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WWW.MDFGEORGIA.GE

WWW.MEDIAMETER.GE

INTRODUCTION

The following report reflects the 2023 data on the financial transparency of Georgian media. The research, conducted annually by the Media Development Foundation (MDF), is based on the analysis of revenues declared by broadcasting media as required by law, as well as the practice of allocating budgetary funds for disseminating information and advertising in the media.

The data is based on the information retrieved from the State Procurement Agency, as well as additional information requested from state agencies, and, in some cases, on the content analysis of individual media outlets for the purpose of evaluating their editorial policy.

The report begins with an overview of the main findings of the study. The first section covers the financial revenues of broadcasters, which they are legally obligated to declare. The second section examines the allocation of public contracts for advertising and information dissemination across different types of media—television, radio, online, print, and social media. A separate chapter focuses on the expenditure of public funds on social media, including contracts requiring specific media outlets to publish materials in various Facebook groups and pages. The final section provides information on media outlets engaged in editorial practices involving hate speech and anti-Western narratives, which received public advertising funds. It also highlights outlets with a pro-government editorial stance that frequently participate in coordinated campaigns discrediting government opponents and Western actors.

The following report was prepared within the framework of the project “Quality Media and Conscious Media Consumption for Resilient Society (ConMeCo)”, which is implemented by the Deutsche Welle Akademie in cooperation with the Media Development Foundation and the Human Rights Center.

METHODOLOGY

The report mainly relies on mixed methodology: analysis of documents and open sources and, in specific cases, content analysis.

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS. In addition to the documentation available in the electronic database of the State Procurement Agency, the study relied on additional data requested from public institutions and other information distributed through open sources.

CONTENT ANALYSIS. Based on the principle of random sampling, the report also includes content analysis of the individual media outlets, as well as the disinformation and manipulation instances revealed by the fact-checking outlet Myth Detector. The selection was made on the basis of the agreements signed between administrative bodies and media outlets and was aimed to determine what kind of editorial policies these media outlets have.

KEY FINDINGS

The study identified the following tendencies:

- In 2023, the revenue of TV media decreased by 29.1 million GEL compared to the previous year, totaling 244.5 million GEL. This decline is mainly attributed to a drop in non-broadcasting revenue.
- The total broadcasting revenue exceeded the previous year's figures by 28.2 million GEL, largely due to an increase in revenue from pro-government channels (Imedi, Media Holding, and PosTV).
- In 2023, the largest share of the television market – 42.4% – was still held by the **Public Broadcaster**. Among private channels, the pro-government **Imedi TV** held the largest share at 14.9%. Pro-government Imedi and opposition-linked **Formula TV** had almost equal revenues, with Formula accounting for 14.4%.
- Pro-government channels **Media Holding** (14 million GEL, which includes Rustavi 2) and **POSTV** (7.4 million GEL) gained prominence in the television market in 2023. At the same time, opposition-linked channels like **Mtavari Arkhi** (7.7 million GEL) and **TV Pirveli** (5.5 million GEL) saw a decline in revenue.
- In 2023–2024, Chinese government advertisements appeared in Georgian television media, with the Embassy of the People's Republic of China placing ads in Media Holding's Georgian Times and the Kremlin-linked TV Obieqtivi, affiliated with the Alliance of Patriots party.
- Similar to previous years, certain television channels operated based on funding from owners or donations. These include ERI Media (associated with Levan Vasadze), Kremlin-linked outlets such as Alt-Info and Sezoni TV, Patriarchate TV Ertsulovneba, as well as Silk Media and opposition-linked Formula.
- The total revenue of regional television channels increased by 4.1 million GEL in 2023, reaching 17,489,860 GEL. The market was dominated by the Adjara Public Broadcaster (87.3%).
- Unlike previous years, radio broadcasters' revenue increased by 1.4 million GEL in 2023, totaling 9.2 million GEL. As in 2022, Radio Ucnobi's main sponsor in 2023 was the state-owned Georgian Post, which was joined by Georgian Railways, another state-owned company.
- In 2023, the value of contracts signed by budgetary organizations with media outlets and intermediary companies for advertising and information services increased approximately 2.5 times compared to the previous year, reaching 10,231,485 GEL.
- The largest share (51.5%) of budgetary contracts went to national television, followed by online media (18.6%), social media (14.3%), regional television (8.6%), mixed contracts (3.5%), print media (3.2%), and radio (0.2%).

- Between 2018 and 2023, a clear trend emerged of sharp increases in budgetary advertising on pro-government channels, while opposition channels experienced a decline.
- In 2023, a significant disparity in the allocation of budgetary advertising was evident between pro-government and opposition channels. Of the 5,270,196 GEL allocated through national television contracts, 98.4% went to pro-government channels, and only 1.6% to opposition channels, primarily through funds placed by the Central Election Commission (CEC) or related organizations.
- As in 2022, Imedi TV, with a pro-government editorial stance, signed contracts of the most value among television stations in 2023.
- Regional broadcasters mainly relied on contracts with local government bodies for budgetary advertising. Among regional broadcasters, the largest contracts were signed with Gurjaani TV.
- The value of contracts signed through intermediary companies for information services tripled in 2023.
- A quarter (25.6%) of the public funds allocated to online media went to outlets under the Palitra Media holding. They were followed by Kvira.ge and Region.kvira.ge, both with pro-government editorial policies (6.4%).
- In 2023, as in previous years, the most valuable contracts for information services in print media were signed with the pro-government Resonance newspaper and, in regional media, with Borjomi News.
- According to data from the State Procurement Agency's electronic database, the highest-value social media advertising contracts in 2023 were held by the Wine Agency.
- Public institutions increasingly used the services of media outlets with controversial editorial policies.
- Budgetary organizations continued to collaborate with anti-Western and homophobic media, such as the newspaper Sakartvelos Respublika.
- Since 2023, homophobic narratives have become more pronounced in pro-government media, particularly on television. For example, POSTV launched a program titled The Anatomy of Liberalism, which incites hate speech and spreads homophobic disinformation.
- Pro-government propaganda media occasionally used personal information about European politicians to discredit them and foster anti-Western, homophobic narratives in response to criticism of democratic backsliding in Georgia.
- As in previous years, the funding of pro-government media outlets involved in coordinated discrediting campaigns against government opponents and Western politicians, sometimes spreading deliberate false information, continued in 2023.
- Along with pro-government propaganda television channels (Imedi, POSTV, Rustavi 2) and online media (NewsHub, Prime Time, Info 9, Marshalpress, Resonance, InfoPostalioni.com, and others), Public Broadcaster was also involved in the dissemination of identical disinformation aligned with the government's agenda.

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I. DECLARED REVENUES OF BROADCAST MEDIA

1.1. TV BROADCASTERS

According to data from the Communications Regulatory Commission (ComCom),¹ the total revenue across all categories² of TV media in 2023 amounted to GEL 244.5 million, which is GEL 29.1 million less than the equivalent figure for 2022. This decrease is linked to a decline in non-broadcasting revenue. Notably, similar to the previous years, in addition to typical broadcasting revenue, which includes advertising, sponsorships, content sales, and other income, the practice of receiving non-broadcasting revenue (GEL 27.1 million) continued in the case of TV Formula. Non-broadcast revenue in 2023, which has a significant influence on the distribution of the broadcasting market, amounted to GEL 41.2 million (compared to GEL 98.6 million in 2022, of which GEL 65.2 million was received by the Public Broadcaster in December 2022 through the auctioning of its assets).³ Total broadcasting revenue in 2023 exceeded the equivalent figures from the previous year by GEL 28.2 million, mainly due to the revenue growth of government-aligned TV stations (Imedi, Media Holding, and POSTV).

In 2023, the largest share of the television market still belongs to the **Georgian Public Broadcaster**,⁴ whose total revenue, including non-broadcasting income, reached GEL 96.3 million (2022: GEL 141.2 million). Without non-broadcasting revenue, the broadcaster's income amounted to GEL 88.4 million, of which GEL 85.5 million came from legally mandated funding,⁵ exceeding the previous year's figure (GEL 73.4 million) by

¹ Communications Commission, Broadcasting • TV Revenues by Companies, Last Update: 15 September, 2024
<https://analytics.comcom.ge/ka/statistics/?c=broadcasting&f=revenue&exp=tv&sid=1446633&total=total>

² Advertising, sponsorship, broadcaster owner donation, third party donation, content sales, airtime sale, teleshopping, technical services, product placement, classifieds, archive rental, web banner, interactives, government funding, other non-broadcast and more.

³ Special Financial Report and Independent Auditor's Report of the Public Broadcaster as of December 31, 2023, pg.7
<https://bit.ly/3Cw7GWF>

⁴ Except for the Public Broadcaster's radio

⁵ According to the Law of Georgia "On Broadcasting", 2. The budget of the public broadcaster is made up of the public broadcasting's payable and other revenues defined and/or permitted by the law. 3. Payers of public broadcasting fees are all natural persons who have income subject to income tax in Georgia.

GEL 14.9 million. Among private TV broadcasters, the largest share was attributed to the pro-government **Imedi TV**, with GEL 33.7 million in revenue (2022: GEL 25.1 million). The next position in the market, based on the combined total of broadcasting and non-broadcasting revenue, is occupied by the opposition-leaning **TV Formula** (GEL 32.6 million), of which GEL 27.1 million was non-broadcasting revenue, and GEL 5.5 million came from broadcast activities. Following this, pro-government **Media Holding**, which includes Rustavi 2, moved up to the next position with GEL 14 million in revenue, reflecting a GEL 4.2 million increase compared to the previous year.⁶

Other notable trends include a decline in revenue for opposition-affiliated **Mtavari Arkhi (Main Channel)**, the revenue of which amounted to GEL 7.7 million, down by GEL 2.7 million compared to the previous year, and **Silknet**, the revenue of which decreased slightly to GEL 7.9 million⁷ (2022: GEL 8.8 million). Meanwhile, pro-government **POSTV** saw its revenue increase by GEL 2.3 million, reaching GEL 7.4 million in 2023. Notably, POS TV did not receive donations from the broadcaster's owner in 2023, similar to the previous year, with advertising (GEL 6.1 million) serving as its primary revenue source. Revenue growth was also recorded for **Adjarasport.tv**, which earned GEL 6.5 million, of which GEL 4.7 million came from non-broadcasting sources. The next position in the market is occupied by **TV Pirveli**, a TV broadcaster critical to the government, whose revenue decreased to GEL 5.5 million (2022: GEL 6.2 million).

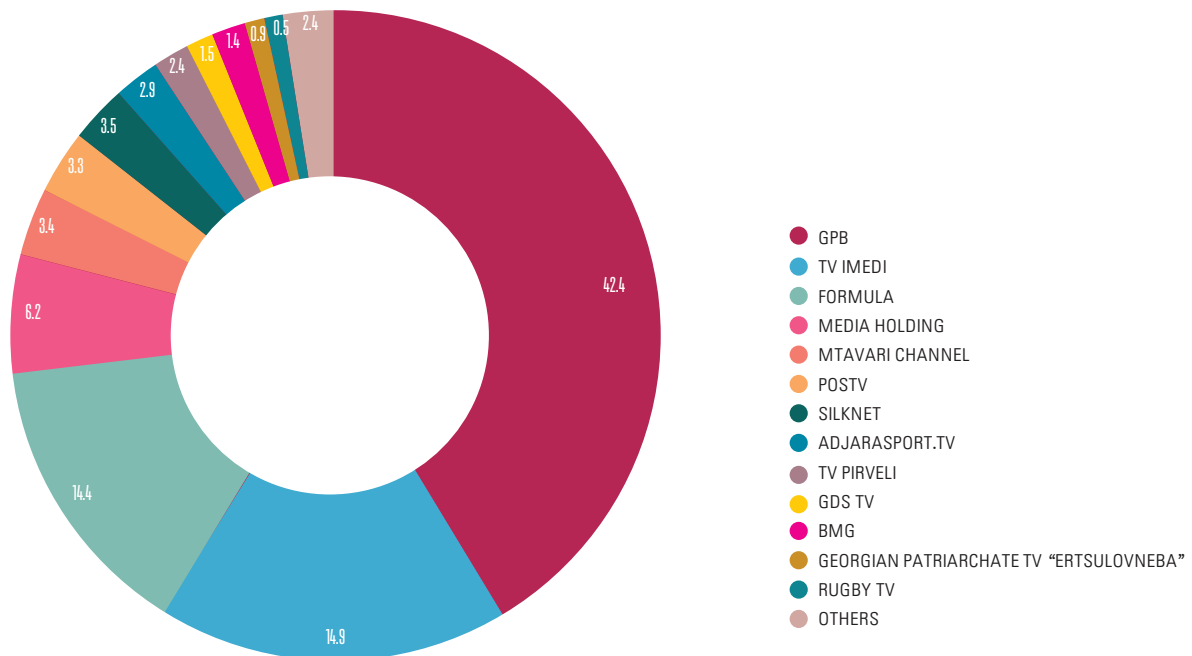
Other TV broadcaster revenues were distributed as follows: **GDS TV** – owned by the Ivanishvili family (GEL 3.3 million); **BMG** (GEL 3.1 million); Patriarchate-owned **Ertsulovneba** (GEL 2 million) (Non-broadcasting income amounts to 18,240 GEL); and **Rugby TV** (GEL 1 million). Other national coverage TV broadcaster revenues, not exceeding GEL 0.65 million each, amounted to a total of GEL 5.4 million. Among these were the pro-Kremlin **Alt-Info** with GEL 0.6 million (2022: GEL 0.9 million) and **Obieqtivi** with GEL 0.3 million (2022: GEL 0.8 million).

It should also be noted that, according to ComCom, government agency advertisements were primarily observed on pro-government national television channels, a topic that will be analyzed in detail in the next chapter. In 2023–2024, Chinese government advertisements also appeared in TV media. For instance, in the fourth quarter of 2023, the Chinese Embassy placed advertisements with **Georgian Times Media Holding**, whose total annual revenue in 2023 was GEL 0.5 million. In the second quarter of 2024, the embassy also placed an advertisement worth GEL 15,630 with **Obieqtivi**, a channel affiliated with the pro-Kremlin Alliance of Patriots party.

⁶ In 2021, Rustavi 2 and Prime Time merged into one holding. Available at: <https://shorturl.at/tEQY5>. In April 2019, the National Public Registry Agency, based on the decision of the Supreme Court of Georgia on March 2, 2017, registered Kibar Khalvashi as the owner of “Rustavi 2” broadcasting company. After this decision, in 2021, the TV company “Rustavi 2” and the publication Prime Time merged into “Media Holding.”

