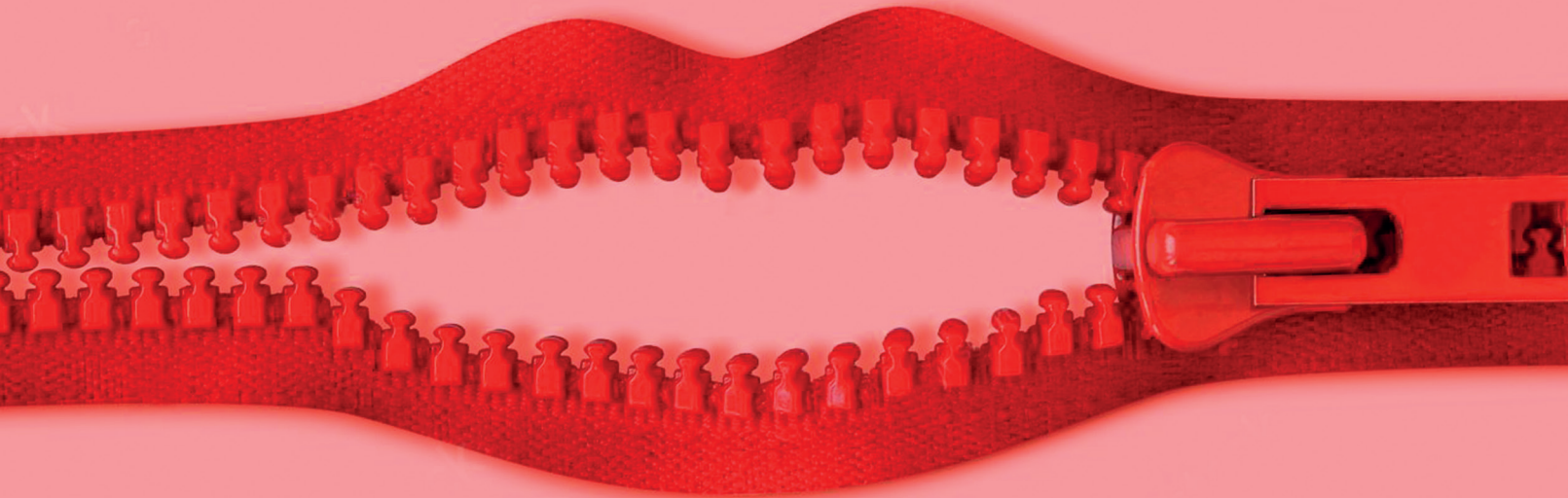




მედიის განვითარების ფონდი  
MEDIA DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION



# SEXIST LANGUAGE AND GENDERED DISINFORMATION

2023





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# INTRODUCTION

The politicization of the term gender and the use of gender-related topics for political struggle has become a trend in recent years, utilized not only by far-right and pro-Kremlin actors but also by the ruling party and its affiliates. Sexist and homophobic content has been actively used to amplify anti-liberal discourse and incite anti-Western sentiments; at the same time, it serves as a tool to discredit opponents, utilized most intensively amid politically turbulent phases.

In recent years, gendered disinformation has also become a tool to fight against those active in the public space, which mainly appears online and focuses on the intersection of gender and disinformation, when women, non-binary people, and marginalized members of society, such as the LGBTQIA+ community, are disproportionately targeted by false and inaccurate information.

The following study aims to analyze the problems of sexist hate speech, gendered disinformation, and anti-liberal discourse in Georgia and to reveal their sources. Part I of the report reviews the quantitative data and terminology of sexist and homophobic hate speech. Part II provides a qualitative analysis based on the indicators of the use of sexist hate speech, part III reviews the examples of gendered disinformation and their typology, and the last part presents the main messages disseminated for the purpose of mobilizing society under the pretext 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 and identify the main actors and targets of sexist and homophobic hate speech, gendered disinformation, and gender-related messages disseminated by anti-liberal, extreme right-wing, and conservative forces to mobilize public opinion.

In order to collect the research data, the team of monitors of the Media Development Foundation (MDF) monitored the Georgian media landscape. The research covers 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.

The report covers the period from January 1 to December 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, targets 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 Media Development Foundation 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<sup>i</sup> based on expert focus groups. The violations identi-

fied through the monitoring are categorized in this study according to the six indicators that previous studies have found to be used most frequently. These are:

1. **Anti-Feminism/Misogyny** – attacking women and women’s rights;
2. **Offense/ridicule on the ground of appearance** – offending and ridiculing on the ground of body, appearance, manner of talk, attire;
3. **Offense/ridicule on the ground of mental abilities** – diminishing intellectual capacity, skills, experience, competencies;
4. **Attacks based on moral criteria** – attacking on the grounds of moral values;
5. **Ageism** – discriminating on the grounds of age;
6. **Criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes** – attacking on the basis of stereotyped perceptions of women’s role, behavior, function, activity or other traits.

The Media Development Fund (MDF) relies on the following definition of gender disinformation from the EU Disinfo Lab in the presented study:

**“Gendered disinformation** focuses on the intersection between disinformation and gender, where women, gender non-conforming people, and marginalised groups such as LGBTQIA+ individuals are disproportionately targeted and harassed by spreading deceptive or inaccurate content about them. The techniques for diffusing gendered disinformation are diverse, and can comprise misogynist comments that reinforce gender stereotypes, the sexualisation and diffusion of graphic content, online harassment including threats of violence, and even cyber-attacks.”<sup>11</sup>

In addition, examples of factual inaccuracies discussed in the report are evaluated by indicators such as slut-shaming and reprimanding by moral criteria.

**Slut-shaming** is the practice of criticizing people, especially women and girls, who are perceived to violate expectations of behavior and appearance regarding issues related to sexuality. Examples of slut-shaming include being criticized or punished for violating dress code policies by dressing in perceived sexually provocative ways, requesting access to birth control, or having premarital, casual, or promiscuous sex. It can also include being victim-blamed for being raped or otherwise sexually assaulted. Slut-shaming is used to shame and stigmatize women.

Once verifiable information is identified through monitoring, the information is verified and the material is rated using the fact-checking methodology<sup>12</sup> of Myth Detector, which is based on international experience and standards.

**SELECTION OF MEDIA MONITORING SUBJECTS.** Media monitoring subjects were selected from traditional media (12 media outlets: 7 TV channels, 3 print publications, and 3 online publications), as well as social media, namely, Facebook accounts (151).

**TV BROADCASTERS:** 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, “Samni & 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:

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

**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.geworld.ge](http://www.geworld.ge)), and Split News ([www.spnews.io/ge](http://www.spnews.io/ge)) related to the former.

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

1. **FAR-RIGHT, ANTI-WESTERN, ANTI-LIBERAL/PRO-KREMLIN 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 anti-liberal/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/>.

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I Giorgi Urchukhishvili, Georgian Indicators of Sexist Hate Speech, Working focus groups report, Sapari Tbilisi, 2020

II EU DisinfoLab & #ShePersisted, 12`October, 2022. Gender-Based Disinformation 101: Theory, Examples, and Need for Regulation <https://bit.ly/3JZmtLn>

III Fact-checking methodology, <https://mythdetector.ge/ka/methodologia/>



# KEY FINDINGS

The following tendencies have been identified through the analysis of the media monitoring data of 2023 (1 January – 31 December 2023):

- Out of the 5,695 posts/comments of sexist and homophobic content, the majority (3,915) originated from traditional media;
- Only a slight difference was observed between the shares of homophobic content (48%) and sexist hate speech, gender stereotyping (43%); while content that was both sexist and homophobic at the same time constituted only 9%;
- Analysis of the dynamics of sexist and homophobic hate speech shows that its most apparent manifestations were linked to politically turbulent phases. In 2023, similar expression increased by leaps and bounds during the protests against the Law “On Transparency fo Foreign Influence,” during Pride Week and the process of granting Georgia the EU candidate status.

## SEXIST HATE SPEECH / GENDER STEREOTYPING

- The largest share of comments/posts containing sexist hate speech, both in traditional and social media, were related to politics and were mostly directed against the President of Georgia and female politicians from the opposition, as well as female activists and human rights defenders;
- According to an analysis of six indicators of sexist hate speech in both social and traditional media, the majority of cases were linked to attacks based on moral criteria, and most often resorted to slut-shaming. Anti-feminist and misogynistic statements also prevailed in traditional media;
- Feminism was presented as a phenomenon imposed by the West, which was aimed at the oppression of men and the destruction of families, and was based on mercantile motives. The issue of feminism was manipulatively linked to European integration, in particular, with the process of granting the EU candidate status to Georgia;
- Gender stereotypes amplified the idea that women are hysterical and sexually unsatisfied; that the behavior of female politicians is unbalanced, that a woman cannot be trusted, and that one should conduct business only with a man, while a Georgian woman’s place is in the family;

- In selected cases, women active in the political and public spheres were attacked due to their alleged masculine qualities and lack of femininity;
- There were relatively fewer cases of ridicule based on appearance, mental abilities, and age;
- In order to discredit the President of Georgia, women from the opposition, human rights defenders and protest participants, anonymous pages related to the government, and in some cases, the pro-Kremlin Conservative Movement party, often resorted to visual manipulation and spread them in a sponsored manner;
- If the anonymous pro-government accounts used directed attacks at the opponents based on moral criteria, the accounts linked to the opposition United National Movement party used the tactic of ridicule based on appearance;
- In addition to anonymous pages, male representatives of the ruling party also used hate speech against their female colleagues;
- In terms of anti-feminist/misogynistic hate speech, pro-Kremlin parties (Conservative Movement, Alliance of Patriots) and media (Sezoni TV), as well as the clergy, stood out the most.

## HOMOPHOBIA

- Of the 3,270 homophobic comments/posts, the most (2,558) were identified in traditional media;
- The rise in homophobic content was related to the Russian-style law on foreign agents, as well as Pride Week, the process of granting the EU candidate status to Georgia, and the legislation banning propaganda of homosexuality;
- The main source of homophobic comments was the monitored traditional media (31.7%), followed by politicians (30.8%). The rate of social media (10.5%), society (9.8%), clergy (9.4%) and public organizations (7.7%) was relatively small.
- Among the parties, the most frequent source of homophobic comments was the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement (960), followed by the Alliance of Patriots (41) and the ruling Georgian Dream (28) party. GD's satellite "People's Power" movement was also distinguished by homophobic comments (17);
- In terms of dissemination of homophobic messages, the pro-Kremlin Sezoni TV (527) and the on-line publication "Georgia and World" (115) took the lead, followed by the pro-government Postv Analytics (50).

## GENDERED DISINFORMATION

- In 2023, the fact-checking platform "Myth Detector" identified 62 cases of gendered disinformation, 37 of which were homophobic, while 25 were sexist or contained signs of attacks on women based on moral criteria;
- The majority of gendered disinformation cases were directed against the West (27) and were predominantly homophobic (18). In terms of gendered disinformation against Ukraine (10), similarly, most cases (7) were also of homophobic content;

- Disinformation against Georgian politicians and persons related to them (6) was mostly sexist. We find both homophobic (4) and sexist (3) disinformation against journalists;
- In terms of the typology of violations, visual manipulation was used most often (54.8%), uniting 22 cases of photo fabrication/manipulation and 12 cases of video manipulation/fabrication. Non-visual forms of disinformation were used in 21 cases, manipulation – in 3 cases, and fabricated quotes – in 2 cases;
- Western politicians (6), as well as Georgian female politicians and persons related to politicians (6) were most often the target of gendered disinformation and attacks based on moral criteria; in 3 cases the target was Ukrainian First Lady Olena Zelenska. In one case, the US ambassador to Georgia, Robin Dunnigan, became the target of gendered disinformation;
- Among Georgian politicians, the target of slut-shaming was President Salome Zourabichvili. Namely, an altered version of a photo taken from a porn site went viral after she pardoned Nika Gvaramia, the general director of an opposition TV channel;
- The most frequent target of gendered disinformation was Giuli Alasana, the mother of the imprisoned third president of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili, against whom several photo manipulations were used, while the story against Alasania published by the pro-government TV company PosTV left the impression of staged disinformation;
- Disinformation aimed at criticizing female politicians on the basis of moral criteria was spread against former Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin, as well as Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas and MEP Viola von Cramon;
- All three cases of gendered disinformation against Georgian journalists were related to journalists from TV stations critical to the government. Both cases of slut-shaming were disseminated against female journalists of “Mtavari Channel” and “TV Pirveli;”
- Homophobic disinformation as a political tool to discredit opponents was used against various targets. The targets of such disinformation were US President Joe Biden, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, European Council President Charles Michel, and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen; In the case of Georgia, the targets were the leaders of the “Lelo for Georgia” party.

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

- Four specific topics have been identified, the protection of which was utilized as a pretext by anti-liberal groups to mobilize society. Out of 1,936 comments analyzed during the monitoring period, the majority of them were related to the protection of identity (40.6%). The topics of protection of values (23.4%) and children (21.7%) were almost equally represented, followed by comments made in order to mobilize the community on the topic of protecting the institution of family (14.4%);
- Out of the 784 identity-related comments, the largest share was directed against the West, including the ones voiced in the context of the Russian-style law on the “Transparency of Foreign Influence” law, which was then revoked by the government, and Pride Week;

- In terms of identity, the idea that the West is imposing homosexuality and depravity upon Georgia, thereby making us lose our traditional identity, was predominant. It was further argued that Western funding is mostly used for the fight against identity and the promotion of the LGBTQI+ community;
- During the discussion of the Russian-style law on foreign agents, both government officials and pro-Kremlin and conservative actors linked foreign funding to the goals of fighting against traditional identity;
- European integration/candidate status, as well as pro-Westernism/liberalism, was equated with the loss of identity while Russia, on the contrary, was presented as a defender of identity;
- Identity issues were also discussed in relation to conflicts: It was emphasized that the ongoing hostilities in Ukraine were an experiment of the West, which was aimed at fighting God and the imposition of homosexual identity; In the case of Georgia, emphasis was placed on the fact that a country that has lost its traditional identity would not be able to find a common language with Abkhazians and Ossetians;
- When it comes to values-related comments, the message that homosexuality or the support thereof was incompatible with traditional values was predominant. Similarly, Western values and liberalism were presented to be incompatible with a moral/Christian society; In addition, the West and the process of European integration were associated with imposed foreign values and the loss of traditional ones;
- The largest number of messages related to the protection of children concerned the need for their protection from promiscuity/loss of identity;
- Teaching sex/civic education in schools was equated with the promotion of depravity; The media and the Internet were considered tools to foster child promiscuity, as were McDonald's and Bakur Sulakauri's publishing house;
- Notably, the campaign against "McDonald's" was manipulatively labeled as the depravity of children both by the ruling party and the Patriarchate;
- Issues of sex change and gender affirmation in minors were also relevant, which were considered a threat to adolescents.
- Messages related to the protection of the institution of family revolved around the issue of abortion, which was considered a sin/murder for which only the woman was responsible;
- Along with the demand to ban abortion, there were also calls to review the part of the legislation that deals with domestic violence. Modernization of the family and gender propaganda, as well as feminism, were considered threats to the traditional family;
- Messages about family being a unity of a man and a woman were largely linked to the participation of the Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Garibashvili, in the conference of American ultraconservatives in Hungary, when, in a homophobic context, he emphasized the need for preserving the values of a 'traditional family.'

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# I. SEXIST HATE SPEECH/GENDER STEREOTYPING AND HOMOPHOBIA

## 1.1. TOTAL QUANTITATIVE DATA

The one-year media monitoring (January 1 – December 31, 2023) over the research period revealed a total of 5,695 cases of sexist and homophobic discrimination, of which 3,915 originated from traditional media, and 1,780 from social media.

Analysis of the dynamics of sexist and homophobic hate speech shows that its most apparent manifestations were linked to politically turbulent phases. In this regard, the highest number of instances were recorded in March and July 2023; the former being related to the large-scale civil protest against the draft law “on Transparency of Foreign Influence” adopted by the Parliament of Georgia in the first reading in March (696),<sup>1</sup> and the latter (877) to the Pride week held in July.<sup>2</sup> An increase in the number of sexist and homophobic hate speech was observed in November (508) and December (502) as well, which was related to the process of granting the EU candidate status to Georgia.<sup>3</sup>

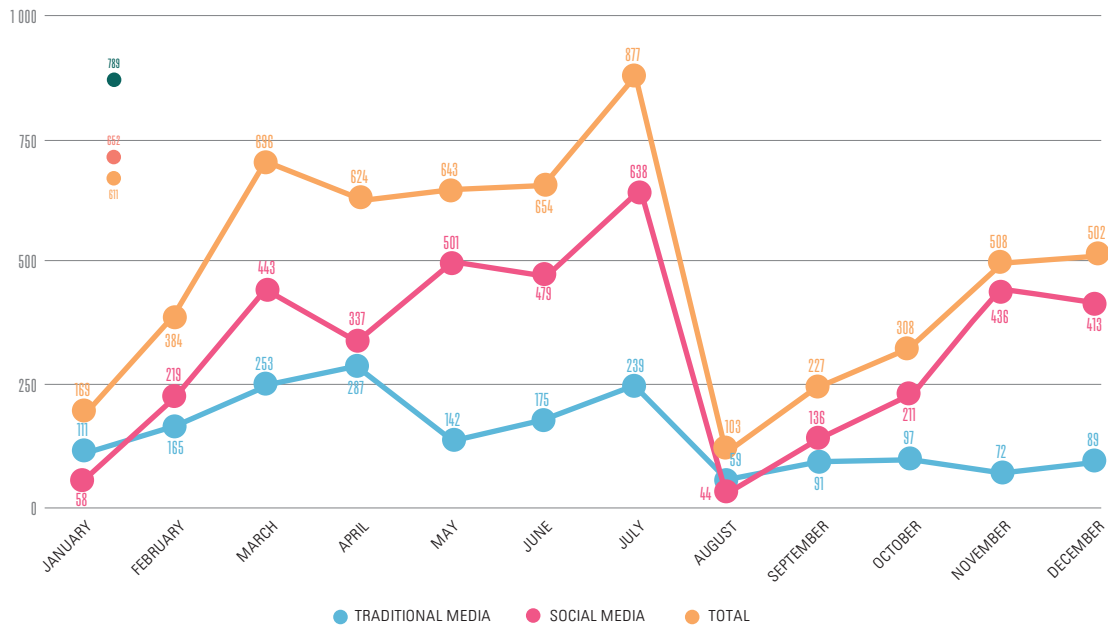
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<sup>1</sup> Radio Liberty 10 March, 2023. „Parliament Dropped the Agents Law“, <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/32311562.html>

<sup>2</sup> Netgazeti, 8 July, 2023. “The Timeline of a Failed Pride that the Police didn’t/couldn’t Protect from Thugs”, <https://netgazeti.ge/life/679030/>

<sup>3</sup> Interpressnews, 14 December, 2023. “The European Council has granted EU candidate status to Georgia”, <https://www.interpressnews.ge/ka/article/781434-evropulma-sabchom-sakartvelos-kandidatis-statusi-mianicha/>

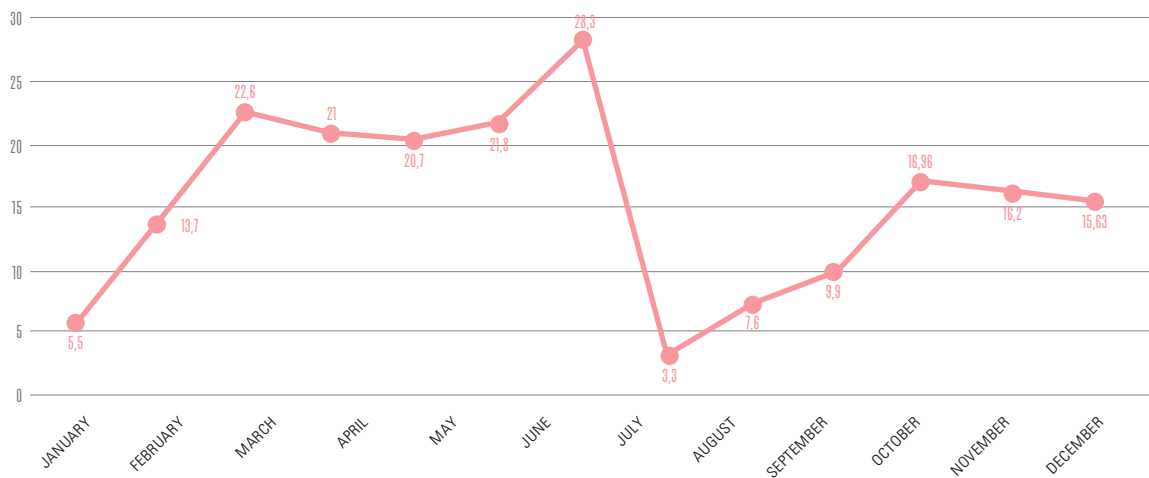
**FIGURE 1. NUMBER OF SEXIST AND HOMOPHOBIC COMMENTS/POSTS BY MONTHS (JANUARY-DECEMBER 2023)**



To show the intensity of the use of sexist and homophobic hate speech in 2023, we calculated the daily average statistical rate of comments/posts detected by monitoring, both for each month of media monitoring and for the entire reporting period (January 1 – December 31, 2023).

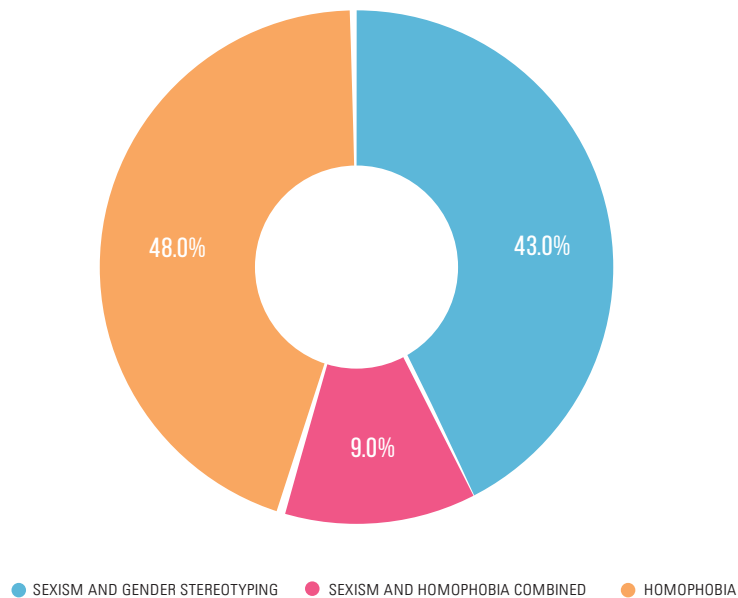
The highest daily statistical average number of detected content was recorded in July and amounted to an average of 28.3 entries per day. The lowest monthly rate was observed in August - an average of 3.3 comments/posts per day. In 2023, as a whole, the daily statistical average of sexist and homophobic content was 15.6 comments/post.

**FIGURE 2. AVERAGE DAILY STATISTICAL RATE OF SEXIST AND HOMOPHOBIC HATE SPEECH BY MONTHS (2023)**



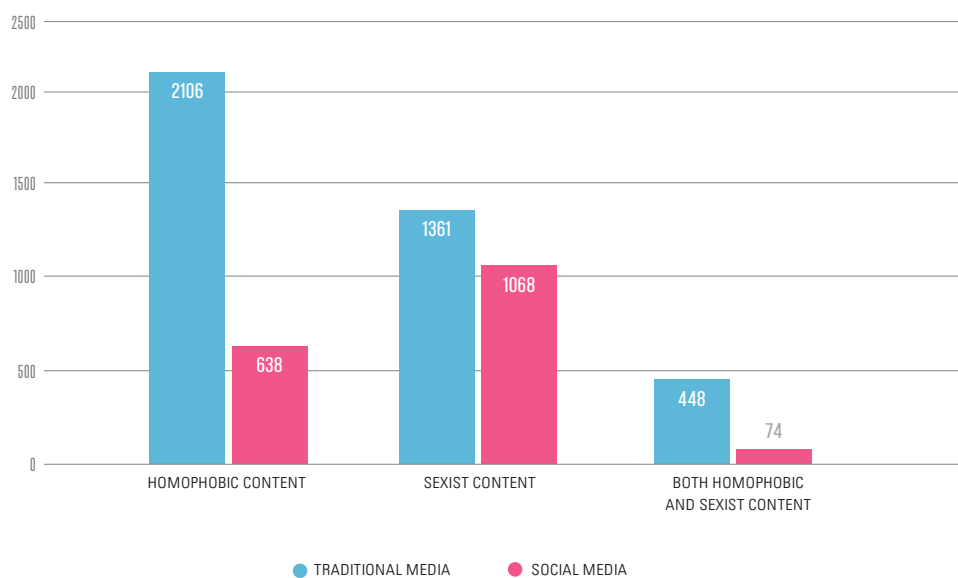
Out of the 5,695 comments/posts identified by media monitoring in 2023, the majority - 2,747 (48%) were homophobic, 2,426 (43%) contained sexist hate speech and gender stereotypes, and 522 (9%) were both sexist and homophobic.

