal, unhealthy immorality, the use of violence is permissible, and agrees so unambiguously that the state agrees to the use of force.”²⁶⁵

FEMINISM THREATENS THE FAMILY / TRADITIONAL FAMILIES ARE BEING PURPOSEFULLY DESTROYED. Feminism was accused of purposefully destroying family and weakening the hierarchy of the traditional family.

IRAKLI GOGAVA, POLITICAL SCIENTIST: “Feminism, emancipation, women in business, these issues, rights.... serve the purpose of tearing women away from the family. Researchers have already collected statistics showing that, for example, women who deal with gender issues, run businesses, and develop their careers give birth to fewer children.”²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Mtavari, Mtavari at Night, May 5, <https://bit.ly/3PbtLfN>

²⁶⁴ World Congress of Families X Tbilisi, January 17, <https://bit.ly/460xYKN>

²⁶⁵ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, May 17, <https://bit.ly/3ra2tyy>

²⁶⁶ ERI Media, Smart, March 27, <https://bit.ly/463fxof>

GIORGI RAZMADZE, ARCHPRIEST: “When subordination is crippled and a woman sits on her husband’s head and, so to speak, lords it over him, the family no longer exists there.”²⁶⁷

BASIL POSURI, CLERGYMAN: “The church is subordinated to Christ, just as the man is the head of the family, and this is something that a modern person cannot tolerate... Equality, equality, what equality? If one has a size 45 foot and the other has a size 38 foot, should both wear size 45 shoes? It comes to such absurdity.”²⁶⁸

The growing liberalization of norms of sexual behavior, the emergence of civil partnerships, and the disappearance of the institute of virginity were also seen as opposing the institution of a traditional family.

SHIO MUJIRI, METROPOLITAN: “Norms are being reinforced that encourage cohabitation outside marriage, encourage all forms of sexual depravity, gender ideology, and loss of parental authority.”²⁶⁹

ARCHIMANDRITE RAFAIL KARELIN: “Their aim (of satanic forces) is to show that keeping virginity before marriage – what was considered decency – is self-inquisition or the parents’ infringement of the children’s rights.”²⁷⁰

MEN ARE DELIBERATELY PORTRAYED AS OFFENDERS / FAMILIES ARE DESTROYED

Revisionist statements were also circulated, demanding that legislation prohibiting violence against women and domestic violence be changed and asserting the view that men are portrayed as offenders for no good reason.

SHOTA MARTINENKO, CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: “This gender policy has to change. It’s the cultural or legal part that, under the pretext of fighting violence against women, actually arrests men for a minor conflict, and families are being destroyed on this basis.”²⁷¹

NIKOLAZ MZHAVANADZE, SEZONI TV PRESENTER: “[The West] introduced this feminist-fascist ideology... They have made women believe that they can have their husbands arrested if they want to. There are seminars about women’s rights to self-governance, about women’s rights to justice, as if women’s rights are being infringed upon somewhere. Why is all this being done? It is done to discredit the institution of the family and to belittle a man. A man cannot say a compliment to a woman, cannot start a family for fear that his wife will put him in jail. This is what the USA has created.”²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Sezoni TV, Sum-Up of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, April 3, <https://bit.ly/30Z313j>

²⁶⁸ † God, you are great †, May 20, <https://bit.ly/3ReQr1m>

²⁶⁹ Patriotic page, May 20, <https://bit.ly/3EwqtPB>

²⁷⁰ ZNEOBA.GE, February 24, <https://bit.ly/465WqK5>

²⁷¹ Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, March 30, <https://bit.ly/45MRyK4>

²⁷² Alt-News, March 26, <https://bit.ly/3sGsvty>

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