⁷ The mentioned data includes the declared income of “Silk Media” LLC for 2023 (7 million GEL), whose 100% owner is JSC Silknet; [B21081595 \(napr.gov.ge\)](https://napr.gov.ge/B21081595)

FIGURE 1. REVENUES OF NATIONWIDE AND MIXED COVERAGE BROADCASTERS IN 2023, BY MEDIA OUTLETS



1.2. FULLY OR PARTIALLY DONATORY TV BROADCASTERS

Similar to previous years, TV companies whose operation depends on funds received from owners or other donations were identified in 2023 as well. We analyzed the data of 7 TV companies, whose revenue is more than 77% dependent on this type of income, which takes the form of full or partial donation. Most of the donatory TV channels have a pro-Kremlin or far-right editorial policy; in one case, a pro-opposition channel was identified, and in another case, a TV broadcaster of the Georgian Patriarchate:

- **Alt-Info (100%).** “Alt-Info” TV, which is linked with the pro-Kremlin “Alt-Info/Conservative Movement” party is completely donatory, which in 2023 received 100% of the unified income (609,376 GEL) as a donation from the owner of the broadcaster – Tsiala Morgoshia. On the other hand, Tsiala Morgoshia is a shareholder and owner of many businesses. She is the aunt of Konstantine Morgoshia, one of the leaders of the “Alt-Info/Conservative Movement.”⁸ It should also be noted that after the 2024 Parliamentary Elections, Alt-Info ceased its operation due to financial problems.⁹
- **Ertsulovneba (99%).** In 2023, Patriarchate’s TV company “Ertsulovneba” received 99% of its revenues as a donation, which amounted to 2,011,052 GEL.
- **ERI Media (95%).** “Eri Media,” founded on June 22, 2022,¹⁰ linked to the leader of the radical-extremist group, Levan Vasadze, is of an almost completely donatory nature (95%) and spreads anti-Western and sexist messages, and according to the fact-checking portal “Myth Detector”, it disseminates disinformation.¹¹ The

⁸ Alt-Info, Profile, <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/alt-info>

⁹ Radio Liberty, 28 October, 2024. “Alt-Info” stops broadcasting.” <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/33176693.html>

¹⁰ Entry from Public Registry, [ERI Media Group LLC](https://www.eeri.ge/)

¹¹ ERI Media, Profile <https://mediameter.ge/ge/media-profiles/eri-media>

owner of 100% share of the company is Vasadze’s relative Irine Mujiri, whose donations amounted to 205,800 GEL in 2023.

- **Silk Media (95%).** Silk Media received 95% of its revenue (6,679,396 GEL) as a donation from the owner.
- **Formula (83%).** Opposition-leaning Formula TV received 83% of its total revenue in the form of “other non-broadcasting income.”
- **Sezoni TV (77.2%).** Sezoni TV – another TV broadcaster characterized by pro-Kremlin editorial policy – depended on the 77.2% (33,869 GEL) donation of its owner, former boxer Giorgi Kandelaki. Giorgi Kandelaki is also a member of the “Together for a Strong Georgia” movement, which is infamous for its open Soviet sentiments and support for Joseph Stalin.¹² Sezoni TV itself has spread a number of false information.¹³

FIGURE 2. 2023 REVENUES OF FULLY OR PARTIALLY DONATORY TV BROADCASTERS BY SOURCES

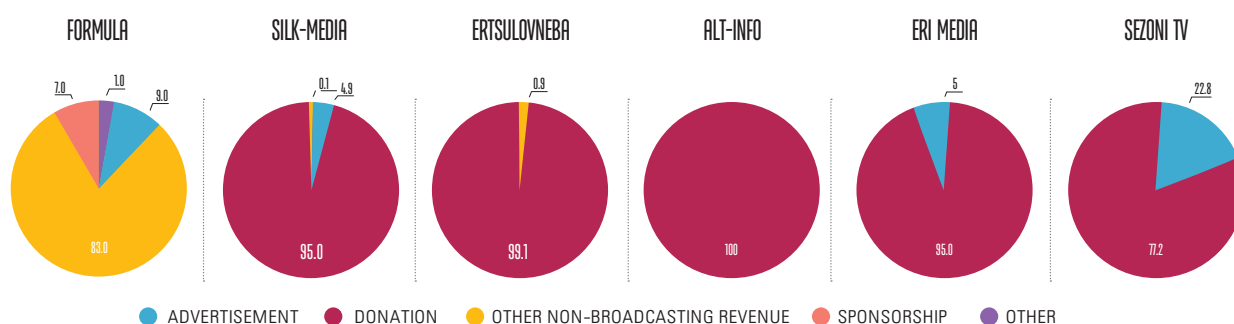


TABLE 1. 2023 DONATIONS OF FULLY OR PARTIALLY DONATORY MEDIA

MEDIA	DONOR/OWNER'S OTHER DONATION I QUARTER	DONOR/OWNER'S OTHER DONATION II QUARTER	DONOR/OWNER'S OTHER DONATION III QUARTER	DONOR/OWNER'S OTHER DONATION IV QUARTER	SUM/SHARE OF DONATIONS
FORMULA	Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 256 605 GEL	Other non-broadcasting revenue – 8 126 490 GEL	Other non-broadcasting revenue – 8 206 596 GEL	Other non-broadcasting revenue – 6 513 870 GEL	27 103 563 GEL / 83%
SILK MEDIA	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet ¹⁴ – 1 932 567 GEL	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet – 1 204 284 GEL	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet – 1 978 916 GEL	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet – 1 563 628 GEL	6 679 396 GEL / 95%
ERTSULO VNEBA	Georgian Patriarchate – 402 700 GEL, Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 560 GEL, Donation of other people – 66 GEL	Georgian Patriarchate – 1 002 700 GEL, Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 560 GEL, Donation of other people – 66 GEL	Georgian Patriarchate – 302 700 GEL, Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 560 GEL, Donation of other people – 66 GEL	Georgian Patriarchate – 302 700 GEL, Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 560 GEL, Donation of other people – 66 GEL	2 011 052 GEL / 99%

¹² Sezoni TV, Profile <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/sezoni-tv>

¹³ Myth Detector, <https://bit.ly/48ZEcvS>

¹⁴ Extract from the registry of entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entities

ALT-INFO	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Movement party – 208 500 GEL	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Movement party – 152 400 GEL	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Movement party – 114 465 GEL	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Movement party – 134 011 GEL	609 376 GEL / 100%
ERI MEDIA ¹⁵	Irine Mujiri, Owner of ERI Media – 76 550 GEL	Irine Mujiri, Owner of ERI Media – 88 600 GEL	Irine Mujiri, Owner of ERI Media – 35 900 GEL	Irine Mujiri, Owner of ERI Media – 4 750 GEL	205 800 GEL / 95%
SEZONI TV	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 11 041 GEL	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 10 538 GEL	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 10 203 GEL	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 2 087 GEL	33 869 GEL / 77.2%

It is noteworthy that while the pro-Kremlin party Alliance of Patriots-linked TV Obieqtivi was largely of a donatory nature in previous years,¹⁶ its revenue became more diversified in 2022–2023. In 2023, a donation from one of the broadcaster’s owners, Irakli Tsilikishvili, accounted for 48% (GEL 176,965) of its total revenue. Irakli Tsilikishvili, one of the shareholders of Obieqtivi, was a member and chairman of the board of the non-commercial media union “Obieqtivi” from 2010 to 2022. In addition to “Obieqtivi”, he is the **director** of “Amaltea” joint-stock company. The main activity of “Amaltea” is the production and sale of **dairy products**.¹⁷ Notably, Obieqtivi reported no revenue in the fourth quarter of 2023.

As shown in the table below, which is based on the informational-analytical portal of the Communications Regulatory Commission (ComCom), one of the most stable sources of advertising revenue of “Obieqtivi” in 2022 was Stereo+, whose 50% share is owned by MP David Zilpimiani.¹⁸ Zilpimiani entered the parliament through the party list of “Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili – Alliance of Patriots of Georgia.”¹⁹ In the first quarter of 2023, Bright Industry Group also placed advertisements on the air of “Obieqtivi.”

TABLE 2. SOURCES OF REVENUE OF TV OBIEQTIVI BASED ON THE DATA OF COMCOM, 2023

PERIOD	FUNDING SOURCE ACCORDING TO COMCOM ANALYTICS PORTAL	ADVERTISEMENT AMOUNT	OWNER DONATION	OTHER DONATIONS
I QUARTER	Bright Industry (401952348); Stereo+ (204986408)	92 499.99	105 720	198 219
II QUARTER	Stereo+ (204986408)	102 966.09	55 765	158 731.09
III QUARTER			15 480	15 480
IV QUARTER				0
SUM		195 466	176 965	372 431

¹⁵ ERI Media Group LLC (404622850) was registered on October 21, 2021. The owner of 100% share of the channel was **Levan Vasadze**, and the director was Tinatin Khorbaladze. On June 26, 2022, **Irine Mujiri** became the owner of the LLC. On October 28, 2022, ERI Media received **authorization** for general broadcasting.

¹⁶ Media Development Foundation (2021). Financial Transparency of Media – 2020 <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/215/>

¹⁷ Obieqtivi, Profile <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/obieqtivi>

¹⁸ Zilpimiani’s share is currently managed by Giorgi Khitarishvili <https://www.my.gov.ge/ka-ge/services/6/service/179>

¹⁹ Parliament of Georgia <https://parliament.ge/parliament-members/7221/declaration>

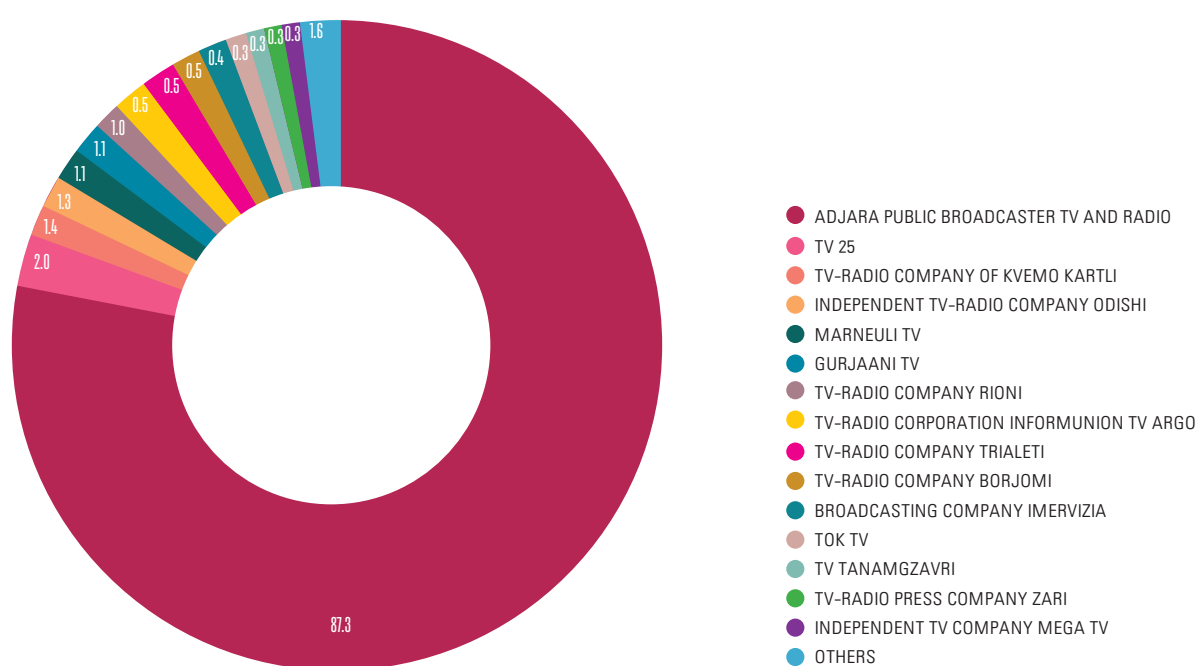
1.3. REGIONAL TV BROADCASTERS

The total revenue of regional TV broadcasters in 2023 amounted to GEL 17,489,860 (of which GEL 398,384 was non-broadcasting revenue, compared to GEL 306,204 in 2022). This represents an increase of GEL 4.1 million compared to the previous year (2022: GEL 13,330,835). As in previous years, the largest share (87.3%) was attributed to the Adjara Public Broadcaster (GEL 15,269,458).

- **Adjara:** Adjara Public Broadcaster (87.3%); TV 25 – GEL 351,137 (2% of total regional TV revenue).
- **Kvemo Kartli:** Kvemo Kartli TV-Radio Company – GEL 241,202 (1.4%); Marneuli TV – GEL 200,169 (1.1%).
- **Samegrelo:** TV-Radio Company Odishi – GEL 220,562 (1.3%).
- **Imereti:** Rioni TV – GEL 179,766 (1%); Argo TV – GEL 93,907 (0.5%); Imervizia – GEL 71,750 (0.4%); Zari TV – GEL 52,276 (0.3%); Mega TV – GEL 51,970 (0.3%).
- **Kakheti:** Gurjaani TV – GEL 189,720 (1.1%); Tanamgzavri– GEL 55,364 (0.3%).
- **Shida Kartli:** Trialeti TV-Radio Company – GEL 88,438 (0.5%).
- **Samtskhe-Javakheti:** Borjomi TV – GEL 83,628 (0.5%); Tok TV – GEL 57,496 (0.3%).
- **Other regional broadcasters:** 283,013 GEL (1.6 %)

The combined revenue of other regional TV broadcasters, which does not exceed 45,000 GEL, amounted to 283,013 GEL.

FIGURE 3. REVENUES OF REGIONAL TV BROADCASTERS IN 2022 BY MEDIA OUTLETS



The **Adjara Public Broadcaster's** revenue, including non-broadcasting income, increased by GEL 4.2 million (2022: GEL 11,053,090; 2023: GEL 15,269,458). Of this, revenue from sponsorship and advertising services totaled GEL 98,804, rental income reached GEL 155,781, and other commercial income amounted to GEL 14,171.²⁰

²⁰ pg. 7, 2023 Budget Implementation Report, 07 November 2024, Available at: <https://ajaratv.ge/files/shares/pdf/ang.pdf>

Revenue growth was also observed in several other regional broadcasters: **Gurjaani TV** – increased by GEL 87,110 (2022: GEL 102,610; 2023: GEL 189,720). **Odishi TV** – increased by GEL 23,584 (2022: GEL 196,978; 2023: GEL 220,562). **Kvemo Kartli TV (TV4)** – increased by GEL 19,106 (2022: GEL 222,096; 2023: GEL 241,202). **Tanamgzavri** – increased by GEL 15,690 (2022: GEL 39,673; 2023: GEL 55,364). **Trialeti TV** – increased by GEL 11,133 (2022: GEL 77,305; 2023: GEL 88,438). **Zari TV** – increased by GEL 8,353 (2022: GEL 43,922; 2023: GEL 52,276). **Borjomi TV** – increased by GEL 7,861 (2022: GEL 75,767; 2023: GEL 83,628). **Argo TV** – increased by GEL 3,360 (2022: GEL 90,546; 2023: GEL 93,907). **Imervizia** – increased by GEL 2,740 (2022: GEL 69,010; 2023: GEL 71,750).

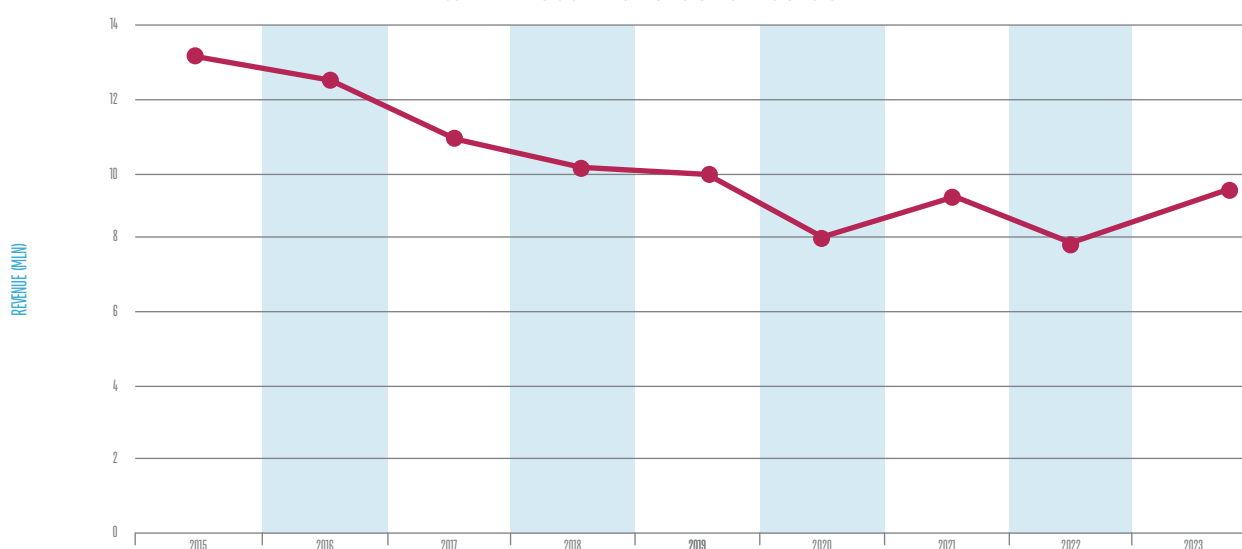
The decline in revenue was observed in the case of the **following regional broadcasters: Marneuli TV** – decreased by GEL 47,366 (2022: GEL 247,535; 2023: GEL 200,169). **Rioni TV** – decreased by GEL 23,765 (2022: GEL 203,531; 2023: GEL 179,766). **TV 25** – decreased by GEL 19,240 (2022: GEL 370,378; 2023: GEL 351,137). **Mega TV** – decreased by GEL 17,437 (2022: GEL 69,408; 2023: GEL 51,970). **Tok TV** – decreased by GEL 5,953 (2022: GEL 63,450; 2023: GEL 57,496). **Channel 9²¹** – decreased by GEL 58,916 (2022: GEL 97,167; 2023: GEL 38,250).