FIGURE 3. THE RATIO OF SEXIST AND HOMOPHOBIC COMMENTS/POSTS (2023)



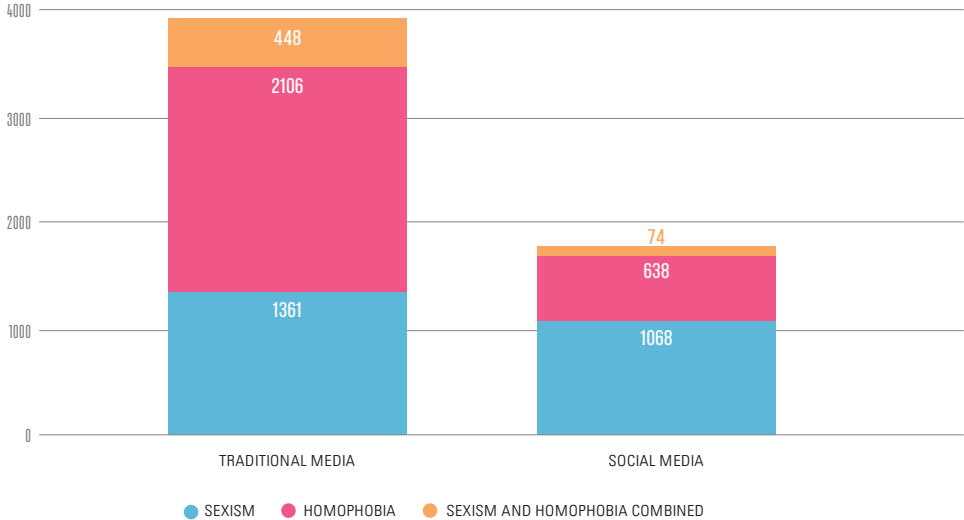
According to data from 2023, the number of statements containing sexist hate speech and homophobia was twice as high in traditional media (3,915) compared to social media (1,780).

FIGURE 4. NUMBER OF SEXIST/HOMOPHOBIC COMMENTS/POSTS IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA (2023)



The study – “Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQ Mobilization in Georgia”<sup>4</sup> – published by the Media Development Foundation in the first reporting period of 2023 (January-May) showed that the number of sexist/gender-stereotyped comments/posts in both traditional and social media exceeded that of homophobic content. This indicator partially changed in the second half of 2023, which was related to Tbilisi Pride and the granting of EU candidate status to Georgia: according to the total data of 2023, the number of homophobic messages exceeded sexist ones in traditional media; In social media, the picture did not change and sexist comments/posts were still dominant.

**FIGURE 5. THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOMOPHOBIC AND SEXIST COMMENTS/POSTS IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA (2023)**



### 1.2 SEXIST HATE SPEECH / GENDER STEREOTYPING

Out of 2,955 statements/posts containing sexist hate speech identified during the 12-month media monitoring period 1,805 were voiced in traditional media, and 1,150 comments/posts on social media.

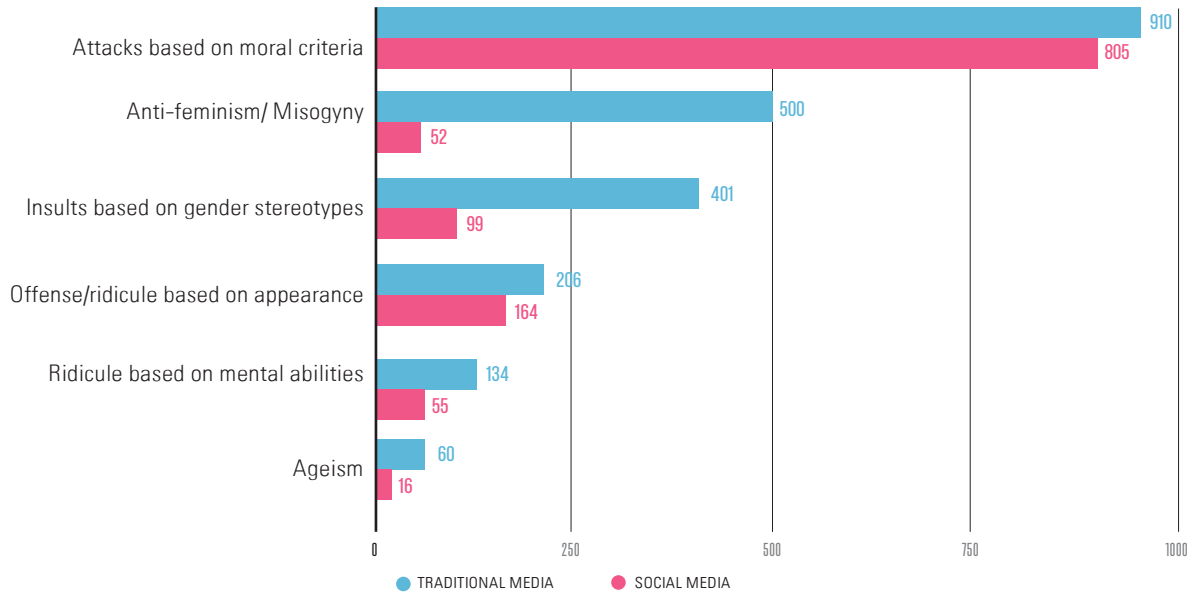
**TYPOLGY OF VIOLATIONS.** The typology of sexist content was carried out according to the six indicators of sexist hate speech presented in the methodology section. Importantly, some of the comments/posts detected by monitoring were related to several types of violations at the same time, which accounted for 14%.

According to the six indicators of sexist hate speech, in 2023, attacks based on moral criteria were most frequent in comments/posts on both social media (805) and traditional media (910). A high number of statements with anti-feminist and misogynist content (500) was observed in traditional media, followed by examples of offense/ridicule based on gender stereotypes (401), physical characteristics (206), and

<sup>4</sup> T. Kintsurashvili, L. Khomeriki, Research report “Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQ Mobilization in Georgia”, Media Development Foundation, 2023 <https://bit.ly/3UWiuoj>

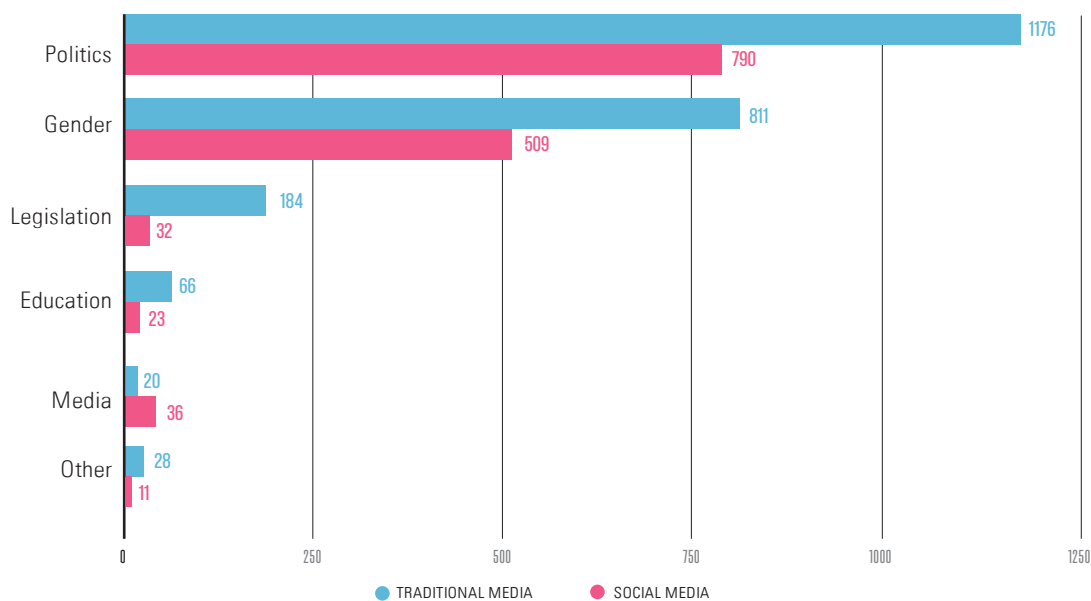
mental abilities (134). The instances of offense/ridicule based on appearance were also high in social media (164); however, compared to traditional media, the cases of criticism based on gender stereotypes (99), mental abilities (55), and anti-feminism/misogyny (52), as well as ageism (16) were relatively low.

**FIGURE 6. TYPOLOGY OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH/STEREOTYPES IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA (2023)**



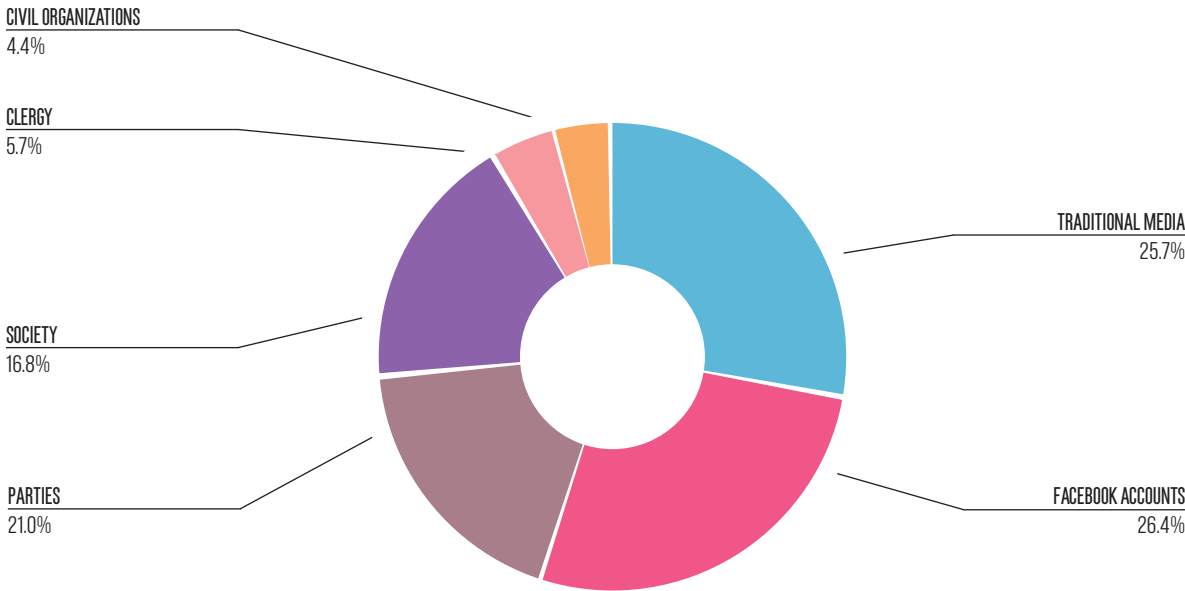
**TOPICS.** In 2023, the largest share of sexist comments/posts on both traditional (1,176) and social media (790) were related to politics. Sexist statements/posts related to politics were mostly directed against the President of Georgia, Salome Zourabichvili, and various female opposition politicians. 811 comments/posts in traditional media and 509 in social media were related to gender, followed by comments/posts related to legislation (184 in traditional media, 32 in social media).

**FIGURE 7. TOPICS OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH/STEREOTYPES IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA (2023)**



**SOURCES.** In 2023, Facebook accounts subject to media monitoring accounted for the largest share of sexist hate speech (778), followed by monitored traditional media outlets (757). Politicians (619), representatives of the public (494) and clergymen (169) occupy the following places.

**FIGURE 8. SOURCES OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH/STEREOTYPES (2023)**



In 2023, sexist hate speech/gender stereotypes were most often present on pro-Kremlin “Sezoni TV” (649) and pro-government POSTV (160). When it comes to print media, the newspaper “Asaval-Dasavali”(120) took the lead, which is infamous for its anti-Western and xenophobic editorial policy. In the case of online media, the trend prevailed in the Kremlin-linked online publication “Georgia and World” (www.geworld.ge) (33).

2023 media monitoring revealed that a significantly larger share of sexist statements from political parties were made by the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement party (532). The members of the party mostly made statements of sexist content on the air of “Alt-Info” TV, which is linked to the party itself. Among the parties, the ruling “Georgian Dream” party (19) was also distinguished by sexist statements, followed by the pro-Kremlin “Alliance of Patriots” party (37) and the ruling party-affiliated “People’s Power” (21).<sup>5</sup>

Among the clergy, the most sexist statements were made by Archpriest Spiridon Tskipurishvili, a supporter of the “Alt-Info/Conservative Movement” (43), who also used his personal Facebook accounts

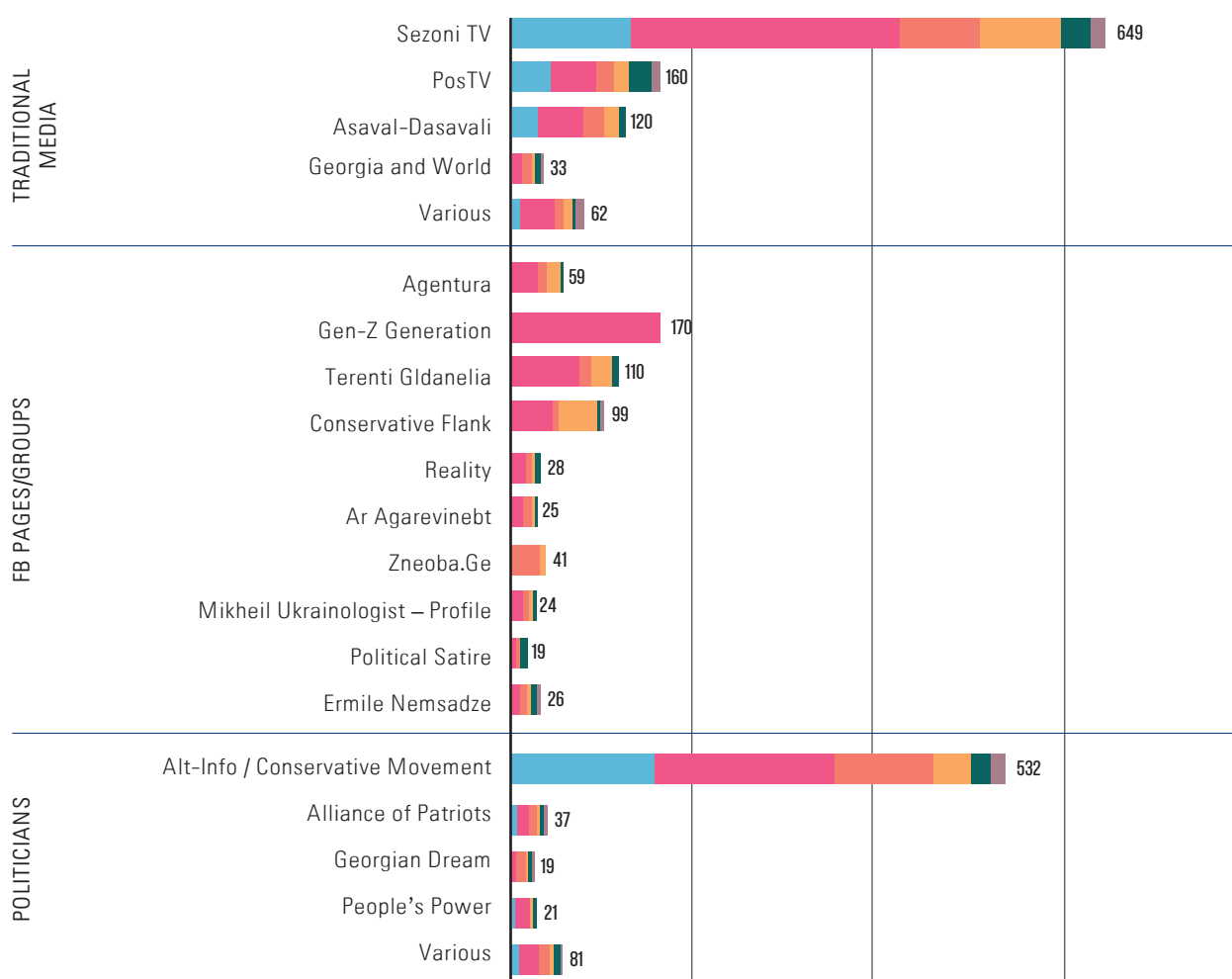
<sup>5</sup> In 2022, several deputies separated themselves from the parliamentary faction “Georgian Dream” to expose the “behind the scenes truth.” Later, they founded the “People’s Power” movement and maintained the parliamentary majority with the ruling party. Radio Liberty, 2 August, 2022 <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/31970666.html>

for this purpose. Archpriest Giorgi Razmadze (11) also stood out in terms of sexist comments, who often appears on live programs of Sezoni TV and the website of “Georgia and World.”

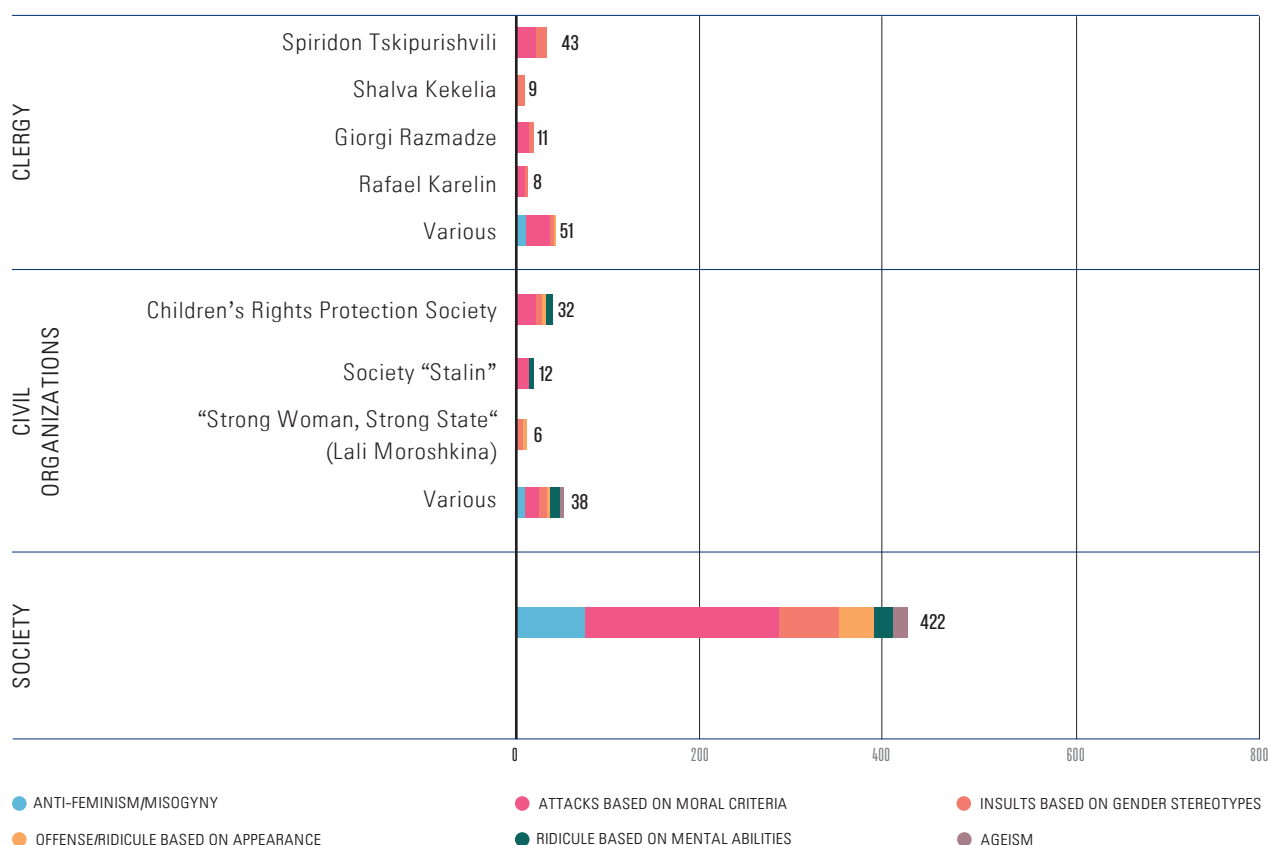
In 2023, among the monitoring subject Facebook accounts, the most sexist posts were published by the page “Gen-Z Taoba,”<sup>6</sup> which was created in April 2023 to discredit those young people who demanded the withdrawal of the so-called Russian-type “Agents Law” (Draft law on Agents of Foreign Influence) during the protests in March. After the protests, the page was particularly active in the months of April-May, but since May, the said page is no longer available.

Facebook pages supporting the government and discrediting the opposition – “Terenti Gldaneli” (110), “Agentura” (59), and “Ar Agarevinibet” (21) stood out in terms of sexist posts; as well as the page – “Conservative Flank” (99), which is linked to far-right groups. Along with attacks based on moral criteria, Facebook pages/groups often resorted to the method of offense/ridicule based on appearance and visual manipulations against female politicians.

FIGURE 9. TYPOLOGY OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH/STEREOTYPES BY SOURCES (2023)



<sup>6</sup> Myth Detector, 18 April, 2023. Pro-government and Anti-Western Accounts Against Lazare Grigoriadis” <https://bit.ly/3wzBYon>



### 1.3. HOMOPHOBIA

The 1-year media monitoring shows that 2558 out of 3270 homophobic contents were published in traditional media, and 712 in social media. Compared to the first reporting period (January-May), in the second half of the year (June-December), homophobic statements almost doubled in traditional media. The increase in homophobic messages was linked to the July 3-8 Pride Week and anti-LGBT mobilization against it. The messages were related to calls for the violent disruption of Pride, its alleged propagandistic nature, and the prohibition of propaganda of the LGBTQI community in Georgia.

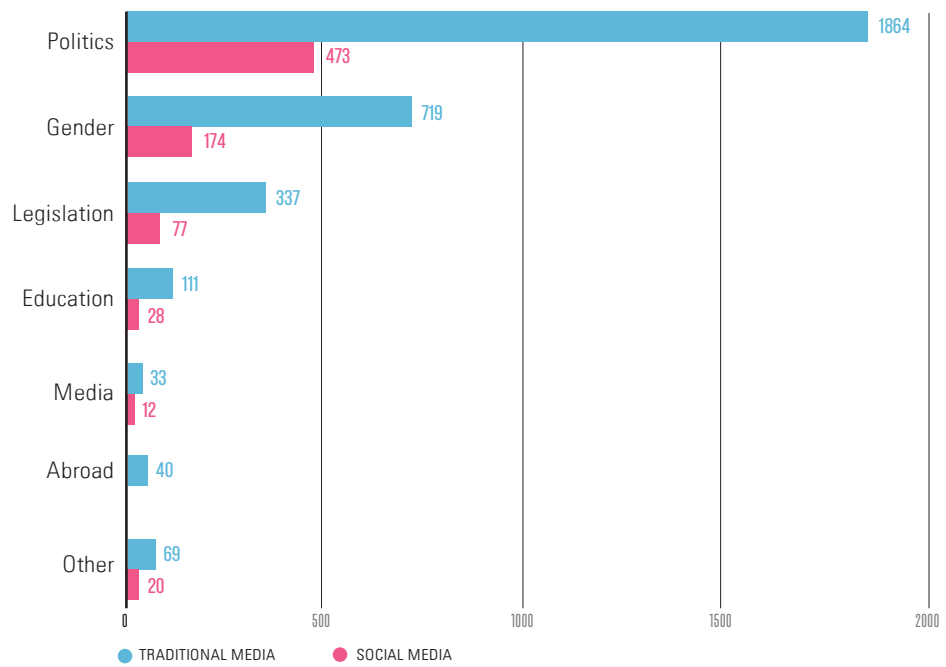
**TOPICS.** Both in the first half of the year (January-May),<sup>7</sup> as well as in the June-December period, homophobic content was most often related to political topics (traditional media – 1864; social media – 473). The number of homophobic statements related to the topics of gender (719) and legislation (337) in traditional media was also high.

In terms of content, homophobic statements from both traditional and social media were related to anti-discrimination law, domestic violence legislation, the ban on Pride propaganda, and EU candidate status.

<sup>7</sup> T. Kintsurashvili, L. Khomeriki, Research report "Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQ Mobilization in Georgia", Media Development Foundation, 2023 <https://bit.ly/3UWiuoj>

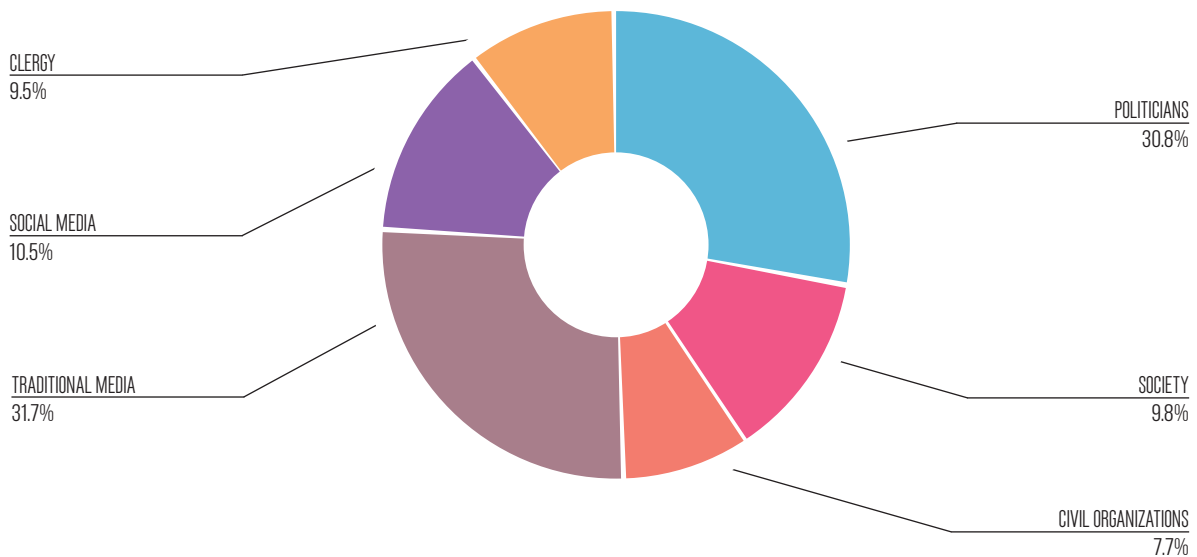


FIGURE 10. TOPICS OF HOMOPHOBIC MESSAGES IN TRADITIONAL AND SOCIAL MEDIA (2023)



**SOURCES.** The 2023 media monitoring revealed that the main source of homophobic comments/posts is the traditional media (31.7%), followed by politicians (30.8%). Notably, the share of social media (10.5%), society (9.8%), clergy (9.5%), and public organizations (7.7%) is relatively small.

FIGURE 11. SOURCES OF HOMOPHOBIC HATE SPEECH (2023)



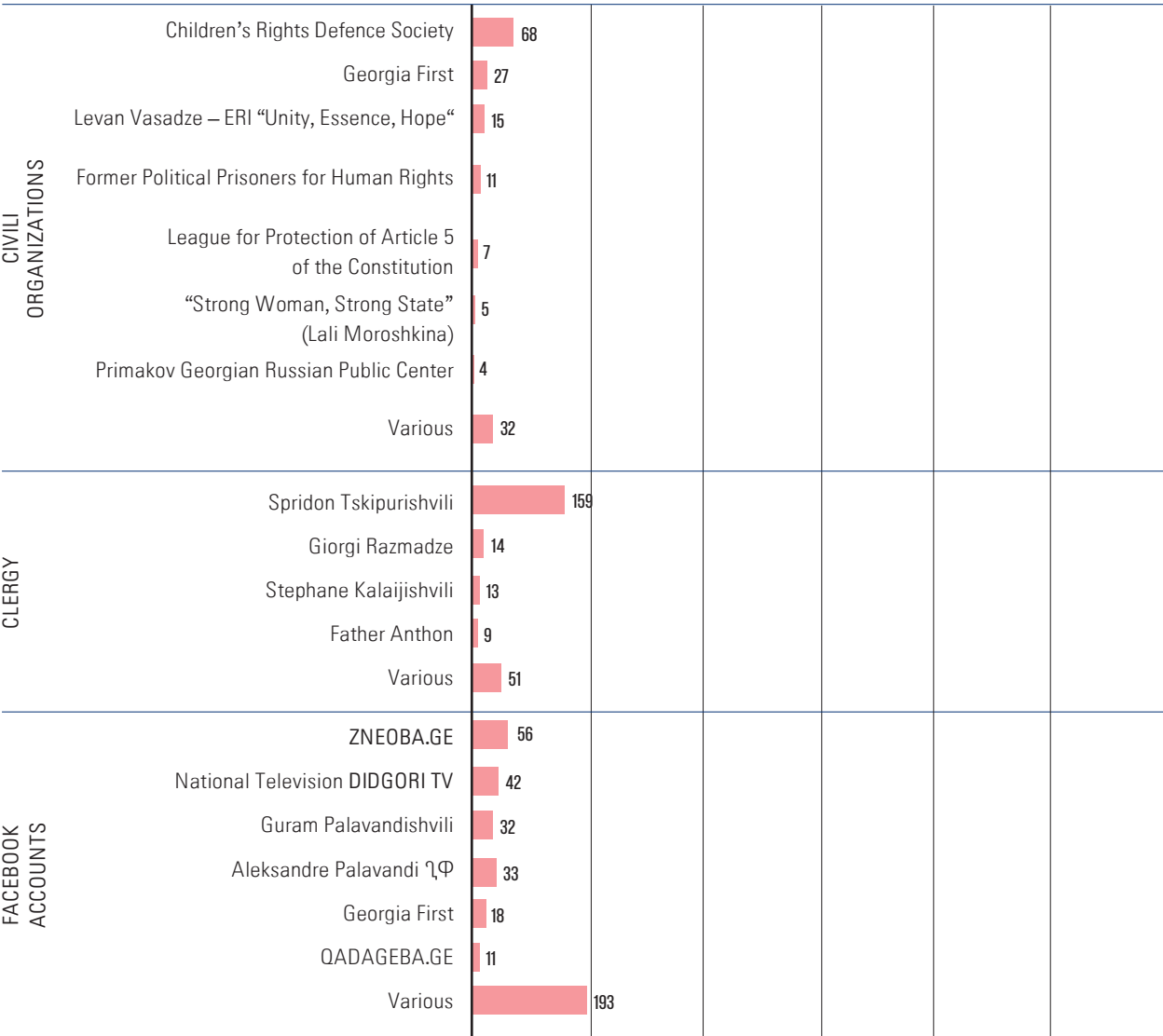
As shown in the figure below, the most homophobic comments among parties was voiced by the Alt-Info/Conservative Movement (960). Along with the “Alliance of Patriots” (41) and the ruling “Georgian Dream” (28) party, the “People’s Power” movement also (17) stood out in terms of homophobic comments.

As for the monitored traditional media, in terms of spreading homophobic messages, the pro-Kremlin “Sezoni TV” (527) and the online publication “Georgia and World” (115) took the lead, followed by the POSTV Analytics, which has a pro-government editorial policy (50).

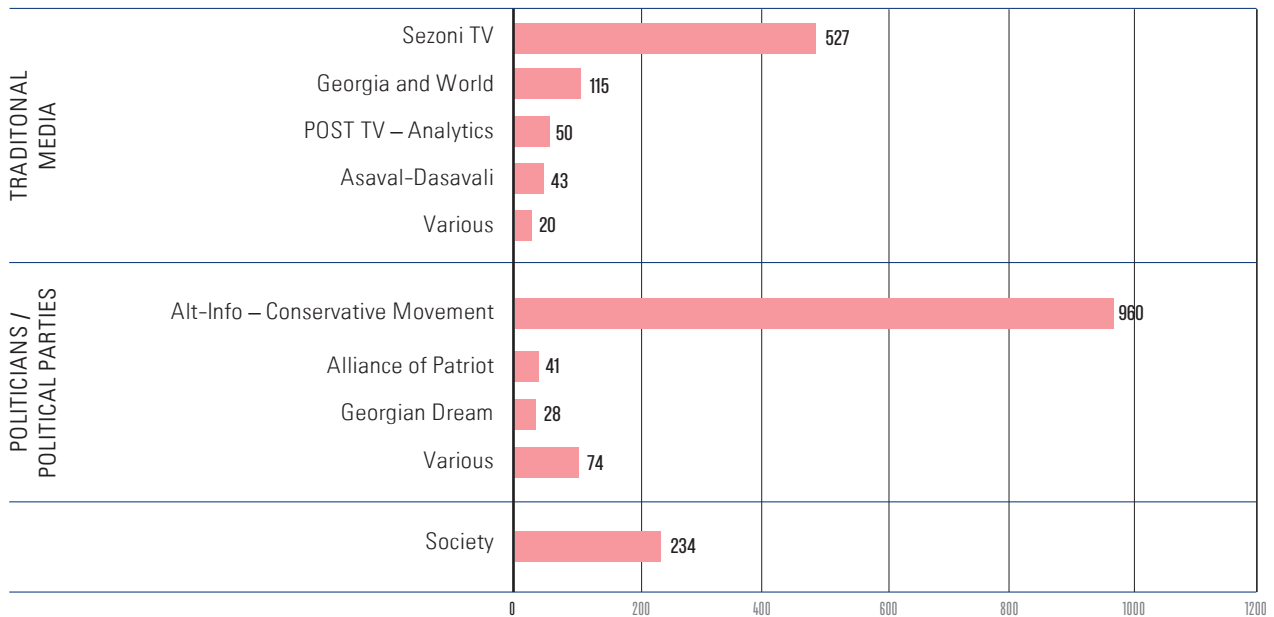
Similar to the report prepared in the first reporting period, Archbishop Spiridon Tskipurishvili (159) stood out among the clergy with homophobic messages. Among the public organizations, the most homophobic statements belong to the “Society for the Protection of Children’s Rights” (68), followed by “Georgia First” (27) and the public movement (party) Levan Vasadze – Unity, Essence, Hope” – ERI (15).

Among the monitored Facebook accounts, homophobic statements were most often found on the religious Facebook page ZNEOBA<sup>8</sup> (56) and Didgori TV (42).

**FIGURE 12. HOMOPHOBIA – SOURCES BY SUBJECTS (2023)**



<sup>8</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/zneoba.ge.new>



## 1.4. TERMINOLOGY

Of the 5,695 discriminatory messages containing sexist and homophobic content identified as a result of media monitoring during the research period (January 1 – December 31, 2023), 4,074 materials/posts (72%) contained offensive terms.

In both the first and second reporting periods, the rate of using offensive vocabulary in traditional media is higher than in social media and amounts to 83.9%.

Both in terms of traditional media and in social media, the main targets of hate speech/offensive terms were the President of Georgia, Salome Zourabichvili (321), women opposition politicians (450), journalists and civil activists, as well as representatives of the creative sphere.

Notably, certain publications/posts contained a number of offensive terms. Facebook pages that were engaged in discriminating against political opponents actively used such derogative vocabulary even in the case of photo-visual manipulations.

In the second reporting period of the 2023 research (June–December, 2023), the most offensive terms in both traditional (390) and social media (94) were found in the category of attacks based on moral criteria. The number of statements that insult the targets of sexist hate speech based on gender stereotypes (249) is also high in traditional media.

**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 civil activists.

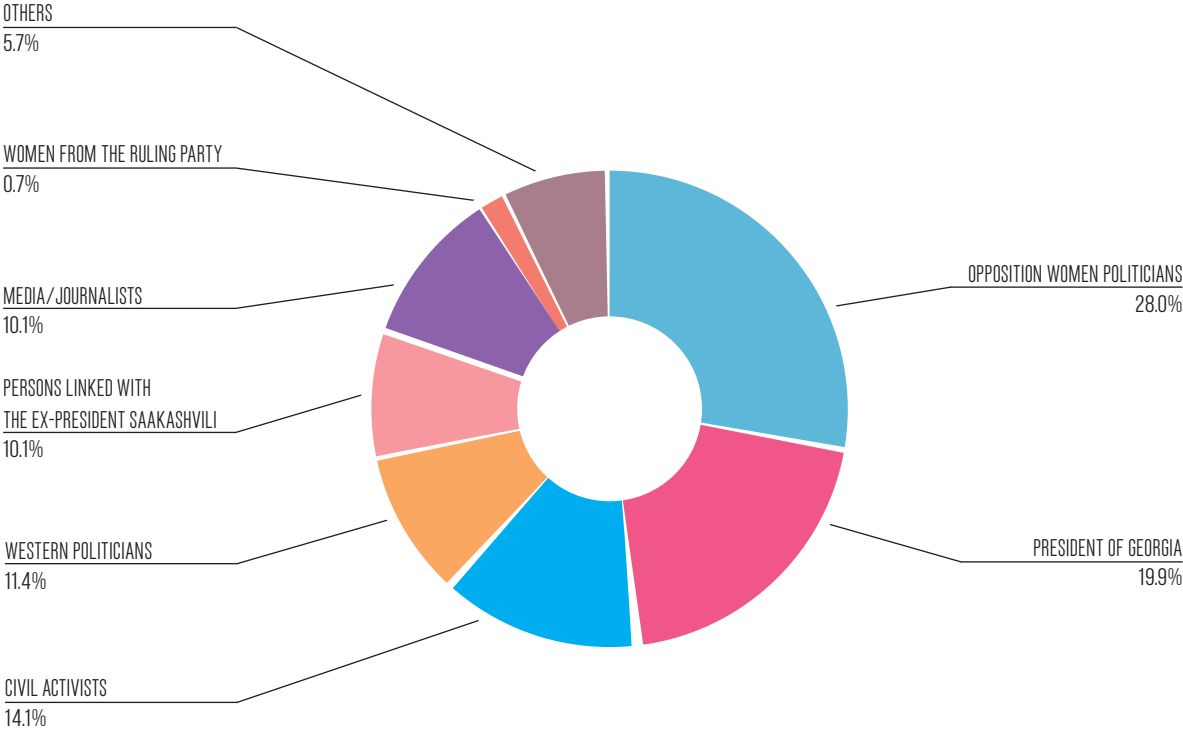
**TABLE 1. OFFENSIVE TERMINOLOGY ACCORDING TO THE SIX CATEGORIES OF SEXISM AND GENDER STEREOTYPING**

CATEGORY	TERMS
<b>1. Attacks based on moral criteria</b>	
<b>1.1 Slut-shaming</b>	For being a successful whore / Kicked out of the brothel / Tent women / Sexually unsatisfied women / Wet dreams / Denikin’s whore / With wild desires / Experienced masturbators / Prostitutes / Tele-sex bulldogs / Horny / Self-declared lolita / Hooker / Porno Politicians / Fallen on her knees / Bent-over / One ordinary slut / hoes / Girl like an angel, although pierced / Onanist / Aroused / Souteneur / Pimp / Bimbo / Slutty moaning /
<b>1.2 Exposing unacceptable moral behavior</b>	Madam Sodomy / A female alcoholic / Embarrassing woman / Immoral woman / obscene / profane / De-trash-izaion / Trash society / Morally depraved / Shameless / A molly degraded person / A depraved woman / Shameful woman / Scoundrel / Poorly-raised / Alcoholic / Round garden drug addict / Scoundrel woman / Ugly-from the inside (spiritually) / Foolish easy-goers /
<b>1.3 Anti-national/anti-religious accusations</b>	Female saboteur / Homelandless / Anti-Georgian / Stinkiness of the soul / Enemy of Georgia / Mankurt without a homeland / National whores
<b>1.4 Anti-state / mercantile</b>	An agent with a “Frame” / Saboteur woman / Western wrapped / Genetically traitor / A trained agent of Russia / Agent / Agent of foreign influence / Spy / An agent hired by a foreign land / Western Trojan horse / Sold woman / Shadimans /
<b>1.5 Anti-liberal accusations</b>	Some liberast monkeys / Liberal aggression / Liberasty / Sect members / Soros’ lackeys /

CATEGORY	TERMS
2. Anti-feminism/ Misogyny	Genderoid women / Someone quota-ed / Organization “Fuchu” [pussy], Feminists / Emancipated feminist woman / Sonder feminist / Feminist / Sonder feminist / Feminist-fascist Sonders / Fat feminists / Group of scumbags / Quota-ed women MPs / A bunch of droopy dicks and dry pussies / Manless Women / Poisonous Creature / Psycho /
3. Offense / ridicule based on appearance	Sexy pig / inflatable woman / cross-eyed / woman with a crazy face / Cheburashka / woman-dung / Madame Zurab / Nose job victim / Pole vaulter / Woman-like / Fat feminists / Qizilbash redhead / Curvy / Looks like a Chinka [monster from the Georgian mythology] / Unsightly woman / Warty pig / Plastic woman for rent / Blue haired Satan / Skunk / Dude with Silicone / Devil painted on a rock / Qizilbash redhead / Chicken with an umbrella / Distorted Woman / Sexy pig / Flared jeans / Quasi-President / Lame duck / Lord of the Fur / Woman with overexposed thighs / Clay President / Cow-related / Anaklia Swamp Frog / Dweller of pigsty forest /
4. Insults based on gender stereotypes	True Georgian woman / Feminine qualities / There are men of toastmaster caliber / Still she is a woman / Delicate / Its surprising coming from a woman / unsuitable for woman / A woman no longer looks like a woman / She insults the grace of motherhood / The housewives of a communal apartment / A stingy woman / A female saboteur / Nasty creatures / She gave the impression of a virtuous woman / Badly brought up “Hysterical” woman / Kikimorka woman
5. Ridicule based on mental abilities	Fool / A woman out of her mind / Unhealthy psyche / Dummy / Moron / Insolent / Idiot / Severe brain cell shedding / crazy woman / not very smart woman / Stupid / illiterate / inept / illiterate / cretin / of low intelligence / underdeveloped / “clever patriots” / brainwashed / brainless / demented / psychologically unbalanced
6. Ageism	Grandma Salome / Teenage Slut / Old head / Women of this age / Of climacteric age / Overgrown / My Grandma’s age / Tattooed Grannies / More frivolous than a teenager / Climaxing Fool / Colorful GenZ / Brainwashed, Genetically Modified Youth / Degenerate Youth / “Gen Z Plast” / Liberast Youth / Sex-trained Generation / Generation of whores

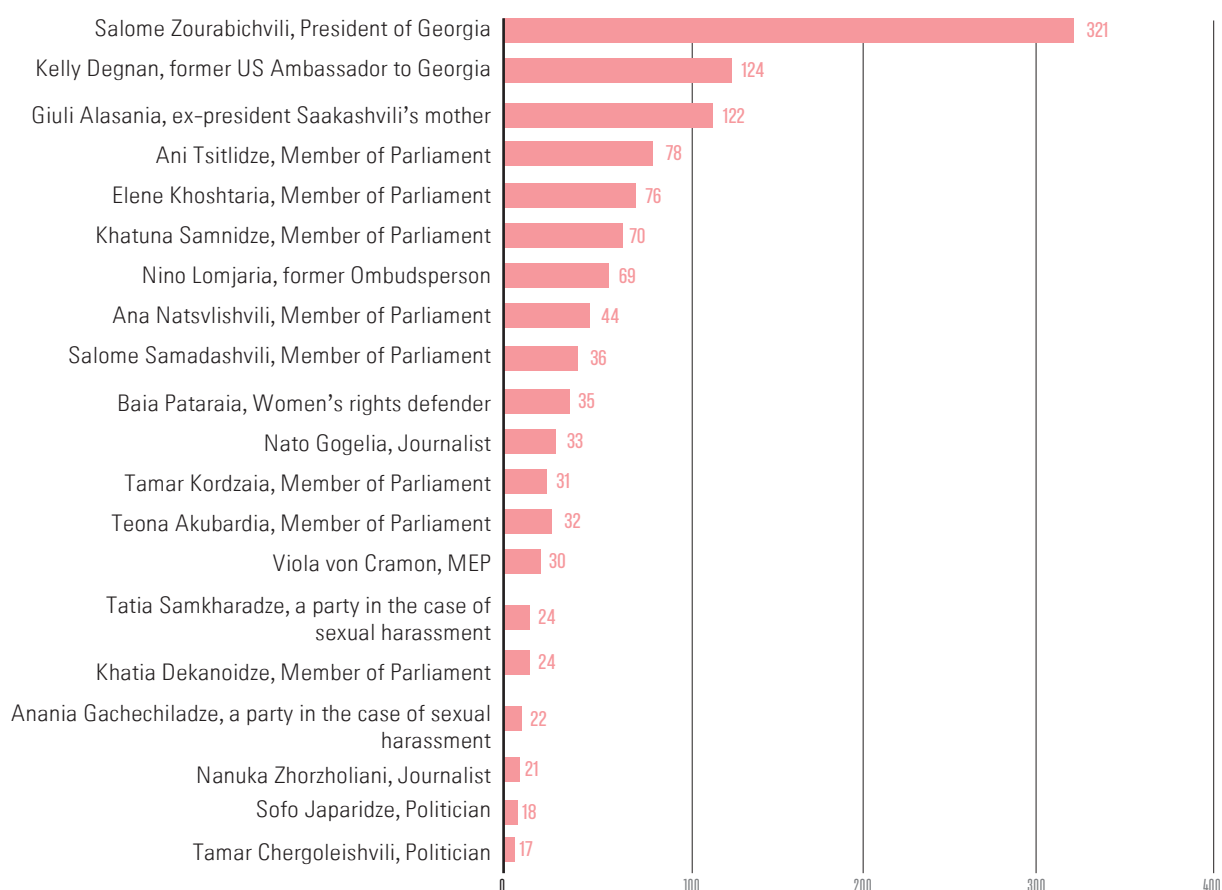
**ADDRESSEES.** Media monitoring of 2023 showed that the terms of sexist language was most often used against female politicians, primarily women representing the political opposition (450) and President Salome Zourabichvili (321), against whom anonymous official Facebook accounts actively spread targeted insulting statements. The number of insulting statements directed against civil activists/non-governmental organizations (229), Western female politicians (183), journalists (163) and persons related to ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili (163) was also high.

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



In 2023, the most frequent target of sexist attacks was the President of Georgia, Salome Zourabichvili (321), who was mostly shamed based on ageism and moral criteria. Zourabichvili is followed by the former US ambassador Kelly Degnan (124). The targets of insults based on gender stereotypes and moral criteria were people related to ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili, among them, the most statements were voiced against his mother, Giuli Alasania (122). Among female MPs, the most frequent targets of sexist hate speech were Elene Khoshtaria (76), Khatuna Samnidze (70) and Ani Tsitlidze (78). Insulting terms against former Public Defender Nino Lomjaria (69) became active after she founded the movement “European Orbit of Georgia”. Women’s rights defender Baia Patariaia (35) was also among the targets of insulting terms.

Among the addressees of hate speech, there are a small number of women holding political positions within the ruling party: Tea Tsulukiani (4), Nino Tsilosani (4), Maia Bitadze (3), Ketevan Dumbadze (1).

FIGURE 14. ADDRESSEES OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH (MOST FREQUENT CASES)<sup>9</sup>

**HOMOPHOBIC TERMINOLOGY.** The homophobic terms identified during the media monitoring (1 January – 31 December 2023) have been divided into 4 categories, which in part, include the following sub-categories:

### 1. Behavior-related terms

- 1.1 Equating homosexuality with sin
- 1.2 Viewing homosexual relations as depravity/immoral
- 1.3 Viewing the LGBTQI identity as a disease/deviation
- 1.4 Labeling 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

<sup>9</sup> On November 11, 2023, Tamar Chergoleishvili left the position of director of "Tabula" and joined the political activities of the "European Georgia" party. <https://tabula.ge/ge/news/710231-vushveb-chemgan-tavisupal-tsurvashi-tabulas>

### 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.

Homophobic messages were related to the Pride Week, supporters of the LGBTQ community, as well as politicians, civil activists and various representatives of the society.

The terms used against the LGBTQI community dehumanized them, associated them with sins, illness and deviance from the norm. Homophobic hate speech sometimes included “neutral” terms, which were used in a negative context against the addressees in various statements. For example, “lesbian”, “LGBT”, “gay”, “liberalism”.

**TABLE 2. HOMOPHOBIC TERMS**

TYPOLGY		TERMS
Varieties of terms used to refer to people with LGBTQI+ identity	LGBTQ	Militarized LGBT / LGBT Queer Pack / LGBT Empire / LGBT Den / LGBT Web / LGBT Rainbow-colored brothel / LGBT-obism Politics / LGBT Tankers / LGBT Issues / LGBT Organizations / LGBT Movement / LGBT Flags / LGBT Terrorism / LGBT Activist / LGBT direction creatures / LGBT cross / LGBT Unbridled Agents / LGBT Perverted Forms / LGBT Herd / LGBT Community Followers / LGBTQ+, Elements of Perversion / LGBT Problem / LGBT Advertising / Clandestine LGBTs / Establishment of LGBT Dictatorship / LGBT MPs / LGBT Perverted / LGBTzation
	Gay	Gay Orgies / Gay Priests / Gay Agents / Gay Conchitas / Resigned Gays / Gay Activists / Gay Propaganda / Gay Militarists / Gay Country [Ukraine] / Gay Marches / Gay Political Party / Gay Freedom of Expression / Gay Something Disgusting / Gay Propagandist / Gay, Pedophile Society / Gay Laws / Worse than a Gay Parade Holder / Gay Organization / Gay Revolution / Gay Manifesto Signatory / Gay Movies / Gay Statues / Gay Memos / Gay Cartels / Gay-Transgender-Gender-Fluid Society /
	“Pederast”	Pederast / Worse than Pederast / Pederast Habitus / Pro-Pederasty / Pederast Culture / Pederast Civilization / Pederast-like / Import of Pederasty / Militant Pederasts / Pederast Flank / Case of becoming a Pederast / Extreme Pederasty / Raising someone on a Pederast Agenda / Part of the Pederast Unity / One of the flagship of Pederasts / A handful of pederasts / biologically pederasts / pederast-dogs / War cock /
	Transgender	Transgender Dude / Geopolitical Transgenderism / Normalization of Transgenders / Transgender Children / Transgender Propagandist McDonald’s / Transgender Admiral / Some Transgenders / Transgender Propaganda / Transgender Flag / Transgender Pedophile / Sick Transgender / Transgender Male or Female /
	Lesbian	Lesbian Orgies / Lesbian Agents / Lesbian Movie / Lesbian Channel One / Spiritual Lesbians / Lesbian leader / Lesbian Negro / Pink World / Lesbian Channel / Lesbian /
	Faggot	Faggot / Faggots running wild / Georgians who became Faggots / becoming a Faggot
	Homosexual	Homosexuality / Scrawlers with homosexual tendencies / Homosexual forms / Becoming Homosexual / Homosexual orgies / Propaganda of the normality of homosexuality /
Sapphist	Sapphist orgies / Sapphist	



TYPOLOGY	TERMS	
Behavior-related	Sin	Sodomitic sin / Sin of Sodom-Gomorrah / People in sin / Indulged in sin / Terrible sin / Normalization of sin / Propaganda of sin / Propaganda of evil sins / Propaganda of followers of Sodomitic sin / Sodomite media / Days of Sodomy / Followers of fornication and Sodomy / For the legalization of Sodomy / Sodomite MPs / Sodomitic Georgia / Sodomitic literature / Sheet of Sodomy
	Depravity / immorality	Hub of Depravity / Promiscuous lifestyle / Depraved Tbilisi / Debauchery / Debauchers running wild / Propagandists of debauchery / Immoral agenda / Debauched state / Form of debauchery / Symbolism of debauchery / Flags of debauchery / Sexual debauchery / Debauchery of the world / Debauched beds / Sect of debauchery / Immoral people / advocating immorality / living in filthiness / spiritual poison /
	Disease / Deviation	Diseased LGBT culture / Horrible anomaly existing in nature / Perverted people / Degenerate people / Pervert / illness / disease / pathologies / persons with morbid tendencies / manifestations of insanity / lunatic pederasty / mindless people / plague / errored person / people with defective thinking / unhealthy thinking / perverts running free / unhealthy orientation / non-traditional orientation
	Related to Pride / the exercise of the right to freedom of expression	LGBTQ Life Celebration / LGBT Prides / Holding LGBT Propaganda / Event supporting LGBT community / Attempt to hold a Gay Parade / Demonstration of Gay Conchitas / Gay Pederastic Elf Festival (Pride) / Gay Parade Country / LGBT Week / LGBT Parade / Pederastic Parties / Some Pederastic Party / Gay holiday / Days of Sodomy / Festival of debauchery / Parade of debauchery / Public propaganda of debauchery / Festival of sick debauchery / Celebration of perverted needs / Public propaganda of debauchery / Gay holiday / Gay propaganda festival of pedophilic content / Propagandistic festival of livestock
	LGBT Propaganda / self-assertion	Blue Terror / Extreme Propaganda / LGBT Propaganda Books / Extreme Propaganda / Gay Propaganda / Gay Agitation / Imposition of same-sex propaganda / Propaganda of Evil Sins / Propaganda Movies / Propaganda Books / LGBT Propaganda
	Marriage	Same-sex marriage / Marriage registration of two men / Marriage of all men / A man will never be called a wife /
	Linking the community to pedophilia	LGBT pedophiles / romanticization of pedophilia / some perverted pedophiles / pedophilic craziness / LGBT propaganda cartoons for children / aimed at child depravity / pro-pedophile / pedophile civilization / pedophile content
Identity-related	References to an unidentified gender / identity	Genderization / Sex-changed child / Habitus of some uncertain orientation / Gender prosecution groups / "New gender identity / Unclear sex / Gender police / Gender education / Gender-feminist-sonder groups / Sonder-genders / Sex-muddled people / couples of uncertain gender /
	Denigration on the basis of identity	Colorful young pederast boy/with feminine mannerisms / boys with earrings / girls transformed into men / Lazare with earrings / Queen of Conchitas / Some pederasts with earrings / Conchita with earrings / girls transformed into men / Walking as a pederasts / boys with nail polish and exposed nipples /

TYPOLOGY	TERMS	
	Dehumanization	Gay Herd / Human Animalization Process / Animalization Parade / Worse than Animals / Livestock Society / Livestock Debauchery / Pigs / Someone Miserable / Ugly / Social Scum / Dweller of pigsty forest / Chickens / Love among some Animals / Some Stupid Idiot Gen-Z / Butts / Livestock Cynicism / Chicken Brigadier / Akrobulu Queer herd / De-trash-izaion /
	Anti-Western Anti-liberal	LGBT Liberast Sect / Completely Liberalized / Gay Someone Liberal / Liberal-Fascist Televisions / Liberal Dictate / Pro-Western Liberals / Bloody Liberast Regime / Liberal Media / A Little Liberast / Liberast-like Elements / White Liberasts
	Gay Europe / depraved West	Gay Europe / Eurosodomite Union Flag / Strengthening the LGBT Commonwealth / Gay European Union / Pederast Europe / Pederasty for them is good / All Pederasts are Pro-Western / America is Modern Sodom and Gomorrah / Europe is Perverted / The whole West became pederast / Blue Collective West / Inside-European Liberasts / Pederastic European Future / Pederasts' Union

## II. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH / GENDER STEREOTYPING

### 2.1. ANTI-FEMINISM/ MISOGYNY

The one-year media monitoring revealed 552 messages containing anti-feminist and misogynistic sentiments, the majority of which (500) were identified in traditional media, and relatively less (52) from social media.