Notably, in 2023, Kvemo Kartli TV received over GEL 28,000 in non-broadcasting income from Quality Channel [Khariskhis Arkhi],²² a platform known for anti-Western conspiracies. In turn, 100% of Quality Channel’s revenue (GEL 83,985) was derived from technical service income provided by Kvemo Kartli TV. Additionally, Kvemo Kartli TV has long benefited from budgetary contracts for disseminating information and advertisements. This topic will be further explored in the section on budgetary contracts.

1.4. RADIO BROADCASTERS

In 2023, the revenue of radio broadcasters amounted to GEL 9.2 million, of which GEL 0.45 million came from non-broadcasting income. Notably, while radio revenues showed a declining trend between 2015 and 2022, the situation changed in 2023, with total revenue increasing by GEL 1.4 million compared to 2022.

FIGURE 4. REVENUES OF RADIO BROADCASTERS IN 2015-2023



Source: National Communications Commission Analytical Portal

²¹ Empire LLC, <https://registry.comcom.ge/Organisation.aspx?OrgID=280>

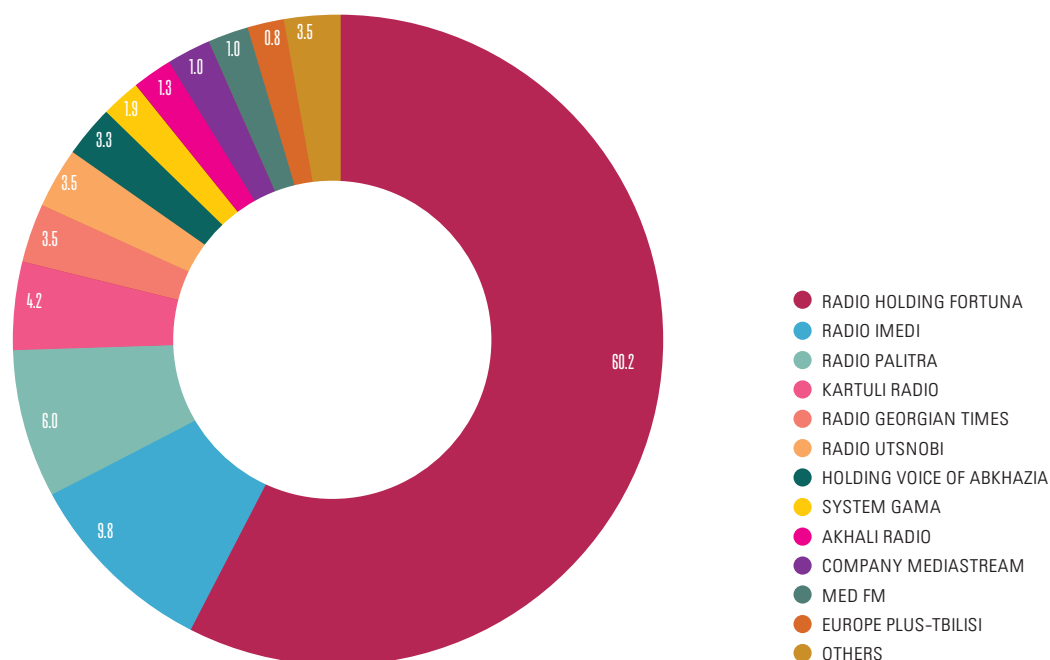
²² Davit Giorgobiani, Quality Channel Host, <https://mythdetector.ge/ka/profiles/giorgobiani-davithi/>

As in previous years, the national radio broadcasting market was dominated by Radio Holding Fortuna, which generated GEL 4,586,988 in revenue. Compared to 2022, the company’s revenue increased by GEL 0.9 million, accounting for 60.2% of the total national radio revenue (GEL 7,614,544).

The next highest revenue earner was Radio Imedi with GEL 745,387, reflecting an increase of GEL 99,287 compared to the previous year. In third place was Radio Palitra, which earned GEL 453,976, a decrease of GEL 18,697 compared to 2022. It was followed by Kartuli Radio with GEL 316,716, showing a slight increase (2022: GEL 316,068). Radio Georgian Times saw its revenue double (up by 56%) to GEL 267,468 (2022: GEL 115,686). Radio Ucnobi²³ earned GEL 263,454, a decrease of GEL 10,398. The revenue of the holding Voice of Abkhazia²⁴ in 2023 was GEL 250,598. Other notable broadcasters: System Gama: GEL 143,379 (down by GEL 5,453). Akhali Radio: GEL 98,505. Radio Energy²⁵: GEL 75,825. Med FM: GEL 74,377. Europa Plus–Tbilisi: GEL 62,212. Other radio stations with revenue not exceeding GEL 42,000 collectively earned GEL 275,657

According to the Communications Commission, national radio broadcasters collectively received GEL 92,864 in non-broadcasting income: Radio Palitra: GEL 68,337. Radio Imedi: GEL 11,204. Patriarchate Radio Iveria: GEL 10,323. Smartnet: GEL 3,000.

FIGURE 5. 2023 REVENUES OF NATIONAL AND MIXED COVERAGE RADIO BROADCASTERS



Interestingly, according to the Communications Commission’s informational-analytical portal, which quarterly discloses broadcasters’ revenue sources exceeding GEL 7,000, Radio Ucnobi (MD Group) listed state-founded LLCs Georgian Post and Georgian Railway as funding sources in 2023. In all three quarters of 2023, Georgian

²³ MD Group LLC – On granting consent to the transfer of the private broadcasting license No. B70 of “Radio Ucnobi” LLC to “MD Group” LLC

²⁴ The revenue also includes the income received by LLC “Media Holding–Voice of Abkhazia” (50,632 GEL) – <https://bs.napr.gov.ge/GetBlob?pid=400&bid=boVlyOwisX3qmYsntmLmFL97Af1V94%5BJJiAdKFuJsWEugzbfXSswwACveKBdF3%5DG>

²⁵ LLC Company “Mediastream” Legal Entity (comcom.ge)

Post was listed as a funding source. Additionally, in the second quarter, Georgian Railway appeared as a funder alongside other commercial companies. For Q4 advertising revenue, totaling GEL 68,973.37, the funding sources are not disclosed on the portal. According to the National Communications Commission, this is because no single source exceeded GEL 7,000.²⁶ As indicated in the table below, Radio Ucnobi's primary funding source in 2022 was Georgian Post, with Georgian Railway joining as an additional funder in 2023.

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF REVENUE OF RADIO UCNوبي ACCORDING TO COMCOM, 2023

PERIOD	FUNDING SOURCES ACCORDING TO COMCOM'S OFFICIAL ANALYTICS PORTAL	ADVERTISEMENT REVENUE IN 2023	FUNDING SOURCES ACCORDING TO COMCOM'S OFFICIAL ANALYTICS PORTAL	ADVERTISEMENT REVENUE IN 2022
I QUARTER	Georgian Post (203836233)	63 528.94	Georgian Post (203836233)	64,727.43
II QUARTER	II Quarter Georgian Post(203836233), Georgian Railway (202886010), Together with other companies	69 552.88	Georgian Post (203836233)	66,983.67
III QUARTER	Georgian Post (203836233)	61 398.53	Georgian Post (203836233)	71,029.49
IV QUARTER	Data on the source of revenue is not available	68 973.37	Data on the source of revenue is not available	71,111.93
SUM		263 453.72		273,852.52

1.5. REGIONAL RADIO BROADCASTERS

In 2023, regional radio broadcasters collectively earned a total revenue of GEL 1,614,204, with the largest share, 42.8% (nearly half), attributed to Adjara Public Radio, which generated GEL 690,595. The revenues of other radio stations were significantly lower. Radio Marneuli²⁷ 96.9 FM earned GEL 340,943, while Radio Hereti generated GEL 195,848. Radio TV-Nor, based in Ninotsminda, brought in GEL 111,935. Radio Atinati followed with GEL 99,283, and Dzveli Qalaqi earned GEL 85,212. Radio Trialeti's revenue amounted to GEL 35,917, while Radio Odishi reported GEL 19,451. Smaller revenues were recorded by Radio Bolneli with GEL 13,795, Poti Radio with GEL 12,349, Radio Rioni with GEL 7,165, Radio Argo with GEL 1,610, and Radio Parvana, which generated just GEL 100.

It is noteworthy that Radio TV-Nor's revenue decreased by GEL 35,745 compared to the previous year, dropping from GEL 147,680 in 2022 to GEL 111,935 in 2023. In contrast, Radio Marneuli saw an increase of GEL 130,211, rising from GEL 210,731 in 2022 to GEL 340,943 in 2023.

According to the Communications Commission,²⁸ non-broadcasting revenue in 2023 amounted to GEL 452,213, distributed among seven radio broadcasters. Of this total, GEL 359,349 was shared by three regional

²⁶ Communications Commission's Letter G-24-04/2556 to Media Development Foundation, 08.11.2024

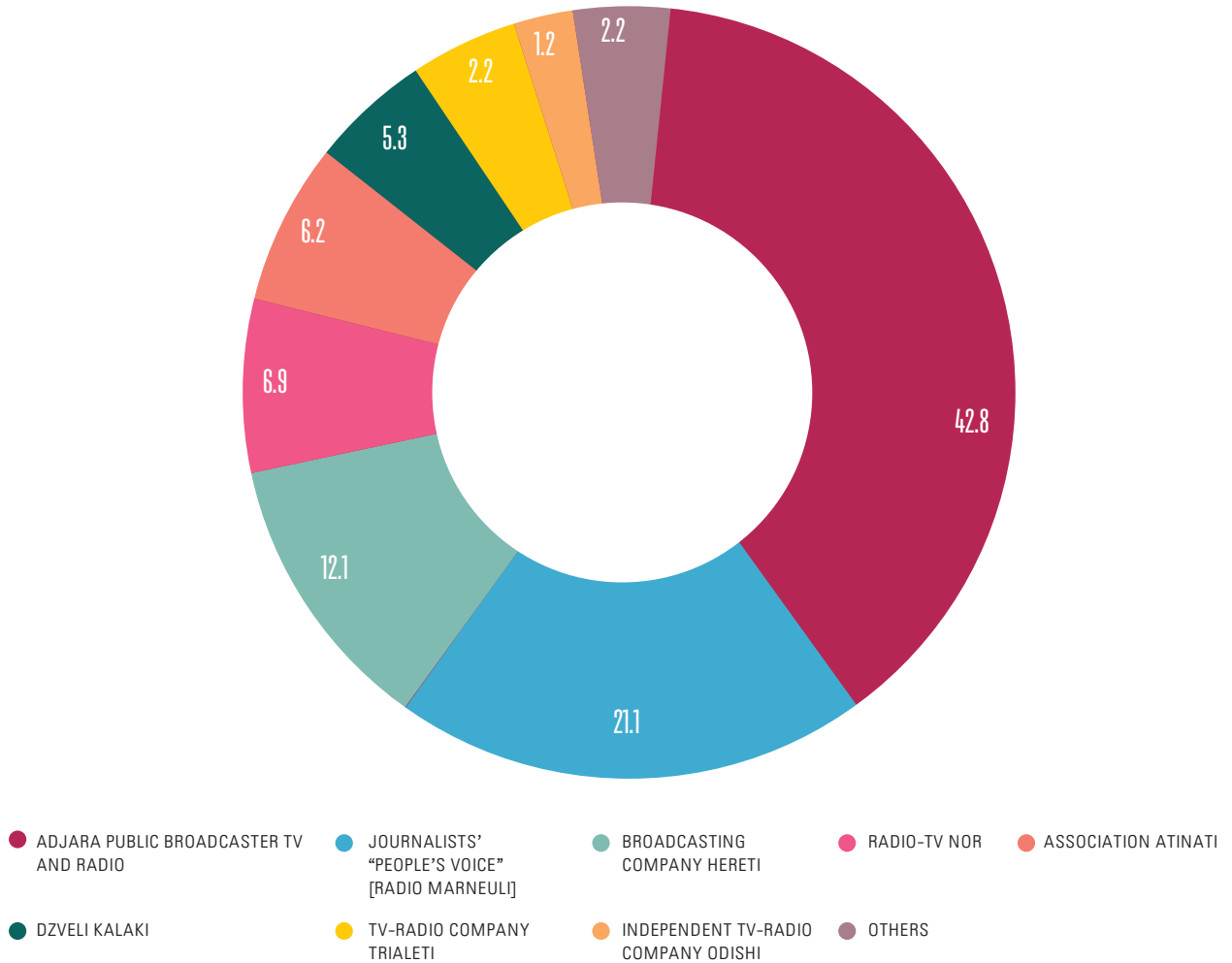
²⁷ Journalists' "People's Voice"

²⁸ Broadcasting, Radio Revenues by Companies, 2023, Available at:

<https://analytics.comcom.ge/ka/statistics/?c=broadcasting&f=revenue&exp=radio&sid=1443081>

radio stations, with Radio Marneuli²⁹ receiving GEL 324,664, Radio TV-Nor receiving GEL 28,800, and Radio Atinati receiving GEL 5,885.

FIGURE 6. REVENUES OF REGIONAL RADIO BROADCASTERS BY MEDIA, 2023



²⁹ NNLE Journalists' "People's Voice" – <https://www.marneulifm.ge/ka/about-us-ge/shesabamisobis-deklaraciaa>

II. THE PRACTICE OF ALLOCATING BUDGETARY FUNDS FOR ADVERTISING AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN MEDIA

2.1. TOTAL DATA

According to data available in the electronic database of the State Procurement Agency, in 2023, budgetary organizations signed service contracts worth 10,231,485 GEL with media outlets and intermediary companies for advertising and informational services. This amount is approximately 2.5 times higher than the number in 2022 (4,189,300 GEL).