Sexist messages aimed to stir up negative attitudes towards women's movements, female activists and human rights defenders, as well as female politicians. Women were referred to by the following terms: “feminist-fascist sonders”,<sup>10</sup> “revolution of sexually dissatisfied women,”<sup>11</sup> “genderoid women,”<sup>12</sup> “crazy feminists,”<sup>13</sup> “sonder feminists”,<sup>14</sup> “feminist bastard.”<sup>15</sup>

In terms of anti-feminist/misogynist hate speech, the predominant amount of comments were voiced by the pro-Kremlin parties (Conservative Movement, Alliance of Patriots), media outlets (Sezoni TV), and the clergy. Feminism was depicted as a phenomenon that is being imposed by the West, which, based on selfish motives, is aimed at the oppression of men and the destruction of families. The issue of feminism was manipulatively linked to European integration, in particular, and the process of granting of the candidate status to Georgia.

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<sup>10</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 19 June, <https://bitly.ws/3fUNi>

<sup>11</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 5 June, <https://bitly.ws/3fUNm>

<sup>12</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 25 December – 7 January

<sup>13</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 16 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fUNn>

<sup>14</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 18 July, <https://bitly.ws/3fUNs>

<sup>15</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 1 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fR5a>

<p>The West/EU promotes feminism and the segregation of men</p>	<p>Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement: „... This is some ugliness established in the West; men were castrated, who are now being controlled by these feminist whore women... This is the trap of feminists, we should not fall into it.”<sup>16</sup></p> <p>Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement: „The European Union is propagating depravity in Georgia, establishing feminism and anti-Christian agenda...”<sup>17</sup></p>
<p>Liberal feminism / the EU is deliberately destroying the institution of family</p>	<p>Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement: “The system, this liberal feminist system, gave so much priority to women that men in the West are afraid to enter into a relationship with a woman. That’s why families are no longer created, that’s why no new people are being born, i.e. no reproduction takes place, and that’s what they want, that is the final task of the globalists, liberals.”<sup>18</sup></p> <p>Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Host at Sezoni TV: „That is, [in the European Union] they might ask us to pass such laws that men, for example, during relations with women, cannot enter into a relationship with a woman without the permission of Baia Pataraiia... There is no limit to this certain feminist-pederast reasoning.”<sup>19</sup></p>
<p>Feminism is being established under self-interest</p>	<p>Ermile Nemsadze: “...Organization “Fuchu,” [Pussy] political party and public movement, you have that function, you have turned into female genitalia, you are simply scumbags, you will do everything for money.”<sup>20</sup></p>
<p>Georgians do not need to learn gender equality from others</p>	<p>Vazha Otarashvili, Alliance of Patriots: „What should you teach me, gender? When we had Marytr Queen Shushanik and Marytr Queen Ketevan, right? And Maia Tskneteli and when woman and man fought together for our faith, to protect Christianity, to save the motherland and now they are bringing this notion of gender? And under the label of gender comes this sodomistic sin propaganda en masse.”<sup>21</sup></p>
<p>A true women will not be poisoned by feminism</p>	<p>Stepane Kalaijishvili, Bishop: A true woman, who is a person of honor, will not be poisoned by the bacillus of feminism.”<sup>22</sup></p>

The principle of equality between men and women was discussed in a misogynistic context, at which time the revision of their traditional roles was attributed to the Western conjuncture.

**Achi Purtseladze, Singer:** „We don’t have an institution of womanhood on how to take care of a man.... Georgian women “have gone over their heads”. They found this gender equality and are trying to be equal. At some point they want to run ahead of you. The “control package” should be owned by a man, 51% – men, 49% – women....”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 1 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fR5a>

<sup>17</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 20 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fR54>

<sup>18</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 27 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fR5h>

<sup>19</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 13 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fR4M>

<sup>20</sup> Ermile Nemsadze, 3 March, <https://bitly.ws/3fAqT>

<sup>21</sup> Obieqtivi, Studio 8, 24 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fR5q>

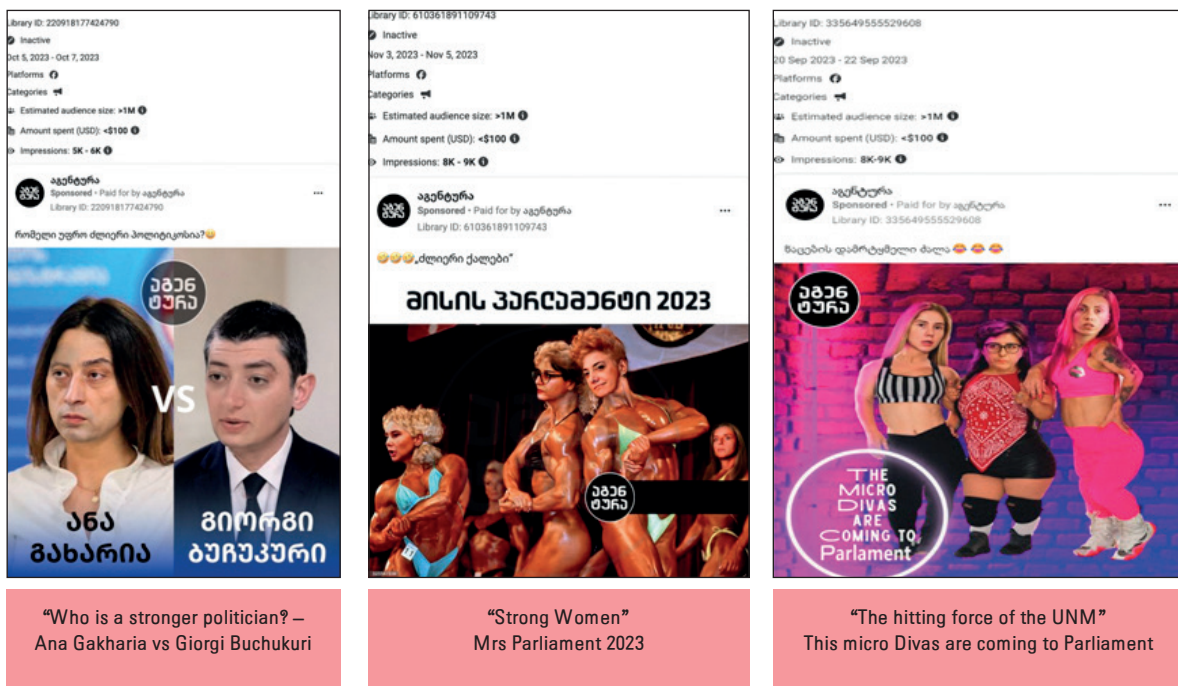
<sup>22</sup> Diocese of Chkondidi, 22 January, <https://bit.ly/44d1YUj>

<sup>23</sup> Split News, 30 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fAqE>

**Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Host at Sezoni TV:** „Do you know what these Americans want? A Georgian man to be a waiter... When they go out on the street, saying that they want Europe, they don't really want European ideals, women want to be prostitutes, men want to be drug addicts. This is Europe.”<sup>24</sup>

**Guram Palavandishvili, Society for the Protection of Children:** “What sort of alphabetic truths we have to prove while dealing with this “West”. If the head of the family is not a man, the family is degraded.”<sup>25</sup>

Social media and memes were actively used to discredit female opposition MPs, human rights defenders and participants of protest actions, and in this regard both government-affiliate as well as anti-liberal Facebook accounts were active. For example, the anonymous government-related page “Agentura” published memes against the representatives of the United National Movement (Tina Bokuachava, Ani Tsitlidze), the Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze), the parties “For Georgia” (Ana Buchukuri)<sup>26</sup> and Lelo (Salome Samadashvili), in which they mocked the strength of female politicians using photo manipulations.<sup>27</sup> In one case, women MPs were also referred to as micro-divas.<sup>28</sup> Notably, all three posts were sponsored.<sup>29</sup>



<sup>24</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 24 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fUQd>  
<sup>25</sup> Guram Palavandi ჴფ, 20 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fAmZ>  
<sup>26</sup> Agentura, 5 October, <https://bit.ly/3TeqwXb>  
<sup>27</sup> Agentura, 3 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fR4p>  
<sup>28</sup> Agentura, 20 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fR3R>  
<sup>29</sup> Agentura, Facebook Ads Library, <https://bitly.ws/3fR6f>

Opposition female politicians and activists were targeted with sexist language for protesting or expressing solidarity. The far-right Facebook account of Ermile Nemsadze described Eka Beselia, a female politician who participated in the March protests, and other activists who protested against the law against non-governmental organizations as “dissatisfied women,” calling the former “the nation’s problem”.<sup>30</sup> In the second case, he insulted opposition women and human rights defenders with sexist comments for expressing solidarity with the Ukrainian flag.<sup>31</sup>



“Eka Boselia [Boseli means barn in Georgian] and Women as such... Dissatisfied women have become a problem of the country”



“Women’s patriotic organization in Georgia “Freedom of Ukhaina and Fuchu [Pussy]”

After the March protests, a deliberate discrediting of activism in general was observed. Pro-government Facebook accounts “Political Satire”<sup>32</sup> and “Terenti Gldaneli”<sup>33</sup> published posts about “Georgian liberal girl”, “Georgian lame girl activist starter pack”. The video animation about “Exposing the Georgian Liberal Girl” was disseminated in a sponsored form.



<sup>30</sup> Ermile Nemsadze, 18 მაისი, <https://bitly.ws/3fUPA>  
<sup>31</sup> Ermile Nemsadze, 9 ივნისი, <https://bitly.ws/3fAjP>  
<sup>32</sup> Political Satire, 29 August, <https://bitly.ws/3fUNE>  
<sup>33</sup> Terenti Gldaneli, 15 June, <https://bitly.ws/3fUPk>

Addressees of sexist hate speech were also women who spoke publicly about the facts of sexual harassment, while in some cases, various sources questioned the accusations of women who were victims of sexual harassment and labelled them as politically motivated.<sup>34</sup> In this regard, Shalva Ramishvili,<sup>35</sup> director of the pro-government PostTV, who was exposed for sexual harassment, and his supporters, including those from the ruling party, stood out the most.

**Lali Moroshkina, “Strong Woman, Strong State”:** “They have filled the prisons with supposedly violent men; they pick a target and orchestrate their destruction. Look at yourself! All the worthless harlots raised their voices. The men of my generation were killed by war and drugs, my children’s generation is destroyed by the Mdedrioni<sup>36</sup> of three-penny Kikus!<sup>37</sup>”

**Shalva Ramishvili, Host at PosTV:** “Actually, I found a lady in the videos who works as my victim, the one who sometimes sits in the closet, that person is now a political commentator, she gets invited and makes comments on politically sensitive topics.”<sup>38</sup>

**Gia Volski, Georgian Dream:** “... This is a well-targeted, well-designed structured attack, with some facts that happened 8 or 9 years ago, but on top of that is a well-targeted, well-organized PR attack.”<sup>39</sup>

## 2.2. ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA

During the monitoring period, 910 comments/posts containing attacks based on moral criteria were identified on traditional media, and 805 on social media.

Attacks based on moral criteria were mainly carried out on politically and socially active women in order to discredit them. Women from the political opposition were referred to as “sexually uncontrollable,”<sup>40</sup> “prostitute,”<sup>41</sup> “untied,”<sup>42</sup> “uncontrollable,”<sup>43</sup> and “5-GEL whores”.<sup>44</sup> The following terms were used in relation to Western politicians/diplomats: “For being a successful whore”,<sup>45</sup> “aroused”,<sup>46</sup> “sexually perverted”.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>34</sup> on.ge, 21 March, 3 More Women Expose Ramishvili for Sexual Harassment, <https://bit.ly/3wDI6fv>

<sup>35</sup> Netgazeti, 27 March, The State vs Tatia Samkharadze, <https://bitly.ws/3fUMZ>

<sup>36</sup> Mdedrioni is a wordplay on Mdedri, Georgian word for female and Mkhedrioni, a Georgian paramilitary group active during the Georgian civil war.

<sup>37</sup> Split News, 31 March, <https://bitly.ws/3fAqU>

<sup>38</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 8 May, <https://bitly.ws/3fUN7> (No longer available)

<sup>39</sup> Resonance, 29 March, <https://bitly.ws/3fAnc>

<sup>40</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 17 July, [https://www.myvideo.ge/?video\\_id=4192239](https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4192239)

<sup>41</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 1 November, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4206383>

<sup>42</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day 17 July, [https://www.myvideo.ge/?video\\_id=4192239](https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4192239)

<sup>43</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 30 October, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4205992>

<sup>44</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 3 March, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4166607>

<sup>45</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 29 June, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4189274>

<sup>46</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 28 July, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4194891&rc=1>

<sup>47</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 25 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4200210>

**SLUT-SHAMING.** The form of sexist hate speech “slut-shaming” was actively used during the attacks based on moral criteria, being used in relation to women from the political opposition by the representatives of the ruling party and anonymous pages related to the government, as well as by pro-Kremlin and far-right actors.

Criticism of the activities of the Parliamentary Committee on Defense and Security by the independent female MP Teona Akubardia was followed by the sexist hate speech from the committee chairman Irakli Beraia;<sup>48</sup> And in the case of United National Movement MP Ani Tsitlidze, representative of the ruling party, Aluda Ghudushauri, used discriminatory statements in response to an insulting remark towards him.<sup>49</sup>

**Irakli Beraia, Georgian Dream:** “...when the issue of Georgia was discussed [at NATO Parliamentary Assembly], she [Teona Akubardia] never once sat in the hall. She went **shopping**, or to put it in her own words, she had a **hangover** and was **too lazy to get up**...The real reason why Ms. Akubardia always refers to our committee for the last one year, and not so much, of course, in a good way... is that she does not have the opportunity to **take selfies on Facebook**, to **enter airport lounges, to get drunk and wallow** with the likes of her and anyone else. I urge this person to refrain from mentioning me and my committee’s name in his long and ubiquitous language. I urge this person to refrain from mentioning me and my committee, with **her long tongue, wherever it has been**.”<sup>50</sup>

**Aluda Gudushauri, Georgian Dream:** „...Ana Tsitlidze works day and night, and barely hugged one sneaker [of Saakashvili] ... You can’t even fit in the list of women who had a crush on Saakashvili and now calm down and get out.”<sup>51</sup>

**Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Host at Sezoni TV:** „...[Ani Tsitlidze, Teona Akubardia] They are **whores and prostitutes**, and even these men [Beraia, Ghudushauri] said so when saying that **her language has been everywhere and that she was wallowed**... they have **splashy sex** when they go abroad... and I also agree – **they are whores**.”<sup>52</sup>

**Shota Martinenko, Conservative Movement:** **Apparently, when there is someone who is a whore, you should treat her like Dame... even when she uses her fists and spits... Some whores**

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<sup>48</sup> Radio Liberty, 1 November “Will Beraia and Ghudushauri have to defend themselves in the case of sexual harassment?” <https://bit.ly/3TrDuS0>

<sup>49</sup> Netgazeti, 31 October, “Tsitlidze called Ghudushauri a moron in the parliament, he responded to the female MP with a sexist phrase”, <https://bitly.ws/3fV5w>

<sup>50</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 1 November, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4206391>

<sup>51</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 1 November, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4206391>

<sup>52</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 1 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fArA>



**[Khatuna Samnidze, Ani Tsitlidze, Theona Akubardia] were shouting something in the parliament. Someone answered from there, that too in a very modest way. What a two-day hysteria you caused...<sup>53</sup>**

The president of Georgia, Salome Zourabishvili, was also subjected to attacks based on moral criteria. The use of sexist hate speech against Zourabishvili was linked to her decision of pardoning of the director of the opposition channel,<sup>54</sup> her criticism of the government’s foreign policy,<sup>55</sup> her speech in the European Parliament,<sup>56</sup> initiation of the impeachment process due to her European tour in support of the candidate’s status,<sup>57</sup> and negative assessment of the ruling party’s sexist language towards female MPs.<sup>58</sup> She was referred to as a “prostitute”,<sup>59</sup> “the one who married her son’s godfather”,<sup>60</sup> “indulged in passion”<sup>61</sup> and “perverted”.<sup>62</sup> In some cases, she became targeted because of the possibility of her pardoning President Saakashvili.

**Gela Zedelashvili, Asaval-Dasavali Journalist: “...Well, Grandma Salome, don’t pardon [Saakashvili] this New Year, otherwise you will miss not only the Orbelians’ palace, but even Uncle Tom’s Cabin. Yes, one more: take off your leg, otherwise one can already see that rotten amnesty of yours!”<sup>63</sup>**

The slut-tshaming campaign against Salome Zourabichvili was also carried out on social media, and in this regard anonymous pages related to the government – Generation Gen Z,<sup>64</sup> “Political Absurdity”, “Agentura” and “Terenti Gldaneli”, as well as “Ar Agarevinebt” associated with the leader of the “Georgia First” movement, Vato Shakarishvili, were active. Such attacks intensified especially after the President pardoned Nika Gvaramia, the founder of the opposition “Mtavari Channel”.

<sup>53</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 1 November, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4206385>

<sup>54</sup> Radio Liberty, President Pardoned Nika Gvaramia, <https://bitly.ws/3fAob>

<sup>55</sup> Publika, 26 May, The President’s critical speech to the government at the Independence Day ceremony. <https://bit.ly/43hrF4K>

<sup>56</sup> Netgazeti, 31 May, Response of MEPs to Zourabichvili’s speech, <https://netgazeti.ge/news/672520/>

<sup>57</sup> Radio Liberty, 18 October, The president was not impeached, <https://bitly.ws/3fVUI>

<sup>58</sup> Formula, 31 October, “It’s unacceptable, it’s shameful, my solidarity to women” – the President on insulting the MPs, <https://bit.ly/4ciR2q0>

<sup>59</sup> Ermile Nemsadze, 20 May, <https://bitly.ws/3fAnX>

<sup>60</sup> Ermile Nemsadze, 10 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fAo5>

<sup>61</sup> Georgia First, 19 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fAo7>

<sup>62</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 1 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fAog>

<sup>63</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 18-24 December

<sup>64</sup> Facebook account is not available since May 2023



“According to a legend, in France at the end of the 17th century, a prisoner was sentenced to death by starvation, although the prisoner did not die for years, see the reason in the photo.”<sup>65</sup>



“When he swears at you, but you fell in love with him.”<sup>66</sup>

Pro-government Facebook pages – “Ar Agarevinebt”<sup>67</sup> and “Agentura”<sup>68</sup> – in certain cases made sexist comments about the personal life of the president, and for this purpose they used insulting archival statements of Nika Gvarami himself (“Resident D\*ckwoman”).

Some of the posts against the president were sponsored by government-related Facebook pages (Agentura and Ar Agarevinebt). Notably, on Facebook on the day of Gvaramia’s release, the pro-government TV company “Imedi” published and even sponsored the archival recording<sup>69</sup> of Gvaramia, where he refers to the president as “Resident D\*ckwoman;” however, according to the Facebook Ads library, the advertisement of the video has been suspended due to violating community guidelines.



“She was chirping, jumping, then the got married and turned into a prostitute.”



“Resident D\*ckwoman, Photomanipulation of Salome Zourabichvili with the inscription: “When you married your own relative, became the president and now you are with the people, but still a bit higher...”

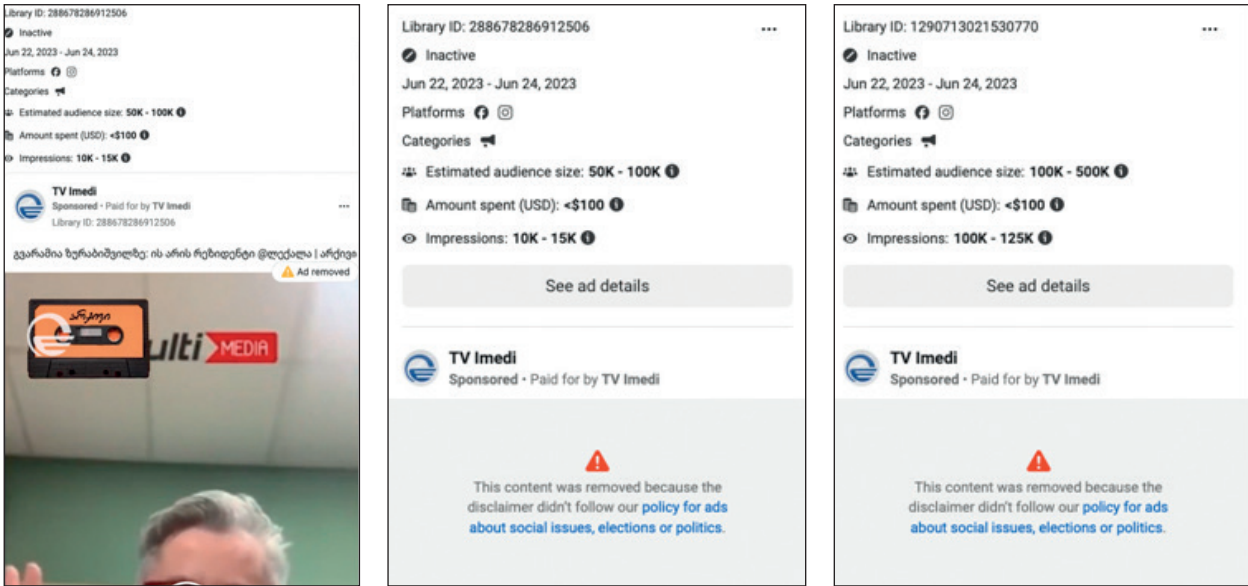
<sup>65</sup> Ar Agarevinebt, 23 June, <https://bit.ly/49UXnHC>

<sup>66</sup> Ar Agarevinebt, 25 June, <https://bit.ly/49WqU3t>

<sup>67</sup> Ar Agarevinebt, 1 July, <https://bitly.ws/3fAof>

<sup>68</sup> Agentura, 6 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fV2Z>

<sup>69</sup> TV Imedi, 22 June, <https://www.facebook.com/tvmedi/videos/811046283598492>



The ad of TV Imedi on Facebook has been removed.

The anonymous Facebook account “Agentura” published sexist photo manipulations against female opposition politicians Ana Tsitlidze<sup>70</sup> and Elene Khoshtaria,<sup>71</sup> where they were ridiculed on the basis of their body and sexuality.



“Ana Tsitlidze: There are always challenges and news with me. “If you don’t have a personal life, that means you don’t want it.”



“Liaka [Elene Khoshtaria] did not have someone to take care of her, otherwise she should have been be such a girl now”

<sup>70</sup> Agentura, 29 August, <https://bitly.ws/3fV3F>

<sup>71</sup> Agentura, 29 December, <https://bit.ly/4chBbJd>

Women related to ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili were frequent targets of slut-shaming. One of the main targets of the attacks based on moral criteria was his mother, Giuli Alasania. In the messages directed against Alasania, along with slut-shaming, ridicule based on appearance and ageist comments were also identified.