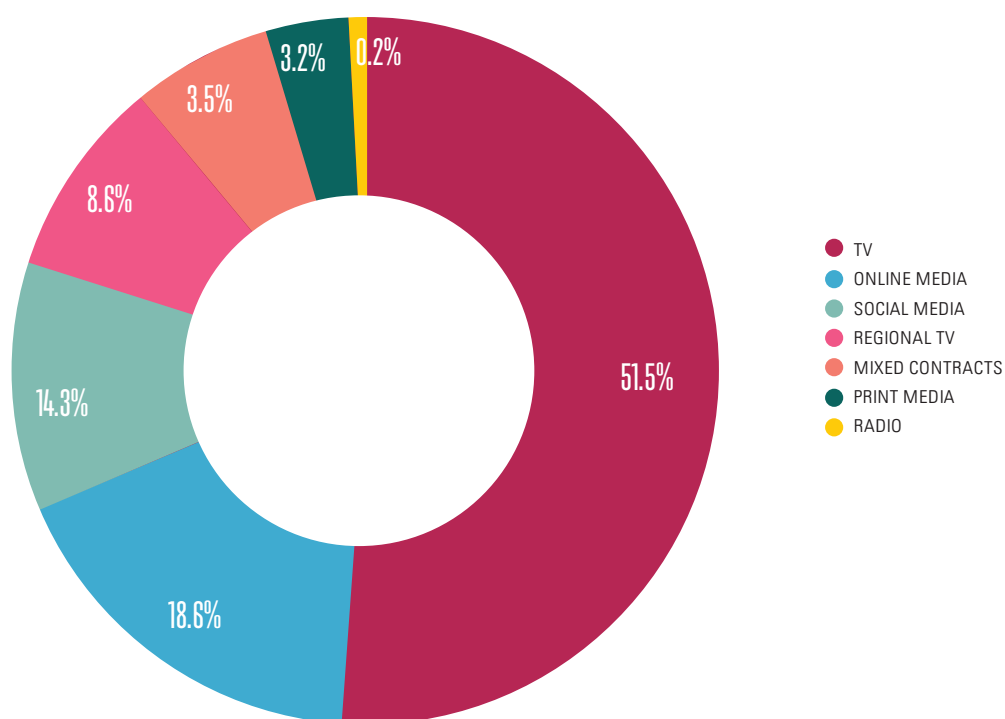
The largest share of the total amount (51.5% – 5,270,196 GEL) was allocated to national television channels through budgetary contracts, followed by online media (18.6% – 1,901,293 GEL). This is approximately 400,000 GEL higher than the funds allocated to social media for information dissemination (14.3% – 1,466,534 GEL). Regional television channels accounted for 8.6% (878,230 GEL) of budgetary contracts.

Contracts combining various types of media outlets and services, categorized as “mixed contracts,” amounted to 360,903 GEL (3.5%). Due to the nature of certain contracts, it was impossible to identify which specific types of media received the allocated funds. Thus, these contracts were separated into a distinct “mixed contracts” category.³⁰ Moreover, portions of these mixed contracts, which exclusively involve regional or online media but lack sufficient detail to identify exact media entities, were attributed accordingly to regional and online media revenue.

In 2023, 3.2% (331,599 GEL) of the budgetary contracts were distributed to print media, while the smallest share, as in 2022, went to radio, accounting for just 0.2% (22,730 GEL).

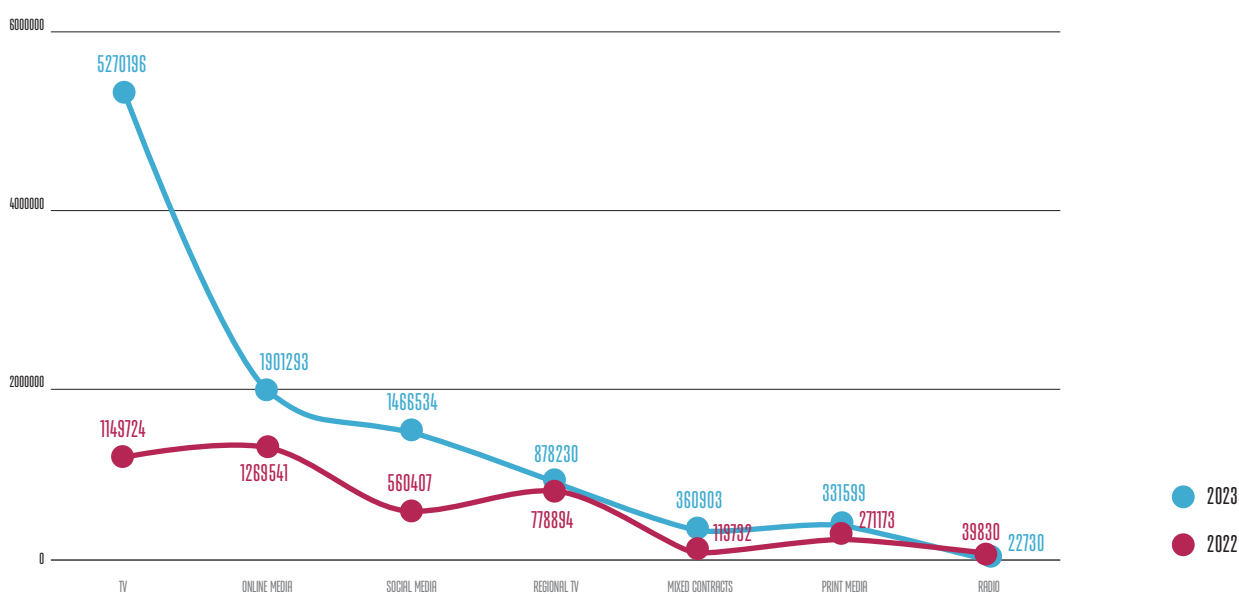
³⁰ To clarify the data, MDF sent public information requests to 14 agencies. Some of these agencies provided incomplete information, including The Ministry of Education and Science, The Veterans Affairs Service, The Agency for Vocational Skills, LEPL “L. Sakvarelidze National Center for Disease Control and Public Health,” The Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission, The Maritime Transport Agency, The Non-entrepreneurial (Non-commercial) Legal Entity Agency for Public Communication, Tbilisi State Medical University. Others did not provide any information at all: JSC “Georgian Oil and Gas Corporation,” The Georgian State Electrosystem, The Ministry of Finance of Georgia, The Municipality of Gori, The Office of the State Minister of Georgia for Reconciliation and Civic Equality, Tbilisi State University.

FIGURE 7. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY CONTRACTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF ADVERTISING AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION BY THE TYPOLOGY OF MEDIA, 2023



Compared to the previous year, the total amount allocated for advertising and information dissemination in the media increased significantly across all categories, except for radio, which saw a 63% decline already recorded in 2022. The most notable growth was observed in television (358%), social media (162%), and mixed contracts (201%) during the pre-election year.

FIGURE 8. DYNAMICS OF ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY SERVICE CONTRACTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN 2022-2023



	2023	2022
TV	5270196	1149724
ONLINE MEDIA	1901293	1269541
SOCIAL MEDIA	1466534	560407
REGIONAL TV	878230	778894
MIXED CONTRACTS	360903	119732
PRINT	331599	271173
RADIO	22730	39830
SUM	10231485	4189301

As in previous years, some budgetary organizations also signed contracts with media outlets through intermediary companies for informational services, making it impossible to identify the revenues received by individual media outlets. The share of such contracts nearly tripled in 2023 compared to the previous year.

As shown in the table below, mixed contracts worth 360,903 GEL were distributed across various types of media (national and regional television, online media, radio, print) and entailed different services. For example, the largest mixed contract (196,503 GEL) was signed between the Agency for Vocational Skills and LLC Lile Production, which involved both the dissemination of informational material across multiple media platforms and content production. In some cases, it was impossible to identify specific media outlets within the contract.

TABLE 4 MIXED CONTRACTS SIGNED FOR SERVICES INVOLVING VARIOUS TYPES OF MEDIA OUTLETS

BUDGETARY AGENCY	INTERMEDIARY COMPANY	DIFFERENT MEDIA PLATFORMS/SERVICES (TV, RADIO, ONLINE, FACEBOOK PAGE)	AGREEMENT CONDITIONS	AGREEMENT AMOUNT
NNLE – Agency for Vocational Skills (CMR230094304)	LLC Lile Production	National TV channels, regional TV channels (at least 20), Olga Babluani’s show “No Time to Sleep” Facebook page, radio stations	Content production and dissemination through various media platforms	196503
LEPL “L. Sakvarelidze National Center for Disease Control and Public Health” – NAT230013884	Georgian Health Federation	No specific media entities specified	Dissemination of information via TV, online, and social media	59300
Department of Tourism and Resorts of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara – CMR230124754	LLC TV Project	No specific media entities specified	Implementation of an international marketing campaign, video production, and dissemination on TV broadcasts and online platforms	55000

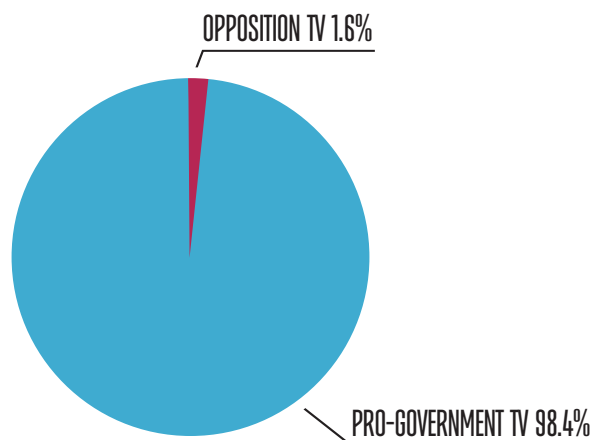
LEPL “L. Sakvarelidze National Center for Disease Control and Public Health” – NAT230019615	Association of Patients Cured of Hepatitis C – We Defeated C	National broadcasters: TV Ertulovneba, Georgian Radio, Georgian Public Broadcaster, Rustavi 2, TV Imedi; Regional broadcasters: Radio Marneuli, TV Bolneli, Mega TV; Regional newspaper: Bolnisi	Media advocacy and production/ printing and dissemination of informational materials	26500
LEPL “L. Sakvarelidze National Center for Disease Control and Public Health” – NAT230013885	Georgian Health Federation	National broadcasters: Georgian Public Broadcaster, Rustavi 2, TV Imedi; Radio: Radio Imedi, Radio Maestro; Newspaper: Kviris Palitra; Online media: ambebi.ge; Social media: YouTube Stream; Regional TV: TV Rioni	Dissemination of information via TV, online, and social media	20000
Gori Municipality City Hall – CMR230173579	Georgian Alliance of Regional Broadcasters	Regional TV: TV Monitoring, Regional online media: www.qartli.ge Regional radio Facebook pages of www.mozaikanews.ge	Provision of live broadcast services and coverage on TV as well as dissemination on the Facebook pages of online media outlets	3600

2.2. TV BROADCASTERS

According to data available in the database of the State Procurement Agency, in 2023, budgetary organizations signed contracts worth at least GEL 6,148,426 with television stations for advertising and information dissemination purposes. Of this amount, GEL 5,270,196 was allocated to national TV stations, while GEL 878,230 went to regional broadcasters. These figures are approximate since the value of mixed contracts is included only in the aggregate data for regional TV stations. In contrast, for national TV stations, it is calculated separately because mixed contracts often involved advertising and information placement across several types of media (e.g., national TV, regional TV, and online media). As a result, it was impossible to obtain detailed data on the distribution of funds, and public institutions did not provide this information either.

NATIONAL COVERAGE TV STATIONS. In 2023, as in previous years, there was a pronounced disparity in the distribution of budgetary advertisements between pro-government and opposition-leaning national coverage TV channels. Of the GEL 5,270,196 allocated to national TV stations, 98.4% went to pro-government editorial policy channels, while 1.6% was directed to opposition channels.

FIGURE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISEMENTS BETWEEN PRO-GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION NATIONAL TV CHANNELS, 2023

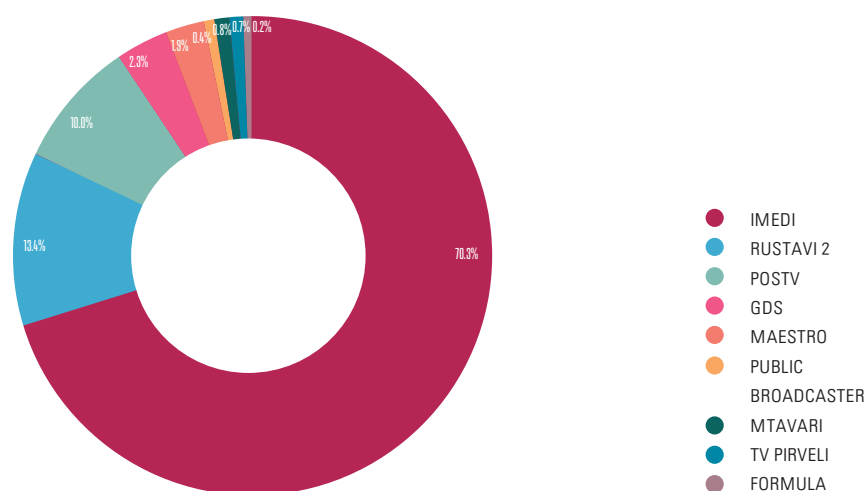


Similar to 2022, in 2023, the highest-value contracts were signed with the government-aligned TV channel Imedi, which leads in television ratings according to data from both audience measurement companies.³¹ Imedi’s share of total budgetary contracts was 70.3% (GEL 3,706,185), almost GEL 3 million more than the previous year’s figure (GEL 794,606).

As shown in Figure 10, other pro-government national coverage channels occupy the remaining positions, but their share was significantly smaller compared to Imedi. The funds were distributed among other pro-government channels as follows: Rustavi 2 (Media Holding) – GEL 705,099 (13.4%); PosTV – GEL 529,011 (10%); GDS TV – GEL 122,138 (2.3%); Maestro – GEL 98,103 (1.9%); Public Broadcaster – GEL 20,390 (0.4%).

In contrast, opposition and government-critical national TV channels received significantly fewer budgetary contracts: Mtavari Arkhi – GEL 41,701 (0.8%); TV Pirveli – GEL 36,491 (0.7%); Formula – GEL 7,926 (0.2%). The smallest budgetary service contract was signed with the medical-profile TV Pulsi (0.1% – GEL 3,000).

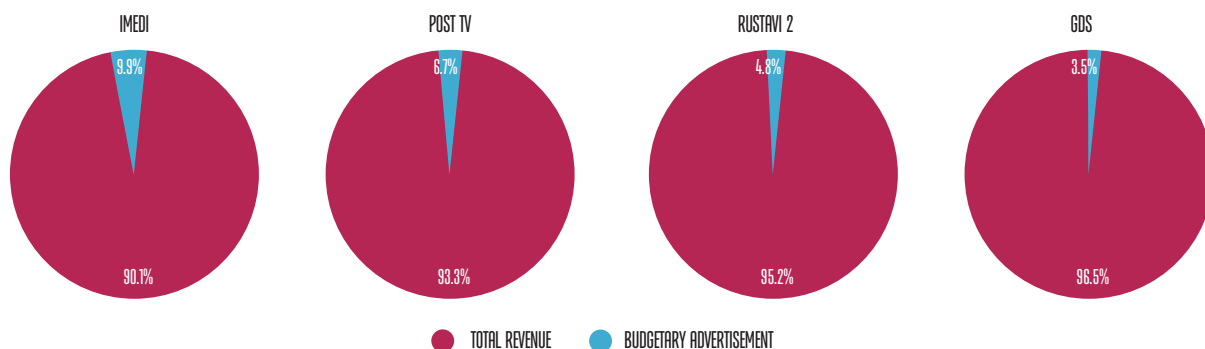
FIGURE 10: DISTRIBUTION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATION SERVICES AMONG NATIONAL TV CHANNELS (PER CENT), 2023



The share of budgetary contracts in the total revenue of pro-government national TV channels ranged from 5% to 10%. Specifically: Imedi: ~10%; PosTV: 6.7%; Rustavi 2: 4.8%; GDS: 3.5%.

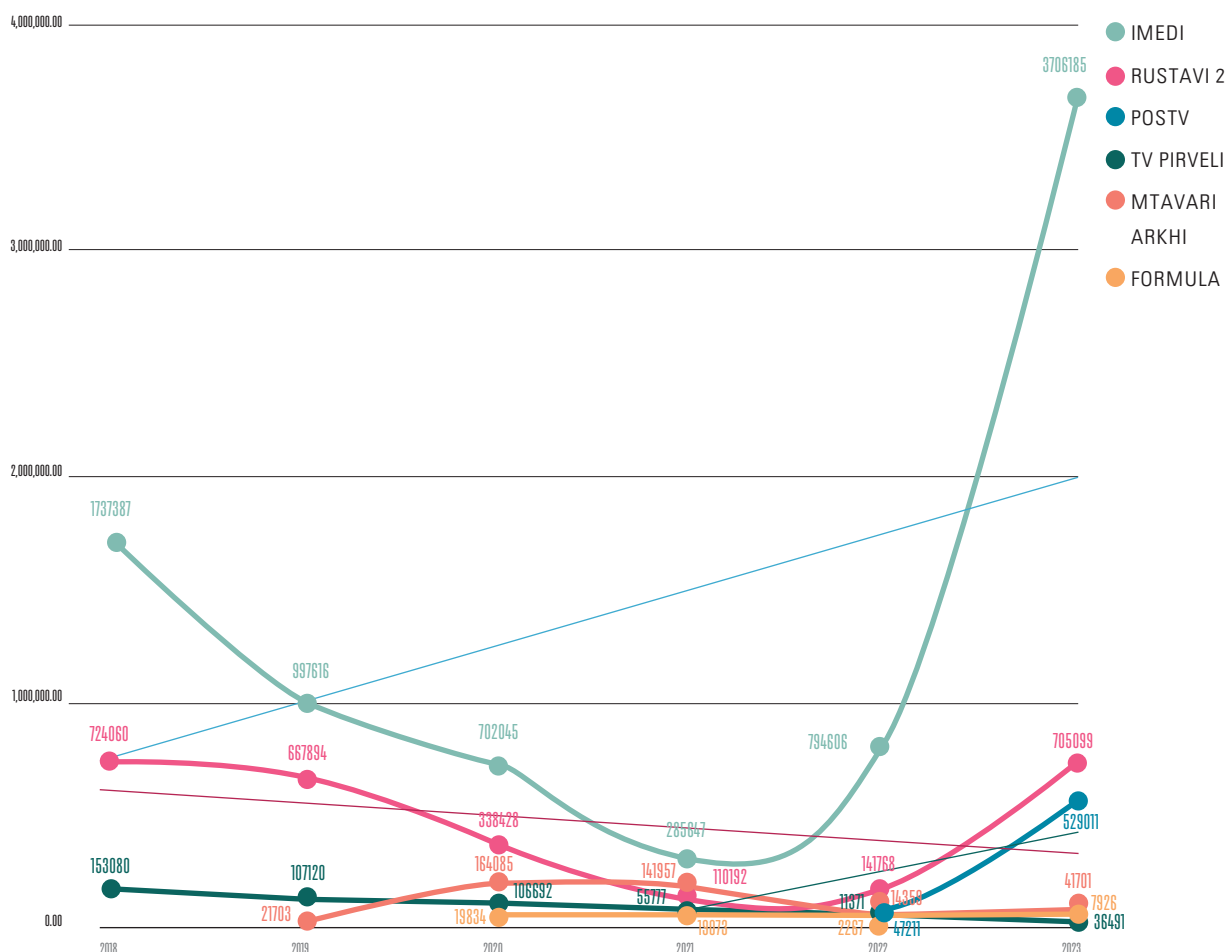
³¹ TVMR Georgia – Nielsen’s official licensed partner for television audience measurement in Georgia <http://www.tvmr.ge/ka/#lka/main>
TMI – TMI – The exclusive licensee of Kantar Media in Georgia <https://www.tmi.ge/ka/pages/7>

FIGURE 11. SHARE OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISEMENTS IN TOTAL REVENUE OF PRO-GOVERNMENT NATIONAL TV CHANNELS, 2023



An analysis of data from 2018–2023 reveals a sharp increase in budgetary advertising in pro-government television channels in recent years, particularly in 2023, accompanied by a declining trend in opposition channels. Despite opposition channels holding a significant audience segment in television ratings,³² budgetary organizations have been less inclined to adopt a diversified approach to audience reach when allocating advertisements intended to inform the public.

FIGURE 12. TRENDS IN BUDGETARY ADVERTISING GROWTH AND DECLINE IN NATIONAL COVERAGE TV CHANNELS, 2018–2023



³² TVMR Georgia – Nielsen’s official licensed partner for television audience measurement in Georgia

<http://www.tvmr.ge/ka#lka/main>

TMI – TMI – The exclusive licensee of Kantar Media in Georgia <https://www.tmi.ge/ka/pages/7>

TV BROADCASTERS	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Imedi	1737387	997616	702045	285647	794606	3706185
Rustavi 2	724060	667894	338428	110192	141768	705099
Postv			13030	16917	47211	529011
TV Pirveli	153080	107120	106692	55777	11371	36491
Mtavari Arkhi		21703	164085	141957	14359	41701
Formula			19834	19073	2267	7926
Kavkasia	17605	10426	5837	5870	874	0

In previous years, ministries employed a more diversified approach to placing budgetary advertisements. However, in 2023, selected ministries³³ and the government administration exclusively advertised on pro-government editorial policy television channels, including *Imedi*, *Maestro*, *Rustavi 2*, *Post TV*, *GDS*, and the *Public Broadcaster*. The total value of advertisements placed by these ministries amounted to GEL 2,002,748,³⁴ with the largest share – GEL 1,418,385 – allocated to contracts with Imedi.

Budgetary contracts with government-critical editorial policy channels were limited to those signed by the Central Election Commission of Georgia (Formula, Mtavari Arkhi, TV Pirveli) and its subordinate body, the Electoral Systems Development, Reforms, and Training Center (Mtavari Arkhi, TV Pirveli), as well as by the non-governmental organization “My Lawyer” (TV Pirveli).

REGIONAL TV CHANNELS. Compared to national channels, the distribution of budgetary service contracts in regional TV channels presented a relatively diversified picture. In 2023, the largest-value contracts among regional broadcasters were signed with Gurjaani TV, which accounted for 20.1% (GEL 176,400), marking a 135% increase from the previous year’s figure (GEL 75,140). The source of funding was the local municipality.

Gurjaani TV was followed by Kvemo Kartli TV-Radio Company, operating under the name TV4. The total value of contracts awarded to TV4 in 2023 amounted to GEL 123,780 (14.1%), a 12% increase compared to 2022 (GEL 110,169).

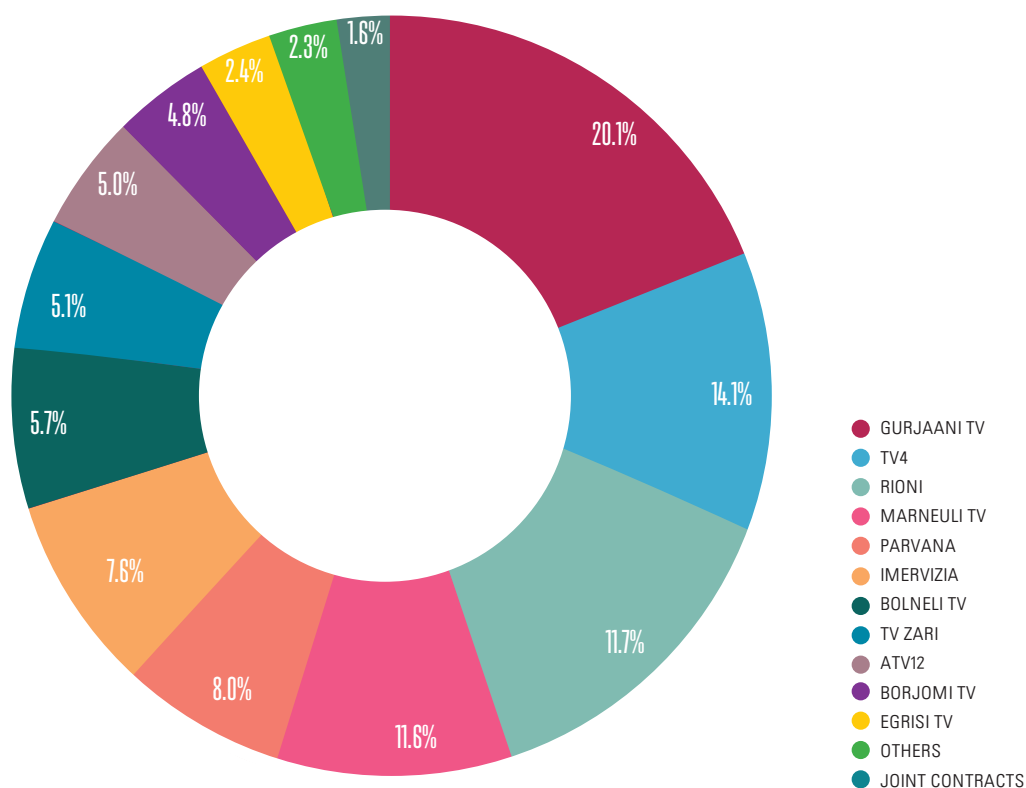
Next was Rioni TV (Imereti), which received budgetary contracts totaling GEL 102,892 (11.7%), representing a 12% increase compared to 2022 (GEL 91,790). Slightly behind was Marneuli TV, with 11.6% (GEL 101,558), which saw a 43% decrease in revenue from budgetary advertisements and information services compared to the previous year.

Other regional TV stations received the following amounts: Parvana (Ninotsminda) – GEL 70,000 (8%) Imervizia (Chiatura) – GEL 66,975 (7.6%) Bolneli TV (Bolnisi) – GEL 49,990 (5.7%); TV Zari (Samtredia) – GEL 45,000 (5.1%); ATV12 (Akhalkalaki) – GEL 44,146 (5%); Borjomi TV – GEL 42,200 (4.8%); Egrisi TV (Senaki) – GEL 21,194 (2.4%) Others – GEL 20,315 (2.3%). The “Others” category includes regional TV channels with contracts worth less than GEL 10,000.

³³ Ministry of Defense of Georgia, Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia, Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure of Georgia, Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development of Georgia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, Ministry of Finance of Georgia

³⁴ This number does not include figures from Legal Entities of Public Law (LEPLs) or other budgetary organizations.

FIGURE 13. DISTRIBUTION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATION SERVICES IN REGIONAL TV CHANNELS (PER CENT), 2023



As in 2022, in 2023, budgetary advertising in regional broadcasters was predominantly placed by local self-government bodies: municipalities, city halls, and their subordinate agencies, which accounted for 97.6% (GEL 857,193) of the total amount.

Other budgetary organizations that advertised on regional broadcasters included: The NNLE Railway Transport College, Akaki Tsereteli State University, National Wine Agency, Bakuriani Development Agency. It is worth noting that neither ministries nor the government administration used information services provided by regional broadcasters directly.

Of the total amount allocated to regional TV channels (GEL 878,230), 1.6% (GEL 13,680) was assigned to mixed-type contracts, which involve placing advertisements simultaneously on multiple regional broadcasters. However, due to the terms of these contracts, it was impossible to identify the amounts distributed to individual media outlets. This category includes two contracts: Between LLC AgroCommunicator and the Educational and Scientific Infrastructure Development Agency and Between the Georgian Regional Broadcasters Alliance and the state-owned LEPL Enterprise Georgia. These contracts covered the dissemination of advertising materials across regional television and, in part, regional radio.

TABLE 5. MIXED CONTRACTS FOR REGIONAL BROADCASTERS' SERVICES

BUDGETARY AGENCY	INTERMEDIARY COMPANY	DIFFERENT MEDIA PLATFORMS/SERVICES (TV, RADIO, ONLINE, FACEBOOK PAGE)	AGREEMENT CONDITIONS	AGREEMENT AMOUNT
Educational and Scientific Infrastructure Development Agency – CMR230117758	LLC AgroCommunicator	Regional TV: 1. Adjara Public Broadcaster 2. Rioni TV 3. Guria TV 4. TV Channel 9 5. Agrogaremo TV 6. TOK TV 7. TV Tanamgzavri 8. Gurjaani TV 9. TV Trialeti 10. Marneuli TV	Dissemination of advertising content	7980
LEPL Enterprise Georgia – CMR230163509	Georgian Regional Broadcasters Alliance	TV: Odishi, Egrisi, Kolkheti 89 and then Radios: Odishi+, Atinati, Egrisi	Dissemination of advertising content	5700

2.3. ONLINE MEDIA

According to data available in the electronic database of state procurements agency, 1,901,293 GEL was allocated to online media in 2023 for disseminating information and placing advertisements. This figure exceeds the previous year's amount (1,269,541 GEL) by approximately 630,000 GEL.

These figures are approximate, as budgetary advertising revenues for online media also include allocations made through “mixed contracts,” highlighted earlier in this report. Additionally, the “online media” category encompasses portions of “joint contracts,” which group contracts signed with multiple online media outlets simultaneously, making it impossible to identify the exact amount received by each outlet. In some cases, such contracts include media monitoring services for institutions, with their costs not separated from media services, complicating the precise calculation of online media's budgetary revenue.

Approximately 25.6% of the contracts in the “joint contracts” category were allocated to online media, amounting to nearly 486,628 GEL. These contracts were primarily signed with intermediary companies such as IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC, Clip-Art Ltd, and PR Consulting Group LLC. Exceptions include a 4,950 GEL contract between Sokhumi State University and Kartuli Azri LLC, which aimed to publish information in three pro-government online outlets: www.reportiori.ge, www.qartuliazri.ge, and www.kvira.ge.

The highest-value contract in this category (111,800 GEL) was signed between the Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission (GNERC) and Clip-Art Ltd. It covered services from 13 informational websites. Notably, Clip-Art Ltd, which has won contracts worth over 2 million GEL in recent years,³⁵ is linked to the pro-government editorial policy outlet newshub.ge, formerly pia.ge.³⁶ As shown in the table below, this contract also included services for websites associated with pro-government television channels, such as Rustavi 2 (www.rustavi2.ge) and Imedi (www.imedinews.ge). Furthermore, www.energynews.ge, a website created by Clip-Art Ltd that mainly focuses on energy issues, is part of the Business Media Corporation

³⁵ Transparency International Georgia, Tender Monitor, Last seen 27 November, 2024. https://tendermonitor.ge/en/organization/2052?default_tab=2

³⁶ Clip-Art is 100% owned by Natia Orvelashvili, the spouse of Dimitri Tikaradze. Until changes in 2024, Dimitri Tikaradze was the 100% owner of PIA LLC.

(BMC),³⁷ which also includes other outlets such as [AgroPartner](#) and [Jandacva.ge](#), the websites of which were also created by Clip-Art.

The next largest contract was between the State Service for Veterans Affairs and IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC, covering media monitoring and services from 10 informational agencies. According to a letter received by the Media Development Foundation, 83,050 GEL of the contract amount was allocated solely for agency services, but the institution did not clarify how this amount was distributed among media outlets.

Media outlets are not identified in contracts between IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus Ltd and institutions such as the Ministry of Finance of Georgia (54,000 GEL), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (54,000 GEL), and the Georgian State Electrosystem JSC (39,798 GEL). These contracts include both media monitoring and online media services.