**Bacho Odisharia, PosTV Host:** „This perverted lady [Giuli Alasania], this self-declared lolita.“<sup>72</sup>

Both government-affiliated (Agentural,<sup>73</sup> “Political Satire”<sup>74</sup>) as well as conservative (“Conservative Flank”<sup>75</sup>) anonymous Facebook pages published photo fabrications and memes, where together with Alasania, the sexiness of the president and male politician (Gubaz Sanikidze) was ridiculed. In addition, the slut-shaming attempts against Giuli Alasania was linked to rumors about the alleged marriage of the ex-president’s mother to Giorgi Chaladze, a member of the United National Movement. In some cases, the posts were accompanied by obscene comments.

<p><b>Research:</b> Sexiest Female Politician Guboz Sanikidze – 96%, Giuli Alasania – 69%, Salome Zourabichvili – 6.9%</p>	<p>“Parents of Misha, From July 20 in Cinemas”</p>	<p>Misha has the most motherf*cking doctor!</p>

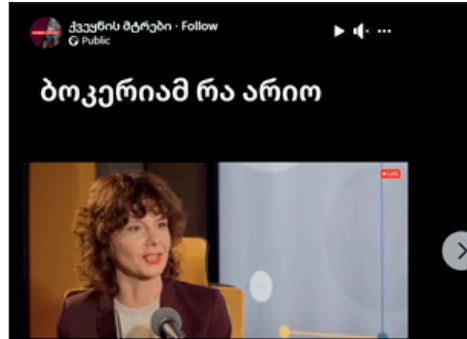
Slut-shaming against Tamar Chergoleishvili, the former editor of “Tabula”, currently a member of the “European Georgia” party, was carried out by the pro-government POSTV–Analytics,<sup>76</sup> anonymous Facebook pages “Enemies of the Country”<sup>77</sup> and “Agentura”.<sup>78</sup> A video was circulated, in which the

<sup>72</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 19 July, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4192606>  
<sup>73</sup> Agentura, 13 November, <https://bit.ly/3TD7kDO>  
<sup>74</sup> Terenti Gldaneli, 28 July, <https://bitly.ws/3fV6p>  
<sup>75</sup> Conservative Flank, 18 January, <https://www.facebook.com/konservatori1/posts/192692920011665>  
<sup>76</sup> POSTV – Analytics, 8 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fAom>  
<sup>77</sup> Enemies of the Country, 8 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fAon>  
<sup>78</sup> Agentura, 8 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fV5b>

fragment where Chergoleishvili recalls the experience of learning to dance was cut out manipulatively. The phrase – “I used to get lost in the hall with my teacher Giorgi Khavta for 1 hour and came out sweaty” – was spread in the wrong context. In addition, the post published by “Agentura” was sponsored.



“With whom did Chergo used to get lost”?



“Bokeria said what is it”



Tamara and dance teacher

Singer Irma Sokhadze became the target of slut-shaming because of her public comment about the importance of sex education in schools.<sup>79</sup> Posts on this topic were published by the far-right Facebook pages “Georgia First”<sup>80</sup> and “Conservative Flank”.<sup>81</sup> The latter attached the flag of the European Union to the image of the singer, as an illustration of the depravity being imposed by the West.

“Mrs. Irma [Sokhadze], as I remember, there were serious discussions about the results achieved from the early sexual education you received during the communist era, and now you should at least leave these children alone and understand one thing well, what you call sexual freedom is bodily-whoredom.”



Every sunday Sex lessons Trainer Irma Sokhadze

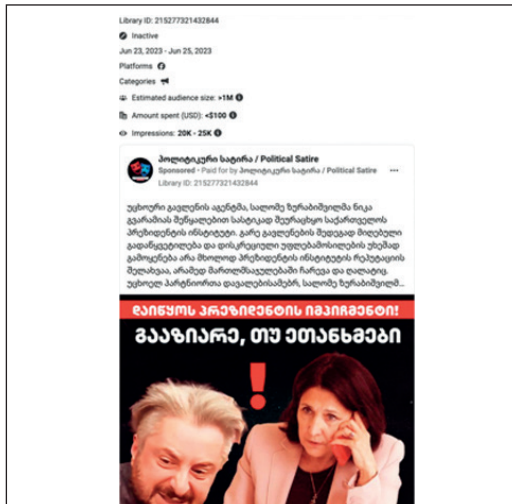
**ANTI-STATE/ANTI-NATIONAL/MERCANTILE ACT.** Attacks based on moral criteria did not only involve instances of slut-shaming. Women active in political and public life were accused of neglecting national interests and pursuing the interests of foreign countries in exchange for financial interests, sometimes they were even considered agents of the Western conspiracy.

The frequent target of such messages continued to be the President of Georgia Salome Zourabichvili, which was mainly related to the pardon of the founder of “Mtavari Channel” and her state-

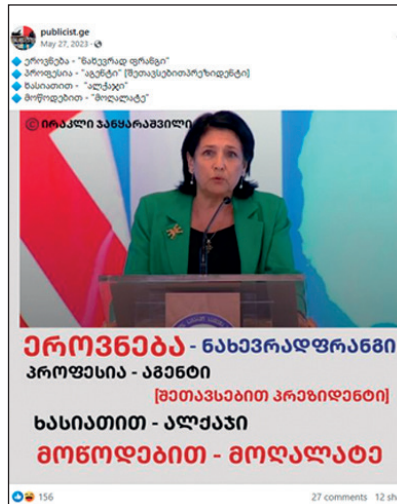
<sup>79</sup> Palitra Video, 17 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fArN>  
<sup>80</sup> Georgia First, 12 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fArR>  
<sup>81</sup> Conservative Flank, 14 December, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=342694018517492&set=a.257548357032059>

ments regarding Georgia’s foreign policy. Zourabichvili was called a “genetically traitor”,<sup>82</sup> “Western wrapped”,<sup>83</sup> “foreign woman”,<sup>84</sup> “doing non-Georgian work”,<sup>85</sup> and in some cases her impeachment was demanded. In this regard, both pro-Kremlin actors (Alt-Info, Publicist.ge<sup>86</sup>) and anonymous pro-government accounts (Political satire,<sup>87</sup> Ar Agarevinebt<sup>88</sup>) stood out.

**Zurab Makharadze, Host at Alt-Info: „They put an agent of a foreign country as our president, and what should we ask for from that woman”<sup>89</sup>**



The impeachment of President Salome Zourabishvili should start! “The agent of foreign influence, Salome Zourabichvili, by pardoning Nika Gvaramia, severely insulted the Institution of the President of Georgia... On the instructions of foreign partners, Salome Zourabichvili made a decision against the will of the largest part of the population of Georgia... This is a betrayal of the voters of the “Georgian Dream”...



“Nationality – half-French, Profession – agent [part-time president] Character – Witch traitor by calling”



Sally Degnan

Labelling the Lelo member Salome Samadashvili as an enemy of the country and a “foolish witch” (“Politicians from 1 GEL”<sup>90</sup>) was connected to the opposition MP’s decision to wear the Ukrainian flag as a sign of solidarity with Ukraine.

<sup>82</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 1 November, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4206285&rc=1>  
<sup>83</sup> Georgia and World, 29 June, <http://geworld.ge/ge/mfutavni/>  
<sup>84</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 27 November – 3 December  
<sup>85</sup> Resonance, 14 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fVfH>  
<sup>86</sup> Publicist.ge, 27 May, <https://bitly.ws/3fV8q>  
<sup>87</sup> Political Satire, 23 June, <https://bit.ly/4cg9qRk>  
<sup>88</sup> Ar Agarevinebt, 26 June, <https://www.facebook.com/100087663338616/posts/217587907839986/>  
<sup>89</sup> Alt-Info, Realpolitik, 22 June, [https://www.myvideo.ge/?video\\_id=4187532](https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4187532)  
<sup>90</sup> Politicians from GEL 1, 25 May, <https://www.facebook.com/100053734415935/posts/807442484139465/>



Nino Tsilosani, the representative of the ruling party, the chairman of the Parliamentary Council for Gender Equality, became the subject of moral criticism due to her negative response regarding the disruption of Pride.<sup>91</sup> In addition to questioning Tsilosani's femininity and motherhood, this decision was labelled as anti-Christian and anti-national.<sup>92</sup> The declaration of the former public defender, Nino Lomjaria, as an enemy of the country and the Mother Church by a cleric<sup>93</sup> and the threats of her arrest were related to the request to close the institution in Ninotsminda boarding school due to violation of children's rights and the 2021 disinformation<sup>94</sup> spread on this topic.

<sup>91</sup> Tabula, 9 ივლისი, <https://bitly.ws/3fAjC>

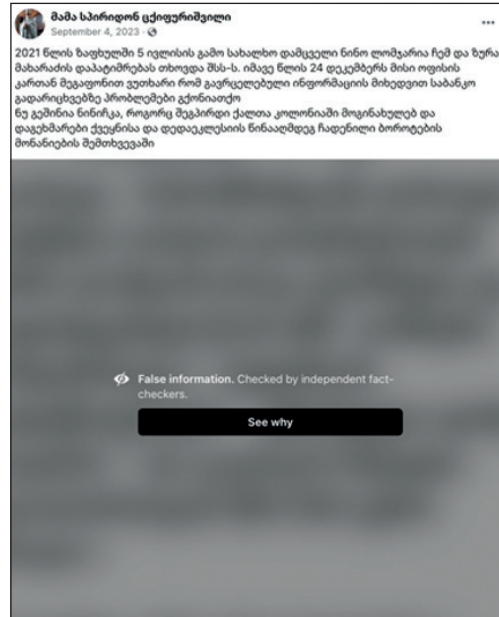
<sup>92</sup> Ermile Nemsadze, <https://bitly.ws/3fAjJ>

<sup>93</sup> Father Spiridon Tskipurishvili, 4 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fAjS>

<sup>94</sup> Myth Detector, 24 November. Pro-Kremlin and Governmental Platforms Disseminate Disinformation about the Public Ombudsman and TV Formula, <https://bit.ly/3TmJgDH>



Ermile Nemsadze, 10 July : “[Nino Tsilosani] Kotsi [GD Affiliated] woman as such... a mother of 3 children, a business lady and a “political woman”... Why didn’t you marry a woman or get a wife if you were so crazy about this depravity, why would you give birth to three children? This is the real face of GD and UNM, no morals, no honor, no semblance of honesty and faith, glassy-eyed posture and talking with barbarisms to the cameras while saying no to aggression... and inside, undisguised contempt and hatred for everything Georgian and national...”



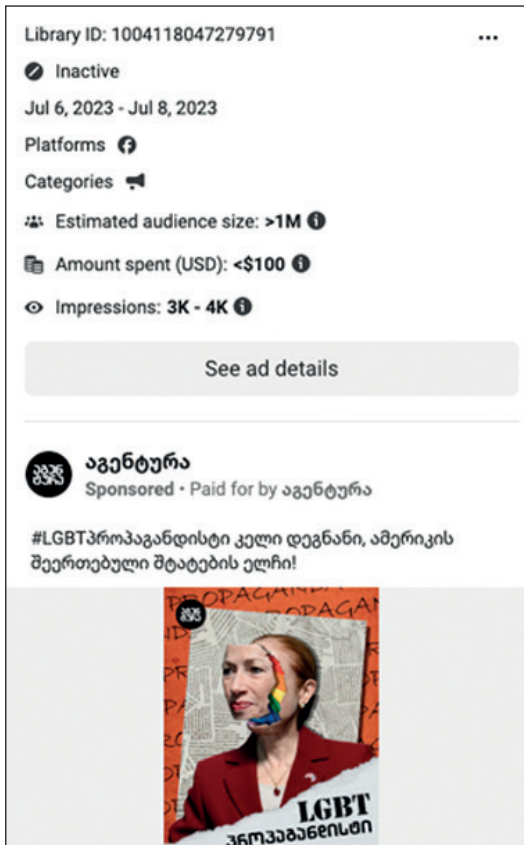
Father Spiridon Tskipurishvili: “...”...don’t be afraid Ninichka [Lomjaria], as I promised you, I will visit you in the women’s prison and help you repent of the evil committed against the country and the Mother Church.”

The anonymous pro-government Facebook page “Agentura” accused then-US Ambassador Kelly Degan<sup>95</sup> of being a “LGBT propagandist” who forcefully imposed foreign values to Georgia. The page has also spread visual manipulations on this topic, in one of which Degan was depicted on the cover of Vogue magazine with LGBT and Nazi symbols.<sup>96</sup> Both posts of the the page were published in a sponsored form.

<sup>95</sup> Agentura, 6 July, <https://bit.ly/4ak11KZ>

<sup>96</sup> Agentura, 13 July, <https://bit.ly/3TDmhFO>





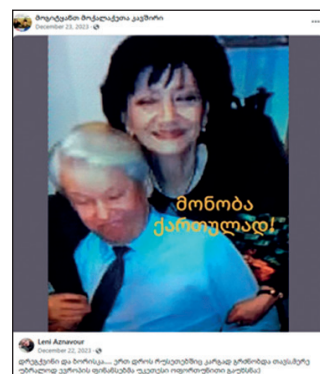
#LGBTpropagandist Kelly Degnan, Ambassador of the United States!



New "Namestnik" [Russian for Viceroy] has been appointed in Georgia

Georgian singer Nani Bregvadze’s decision to participate in Drag Ball was presented by anonymous pro-government accounts as an insult to the country, while the event was labelled as imposed. Notably, at that time, the visual manipulation<sup>97</sup> by the Facebook page “Agentura” featured a European Union logo; The Facebook account “F\*uck Citizens’ Union” referred to Nani Bregvadze as a “drag queen” and a “slave”, which was illustrated by publishing an archival photo of the singer taken with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.<sup>98</sup>

This is an evil, propagandistic move by LGBT organizations. Due to the great love and respect for Nani Bregvadze, the Georgian society even forgave her participation in the campaign to release Saakashvili, but her participation in such an immoral event would be an insult to the entire country.



“Slavery in Georgian” Leni Aznavour: Drag Queen and Boriska... At one time, she felt good in Russia, but then European finances opened a better opportunity for her.”

<sup>97</sup> Agentura, 19 December, <https://bit.ly/3PpRJ7Z>  
<sup>98</sup> F\*uck Citizens’ Union, 23 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fVah>

## 2.3. INSULTS BASED ON GENDER STEREOTYPES

In 2023, a total of 500 messages containing insults based on gender stereotypes were identified, 401 of which were found on traditional media, and 99 on social media.

Women’s activism, including protesting on pressing issues, was seen in a stereotypical manner, during which the following messages were conveyed:

- Women are hysterical, the behavior of female politicians is unbalanced;
- Politically and socially active women are sexually unsatisfied, they lack a man’s hand;
- A woman can’t be trusted and you have to do business with a man;
- A Georgian woman’s place is in the family/a woman should know her place;
- A woman should dress modestly, not follow fashion.

### WOMEN ARE HYSTERICAL, THE BEHAVIOR OF FEMALE POLITICIANS IS UNBALANCED

The messages that contained elements of insults based on gender stereotypes, criticized and blamed women for behaving and expressing themselves in a manner that is incompatible with the established norms. In this regard, along with the events of March 2023, the debate of the opposition women with the male MPs of the ruling party was the subject of special discussion, as well as the episode of Minister Tea Tsulukiani’s speech in the parliament,<sup>99</sup> when female MPs showed protest by holding the banner with the inscription “Русский военный корпаль, иди н..уй”!, which resulted in sexist comments towards them. In some cases, they were referred to as “rabid women”<sup>100</sup> and “genital-shaped types.”<sup>101</sup>

The message about the alleged hysterical and exalting nature of women was echoed by the representatives of the ruling party and other actors.

**Shalva Papuashvili, Georgian Dream, Chairman of the Parliament:** “This is discrediting, among other things, the role of women in politics, when the main role they have cast is **hysteria, radicalism...** I think these female MPs... cast a shadow on the role of women in politics, and with their efforts, the perception is formed that a woman in politics can only create hysteria and radicalism.”<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Netgazeti, “During Tsulukiani’s speech, a banner was unfurled in the parliament”, 20 September, <https://netgazeti.ge/news/688373/>

<sup>100</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 25 September – 1 October

<sup>101</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 21 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4200041&rc=1>

<sup>102</sup> Resonance, 21 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fAhR>

**Zaza Papuashvili, Georgian Dream:** “She [Salome Zurabishvili] is a shameless woman, an ill-raised “hysterical woman.”<sup>103</sup>

**Maia Bitadze, Georgian Dream:** “In the 90s, there was a term called “Mdedrioni.” It referred to a union of exalted women, whose contribution to the start of the civil war in Tbilisi was very big... Generally, a woman has a mother’s instinct and wants peace, but our ladies from the opposition seem to have lost this instinct and have even turned into the supporters of Wagnerites.”<sup>104</sup>

#### POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY ACTIVE WOMEN ARE SEXUALLY UNSATISFIED, THEY LACK A MAN'S HAND

**Grisha Oniani, Society “Stalin”:** “We are amid the dreams of sexually unsatisfied women and... they use this vast energy for this... don’t they have men at home to satisfy them, or don’t they have children to raise...?”<sup>105</sup>

#### A WOMAN CAN'T BE TRUSTED AND YOU HAVE TO DO BUSINESS WITH A MAN

**Shalva Ramishvili, Host at PosTV:** “Nika [Melia], this woman [Tako Charkviani], no, she wears a dress, so her word can’t be trusted, but she’s telling you that you talked about something at home. I don’t know what you talked about at home, brother, if you have someone with pants, bring him...”<sup>106</sup>

#### A GEORGIAN WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE FAMILY/A WOMAN SHOULD KNOW HER PLACE

**Jumber Tavartkiladze, Political Scientist:** “We will never have a decent government until a Georgian woman sits in the family and raises decent children for the country. The type of children we raise for the country, gets translated into how our government turns out. [...] Georgian women, Georgian mothers should return to their families...”<sup>107</sup>

**Giorgi Razmadze, Cleric:** “A woman should be in her place... a woman should know her place.”<sup>108</sup>

#### A WOMAN SHOULD DRESS MODESTLY, NOT FOLLOW FASHION

Stereotypical messages related to attire were mainly voiced by the members of the clergy.

<sup>103</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 3–9 July

<sup>104</sup> Resonance, 28 June, Maia Bitadze to the Opposition: You are deliberately creating the background so that the country does not receive the candidate status during “Georgian Dream’s” rule, <https://bitly.ws/3fAi4>

<sup>105</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 12 May, <https://bit.ly/3P6mBuM>

<sup>106</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 8 June, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4184965>

<sup>107</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 20 October, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4204636>

<sup>108</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 3 April, <https://bit.ly/30Z313j>

**Archimandrite Rafael Karelin:** “Little teenage girls are dressed by their mothers in the same anti-Christian way they dress themselves...”<sup>109</sup>

**Basil Iashaghashvili, Cleric:** “Wearing pants has gradually changed the behavior and nature of women. Women defiantly displayed the features and curves of her covered body... If a woman imitates the fashion of harlots, she will perish with them, both for her own sin and for seducing others.”<sup>110</sup>

**Hegumen Saba (Ostapenko):** “Don’t follow fashion! It makes people lose their modesty... Mothers should make sure that their daughters dress modestly even at home.”<sup>111</sup>

Women active in the political and public spheres were in some cases targeted for having masculine qualities and lacking femininity. In this regard, the most frequent target was the leader of the “Droa” party, Elene Khoshtaria. Anonymous pro-government Facebook account “Terenti Gldaneli,”<sup>112</sup> as well as the page “Ar Agarevinebt” used photo manipulations, emphasizing Khoshtaria’s masculinity and unfeminine behavior.



“Rublovna is on point 😊”



“The evolution of Lyka 😊 It is interesting to see what she will hop on in the end 😊”

Emphasis on the unfeminine appearance and behavior was also observed in connection with the opposition MPs (Ani Tsitlidze, Tina Bokuchava) as well as the former public defender Nino Lomjaria.

**Ramaz Gagnidze, Georgian Mission:** “If you say about Ani Tsitlidze that she is a woman, I have a little doubt... I don’t know whether she qualifies as a woman or something else. This [Tina Bokuchava] is always famous for her jumping because she always jumps in the air at rallies and then where she falls...”<sup>113</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Father Spiridon Tskipurishvili, 19 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fAiW>

<sup>110</sup> National Television Didgori TV, 29 November, <https://bitly.ws/3fApj>

<sup>111</sup> ZNEOBA.GE, 9 June, <https://bitly.ws/3fAiV>

<sup>112</sup> Terenti Gldaneli, 23 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fVlo>

<sup>113</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 21 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4200046&rc=1>

**Dito Chubinidze, Host at Sezoni TV:** “...She does not even look like a woman [Nino Lomjaria], she’s neither a woman nor a man, she’s something bipolar.”<sup>114</sup>

## 2.4. RIDICULE BASED ON MENTAL ABILITIES

During the media monitoring period, 189 comments/posts containing insults/ridicule on the grounds of mental abilities were identified, of which 134 were found on traditional media, and 55 on social media. The following terms were used to insult women on the basis of their mental abilities: “Foolish girl”,<sup>115</sup> “Woman out of her mind”,<sup>116</sup> “Moron woman”,<sup>117</sup> “not very smart woman”,<sup>118</sup> “of low development”,<sup>119</sup> “Stuttering”.<sup>120</sup>

One of the main addressees of this category remained the President of Georgia Salome Zourabichvili. Criticism stemming from hate speech groups was linked to the pardon of Nika Gvaramia and her European tour.

**Zaza Papuashvili, Georgian Dream:** “The presidency of a person with this psyche is dangerous for the country!”<sup>121</sup>

**Shalva Ramishvili, Host at PosTV:** “[Salome Zurabishvili] This not very smart woman, I don’t want to use misogynistic terms, is in trouble.”<sup>122</sup>

**Dito Chubinidze, Co-host at Sezoni TV:** „How could this woman [Salome Zurabishvili] be elected? This schizophrenic, this schizoid woman... how could this woman not learn the Georgian language yet?... a person of average mental abilities would have learned Chinese in such a long time.”<sup>123</sup>

Female politicians from the opposition, as well as female activists were also targets of ridicule based on mental abilities. In some cases, their mental state was questioned:

<sup>114</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 31 October, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4206090>

<sup>115</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 15 November, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4208012&rc=1>

<sup>116</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 5–11 June

<sup>117</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 7 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4197726>

<sup>118</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 4 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4197459>

<sup>119</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 14 July, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4192287&rc=1>

<sup>120</sup> Ermile Nemsadze, 13 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fEkt>

<sup>121</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 3–9 July

<sup>122</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 4 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4197459>

<sup>123</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 4 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fVYj>

**Tea Tsulukiani, Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth:** “She [Ana Natsvilishvili] is just brainless, otherwise she is cute.”

**Shalva Ramishvili, Host at PosTV:** „No, let’s not fight her, let’s not fight this girl [Sofa Japaridze]. She is just a stupid girl, just a foolish girl.”<sup>124</sup>

**Mikheil Ukrainologist:** “Psychiatric clinic, Mzekala has escaped [Ana Natsvlshvili]”<sup>125</sup>

**Shalva Ramishvili, Host at PosTV:** What, what is she saying, that woman, that crazy Baia Pataraia?”<sup>126</sup>

## 2.5. OFFENSE / RIDICULE BASED ON APPEARANCE

The one-year media monitoring revealed a total of 370 posts/comments that contained elements of offense/ridicule based on appearance, of which 206 were identified on traditional media, while 164 on social media.

Such messages entailed attempts of mocking women for their attire, tone of voice, clothing style, weight, hairstyle, and other less feminine features. Terms such as “devil painted on a rock”<sup>127</sup> [Ugly in Georgian], and “Chinka-like”<sup>128</sup> [Dwarf-like creature from Georgian mythology] were used to describe Western diplomats. Female journalists were referred to as “chubby”<sup>129</sup> and “cow-related.”<sup>130</sup> The following terms were used against female politicians from the opposition: “Anaklia Swamp Frog,”<sup>131</sup> “crushed nose”<sup>132</sup>, “nosejob victim”<sup>133</sup>, “squeaky voice”.<sup>134</sup>

Both the president and female MPs from the opposition, as well as a member of the government and civil activists in individual cases, were the targets of offense/ridicule based on appearance. In one case, the target of the homophobic campaign was a businessman, during which photo manipulation was used.

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<sup>124</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 15 November, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4208012&rc=1>

<sup>125</sup> Mikheil Ukrainologist, 30 June, <https://bitly.ws/3fEk9>

<sup>126</sup> PosTV, Samni & Co, 10 October, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4202741>

<sup>127</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 26 July, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4193786&rc=1>

<sup>128</sup> Obieqtivi, Studio 8, 23 June, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4188140>

<sup>129</sup> Split-news, 11 June, <https://split.spnews.io/ka/archives/172987>

<sup>130</sup> Split-news, 11 June, <https://split.spnews.io/ka/archives/172987>

<sup>131</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 29 June, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4189274>

<sup>132</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 12 October, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4203543&rc=1>

<sup>133</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 21 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4199804>

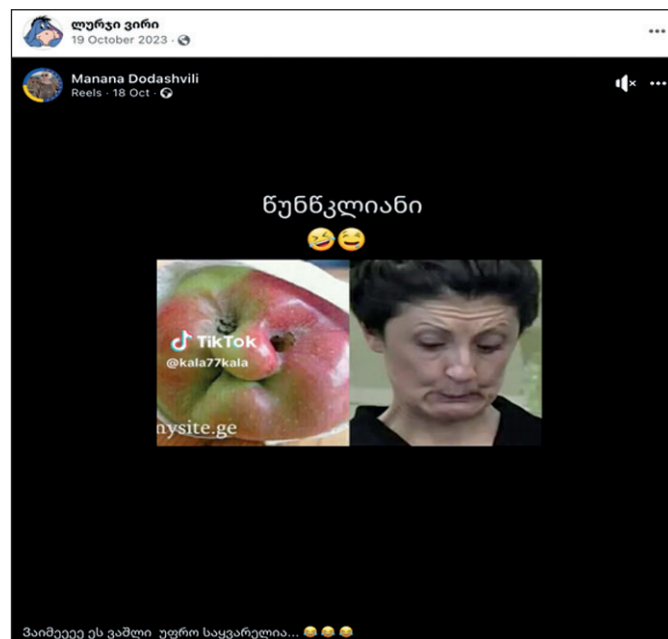
<sup>134</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 18-24 December

**Tristan Tsitelashvili, Military Expert:** “Imagine when a [political] party has Ani Tsitlidze in politics, Ani Tsitlidze, that Anaklia swamp frog, and that... Salome Samadashvili, that broken-snouted pig.”<sup>135</sup>

**Soso Shatberashvili, Leftist Alliance:** „I would like to say a few words about the women MPs of the UNM, that next time maybe you could choose women who look a little more normal... Do not have women who look like the male chairman of yours, don't have them in the next elections.”<sup>136</sup>

**Shalva Ramishvili, Host at PosTV:** „There's no point in listening to this woman [Anna Buchukuri] talk, just air the video on mute. I just wish she had some more serious hair and makeup.”<sup>137</sup>

Both the research conducted in previous years<sup>138</sup> as well as the monitoring conducted in the first half of 2023 show that Facebook accounts related to the opposition most often chose the current Minister of Culture, Thea Tsulukiani, as the target of ridicule based on appearance. The Facebook page “Blue Donkey,” which is linked to the United National Movement, shared a video titled “Tsuntskliani”, where a grimacing Tea Tsulukiani is compared to a shriveled apple. The video is accompanied by a comment: “My god, even this apple is cuter...”<sup>139</sup>



<sup>135</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 23 January, [https://www.myvideo.ge/?video\\_id=4158865](https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4158865)

<sup>136</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 6 September, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4197580&rc=1>

<sup>137</sup> PosTV, Samni &Co, 26 October, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4205406>

<sup>138</sup> Tamar Kintsurashvili, Tina Gogoladze, Media Development Foundation 2022. Anti-Gender and Anti-LGBTQI Mobilization in Georgia, <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/239/>; Ketii Mskhiladze, Media Development Foundation, 2020 Pre-Election Monitoring Report: Sexism and Gender Stereotypes in Social Media, <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/211/>

<sup>139</sup> Blue Donkey, 19 October, <https://bitly.ws/3fA8G>

Photo manipulations were also used against female politicians from the opposition. The government-linked page “Political Satire” published a sponsored post, where Ana Tsitlidze, a member of the UNM party, was compared to a scarecrow,<sup>140</sup> and in the photomanipulation published by the Publicist,<sup>141</sup> she was compared to a monkey.



“From now on, we should all call her Yana [Field] Tsitlidze”



Find one difference

Cases of ridicule based on external characteristics, in particular, obesity were also identified: the pro-government account “Corridor of Shame” published a photo showing the arrest of “Droa” leader Elene Khoshtaria, which was related to the protest of a Lavrov family member’s wedding in Georgia, with the following comment: “Vardena’s daughter has become fat.”<sup>142</sup> The Facebook page “Conservative Flank<sup>143</sup>” posted a photo of activist Irma Gordeladze with an insulting caption (“Get off soon, I can’t do this anymore, you motherf\*cker”) and comment (Where are the animals’ rights defenders?)



<sup>140</sup> Political Satire, 20 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fW9H>  
<sup>141</sup> Publicist, 30 December, <https://bitly.ws/3fA8r>  
<sup>142</sup> Corridor of Shame, 20 May, <https://bitly.ws/3fWcy>  
<sup>143</sup> Conservative Flank, 17 October, <https://bit.ly/3wVMbvR>



As a result of photomanipulation, pro-government Facebook pages often combined the visuals of opposition politicians or the opposition and the president and switched their gender roles. For instance, in one case, the page “Agentura” had changed the gender roles of Salome Samadashvili and Giorgi Vashadze in terms of appearance, and in the other case, the leader of the Lelo party, Mamuka Khazaradze,<sup>144</sup> was transformed into the visual of journalist Naniko Khazaradze and presented with feminine appearance and clothes. Similarly, as a result of photo manipulation, the Facebook page “Ar Agarevinebt”<sup>145</sup> created a hybrid person “Salome Khabeishvili” by combining the looks of Salome Zourabichvili and the chairman of the United National Movement Levan Khabeishvili, which symbolized the president’s departure from the ruling party and her approximation with the opposition.



In a homophobic context, the Facebook accounts “Ar Agarevinebt”<sup>146</sup> and “Mikheil Ukrainologist”<sup>147</sup> published photo manipulations about the founder and owner of “Coca Cola Bottlers Georgia”, Temur Chkonia, where his face was combined with the body of singer Elton John, creating a hybrid person Elton Chkonia. The reason behind the discrediting campaign on social media was the gift book included in McDonald’s “Happy Meal” family menu, where Elton John talked about his personal life and marriage, which the government and other actors assessed as manipulative LGBT propaganda.<sup>148</sup>



<sup>144</sup> Ar Agarevinebt, 30 November, <https://bit.ly/48V97sd>

<sup>145</sup> Ar Agarevinebt, 30 May, <https://bit.ly/47CCekI>

<sup>146</sup> Ar Agarevinebt, 12 June, <https://www.facebook.com/100087663338616/posts/209660898632687/>

<sup>147</sup> Georgia and World, 19 June “It is written in the law that the depravity of minors should be punished and what “Elton Chkonia” did is the promotion of depravity and nothing else.” <https://geworld.ge/ge/kanonshi-gviweria/>

<sup>148</sup> Nino Chichua, Netgazeti, 14 June, Temur Chkonia’s position on the campaign about Elton John in the book <https://netgazeti.ge/opinion/674817/>

Giuli Alasania, the mother of ex-President Saakashvili, was most often targeted due to her attire. Notably, sometimes photo manipulations against her were spread by both pro-government Facebook accounts (Agentura<sup>149,150</sup>) and conservative platforms (Conservative Flank<sup>151</sup>).



Giuli Alasania: They criticize me because of my attire, sometimes they call me an “eighth grader” sometimes a “teenage wh\*re” which makes me very sad.

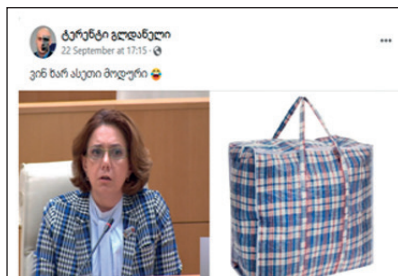


Have you also been struck by the idea that she keeps her phone in her panties and a credit card in its boobs? HAAHAHA

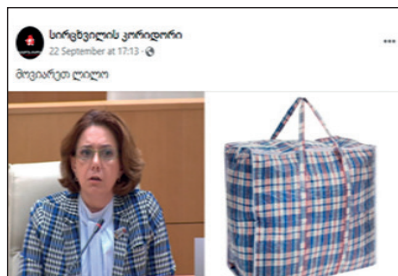


Fashion repeats itself every 20 centuries

Pro-government Facebook pages “Terenti Gldaneli”<sup>152</sup>, “F\*ck Citizens’ Union”<sup>153</sup> and “Corridor of Shame”<sup>154</sup> mocked Salome Samadashvili, a member of “Lelo”, with a coordinated and identical visual about her dress code and mocked her taste.



Who are you so fashionable? ”



“We walked around Lelo”



“My fashionable”

<sup>149</sup> Agentura, 4 November, <https://bit.ly/3TE9piQ>  
<sup>150</sup> Agentura, 17 July, <https://bit.ly/49QjzCC>  
<sup>151</sup> Conservative Flank, 16 July, <https://bitly.ws/3fW e4>  
<sup>152</sup> Terenti Gldaneli, 22 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fW aQ>  
<sup>153</sup> F\*ck Citizens’ Union, 22 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fW bM>  
<sup>154</sup> Corridor of Shame, 22 September, <https://bitly.ws/3fW bx>

## 2.6. AGEISM

During the media monitoring period, 76 age-discriminatory comments/posts were identified, 60 of which were found in traditional media, and 16 on social media.

The addressees of ageism were the President of Georgia, Salome Zourabichvili, the ex-president's mother Giuli Alasania, and singers – Tamriko Chokhoniidze, Irma Sokhadze, and Nani Bregvadze. Insulting terms were used against them, such as: “woman of this age”,<sup>155</sup> “entering the climacteric age”,<sup>156</sup> “naughty child”,<sup>157</sup> and “Grandma Giuli”.<sup>158</sup>

Instances of ageism used against Salome Zourabichvili were in one case related to the president's pardon of Nika Gvaramia, the general director of an opposition channel, and in the other case to her political future. In some cases, along with emphasizing her age, the mental abilities of the president were also questioned.

**Beso Barbakadze, Journalist at “Georgia and World”:** “When was the president last examined? Is it possible that, along with years, she might have a problem, one should conduct thorough research... Whatever it is, besides the president, this woman is called the supreme commander of the country.”<sup>159</sup>

**Giorgi Akhvlediani, PosTV Host:** “By all logic, Zourabichvili has exhausted herself in Georgian politics... we can't say that she is too young or is still a child... She will reach retirement age soon... I see, she is not going to retire, but I would be very surprised if the former madam president suddenly decides to join the ranks of some political party and starts to run for a seat in the parliament.”<sup>160</sup>

Ageist terms such as “Grandma Salome”,<sup>161</sup> and “Liberast Grandma”<sup>162</sup> were used in relation to Salome Zourabichvili, and photos of the President of Georgia with ageist comments were circulated on Facebook. For instance, the pro-government Facebook page “Leader 41” shared a photo collage in which Zourabichvili's conversation with opposition MPs in the Parliament of Georgia was accompanied by the following comment: “The Nazis [UNM Members] are surrounding Grandma Salome, there is a

<sup>155</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 28 June, <https://bit.ly/3TeqzSB> (No longer accessible)

<sup>156</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 28 June, <https://bit.ly/3TbW93E> (No longer accessible)

<sup>157</sup> Georgia and World, 4 September, <https://bit.ly/4aa7F6e>

<sup>158</sup> Leader 41, 12 September, <https://bit.ly/3TtvErA>

<sup>159</sup> Georgia and World, 3 July, <https://bit.ly/3wQ0Los>

<sup>160</sup> Obieqtivi, Studio N8, 22 November, <https://bit.ly/3lv0Uurl> (No longer accessible)

<sup>161</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 4 – 10 December

<sup>162</sup> Conservative Flank, 21 November, <https://bit.ly/4c51cvr>

queue. Dekanoidze, Bokuchava and other NGO-agents of influence of foreign countries, cajoling the president and thanking her”. Zourabichvili’s post shared by the Facebook page “Conservative Flank,” which concerned the president’s lost dog, was accompanied by the following description: “It seems that the dog was watching Alt-Info and distanced itself from the liberast granny.”



Ageist statements towards the President followed her visit to French President Emmanuel Macron, during which the age of Macron’s wife was also indirectly hinted at.

**Khatuna Khoperia, Former MP:** „A typical Cerberus dog... a disgraceful, unprincipled, dishonorable P-president of Georgia... Actually, she is in the age category that Macron likes... if they make a Tik-Tok, let me know.”<sup>163</sup>

Age-based discrimination against the ex-president’s mother, Giuli Alasania, was related to her attire and public appearances.

**Dito Chubinidze, Co-host at Sezoni TV:** “It is a shameful situation. She is a lady, this woman [Giuli Alasania] is my grandmother’s age, and how she walks. One would say that she is untied.”<sup>164</sup>

Ageist comments were also made towards the singers – Tamriko Chokhoniidze, Irma Sokhadze, and Nani Bregvadze, the reason for which was their public support for the LGBTQ+ community. In

<sup>163</sup> Split News, 7 September, <https://bit.ly/43tMQAV>

<sup>164</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day, 25 July, <https://bit.ly/3wZCcW3>

the case of Nani Bregvadze, the reason was the statement about her involvement<sup>165</sup> in the Drag Ball event, which was followed by an insult campaign against the singer:

**Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Host at Sezoni TV:** “I have often heard that they can’t do anything to people on our side but, well, look at Tamriko Chokhoniidze, who became a gay activist, take Irma Sokhadze, take these TV sex divas, age is not in their favor anymore, otherwise they would actually be lesbians; they are spiritual lesbians.”<sup>166</sup>

**Jaba Zhvania, “Alt-Info” Host:** “Age is not in their favor anymore, but so what, She is a 60-year-old GenZ [About Irma Sokhadze].”<sup>167</sup>

**Basil Mkalavishvili, Cleric:** “I will also address Nani Bregvadze: Mrs. Nani, is it time for Prides at your of old age?”<sup>168</sup>

**Dito Chubinidze, Co-host at Sezoni TV:** “Mrs. Nani [Bregvadze], I want to ask you, where are you going [Drag Ball] in your old age? Do you want to see Elton Chkonia in a dress there?”<sup>169</sup>

An ageist comment was also identified in the case of the Facebook account related to the opposition National Movement. For example, the “Blue Donkey” page shared a post by the Facebook page “Qoci Fashisti” [GD-Supporter Fascist] with ageist and sexist content, in which the former member of parliament, and government supporter Khatuna Khoperia is referred to as “Old Slut”.<sup>170</sup>



<sup>165</sup> Radio Liberty, 30 December, 2023; Love will prevail – Nani Bregvadze addressed Drag Ball Attendees, <https://bit.ly/3IyeXFa>

<sup>166</sup> “Sezoni TV”, 20 July, <https://bit.ly/48S504Y>

<sup>167</sup> Alt-Info, Realpolitika, 12 December, <https://bit.ly/48S504Y>

<sup>168</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 8–14 January

<sup>169</sup> “Sezoni TV”, Summary of the Day, 19 December, <https://bit.ly/3v7FJRE>

<sup>170</sup> “Blue Donkey”, 21 February, <https://bit.ly/3YKbQkL>

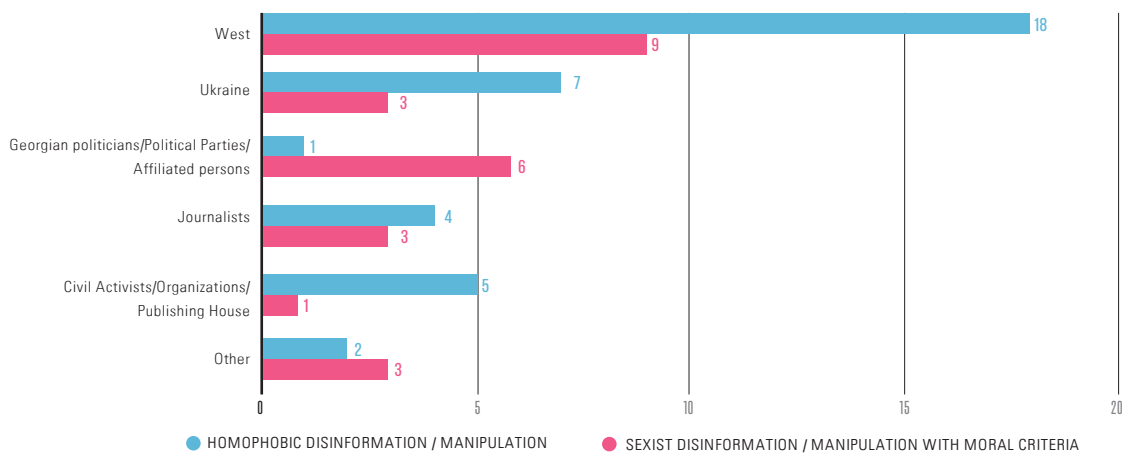
# III. GENDERED DISINFORMATION

## 3.1. TOTAL QUANTITATIVE DATA

In 2023, the fact-checking platform “Myth Detector” identified 62 cases of gendered disinformation, 37 of which were homophobic, while 25 were sexist or contained signs of attacks on women based on moral criteria. Notably, the largest share of gendered disinformation (42) was spread in the first half of the year, which was reflected in the interim report.<sup>171</sup>

The majority of gendered disinformation cases were directed against the West (27) and were predominantly homophobic (18). The West was followed by gendered disinformation directed against Ukraine (10), where most cases (7) were also of homophobic content. Disinformation against Georgian politicians and persons related to them (7), as well as civil activists/organizations and book publishers (6), was presented almost equally. We find both homophobic (4) and sexist (3) disinformation against journalists.

FIGURE 15. GENDERED DISINFORMATION BY TARGETS

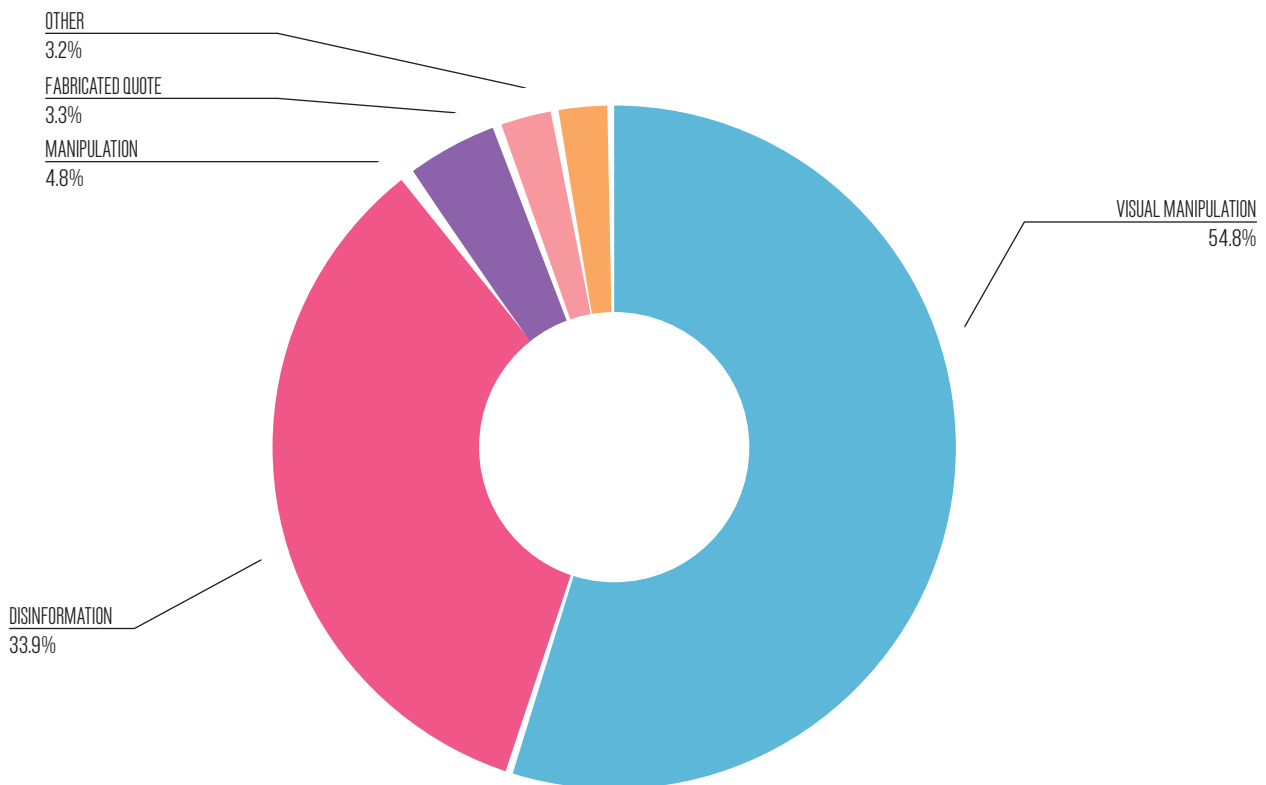


<sup>171</sup> Tamar Kintsurashvili, Media Development Foundation (2023) Gendered Disinformation. <https://www.mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/241/>

TARGETS	HOMOPHOBIC DISINFORMATION / MANIPULATION	SEXIST DISINFORMATION / MANIPULATION WITH MORAL CRITERIA
West	18	9
Ukraine	7	3
Georgian politicians / Political Parties / Affiliated persons	1	6
Journalists	4	3
Civil Activists / Organizations/ Publishing House	5	1
Other	2	3

Regarding the typology of violations, visual manipulation was used most often (54.8%), including 22 cases of photo fabrication/manipulation and 12 cases of video manipulation/fabrication. Non-visual forms of disinformation were used in 21 cases, manipulation – in 3 cases, and fabricated quotes – in 2 cases.

**FIGURE 16. TYPOLOGY OF GENDERED DISINFORMATION**



### 3.2. DISINFORMATION AGAINST FEMALE POLITICIANS, RELATED PERSONS, AND JOURNALISTS

As can be seen from the table below, Western politicians (6), as well as Georgian female politicians and persons related to politicians (6) were most often the target of gendered disinformation and attacks based on moral criteria; in 3 cases the target was Ukrainian First Lady Olena Zelenska.

**SLUT-SHAMING.** Gendered disinformation in the form of slut-shaming was used against the newly appointed US ambassador to Georgia, Robin Dunnigan, when an altered video of a Portuguese model and a clip from a pornographic video was disseminated to prove the false claim that the American diplomat was a porn star in the past.

Along with Robin Dunnigan, Germany's Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock has been targeted through slut-shaming. Namely, a photo disseminated by Russian media, claiming Baerbock was a professional prostitute in her youth, actually depicted Russian porn model Martina Mink.

A nude photo circulating against Ukraine's first lady Olena Zelenska, purporting to show her relaxing on a nudist beach in Europe while her husband was "begging for guns in Europe" actually showed Russian TV anchor Elena Lenina.

Among Georgian politicians, the target of slut-shaming was President Salome Zourabichvili. Namely, an altered version of a photo taken from a porn site went viral after she pardoned Nika Gvaramia, the general director of an opposition TV channel. Former Minister of Economy, Vera Kobalia, also became the target of photo fabrication.

The most frequent target of gendered disinformation was Giuli Alasana, the mother of the imprisoned third president of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili, against whom several photo manipulations were used. The story against Alasania published by the pro-government TV company PostTV left the impression of staged disinformation. In New York, photos of Giuli Alasania and Giorgi Chaladze, a member of the United National Movement, were placed on one of the big screens of Times Square with the TSX application, congratulating them on their marriage. PostTV and other pro-government media covered the mentioned video as a real fact. Rumors about the marriage, which Giorgi Chaladze denied, are periodically spread on social media in order to discredit Giuli Alasania.

**ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA.** Disinformation aimed at criticizing female politicians on the basis of moral criteria was spread against former Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin, as well as Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas and MEP Viola von Cramon.

Disinformation that Olena Zelenska buys expensive jewelry and holds a Russian passport was aimed at reprimanding her with moral criteria. The video manipulation about the Georgian oppositionist, "Droa" leader Elene Khoshtaria, disseminated by pro-government and other actors in a coordinated manner, claimed that she performed the Russian song "Katusha" when she was a student. The campaign against Khoshtaria, which was highlighted in previous studies, is aimed at portraying her as a carrier of Russia's interests.