TABLE 6. MIXED CONTRACTS FOR THE SERVICES OF ONLINE MEDIA OUTLETS

BUDGETARY AGENCY	INTERMEDIARY COMPANY	DIFFERENT MEDIA PLATFORMS/SERVICES (TV, RADIO, ONLINE, FACEBOOK PAGE)	AGREEMENT CONDITIONS	AGREEMENT AMOUNT
Georgian National Energy and Water Supply Regulatory Commission – NAT220025600	Clip-Art LLC	www.ipn.ge www.bpn.ge www.newshub.ge www.kvira.ge www.commersant.ge www.imedinews.ge www.for.ge www.ipress.ge www.energynews.ge www.rustavi2.ge www.fortuna.ge www.2020news.ge www.bfm.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	111800
LEPL State Service for Veterans Affairs – SPA230000341	IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC	www.ipn.ge www.kvira.ge www.reportiori.ge www.mcm.ge www.region.ge www.info9.ge www.geotimes.com.ge www.xnews.ge www.lideri.ge www.spnews.io	Information dissemination through news agencies	83050
Ministry of Finance of Georgia – NAT230002148	IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC	10 Information agency services	Media monitoring and information dissemination through news agencies	54000

³⁷ <https://bp.ge/about>

II. THE PRACTICE OF ALLOCATING BUDGETARY FUNDS FOR ADVERTISING AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN MEDIA

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University – NAT220026995	IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC	No less than 6 information agency services	Media monitoring and information dissemination through news agencies	54000
Georgian State Electrosystem JSC – SPA220003193	IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC	4 Information agency services	Media monitoring and information dissemination through news agencies	39798
NNLE “Public communications Agency” – NAT220027258	IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC	IPN www.newshub.ge Info9 Ipress	Information dissemination through news agencies	34440
JSC “Georgian Oil and Gas Corporation” – NAT230005931	IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC	IPN.GE, BM.GE Primetime.ge, bpn.ge commerciant.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	32214
Office of the State Minister of Georgia for Reconciliation and Civic Equality – NAT230004402	IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC	www.ipn.ge www.primetime.ge www.accentnews.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	20935
Tbilisi State Medical University – NAT230000308	Clip-Art LLC	fortuna.ge ipn.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	18321
Zugdidi Municipality City Hall – NAT230006502	PR Consulting Group LLC	www.stv.ge www.zugdidelebi.ge www.accentnews.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	11898
Zugdidi Municipality City Hall – NAT230006502	PR Consulting Group LLC	www.ipn.ge www.newsportal.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	8136
Zugdidi Municipality City Hall – NAT230006502	PR Consulting Group LLC	www.ipress.ge www.newshub.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	7686
Zugdidi Municipality City Hall – NAT230006502	PR Consulting Group LLC	www.kvira.ge www.radioatinati.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	5400
Sokhumi State University – CMR230024462	Kartuli Azri LLC	www.reportiori.ge www.qartuliazri.ge www.kvira.ge	Information dissemination through news agencies	4950

As in previous years, a portion of the media outlets holding budgetary contracts and aligned with pro-government editorial policies³⁸ have been involved in campaigns discrediting government opponents. This will be discussed in the following section.

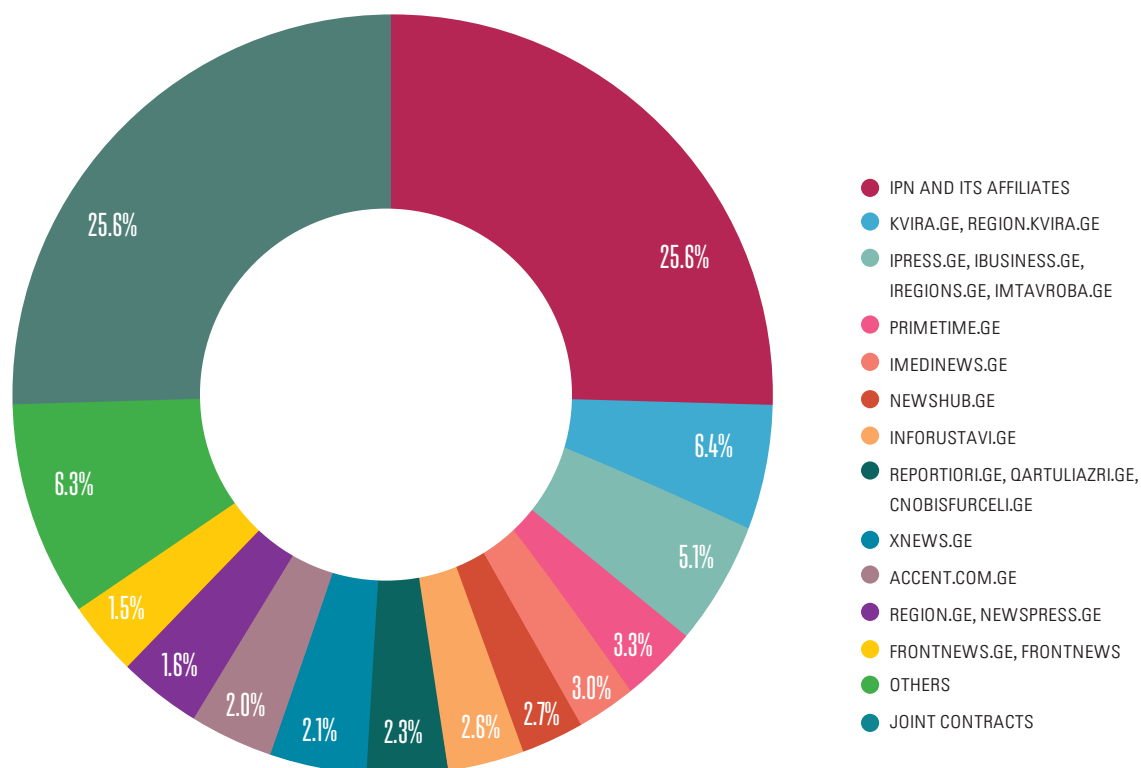
More than a quarter (25.6% – 486,614 GEL) of the budgetary revenue allocated to online media went to online platforms under the Palitra Media holding (ipn.ge, kvirispalitra.ge, ambebi.ge, bpn.ge). Following this, Kvira.ge, which pursues a pro-government editorial policy, received 122,388 GEL (6.4%).

Ipess.ge and its partner sites listed on the Ipess.ge website (ibusiness.ge, iregions.ge, imtavroba.ge) received 96,468 GEL (5.1%). As in 2022, most of the contracts with these outlets were joint contracts.

The distribution of funds to other media outlets was as follows: Primetime: 62,966 GEL; Imedinews.ge: 56,141 GEL; Newshub.ge: 51,771 GEL; Inforustavi.ge: 49,750 GEL; Reportiori.ge, Qartuliazri.ge, Cnobisfurceli.ge: 43,488 GEL; Xnews.ge: 39,950 GEL; Accent.com.ge: 37,698 GEL; Region.ge and Newspress.ge: 30,447 GEL; Frontnews.ge: 28,235 GEL; Mak.ge: 25,600 GEL; GHN: 24,559 GEL; Epn.ge, Expressnews.ge, Faxinter.news: 22,771 GEL; Stv.ge, Smo: 18,750 GEL; Marshalpress.ge, Mpn.ge: 17,335 GEL; Info9: 17,294 GEL; Aris.ge, Aris.edu.ge: 16,560 GEL; Bm.ge: 13,636 GEL; Guardian.ge: 11,085 GEL; Mcm.ge: 10,800 GEL; Topnews.com.ge: 10,100 GEL

Contracts worth less than 10,000 GEL accounted for a total of 6.6% (120,259 GEL) and are categorized under “miscellaneous.”

FIGURE 14. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATIONAL SERVICE EXPENDITURES IN ONLINE MEDIA, 2023



³⁸ imedinews.ge, rustavi 2.ge, For.ge, Kvira.ge, Newshub.ge, Marshalpress.ge, Spnews.io, Reportiori.ge, Qartuliazri.ge, Xnews.ge, Lider.ge, Tiflisnews.ge, www.stv.ge

2.4. PRINT MEDIA

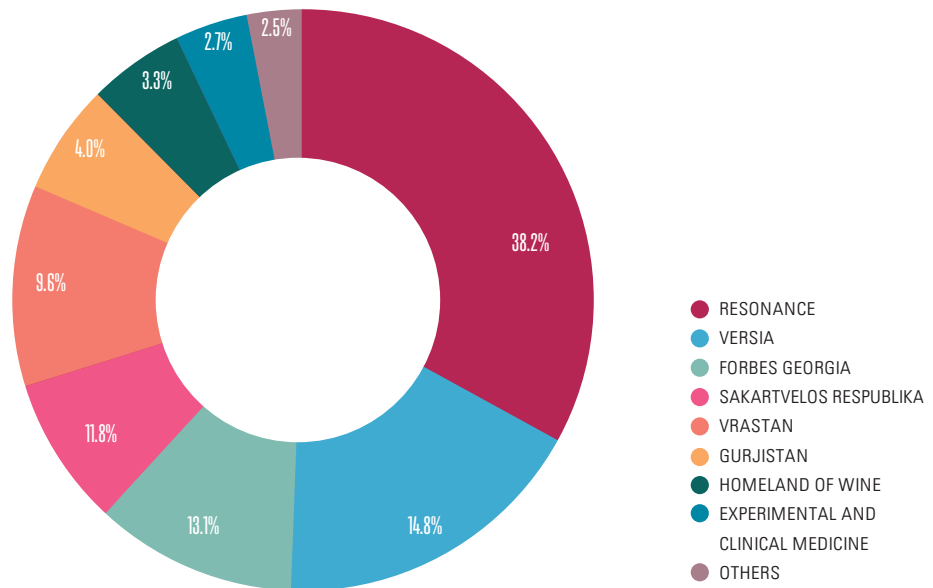
According to the State Procurement Agency data, in 2023, contracts for information dissemination and advertising services in print media totaled GEL 331,599. This represents a 22% increase (GEL 60,426) compared to the previous year (2022: GEL 271,173).

Similar to the previous year, the highest-value information service contract in 2023 was signed with the government-aligned editorial policy outlet “Resonance” (38.2% – GEL 77,111), showing a slight increase compared to the previous year (GEL 69,677). Among national publications, it is followed by “Versia” (14.8% – GEL 30,000), whose budgetary advertising revenue remained identical to 2022 (GEL 29,997).

The distribution of budgetary contracts among other print publications is as follows: Forbes Georgia – GEL 26,561 (13.1%); Sakartvelos Respublika – GEL 23,864 (11.8%); Armenian-language Vrastan – GEL 19,420 (9.6%); Azerbaijani-language Gurjistan – GEL 8,000 (4%); Homeland of Wine – GEL 6,680 (3.3%); Experimental and Clinical Medicine – GEL 5,435 (7.7%). Contracts under GEL 5,000 totaled GEL 5,013 (2.5%) and were grouped under the “Other” category.

Budgetary organizations placing advertisements in the press include educational and scientific institutions,³⁹ the Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development, and other agencies.⁴⁰

FIGURE 15. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATIONAL SERVICE FUNDS IN NATIONAL PRINT MEDIA, 2023



³⁹ Georgian Technical University, Georgian Academy of Agricultural Sciences, LEPL Ilia Tsinamdzgvrishvili College, Sokhumi I. Vekua Institute of Physics and Technology, LEPL Ivane Beritashvili Center for Experimental Biomedicine, Grigol Tsulukidze Mining Institute, LEPL Georgian National Academy of Sciences

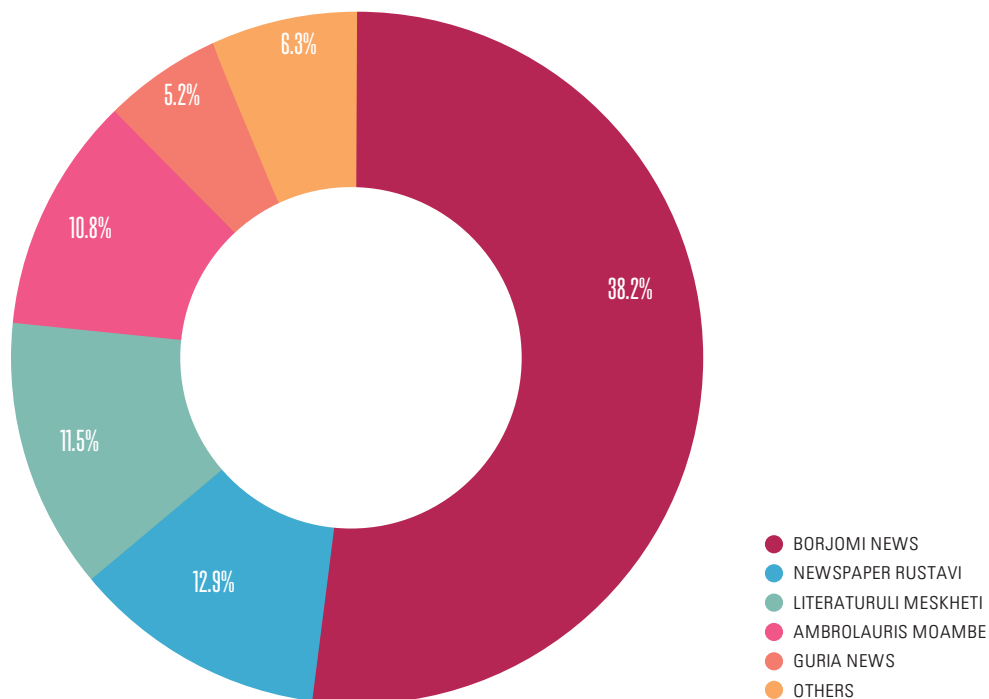
⁴⁰ LEPL Common Courts Department under the High Council of Justice of Georgia, National Agency of State Property, LEPL Raphiel Dvali Institute of Machine Mechanics, Ninotsminda Municipality, Revenue Service, Administration of the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State Museum, Akhalkalaki Municipality, Roads Department of the Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure of Georgia, Sakpatenti (National Intellectual Property Center of Georgia), Environmental Information and Education Center, JSC Georgian State Electrosystem, LEPL Protection Police Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Tbilisi Petros Adamyan Armenian State Drama Theatre, National Wine Agency, Imereti Destination Management Organization, National Agency of Public Registry, LLC Tbilservice Group, Rural Development Agency

In 2023, budgetary organizations signed contracts totaling GEL 129,515 with regional print media. More than half of this amount (53.3% – GEL 69,000) went to the newspaper Borjomi News (LLC “Chimerioni”).

The distribution among other regional print outlets is as follows: Rustavi – GEL 16,700 (12.9%) Literaturuli Meskheti – GEL 14,836 (11.9%); Ambrolauri’s Moambe – GEL 13,999 (10.8%) Guria News – GEL 6,780 (5.2%).

Contracts under GEL 3,000, amounting to 6.3% (GEL 8,200), were grouped under the “Other” category.

FIGURE 16. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATIONAL SERVICE FUNDS IN REGIONAL PRINT MEDIA, 2023



In regional print media, budgetary advertising is predominantly placed by local self-governing bodies and their subordinate agencies (99.3% – GEL 128,629).