**TABLE 3. GENDERED DISINFORMATION/ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA AGAINST FEMALE POLITICIANS AND PEOPLE AFFILIATED WITH POLITICIANS**

AGAINST WESTERN POLITICIANS		AGAINST GEORGIAN POLITICIANS AND PEOPLE AFFILIATED WITH THEM		AGAINST THE FIRST LADY OF UKRAINE	
TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
<p>The US ambassador to Georgia, Robin Dunnigan, is a former porn star and was expelled from Argentina<sup>172</sup></p> 	<p>Visual manipulation/ slut-shaming</p>  <p>Georgian source: Anonymous, anti-opposition FB accounts</p>	<p>Salome Zourabichvili, the President of Georgia, is an old prostitute<sup>173</sup></p> 	<p>Photo manipulation/slut-shaming</p>  <p>Georgian source: Anonymous, pro-government</p> <p>FB accounts: Terenti Gidaneli,</p> <p>Pro-Kremlin: Black Media, Ind. FB Accounts</p>	<p>Olena Zelenska bought \$1,100,000 worth of jewelry at CARTIER<sup>174</sup></p> 	<p>Disinformation/ attack based on moral criteria</p>   <p>Russian source: Russia Today, Gazeta.ru, Московский комсомолец, pravda.ru, Lenta.ru</p> <p>Georgian source: Individual FB accounts</p> <p>Primary source: Nigerian outlet The Nation</p>
<p>German Foreign Minister Analena Baerbock was a professional prostitute in the past<sup>175</sup></p> 	<p>Photo manipulation/ slut-shaming</p>  <p>Russian source: eadaily.com; rf-smi.ru</p> <p>fb ჯგუფები: “Вагончик тронется, вагончик тронется... перрон останется...” Individual FB, vk, Telegram accounts</p> <p>Georgian source: Individual FB accounts</p>	<p>Former Minister of Economy, Vera Kobalia<sup>176</sup></p> 	<p>Photo fabrication/ slut-shaming</p>  <p>Georgian source: Individual FB accounts</p>	<p>Olena Zelenska is relaxing on a nudist beach in Israel while her husband is “begging for guns in Europe”<sup>177</sup></p> 	<p>Photomanipulation/ Slut-shaming/ Attack based on moral criteria</p>   <p>Russian source: ДОНЕЦК – ВЕСТИ ДНР, dzen.ru, Avia.pro, telegram, Twitter accounts</p> <p>Georgian source: Individual FB accounts</p>

<sup>172</sup> Myth Detector, “Disinformation and Visual Manipulations Regarding the New US Ambassador to Georgia, Robin Dunnigan.” 31 July, 2023. <https://bit.ly/30FH0EQ>

<sup>173</sup> Myth Detector, Manipulated photos depicting Salome Zourabichvili have been circulating on Facebook, 27 June, 2023, <https://bit.ly/4as5cEi>

<sup>174</sup> Tsisia Kirvalidze, Myth Detector, “Disinformation that Olena Zelenska Spent \$1.1 Million on Cartier Jewelry.” 6 October, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4asfcxC>

<sup>175</sup> Myth Detector, “Who does the Photo Depict? – German Foreign Minister or Russian Porn Model?” 28 March, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3xfTfDq>

<sup>176</sup> Myth Detector, “Altered Photo of Vera Kobalia Disseminated on Social Media.” 11 January, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3TJqU1n>

<sup>177</sup> Myth Detector, “Photomanipulation as if Olena Zelenska is Relaxing on a Nudist Beach in Israel.” 6 June, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3TOxWSg>

AGAINST WESTERN POLITICIANS		AGAINST GEORGIAN POLITICIANS AND PEOPLE AFFILIATED WITH THEM		AGAINST THE FIRST LADY OF UKRAINE	
TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
<p>Former Prime Minister of Finland Sanna Marin decided to become like Zelenskyy by using drugs<sup>178</sup></p> 	<p>Photofabrication/ Attack based on moral criteria</p>  <p><b>Russian source:</b> Telegram channel Политический Юмор, fishki. net, vk</p> <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Individual FB accounts</p>	<p>“Droa” founder Elena Khoshtaria sings the Russian song “Katyusha” during the Moscow State University excursion.<sup>179</sup></p> 	<p>Videomanipulation/ Attack based on moral criteria</p>  <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Anonymous pro-government FB page: Terenti Gldaneli, pro-government expert Ghia Abashidze, Ind. FB accounts;</p> <p><b>Pro-Kremlin FB page:</b> Important changes and individual supporters of Alt-Info</p>	<p>Olena Zelenska’s fake Russian passport was discovered<sup>180</sup></p> 	<p>Photomanipulation/ Attack based on moral criteria</p> 
<p>The video depicts the famous alcoholic, MEP Viola von Cramon<sup>181</sup></p> 	<p>Disinformation/ Videofabrication/ Attack based on moral criteria</p>  <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Individual FB accounts</p>	<p>Giuli Alasania, the mother of imprisoned Georgian ex-President Mikheil Saakashvili<sup>182</sup></p> 	<p>Visual manipulation/ discrediting campaign</p>  <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Pro-government POSTV – Analytics, Marshalpress, Resonancenews, FunTube, FB accounts linked with the “Georgian Dream” and “Conservative Movement,” Political Absurdity</p>		

<sup>178</sup> Myth Detector, „Altered Photo of Sanna Marin Disseminated on Facebook.“ 7 March, 2023. <https://mythdetector.ge/rjyc>

<sup>179</sup> Myth Detector, “The Viral Video does NOT Depict Elene Khoshtaria.” 11 April, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4cnPzPw>

<sup>180</sup> Myth Detector, “Pro-Kremlin Media Outlets Spread Fake Russian Passport of Olena Zelenska.” 3 October, 2023. <https://bit.ly/43uGKA2>

<sup>181</sup> Davit Robakidze, Myth Detector, „Fabricated Video of MEP Viola von Cramon Disseminated on Facebook“, 4 April, 202, <https://bit.ly/498YqSQ>

<sup>182</sup> Myth Detector, “Actors Who Distributed the Video of Giuli Alasania and How Was it Actually Placed on a Billboard in Manhattan?” 1 December, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3PvtN3m>

AGAINST WESTERN POLITICIANS		AGAINST GEORGIAN POLITICIANS AND PEOPLE AFFILIATED WITH THEM		AGAINST THE FIRST LADY OF UKRAINE	
TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
<p>MEP von Cramon is a descendant of Luftwaffe Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring.<sup>183</sup></p> 	<p>Disinformation/ Attack based on moral criteria</p> <p><small>Viola von Cramon-Taubadel, often officially referred to simply as Viola von Cramon (née Gehrig, born Halle (Westphalia), 23 March 1970) is a German politician of Alliance 90/The Greens who has been a member of the European Parliament since 2019. She</small></p>  <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Pro-Kremlin Sezoni TV, Individual FB accounts</p>	<p>Giuli Alasania, the mother of President Saakashvili, and Giorgi Chaladze, a member of the UNM, try new positions against the background of Kamasutra paintings.<sup>184</sup></p> 	<p>Photofabrication/ slut-shaming</p>  <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Anonymous pro-government FB page and ind. account Terenti Gidaneli, other FB accounts</p>		
<p>Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas' grandfather helped Hitler's supporters to exterminate Jews and others in concentration camps<sup>185</sup></p> 	<p>Disinformation/ Attack based on moral criteria</p>  <p><b>Russian source:</b> Russia's Channel One, Show КУКЛЫ НАСЛЕДНИКА ТУТТИ, FB, Telegram and vk accounts</p>	<p>Saakashvili's mother, Giuli Alasania, is pictured wearing a pink dress with the number 69 and human figures representing a similar sex pose.<sup>186</sup></p> 	<p>Photofabrication/ attack based on moral criteria</p>  <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Individual Facebook accounts</p>		

All three cases of gendered disinformation against Georgian journalists were related to journalists from TV stations critical to the government. In the case of TV “Formula” anchor Ninia Kakabadze, the source of the disseminated video manipulation was the Facebook account “Shiine Europisken” [Home to Europe], which is linked to the pro-Kremlin Conservative Movement party. The journalist’s words about early marriage were edited as if she considered having a child as a mistake, which was aimed at reprimanding her with moral criteria.

<sup>183</sup> Myth Detector, Disinformation, as if Viola von Cramon is the Descendant of Hermann Göring, 13 April, 2023

<https://bit.ly/3voP9sa>

<sup>184</sup> Myth Detector, Altered Photo of Giuli Alasania and Giorgi Chaladze Disseminated on Facebook.” 16 February, 2023.

<https://bit.ly/4cjiFjH>



<sup>185</sup> Ketii Khutsishvili, Myth Detector, “Kremlin Propagandists Voice Disinformation About the Ancestors of the Prime Minister of Estonia.” 23 May, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3Tuuzly>

<sup>186</sup> Myth Detector, “Photofabrication about Giuli Alasania Disseminated on Social Media.” 31 July, 2023. <https://bit.ly/43ybMXD>





Both cases of slut-shaming were disseminated against female journalists of “Mtavari Channel” and “TV Pirveli”: in one case, a visual was fabricated through photo manipulation, in which “Mtavari Channel” journalist Dea Mamiseishvili wore a t-shirt with the inscription “Irakli!” Nika is not a criminal!” In the altered visual, instead of the appeal to the Prime Minister (Irakli Garibashvili), the following inscription appeared: “My bra is too tight.” The altered version of the image along with sexist comments – “Freedom to nipples”, “We don’t believe it, show us”, “Hello boys! My Bra is Too Tight” was shared in 2022 in entertainment Facebook groups (Mglebi 2021, dkdkdkdld), and in 2023 in the group linked with the conservative movement “Archive of the Enemies of the Country.” The image was also spread through individual Facebook accounts.

The second case of slut-shaming, which was directed against Inga Grigolia, a journalist of “TV Pirveli”, originates from 2022 and was spread by anonymous Facebook accounts linked to the government in 2023. In the published video, the words of the Ukrainian Rada MP, President Saakashvili’s partner, Lisa Yasko – “My beloved man, Mikheil Saakashvili, is a political prisoner” – were attributed to the journalist Inga Grigolia, which was accompanied by sexist comments.

**TABLE 4. GENDERED DISINFORMATION/ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA AGAINST FEMALE JOURNALISTS**

TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
<p>“TV Formula” host Ninia Kakabadze considers having a child a mistake<sup>187</sup></p> 	<p>Visual manipulation/attack based on moral criteria</p>  <p>Source: FB profile “Shiin Evropisken,” Supporter of “ConservativeMmovement”</p>

<sup>187</sup> Myth Detector, “Videomanipulation Disseminated About Journalist Ninia Kakabadze.” 20 October, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4agBtOP>

TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
<p>Photo of Dea Mamiseishvili, journalist of “Mtavari Channel” with the inscription “My Bra is too Tight” on the T-shirt”<sup>188</sup></p> 	<p>Photofabrication/Slut-shaming</p>  <p>Source: FB groups „Archive of the enemies of the country“, Wolves 2021, dkdkdkld, individual FB accounts</p>
<p>Video of Inga Grigolia, the host of TV Pirveli, in which she utters the following words: “My beloved man Mikheil Saakashvili is a political prisoner.”<sup>189</sup></p> 	<p>Videomanipulation/slut-shaming</p>  <p>Source: Anonymous pro-government FB pages (Ar Agarevinebt; Political Graveyard N5) Group “Journalist”, FB account “Journalist”, Individual FB accounts.</p>

### 3.3. HOMOPHOBIC DISINFORMATION AGAINST POLITICIANS, FIGHTERS IN UKRAINE, JOURNALISTS, CIVIL ACTIVISTS AND OTHERS

Homophobic disinformation as a political tool to discredit opponents was used against various targets.


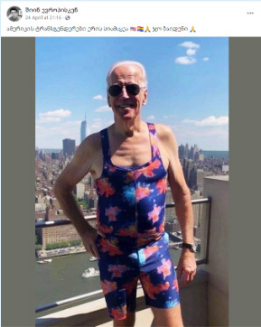



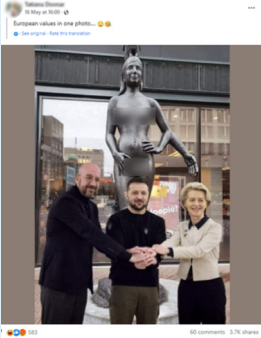
As shown in the table below, the targets of homophobic disinformation were US President Joe Biden, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, European Council President Charles Michel, and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen; In the case of Georgia, the targets were the leaders of the “Lelo for Georgia” party, who expressed Georgia’s solidarity to Ukraine in the Supreme Rada. In all three cases, visual manipulation was used, in one case artificial intelligence-generated visuals,

<sup>188</sup> Myth Detector, Altered Photo of “Mtavari Arkhi” Journalist Disseminated on Facebook, 26 April, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3LlcmR>

<sup>189</sup> Myth Detector, Lisa Yasko or Inga Grigolia – Who Called Saakashvili “My Beloved Man”? 8 February, 2023. <https://bit.ly/41TEXCR>

and in 2 cases Photoshop. Russian and Georgian pro-Kremlin Facebook accounts were the sources of disinformation. In 2 cases, photos showing the solidarity of both European and Georgian politicians to Ukraine were used for visual manipulation.

**TABLE 5. HOMOPHOBIC DISINFORMATION AGAINST POLITICIANS**

WESTERN AND UKRAINIAN POLITICIANS		GEORGIAN POLITICIANS	
TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
<p>US President Joe Biden Wears Colorful Swimsuit to Support Transgender People<sup>190</sup></p> 	<p>Visual Manipulation/ Artificial Intelligence (AI) Generated Photo</p>  <p><b>Georgian Source:</b> FB profile “Home to Europe”, supporter of the pro-Kremlin “Conservative Movement” party. Individual FB accounts</p>	<p>“Lelo for Georgia” members hold the LGBTQ+ flag in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine<sup>191</sup></p> 	<p>Visual Manipulation</p>  <p><b>Georgian source:</b> FB profile “Home to Europe”, supporter of the pro-Kremlin “Conservative Movement” party.</p>
<p>Photo of Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Charles Michel and Ursula von der Leyen against a statue of a woman with male genitalia<sup>192</sup></p> 	<p>Visual Manipulation</p>  <p><b>Russian source:</b> ru.gruzinform.ge, Individual FB accounts</p> <p><b>Georgian source:</b> Individual FB accounts</p>		



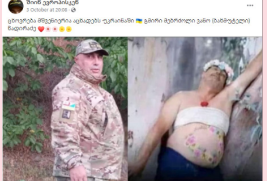
<sup>190</sup> Myth Detector, “AI-Generated Photo of Joe Biden Disseminated on Social Media.” 27 April, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3T0mKVR>

<sup>191</sup> Myth Detector, “Photofabrication as if the Members of “Lelo” are Holding the LGBTQI+ Flag in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.” 19 December, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3VymNqg>

<sup>192</sup> Polina Kulish, Myth Detector, „Altered Photo Featuring Zelenskyy, Charles Michel and Ursula Von Der Leyen Disseminated On Facebook“, 30 May, 2023, <https://bit.ly/3TxiN6B>

In order to discredit the fighters in Ukraine, the Facebook profile “Shiin Evropisken” [Home to Europe], related to the pro-Kremlin Conservative Movement, and other individual accounts disseminated information about the marriage of a Ukrainian female military and an activist in a false context with homophobic comments. The visual manipulation about the citizen of Georgia fighting in Ukraine used the photo of the citizen of Spain participating in the photo session of pregnant women and was spread with a false description.

**TABLE 6. HOMOPHOBIC DISINFORMATION AGAINST THE FIGHTERS IN UKRAINE**

AGAINST UKRAINIAN MILITARY		AGAINST A GEORGIAN FIGHTER FIGHTING IN UKRAINE	
TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
The marriage of Ukrainian military serviceman Alina Shevchenko and LGBTQ+ activist Stanislava Petlitsa officially took place in Kharkiv. <sup>193</sup>	<p>Manipulation</p>  <p>Georgian source: FB profile “Home to Europe”, Individual FB accounts</p>	<p>The man with a flower crown is Vano Nadiradze, a citizen of Georgia, fighting in Ukraine<sup>194</sup></p> 	<p>Visual manipulation</p>  <p>Georgian source: FB profile “Home to Europe”, supporter of the pro-Kremlin “Conservative Movement” party.</p>

In 2023, 4 cases of homophobic disinformation were spread against journalists and all four of them manipulated with the topic of sexual identity. In 2 cases, the target was Nika Gvaramia, the then general director of the opposition “Mtavari Channel,” and Giorgi Gabunia, the current director of the same channel. The altered photo, which, as a result of editing, depicted the kiss of Gabunia and Gvaramia, has been circulating on the social network since 2022 and was shared in a coordinated manner in 2023 and 2024. “Myth Detector” revealed a total of 30 cases of spreading this altered visual. In 2 cases, which were directed against TV Formula and Netgazeti female and male journalists, they were labeled as lesbians and homosexuals and at the same time were being called enemies of the country and the people. Posts are currently unavailable due to violations of Facebook’s Community Standards.

Women’s rights defender Baia Patariaia and former Public Defender Nino Lomjaria were also the targets of disinformation, as they were falsely blamed for initiating the same-sex marriage bill in the parliament. In the case of Lazare Grigoriadis, who was arrested during the protests, as a result of visual manipulation, a member of Belgian Pride and drag queens were represented as his supporters.

<sup>193</sup> Myth Detector, 6 September, Did an Official Wedding of LGBTQ People took Place in Kharkiv? <https://bit.ly/4avn7dz>

<sup>194</sup> Myth Detector, “Who is the man with the flower crown claimed to be a Georgian fighting in Ukraine?” 5 October, 2023. <https://bit.ly/43qERVe>

In one case, homophobic disinformation concerned the sexual orientation of the son of Russian propagandist Vladimir Solovyov. The claim was shared by Georgian as well as Russian and Ukrainian Facebook users, in some cases to illustrate Solovyov’s double standards.

**TABLE 5. HOMOPHOBIC DISINFORMATION AGAINST JOURNALISTS, CIVIL ACTIVISTS AND OTHERS**

AGAINST JOURNALISTS		AGAINST CIVIL ACTIVISTS/OMBUDSPERSON		AGAINST A RUSSIAN PROPAGANDIST	
TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
<p>Lazare Grigoriadis’ father, Beka Grigoriadis, is holding a banner insulting Nika Gvaramia<sup>195</sup></p> 	<p>Photofabrication</p>  <p><b>Source:</b> Anonymous FB account Kote Afrazi</p>	<p>Human rights defender Baia Pataria and former public defender Nino Lomjaria are going to submit a bill to the parliament regarding same-sex marriage.<sup>196</sup></p>  	<p>Disinformation</p>  <p><b>Source:</b> Anonymous pro-government FB pages “Political X-ray”, “AntiRussian Platform”</p>	<p>The son of Kremlin propagandist, Vladimir Solovyov, is a homosexual.<sup>197</sup></p> 	<p>Visual manipulation</p>  <p><b>Source:</b> Georgian-, Russian- and Ukrainian-language FB pages and accounts</p>
<p>A photo of Nika Gvaramia and Giorgi Gabunia kissing each other<sup>198</sup></p> 	<p>Visual Manipulation</p>  <p><b>Source:</b> Anonymous pro-government FB pages and accounts, pro-government xnews.ge Account related to the pro-Kremlin Alt-Info/Conservative Movement</p>	<p>Lazare Grigoriadis is supported by Belgian Pride member and Drag Queens<sup>199</sup></p> 	<p>Photomanipulation</p>  <p><b>Source:</b> FB profile “Home to Europe”, supporter of the pro-Kremlin “Conservative Movement” party.</p>		

<sup>195</sup> Elis Bakradze, Myth Detector, “An Altered Version of Beka Grigoriadis’ Protest Banner is Circulating on Facebook” 9 November, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3ve56Bx>

<sup>196</sup> Myth Detector, “Who is Spreading Sponsored Disinformation that NGOs are Planning to Initiate a Same-sex Marriage Bill?” 6 April, 2023, <https://mythdetector.ge/iowr>

<sup>197</sup> Myth Detector, What Do We Know about the Modelling Career of Daniil Solovyov, and Who is Depicted on the Viral Pictures? 20 February, 2023, <https://bit.ly/4aK8xiz>

<sup>198</sup> Ani Kistauri, Myth Detector, “How did Journalist Ana Asatiani Disappear from the Shot of “Mtavari Arkhi?” 14 September, 2021, <https://bit.ly/310jiEz>

<sup>199</sup> Myth Detector, “Photos, as if a Belgian Pride Member and Drag Queens Show support for Grigoriadis are fake.” 6 April, 2023, <https://bit.ly/4coWEjt>



AGAINST JOURNALISTS		AGAINST CIVIL ACTIVISTS/OMBUDSPERSON		AGAINST THE RUSSIAN PROPAGANDIST	
TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES	TARGET/CLAIM	METHOD/SOURCES
X journalist is a lesbian. The journalists of the opposition channels are all anti-Georgian with a non-traditional orientation	Disinformation <b>Source:</b> Anonymous pro-government FB account: "Journalistic Gems"				
X journalist is of an LGBTQ identity and is the enemy of people	Disinformation <b>Source:</b> Anonymous pro-government FB account: "Journalistic Gems"				

Homophobic disinformation was also directed against:

- “Tbilisi Pride”, which was accused of installing a satanic idol – Moloch at the “Pride Festival;”<sup>200</sup>
- Bakur Sulakauri publishing house, whose logo was marked with the LGBT acronym as a result of software editing and was distributed along with calls to boycott the publishing house<sup>201</sup>;
- Georgian Center for Strategy and Development (GCSD), which was falsely blamed for the implementation of a project on gender reassignment and LGBTQ issues in schools;<sup>202</sup>
- Ukrainian charity organization Вільні, which was allegedly looking for a vocalist to preach LGBT ideology.<sup>203</sup>

### 3.4. CHILDREN AND SEX EDUCATION IN THE WEST

In 2023 we revealed 9 cases of disinformation/manipulation related to children and their sex education in the West, which amplified the following 5 messages:

1. LGBTQ+ identity receives special quotas in American schools
2. Changing gender identity is done without parental consent in the West;
3. Pedophilia is being legitimized in the West;
4. Sex education in Western schools = depravity;
5. For not being accepting of homosexuality, children are taken away from conservative families in the West.

<sup>200</sup> Myth Detector, “Disinformation, as if an Installation of the Satanic Deity “Moloch” was Placed at the “Pride Festival” 12 July, 2023, <https://bit.ly/4aug3xR>

<sup>201</sup> Myth Detector, “An Altered Version of Bakur Sulakauri Publishing House Logo is Circulating on Social Networks.” 23 June, 2023. <https://bit.ly/494XH5p>

<sup>202</sup> Tsisia Kirvalidze, Myth Detector, “Disinformation as if GCSD is implementing a transgender and LGBTQ-related project in schools.” 18 December, 2023. <https://bit.ly/49Xs6np>

<sup>203</sup> Myth Detector, 2 November. Disinformation, as if a Ukrainian Charity is Looking for a Gay Cantor for LGBT Propaganda, <https://bit.ly/498Z0A0>

**LGBTQ+ IDENTITY RECEIVES SPECIAL QUOTAS IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS:** The anonymous Facebook account “Crazy World” and an individual Facebook account, using visuals from a fake Seattle Met article, reported that the Seattle Department of Education had developed a new standard that would require 5% of the students in a class to be sexual minorities.<sup>204</sup> The claim that the quota system for LGBTQI+ students in Seattle schools has been established is false, and the Seattle Met editorial team has denied publishing such an article.

Crazy World, which operated as an entertainment Facebook page, sponsored the false information. The same page was also involved in a sponsored campaign against the European Union, which Myth Detector revealed in October 2023.<sup>205</sup>

**CHANGING GENDER IDENTITY IS DONE WITHOUT PARENTAL CONSENT IN THE WEST.** The report identified two cases of disinformation about sex change in the West without parents’ permission. In both cases, the sources were media outlets with pro-government editorial policy along with pro-Kremlin publications:

- Pro-government “POSTV” disseminated the disinformation, as if in the US, Canada, and some European Union member states, the gender-affirming surgery of children was performed without parental consent.<sup>206</sup>
- Both the pro-Kremlin “Alt-Info” and pro-government TV company “Imedi” disseminated the disinformation, as if sex reassignment surgery on children was allowed in California without parental consent.<sup>207</sup> The pro-Kremlin online publication “Georgia and World” published an article of the same content in the form of a direct translation of the article of the Russian publication Svobodnaya Pressa.<sup>208</sup>

**PEDOPHILIA IS BEING LEGITIMIZED IN THE WEST:** Fake news related to pedophilia was disseminated in the first half of the year, and in all three cases it originated from Russian sources:

- The UN plans to decriminalize sexual relations with minors in case there is consent from the minor, which is a prerequisite for the normalization of pedophilia;<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Tsisia Kirvalidze, Myth Detector, “Disinformation that 5% of the class in Seattle schools must be comprised of LGBTQ+ children” 4 September, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3Tl4369>

<sup>205</sup> Myth Detector, “Sponsored Campaign Pursued by Entertainment and Anonymous Pages Against the EU.” 18 October, 2023. <https://bit.ly/49ax6E7>

<sup>206</sup> Myth Detector, “Disinformation that children in the US and Canada Can Undergo Gender-reassignment without Parental Consent.” 22 December, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4ao7HaV>

<sup>207</sup> Myth Detector, “Disinformation by “Imedi TV” and “Alt-Info,” as if in California Gender Affirming Surgery on Children Can be Performed without Parental Consent.” 26 January, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3lPctlR>

<sup>208</sup> Tamar Kintsurashvili, Media Development Foundation (2023) Gendered Disinformation. <https://www.mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/241/>

<sup>209</sup> Ani Kistauri, Myth Detector, „Does the UN Demand the Decriminalization of Sexual Relations with Minors?“ 25 April, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4aj4Cck>

- The symbol of “boy-loving pedophiles” can be seen on Pope Francis’ cloak;<sup>210</sup>
- The Pope said that pedophilia is a mysterious disease and God loves pedophiles.<sup>211</sup>

### 3.5. LOSS OF IDENTITY AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The disinformation related to the loss of identity was mainly homophobic and was directed against both the European Union and its individual member-states, as well as the US. In the second half of 2023, 3 homophobic disinformation was spread on the mentioned topic:

- The Facebook page “Ai Utsnobi,” which belongs to the government supporter Gia Gachechiladze, disseminated manipulative information, according to which the propaganda of traditional family values is criminalized in Belgium, and in the US, the words “mother-father” were canceled in the new dictionary by the University of North Carolina.<sup>212</sup>
- Misleading information that the New York subway posters demanding respect for transgender people under threat of death represented the official position of the city’s Department of Transportation was spread by Georgian- and Russian-language Facebook accounts.<sup>213</sup>
- The “Church of Satan” flag, created to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion, was spread to illustrate that LGBTQI+ people in the United States are driven by violent and satanic goals.<sup>214</sup>

Legislation related to women’s rights was also targeted by anti-liberal and pro-Kremlin groups. These actors have been amplifying the false information that most of the jailed men in Georgia are in prison for domestic violence and 90% of them are incarcerated not for violence, but for yelling, angering their wives, and psychological abuse.<sup>215</sup> The mentioned disinformation reinforced the message that the legal prosecution of men under the article of domestic violence is deliberate and groundless.

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<sup>210</sup> Myth Detector, „Conspiracy Disseminated about the Cloak of Pope Francis“, 17 March, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4a6lPWy>

<sup>211</sup> Davit Robakidze, Myth Detector, „Fabricated Quote About Pedophilia Disseminated in the Name of the Pope“ 6 March, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4a7N5ns>

<sup>212</sup> Myth Detector, “Pro-Government “I Ucnobi” Disseminates News about Identity-Related Issues in Belgium and the US Manipulatively”. 7 July, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3VqQidr>

<sup>213</sup> Giorgi Minashvili, Myth Detector. “Who Put Up Posters with Threats in the New York Subway?” 7 July, 2023. <https://bit.ly/4anRBOv>

<sup>214</sup> Davit Robakidze, Myth Detector. “The Flag to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the “Stonewall Rebellion” or the Satanic Goals of LGBTQ+ People – What does the Photo Depict??” 11 July, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3TKTr6B>

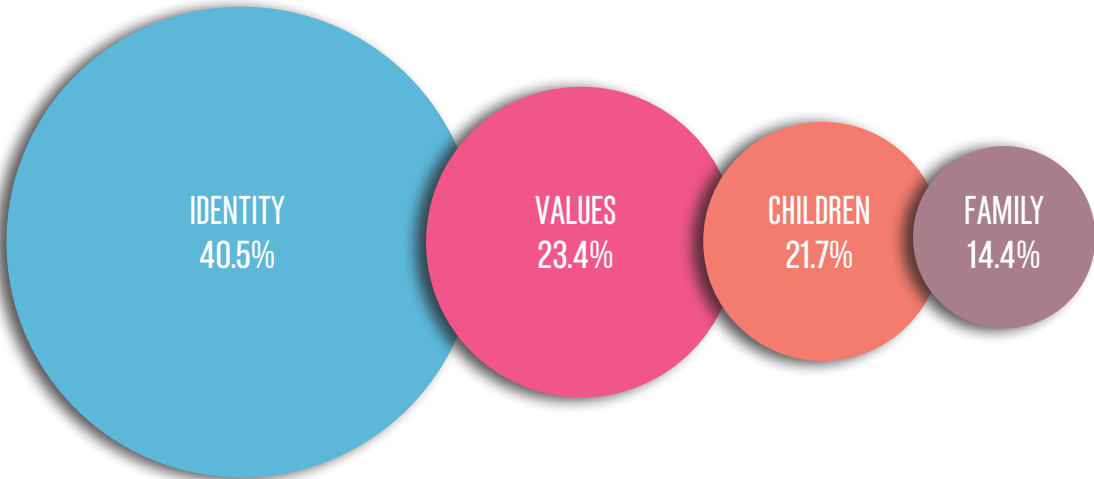
<sup>215</sup> Ketii Khutsishvili, Myth Detector, “Alt-Info’s Disinformation about Domestic Violence Statistics and Those Arrested for it.” 24 November, 2023. <https://bit.ly/3x9HrCY>

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

Four specific topics have been identified, the protection of which was utilized as a pretext by anti-liberal groups to mobilize society. Namely: 1. Identity 2. Values 3. The institution of Family 4. Children

Out of 1,936 comments analyzed during the monitoring period, the majority of them were related to the protection of identity (40.5%). The topics of protection of values (23.4%) and children (21.7%) were almost equally represented, followed by comments made in order to mobilize the community on the topic of protecting the institution of family (14.4%).