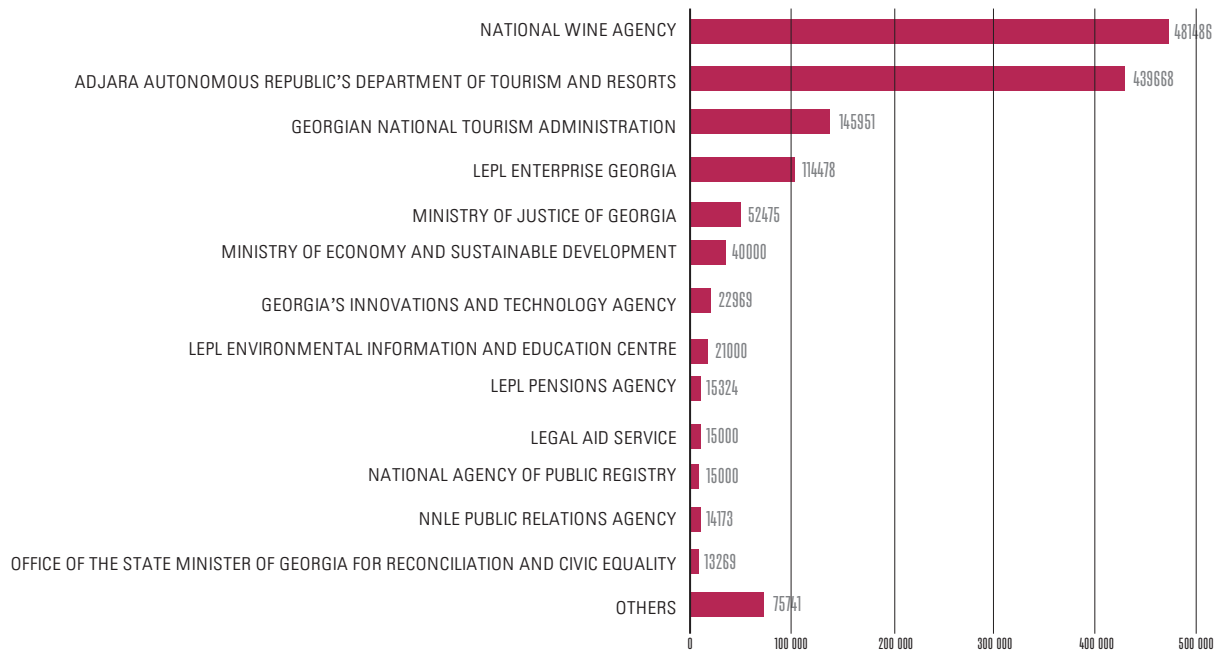
2.5. SOCIAL MEDIA

Advertising service contracts in social media were identified through the State Procurement Agency’s electronic database.⁴¹ According to the data, in 2023, budgetary organizations allocated a total of GEL 1,466,534 for advertising and marketing services on social media platforms (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, LinkedIn), a 161% increase compared to the previous year (2022: GEL 560,407).

Based on the procurement agency’s database, the highest expenditure on social media services (32.8% – GEL 481,486) was made by the Wine Agency, followed by the Adjara Autonomous Republic’s Department of Tourism and Resorts (30% – GEL 439,668). Expenditures by other organizations were allocated as follows:

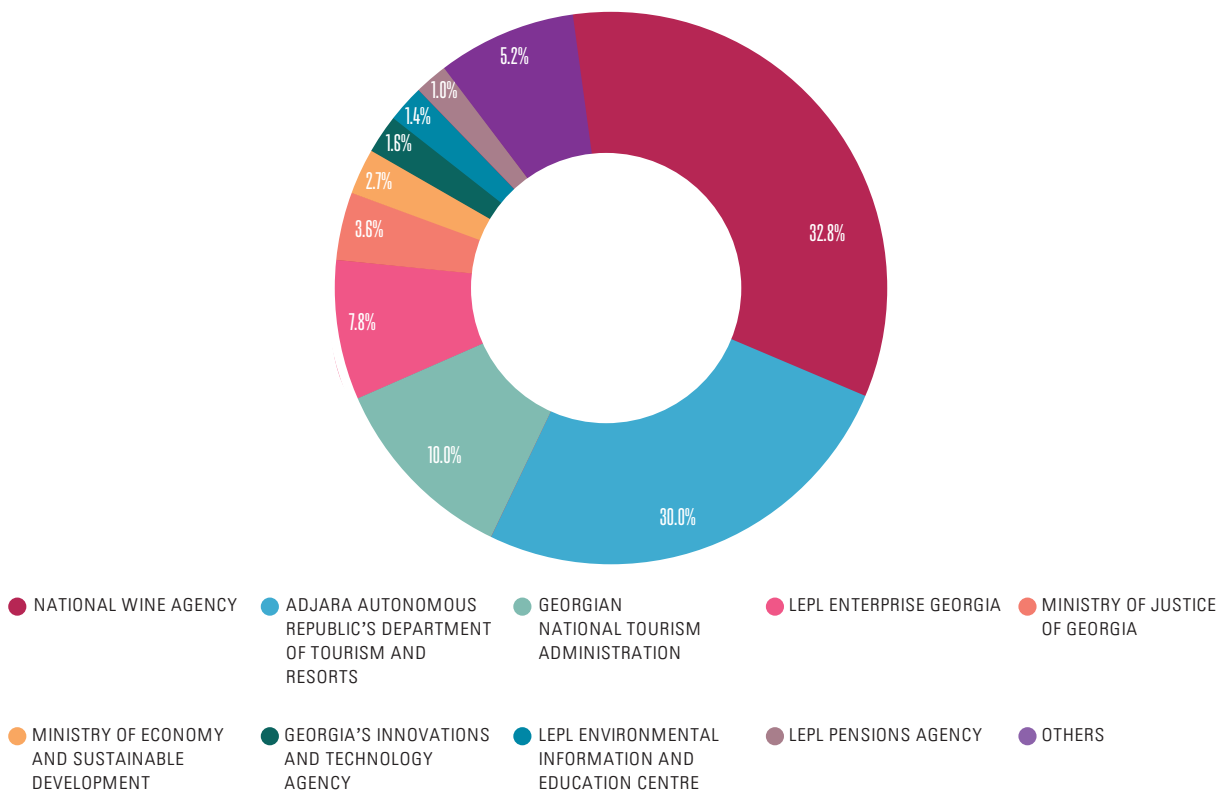
⁴¹ 79300000 – Market Research and Economics Research; Surveys and Statistics

FIGURE 17: ADVERTISING EXPENDITURES OF BUDGETARY ORGANIZATIONS ON SOCIAL MEDIA, ACCORDING TO PROCUREMENT AGENCY DATA, 2023



Other budgetary organizations, whose advertising expenses on social media were less than GEL 10,000, accounted for a total of GEL 75,741.

FIGURE 18: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADVERTISING EXPENSES BY BUDGETARY ORGANIZATIONS ON SOCIAL MEDIA, BASED ON PROCUREMENT AGENCY DATA, 2023



BUDGETARY FUNDS FOR INFORMATION AGENCIES TO DISSEMINATE CONTENT ON FACEBOOK PAGES AND GROUPS. An analysis of 2023 budgetary contracts revealed, as in previous years, instances where contracts for disseminating information services by budgetary organizations (total value GEL 10,593) also included obligations to share information not only on the agency’s website but also across various Facebook groups and pages.

In 2023, this type of contract involved: Pro-government For.ge⁴² (GEL 3,993), LLC Media Center Mtavari (GEL 3,600), and Samegrelo Media Organization Smo.ge (GEL 3,000). The table below lists the Facebook groups and pages where public institution information was required to be shared. Notably, all five Facebook pages (*For.ge*, *Yellow Facts*, *Tbilisi News*, *Freedom*, *Poetry Front News*) and both groups (*Positive*, *For.ge*) were associated with For.ge, as they all referenced the same website (www.for.ge) in the “About Us” section. The groups For.ge – Information and Analytical Portal and Positive were managed by For.ge’s founder and editor-in-chief Rozeta Jgamaia, along with the four pages mentioned above. Additionally, For.ge’s founders and board members, including Rozeta Jgamaia and Giorgi Iakobashvili, established the NGO “Davasrulot” on August 7, 2020, alongside Ia Metreveli and Ioseb Manjavidze. The organization’s stated goal is to “end the United National Movement.”⁴³

Besides For.ge, a similar contract was identified with another outlet pursuing a government-aligned editorial policy, Samegrelo Media Organization Stv.ge, which was required to regularly disseminate materials from Khobi Municipality⁴⁴ in various popular Facebook political and other groups.

The contract (CMR220162317) between the Animal Monitoring Agency (LEPL) and Media Center Mtavari (MCM.ge) included not only the publication of information on www.mcm.ge but also the dissemination of materials through the Media Center Mtavari Facebook page and social groups.

TABLE 7. CONTRACTS FOR SHARING INFORMATION ON FACEBOOK GROUPS AND PAGES BY BUDGETARY ORGANIZATIONS IN 2023

CONTRACTOR	BUDGETARY AGENCY	CONTRACT VALUE (GEL)	THEMATIC FACEBOOK PAGES	FACEBOOK GROUPS
For.ge	National Agency for Sustainable Land Management and Land Use Monitoring	3 993	1. For.ge 2. Yellow facts 3. Tbilisi news 4. Poetry front news 5. Freedom	1. For.ge 2. Positive
MCM.GE	MCM.GE LEPL Animal Monitoring Agency	3 600	https://www.facebook.com/mcm.ge	On social groups
Smo.ge	Khobi Municipality Cultural-Educational Center	3 000	The website is not functional	

⁴² The contract was signed with the National Agency for Sustainable Land Management and Land Use Monitoring (CMR230016202);

⁴³ 36-37 pg. Financial Transparency of Media 2020, Media Development Foundation, available at: <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/uploads//mediisfinansurigamchvirvaloba2020.pdf>

⁴⁴ The contract was signed with the Khobi Municipality Cultural and Educational Center (CMR220167873);

III. BUDGETARY CONTRACTS WITH MEDIA OUTLETS OF CONTROVERSIAL EDITORIAL POLICIES

The allocation of public funds for advertising and informational services in the media reveals that public institutions increasingly utilized the services of media outlets with controversial editorial policies even more in 2023 compared to 2022.

In this regard, two main types of media partnerships were identified:

1. Outlets that incite hate speech and anti-Western sentiments.
2. Media outlets with pro-government editorial policies that were actively involved in coordinated campaigns against government critics, in some instances even disseminating false information.

3.1. MEDIA OUTLETS WITH EDITORIAL POLICIES PRONE TO HATE SPEECH AND ANTI-WESTERN STATEMENTS

“SAKARTVELOŠ RESPUBLIKA” AND PRO-GOVERNMENT TV STATIONS. According to data available in the State Procurement Agency’s database, public institutions signed contracts worth 23,864 GEL with the newspaper “Sakartvelos Respublika” [Republic of Georgia]⁴⁵ in 2023, more than double the 2022 amount of 10,754 GEL. Alongside the increase in public funding, the list of institutions utilizing advertising and informational services from this anti-Western and homophobic publication also expanded.

During the reporting period, contracts were signed by the following budgetary organizations:

- Georgia’s Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure’s Roads Department.
- Sakpatenti (National Intellectual Property Center of Georgia).
- Georgian State Electrosystem.
- The Government of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia.
- The Ministry of Finance and Economy of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara.
- Georgian Technical University.

⁴⁵ The publication “Sakartvelos Respublika” was known as the newspaper “Communist” during the Soviet era and was published under the name “Akhali Sakartvelo” (New Georgia) in the 1990s.

<https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/newspaper-sakartvelos-respublika>

- Georgian Academy of Agricultural Sciences.
- Georgian National Academy of Sciences.
- Sokhumi I. Vekua Institute of Physics and Technology.
- LEPL “Rafiel Dvali Institute of Machine Mechanics.”
- Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State Museum in Sachkhere.
- LEPL Ivane Beritashvili Center for Experimental Biomedicine.
- Grigol Tsulukidze Mining Institute.

Approximately one-third of the newspaper’s budgetary advertising revenue (8,881 GEL) came from the Georgian National Academy of Sciences, followed by the Roads Department (7,870 GEL) and Georgian Technical University (1,732 GEL).

As in previous years, the materials published in “Sakartvelos Respublika” in 2023 promoted anti-Western sentiments and were frequently homophobic. Examples of published content include:

- Democracy... by Blood! The US does not forgive Garibashvili for the steps he has taken.⁴⁶
- Neoliberal Fascism.⁴⁷
- US and Europe – On the Path of Provincial Corruption!⁴⁸
- “The Former First Chicken of ‘Mtavari’...”⁴⁹
- “Europe and US Facing Spiritual Flood! Liberal Ideology and the ‘Sexy Gay Jesus.’”⁵⁰



⁴⁶ Sakartvelos Respublika, #111, 2 October, 2023 <https://sak.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-95-22-6-48/>

⁴⁷ Sakartvelos Respublika #102, 8 September, 2023 <https://sak.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-95-22-6-40/>

⁴⁸ Sakartvelos Respublika, #76, 30 June, 2023 <https://sak.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-95-22-6-15/>

⁴⁹ Sakartvelos Respublika, #76, 30 June, 2023 <https://sak.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-95-22-6-15/>

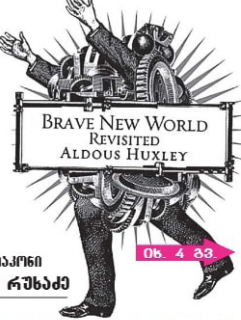
⁵⁰ Sakartvelos Respublika, #53, 11 May, 2023 <https://sak.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-95-21/>

ამერიკა და ევროპა - პროვინციული გარყვნილების გზით!

ზაზა შათირიშვილი:
საკრთხლომ უსუსტაო ისევე უნდა ღაინჰას თაფი ფსაფოლოიპარალოპი პროპაგანდიისაჲს. კოპოტონ ღიისჰან იხავს ღღვს თავს



4



პარლიკონი ბიორპი რუხაჲა
4 მ. 4 მ. 3

ახილა, შარიხსა, ნუგუინისაჲს...
5

ნეოლიბერალიზმი



6 მ. 6 მ. 3

7 მ. 7 მ. 3

8 მ. 8 მ. 3

დემოკრატია... სისსლით!

ამერიკა არ პატიობს ღარიგაშვილს იმ ნაბიჯებს, რომელის გადაღბა!

ღმინანის ბაკონო პრემიერო, თქვენ გაქვთ კარგი შესაძლებლობა, აღადგინოთ გერმანიული მთლიანობა. რუსეთი მთლიანად არის დაკავებული უკრაინით, მათ ახლა თქვენი თავი არ აქვთ და თქვენ შეგამდიათ ქვადლოთ, დაბინრუოთ გერმანიები. წვენ შხარს დაგეგერთ.

ღარმბარმომი: ბოდიშს ვითხოვ, მაგრამ რუსეთი, თუნდაც დაჭრილი, თუნდაც ბევრზე დაკავებული, ცალი ხელით შეძლებს დაბომბოს, მაგალითად, თბილისი!

ღმინანის არაუშავს, წვენ შეგანერგებო.

ღარმბარმომი: მაგრამ, ხალხი?

ღმინანის: დემოკრატისთვის ბრძოლა უსისხლოდ არსად არ მიმდინარეობს...




4 მ. 4 მ. 3

ვირჯინიის სკოლების პორლის ნაპრაა ფიცი გვი პორნოჲა დაღო

აშშ-ში, ვირჯინიის შტატის ქალაქ ფეარფაქსის ერთ-ერთი სკოლის მონდის წვერი სკოლის მიმლიოთეკაში სექსის აღწერის შემცველი წიგნების მომხრეა.

კარლ ფონი, რომელიც მონდის თავმჯდომარედ აირჩიეს, მხარს უჭერს მიმლიოთეკაში ისეთი წიგნების არსებობას, რომლებიც ერთბაშად სექსის გრაფიკულ აღწერას შეიცავს. ხშირად კრიტიკოსები მას პორნოგრაფიულსაც უწოდებენ.

ფეარფაქსს აქვს შემარჯვენე რელიგიური თანატომის ეპიტენტრად ყოფნის ისტორია, - განაცხადა მან. ამასთან, კრიტიკოსები ეჭვქვეშ აყენებენ ფონის საქმიანობას ვირჯინიის სკოლებში, რადგან მას თავად შეილება არ ჰქავს და არის პოლიტიკური კონსულტანტი კალიფორნიიდან.