FIGURE 17. THE SHARE OF 4 SPECIFIC GENDER-RELATED TOPICS



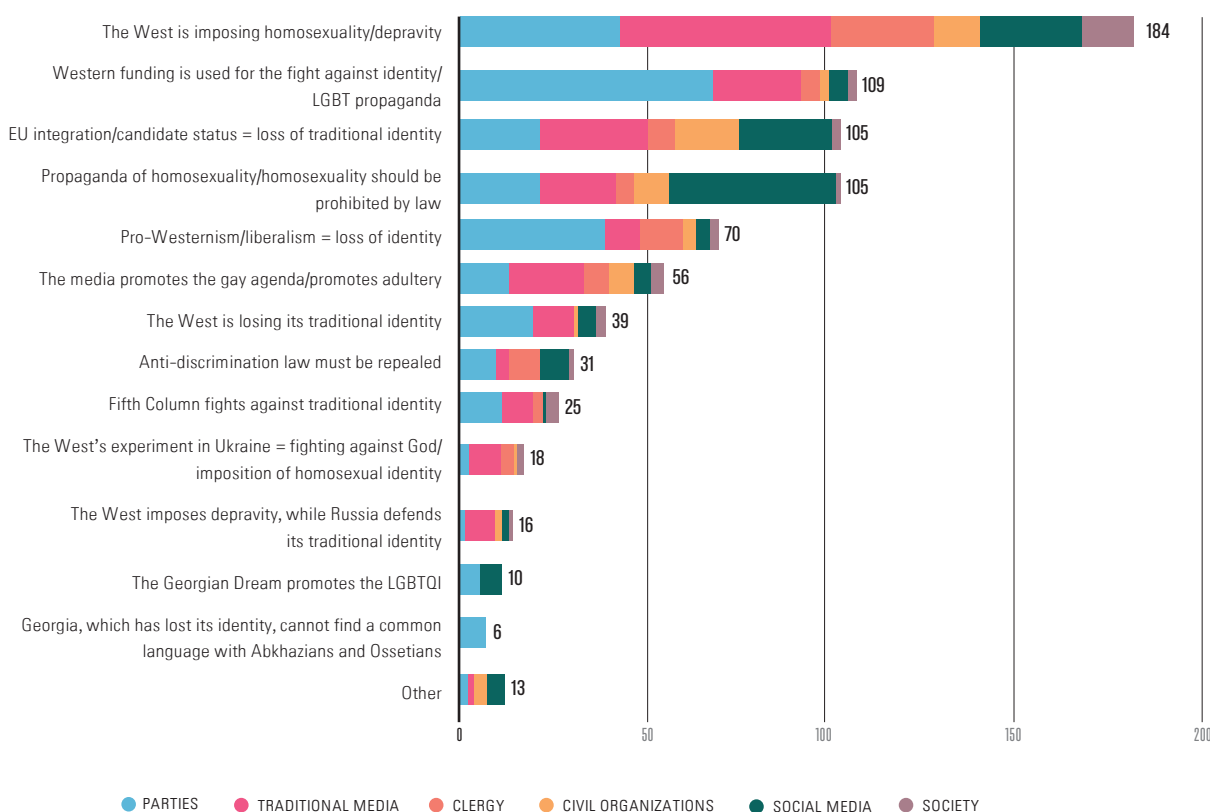
## 4.1. PROTECTION OF IDENTITY

Out of the 784 identity-related comments, the largest share was directed against the West, including the ones voiced in the context of the Russian-style law on the “Transparency of Foreign Influence” law, which was then revoked by the government, and Pride Week.

The messages that the West is imposing homosexuality and depravity upon Georgia, thereby making us lose our traditional identity (184), and that the Western funding is being used for the fight against identity/is used for LGBT propaganda (109) were predominant. The EU integration/candidate status was equated with the loss of traditional identity (105); At the same time, statements about the legislative restriction of the propaganda of homosexuality (105) were also present; Pro-Westernism/liberalism was equated with the loss of identity (70) while Russia, on the contrary, was presented as a defender of identity (16).

Identity issues were also discussed in relation to conflicts: It was emphasized that the ongoing hostilities in Ukraine were an experiment of the West, which was aimed at fighting God and the imposition of homosexual identity (18); In the case of Georgia, emphasis was placed on the fact that a country that has lost its traditional identity would not be able to find a common language with Abkhazians and Ossetians (6).

**FIGURE 18. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF IDENTITY**



Manipulation of public opinion on the subject of identity has become particularly acute during the discussion of the Russian-style law on foreign agents, when both government officials and pro-Kremlin and conservative actors linked foreign funding to the goals of fighting against traditional identity, depicting Western-funded NGOs as agents of foreign influence:

**Irakli Kobakhidze, Georgian Dream:** „...First of all, everyone admitted that the **being an agent is demeaning**, no matter whose agent you are – **North, West, South or East...** Those **organizations** that tried to implement Bakuriani plan,<sup>216</sup> demanded the resignation of the government from the stage, tried to shake the reputation of the church, **carried out LGBT propaganda...** In fact, do not serve the Georgian people, **but are agents of foreign influence.**”<sup>217</sup>

**Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “These **funds coming from the West** establish and finance such **organizations** and televisions here in Georgia, which directly **threaten our identity, culture, and faith.**”<sup>218</sup>

**Dito Chubinidze, Asaval-Dasavali Journalist:** „The **ravaging of gay-agents must be ended in the country. The church is to be cleansed...** The **identity of a Georgian man is to be saved. Our traditions are to be saved.**”<sup>219</sup>

Statements that equated pro-Western and supporting Ukraine to gay activism were also voiced:

**Spiridon Tskipurishvili, Cleric:** “Being **pro-Western** and saying “**Slava Ukraini**” equals to being a **gay activist.**”<sup>220</sup>

In the context of Tbilisi Pride, Levan Vasadze, the leader of the radical extremist movement linked to the Russian Church, argued that the government would have to adopt a law prohibiting gay propaganda:

**Levan Vasadze, “Unity, Essence, Hope” [ERI]:** “...Until the government takes this step, our country will continue to be **held hostage** by similar **problems** every year, and it is better to solve this once and for all and **at the legislative level**, in a civilized way, **prohibit the public promotion of depravity.**”<sup>221</sup>

The threat of losing traditional identity was also discussed in the context of the problem of restoring the territorial integrity of Georgia. Namely, according to far-right and pro-Kremlin actors, losing the traditional identity would destroy the prospect for Georgia to find a common language with Abkhazians and Ossetians:

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<sup>216</sup> Radio Liberty, 18 June, 2022, <https://bit.ly/3ZeTZD1>

<sup>217</sup> Obieqtivi, Real News, 14 March, <https://bitly.ws/3g7cT>

<sup>218</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 17 November, <https://bitly.ws/3g7cY>

<sup>219</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, [https://www.myvideo.ge/?video\\_id=4186893](https://www.myvideo.ge/?video_id=4186893)

<sup>220</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 19 October, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4204498&rc=1>

<sup>221</sup> ERI Media, Sitkvieri, 3 July, <https://bitly.ws/3g7oL>

Georgian Idea: “What kind of mercy should we expect from heaven, if we accept gay festivals in the motherland of Christ?! In addition to spiritual and moral degeneracy, such a precedent directly affects the prospect of restoring our territorial integrity, because both Ossetians and Abkhazians are people with a pronounced Caucasian mentality, and they will never want to live together in a space where adultery, homosexuality, and gay festivals are legalized!!!”<sup>222</sup>

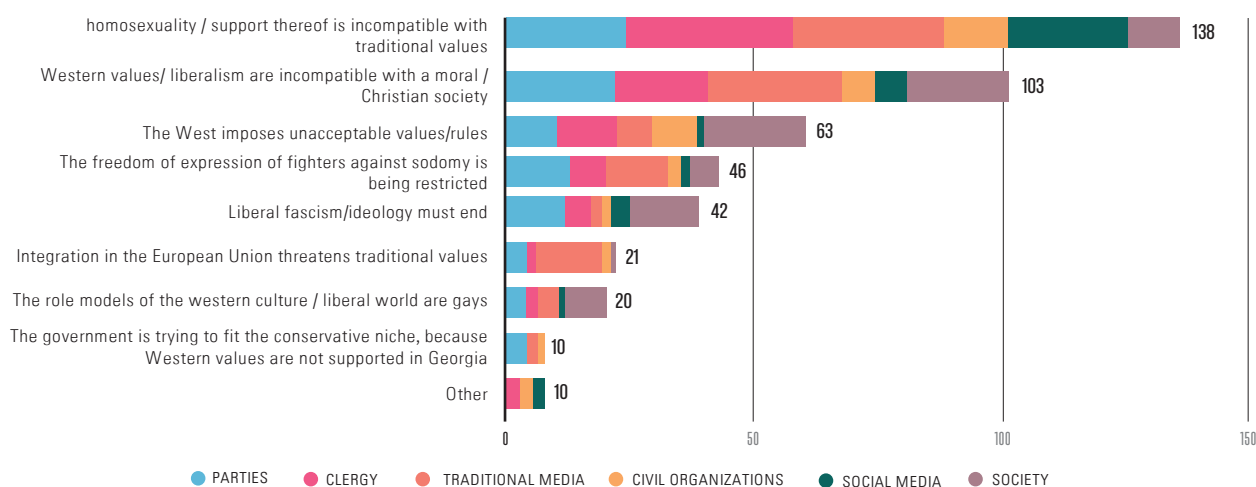
Mikheil Zghenti, Solidarity for Peace: „...And what do we say to the Abkhazians and Ossetians? That we aspire towards a union where men marry each other?!“<sup>223</sup>

## 4.2. PROTECTION OF VALUES

Of the 453 values-related comments, the message that homosexuality or the support thereof was incompatible with traditional values (138) was predominant. Similarly, Western values and liberalism were presented to be incompatible with a moral/Christian society (103).

The West (63) and the process of European integration (21) were associated with imposed foreign values and the loss of traditional ones. Statements about the need to end liberal fascism and ideology were also observed (42).

FIGURE 19. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF VALUES



Both pro-Kremlin actors and clerics emphasized the alleged incompatibility of Georgian traditional values with Western ones:

Levan Vasadze, “Unity, Essence, Hope” [ERI]: “These careless statements about the fact that what is our tradition is compatible with what, unfortunately, is forced on us from abroad in many cases, are naive, and there will come a moment when the government will have to demonstratively

<sup>222</sup> Georgian Idea – qartuliidea.ge, 6 July, <https://bitly.ws/3g7by>

<sup>223</sup> Asaval-Dasavali, 25 December – 7 January

choose either the norms and values of its own people, the same values each of them grew up with in their own families and want to raise their own children, or betraying those values.”<sup>224</sup>

Stepane Kalajishvili, Archpriest: „These feminist insinuations and the dictatorship of foolish women, promiscuous men, and homosexuals are what we inherit today and are the main attributes of Western values.”<sup>225</sup>

A cleric affiliated with the pro-Kremlin Conservative Movement described the gay parades lobbied by the West as incompatible with Christian morality and praised the legislation restricting gay propaganda in Russia.

Spiridon Tskipurishvili, Cleric: “The West lobbies gay parades, we oppose this filth based on Christian morality... it is banned in Russia... God bless where filth is banned.”<sup>226</sup>

A representative of the extremist Conservative Movement party presented the use of force to protect values and identity as a Christian act, while a cleric associated with the same party described the defeat of liberalism as a world plague as an inevitable necessity:

Irakli Martinenko, Conservative Movement: “No to violence” is liberalism! What was never said, let’s not interpret it as Christianity... When the Georgian society was truly Christian... the gay parade was then considered an incredible event because they would kill them! They would be killed, they would be directly executed.”

Spiridon Tskipurishvili, Cleric: „... We will defeat them inevitably, this disease, liberalism, which is spread around the world like a plague.”<sup>227</sup>

#### 4.3. PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

Out of the 420 messages related to the protection of children, the largest number (93) concerned the need for their protection from promiscuity/loss of identity. Teaching sex/civic education in schools was equated with the promotion of depravity (58). The media and the Internet were considered tools to foster child promiscuity (42), as were McDonald’s<sup>228</sup> (36) and Bakur Sulakauri’s publishing house<sup>229</sup> (19), which were accused of propagating depravity among minors.

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<sup>224</sup> ERI Media, 3 July, <https://bitly.ws/3gbmL>

<sup>225</sup> 7 Diocese of Chkondidi, 22 January, 21:00, <https://bit.ly/44dIYUj>

<sup>226</sup> Father Spiridon Tskipurishvili, 21 July, <https://bitly.ws/3g7cg>

<sup>227</sup> Vardigori Fathers’ Church, 1 February, 3:46, <https://bit.ly/45XN8jy>

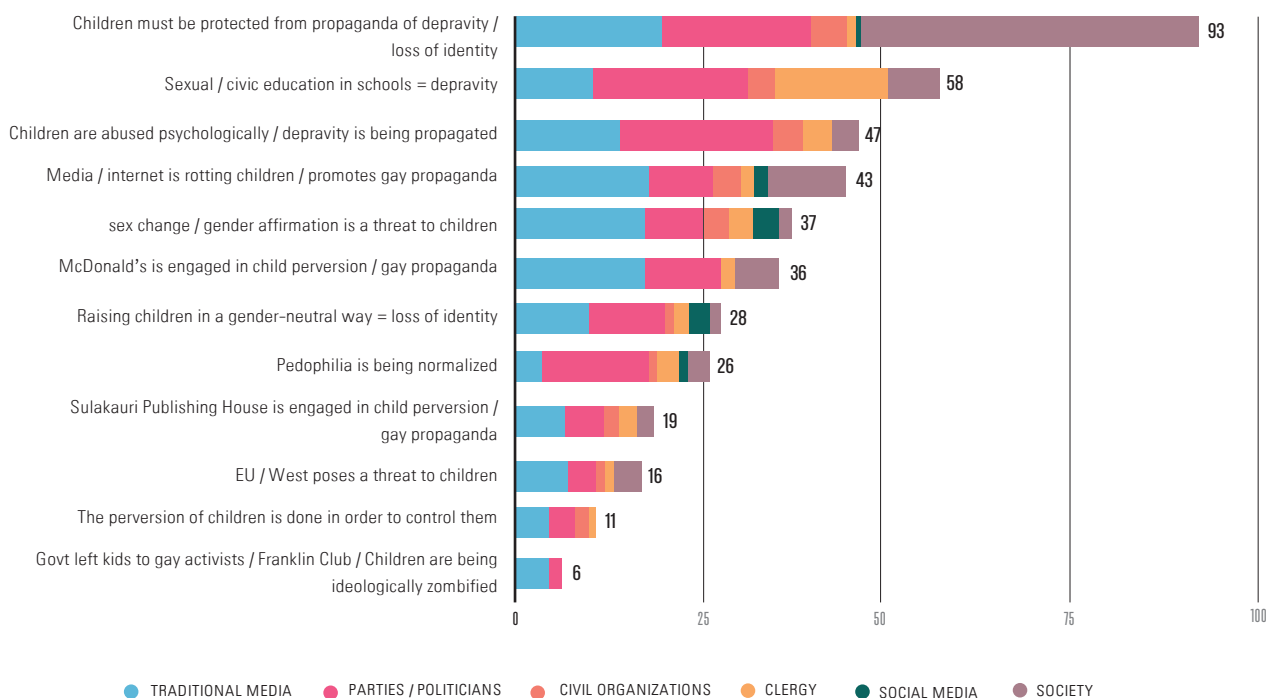
<sup>228</sup> Nino Chachua, Netgazeti, 14 June, Temur Chkonias’s position on the campaign against the book about Elton John, <https://netgazeti.ge/opinion/674817/>

<sup>229</sup> The targeted campaign against Bakur Sulakauri’s publishing house was related to the publication of children’s literature (“Sleep Tales for Rebelious Girls” and Charles Perrault’s “Camel Skin”). Tabula. Penn Center: We Condemn Disgusting Russian Campaign Against Sulakauri Publishing July 3, 2023, <https://tabula.ge/ge/news/703689-pentsentri-vgmobt-sulakauris-gamomtsemlobis>



Issues of sex change and gender affirmation (37) in minors were also relevant, which were considered a threat to adolescents.

FIGURE 20. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN



The topic of alleged expulsion of religion from the educational space and the teaching of depravity in schools were mainly raised by clergymen and publications, as well as the “Conservative Movement” party.

**Basil Fosuri, Cleric:** “What should a Christian do if the propaganda of depravity enters the school? We should **throw away those books** as far as possible, and if they still tell us that this subject must be studied, **leave that school**. Why do you need a school that teaches you depravity?”<sup>230</sup>

**Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement:** “The church was expelled from the school and the government no longer allows clergymen to schools, but **pederasts are allowed...**”<sup>231</sup>

**ZNEOBA.GE:** “The end of the liberast agenda in Georgia should begin with the **de-sodomization of the education system.**”<sup>232</sup>

<sup>230</sup> Andria Getsadze, 16 December, <https://bitly.ws/3gkQ5> Parish of Transfiguration of the Savior, 14 December, <https://bitly.ws/3g9sC>

<sup>231</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 11 December, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4210761&rc=1>

<sup>232</sup> ZNEOBA.GE, 12 September, <https://bitly.ws/3g9sl>

In selected cases, the “propaganda of sodomy” in schools was connected with the process of integration into the European Union. Pedophilia was presented as a threat stemming from the integration in the West, and the assessments of the President of Russia on this topic were reproduced uncritically.

**Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, Host at Sezoni TV:** „In the education system, this European Union is promoting sodomy in schools, and you want us to poison children like that?!“<sup>233</sup>

**Davit Tarkhan Mouravi, Alliance of Patriots:** “Let’s say we fulfilled these 12 points and became a candidate. After that, they will tell us that now LGBT should be everywhere and in everything, posters, schools, kindergartens...”<sup>234</sup>

**Shota Martinenko, Alt-Info/Conservative Movement:** „Pro-Westernism is becoming pro-pedophilia... Those who support integration [in the West] are actually supporting the establishment of a pedophilic agenda.“<sup>235</sup>

**Vladimir Putin, President of Russia:** “...Promiscuity, humiliation of children, even pedophilia is declared as the norm.”<sup>236</sup>

It is also worth noting that the discrediting campaign against the founder and owner of “Coca Cola Bottlers Georgia”, Temur Chkhonia, which concerned the fact that the personal life of singer Elton John was included in the McDonald’s “Heafy Mill” gift book, was manipulatively assessed by both the ruling party and the patriarchate as perversion of children:

**Irakli Kobakhidze, Georgian Dream:** “..I hope that in this case too, the representatives of a specific company will review the content of their materials. Conducting LGBT propaganda with children is astonishing and categorically unacceptable for the absolute majority of society in Georgia.”<sup>237</sup>

**Statement from the Georgian Patriarchate:** “Talking about healthy food, which is secretly infused with spiritual poison, is a well-designed trick.”<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Sezoni TV, Summary of the Day with Nikoloz Mzhavanadze, 28 June, <https://bitly.ws/3g9sJ>

<sup>234</sup> Obieqtivi, Studio 8, 29 June, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4189246&rc=1>

<sup>235</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 20 April, <https://bit.ly/3PvCUkK>

<sup>236</sup> Georgia and World, 22 February, <https://bit.ly/44UScnS>

<sup>237</sup> Resonance, 13 June, 2023, <https://bitly.ws/3g9sP>

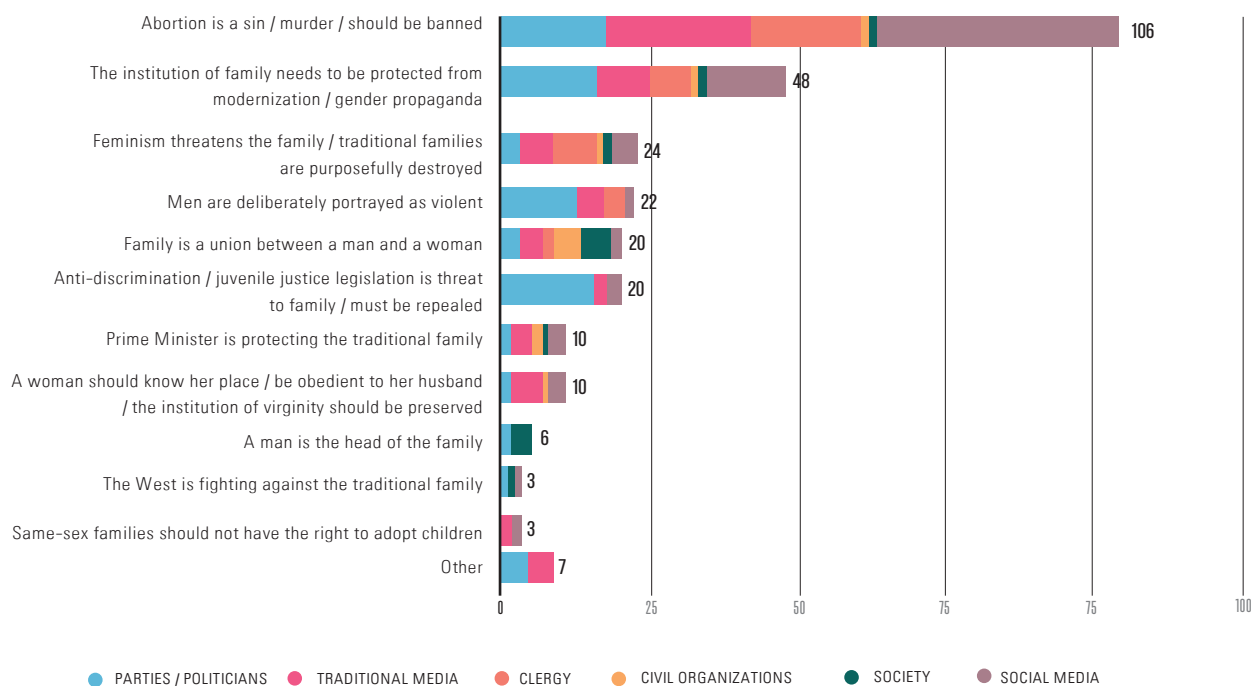
<sup>238</sup> Splitnews, 14 June, 2023, <https://bitly.ws/3g9sR>

#### 4.4. PROTECTION OF THE INSTITUTION OF FAMILY

Similar to previous studies, messages related to the protection of the institution of family (279) again revolved around the issue of abortion, which was considered a sin/murder for which only the woman was responsible, while demands for its prohibition were also voiced (106).

Statements about the need for protecting the institution of family from modernization/gender propaganda (48); about the threats that feminism intentionally poses to the traditional family (24); the policies that deliberately portray men as perpetrators (22) and on the need to review legislation (20) were amplified. The family was considered only as a union of a man and a woman (20), and a woman was expected to know her own place and obey her husband (10).

FIGURE 21. MESSAGES RELATED TO THE PROTECTION OF THE INSTITUTION OF FAMILY



Messages about family being a unity of a man and a woman were largely linked to the participation of the Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Garibashvili, in the conference of American ultraconservatives in Hungary, during which the rhetoric of “family protection” was based on manipulation of homophobic topics.

**Irakli Garibashvili, Prime Minister:** “However, 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...”<sup>239</sup> How do forces that oppose the freedom and truth try to achieve their goals?

<sup>239</sup> Imedi, Imedi Live, 4 May, <https://bit.ly/3EyrxST>

Definitely, by destructing the traditional family values and coercing false freedoms – through LGBTQ+ propaganda and attempts to legislate gender-affirming procedures for children – by-passing their parents, as well as by forcing so-called “innovations” that will cut people off from their own roots, family, traditions, culture, and history.<sup>240</sup>

Members of the Conservative Movement party and the clergy were the most active in denying femicide and considered the legislation of violence against women as a tool for the deliberate destruction of families. In some cases, they even justified femicide with the pretext of preserving the family:

Giorgi Kardava, Conservative Movement: „The family, as a strong, solid cell, is more important than femicide! Firstly, femicide does not exist as an event at all, it is invented in the wet fantasies of liberals, feminists...”<sup>241</sup>

Davit Kvlividze, Cleric: “...All this is because the tradition of the family, the institution of the family to be broken and destroyed; so that they could poke their nose into the family and start running the family themselves.”<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Mtavari Channel, Ghamis Mtavari, 5 May, <https://bitly.ws/3g9tM>

<sup>241</sup> Alt-Info, Alt-Analytics, 4 December, <https://www.myvideo.ge/v/4210552&rc=1>

<sup>242</sup> qadageba.ge, 30 June, <https://bitly.ws/3g9tA>



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