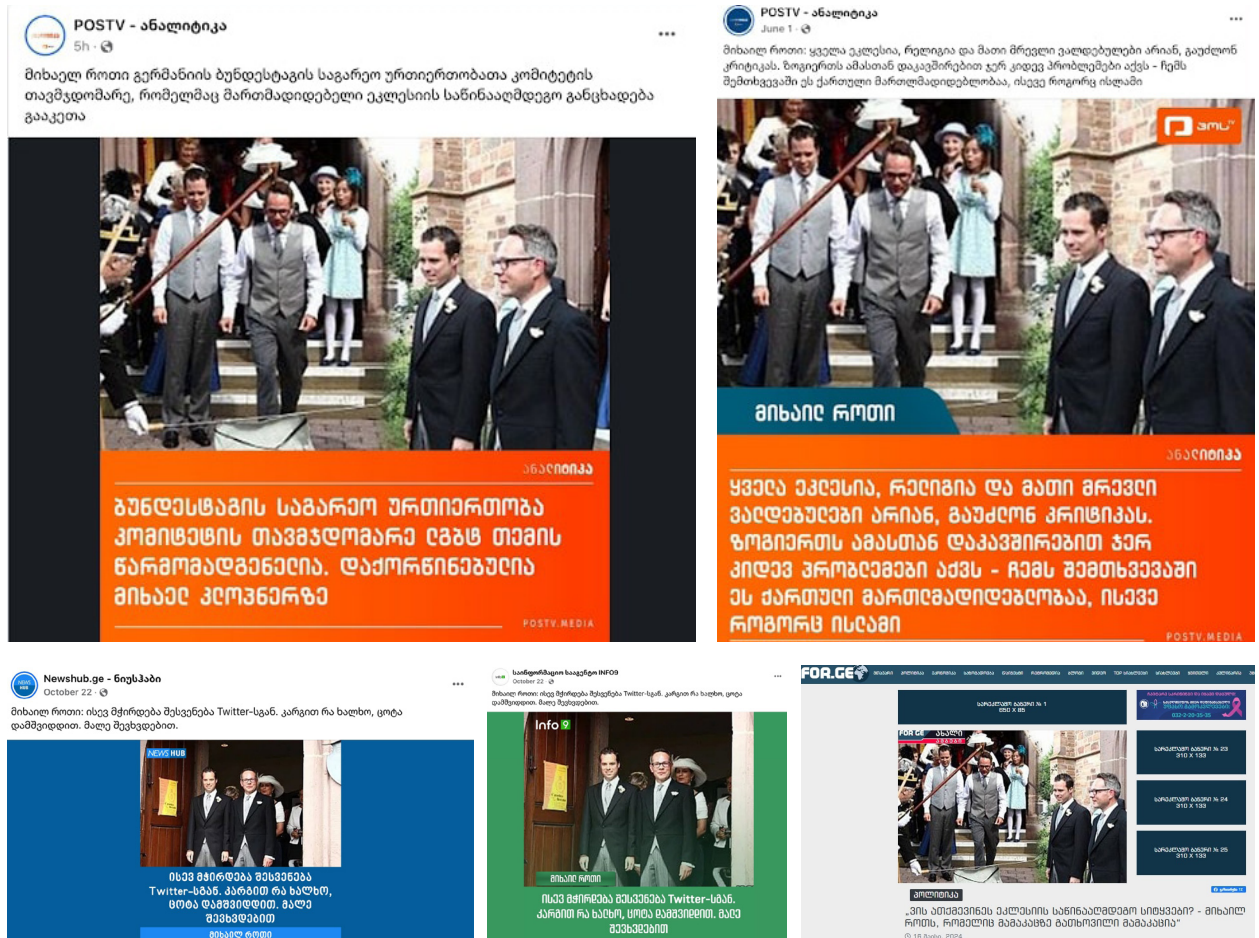
Since 2023, homophobic narratives have become increasingly prominent in pro-government media, especially on television. This trend aligns with the government’s populist agenda, specifically its proposed legislative initiative to restrict so-called “gay propaganda.” One notable example is the program “Anatomy of Liberalism” on the pro-government channel PostTV, a recipient of state-funded advertising. This program frequently propagates⁵¹ hate speech and disseminates homophobic disinformation.⁵² In addition, pro-government propaganda outlets have employed homophobic and anti-Western rhetoric in response to criticism from European politicians regarding democratic backsliding in Georgia. In some cases, these media outlets have resorted to discrediting these politicians by exploiting their personal lives. One recurring target has been Michael Roth, Chair of the German Bundestag’s Foreign Affairs Committee. Media outlets benefiting from budgetary contracts have repeatedly coordinated attacks against Roth. These attacks often included visual manipulation, such as publishing his statements on Georgia’s situation alongside unrelated photos from his same-sex marriage (PosTV, Newshub, and Info9) or rainbow themed accessories ((imedi, info9). Furthermore, in response to criticism of the church, Roth was portrayed as a fighter against religion (For.ge) and a personal wedding photo was used in this context:⁵³

⁵¹ Media Development Foundation, 2024. Anti-Western Propaganda and Disinformation Amid 2024 Parliamentary Elections, <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/geo/view-library/257>

⁵² Myth Detector, <https://bit.ly/4gffffQm>

⁵³ For.ge <https://bit.ly/418aWt>

- **PosTV:** “Michael Roth, Chairman of the Bundestag’s Foreign Affairs Committee, who made anti-Orthodox Church statements.”⁵⁴
- **PosTV:** “Michael Roth: All churches, religions, and their congregations must endure criticism. Some still have issues with this – such as Georgian Orthodoxy and Islam in my case.”⁵⁵



For example, TV station Imedi, as well as the Facebook page Gogaggg⁵⁶ linked to Newshub.ge, shared a statement by Michael Roth regarding the suspension of visa-free travel accompanied by a photo featuring LGBTQ-themed accessories.⁵⁷ The same tactic was employed by For.ge⁵⁸ and Imedi concerning other statements by the Bundestag deputy. The photo of Roth wearing a rainbow face mask, published by Imedi, was accompanied by a comment manipulating his identity and a statement related to the Church:

- **Imedi:** “Michael Roth has arrived in Georgia. The German LGBTQ+ deputy did not apologize for insulting the Georgian Church.”⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Postv <https://bit.ly/4ipMUsq>
⁵⁵ Postv <https://bit.ly/49hOpor>
⁵⁶ <https://bit.ly/4g9nahS>
⁵⁷ Imedi. Michael Roth: “I was categorically opposed to the suspension of the visa-free regime, but I have changed my position, <https://bit.ly/4ibMDsS>
⁵⁸ For.ge <https://bit.ly/4gdrHzP>
⁵⁹ Imedi, <https://bit.ly/4idfUTU>



Contracts signed with PosTV, Imedi, Sakartvelos Respublika, and other online publications have come under criticism due to their homophobic editorial policies. According to Recommendation #7 of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe,⁶⁰ member states should adopt anti-discrimination policies when entering into contracts. However, the government disregards this principle when awarding public service contracts, continuing to fund these outlets for years.

3.2. THE COORDINATED DISSEMINATION OF IDENTICAL CONTENT BY MEDIA OUTLETS WITH PRO-GOVERNMENT EDITORIAL POLICIES

In addition to pro-government TV stations (Imedi, Postv, Rustavi 2, and the Public Broadcaster), in 2023, public contracts were also signed with pro-government online media outlets such as Kvira.ge, Reportiori, Qartuliazri.ge, Marshalpress, For.ge, Lideri.ge, SPnews.io, Xnews.ge, Newshub.ge, and Primetime.ge. These outlets frequently publish homophobic content and are often involved in coordinated discrediting campaigns against government opponents.


⁶⁰ ECRI Recommendations on National Legislation to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Adopted on October 13, 2002 <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/>

These publications often disseminate identical materials targeting political opponents, civil society organizations, and the West, coordinated around a single source – tweets by pro-government film director Goga Khaindrava. They cover these tweets using identical headlines and narratives.

For example, Khaindrava’s post on X about MEP Rasa Juknevičienė was published verbatim by around ten pro-government media outlets, including Imedinews.ge, For.ge, Info9.ge, Newshub.ge, Kvira.ge, Primetime.ge, Lideri.ge, and Xnews.ge.

THE POST ON X

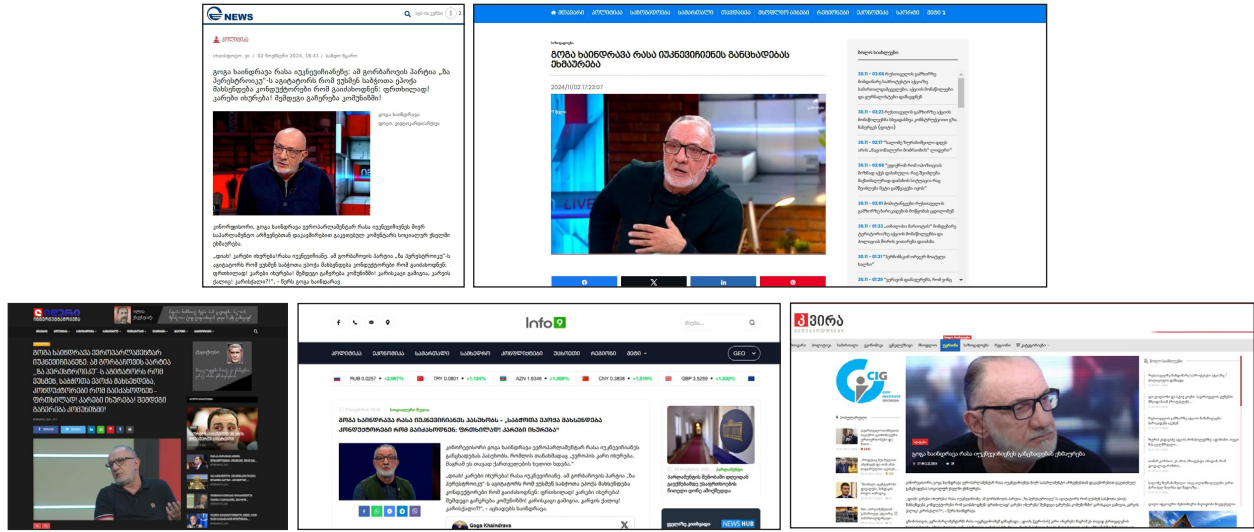
Yes! The doors are closing! Rasa Juknevičienė. Listening to this agitator from Gorbachev’s “Za Perestroika” party reminds me of Soviet-era conductors announcing, “Careful! The doors are closing! Next stop: Communism!” I’ve heard of a *doorman* and a *tent woman*, but a *door woman*?



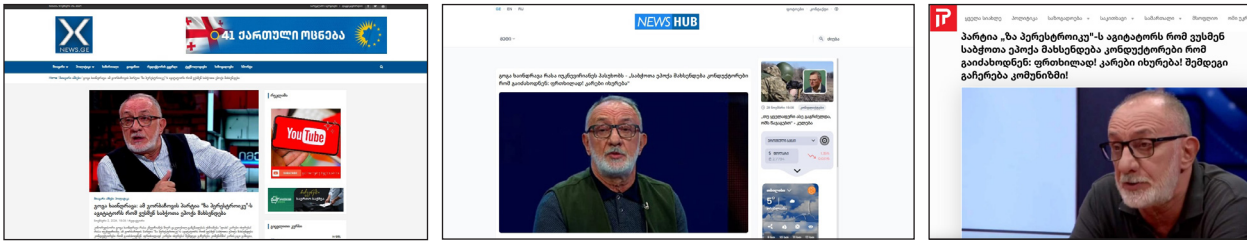
Goga Khaindrava
@KhaindravaGoga

დიახ! კარები იხურება! რასა იუკნევიჩიანე. ამ გორბაჩოვის პარტია "ზა პერესტროიკუ"-ს აგიტატორს რომ ვუსმენ საბჭოთა ეპოქა მახსენდება კონდუქტორები რომ გაიძახოდნენ: ფრთხილად! კარები იხურება! შემდეგი გაჩერება კომუნიზმი! კარისკაცი გამიგია, კარვის ქალიც! კარისქალი?!

MEDIA COVERAGE



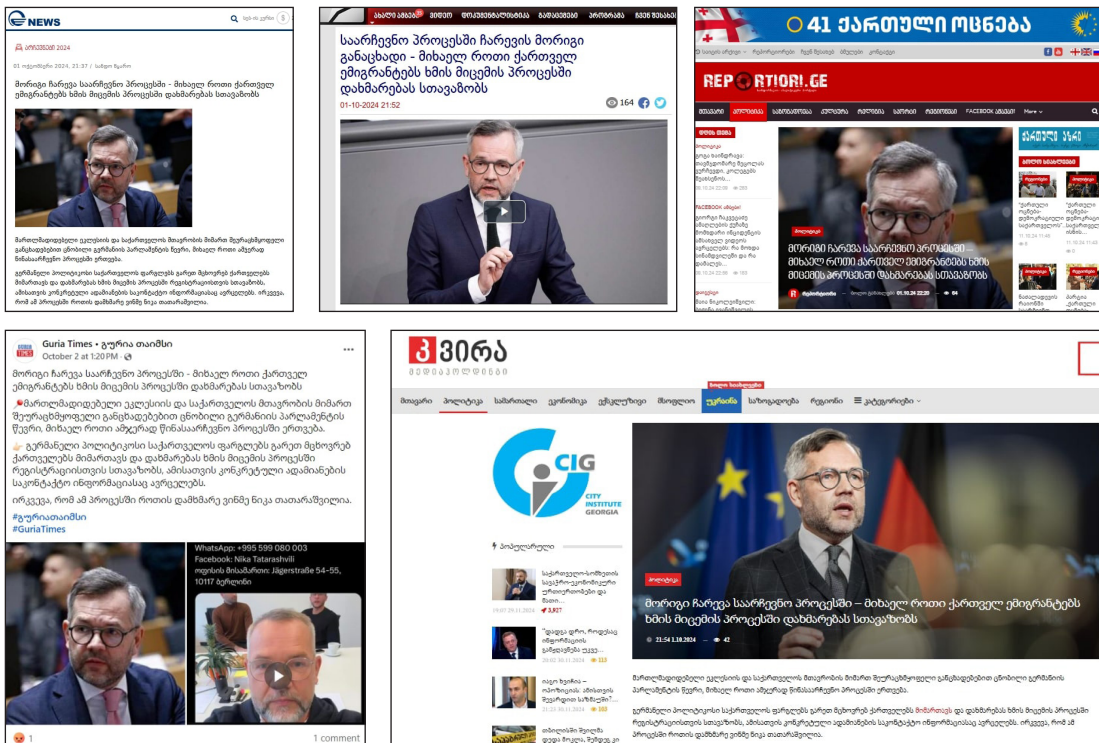
The collage displays multiple instances of the same article being published across different Georgian news websites. Each screenshot shows the article's title, a video player with Khaindrava's tweet, and the text of the tweet in Georgian. The websites shown include Imedinews, For.ge, Info9, Newshub, Kvira, Primetime, Lideri, and Xnews, demonstrating the widespread dissemination of the original post.



Ahead of the 2024 parliamentary elections, pro-government outlets (Imedi,⁶¹ *Guria Times*, *Chiaturis Saati*, *Samegrelo's Chronicle*, and others, including regional media) were found to have disseminated identical headlines and content. This was also revealed by Myth Detector, with Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Michael Roth once again at the center of the coverage.⁶²

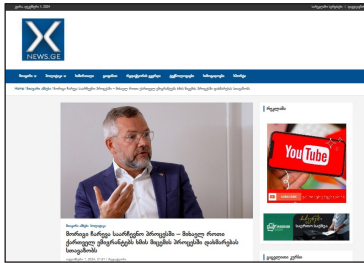
HEADLINE: Another interference in the electoral process – Michael Roth offers assistance to Georgian emigrants in voting.

TEXT: German MP Michael Roth, known for making offensive remarks about the Orthodox Church and the Georgian government, is now interfering in the pre-election process. The German politician is addressing Georgians living abroad, offering assistance in registering to vote and even sharing specific contact information for this purpose. It turns out that Roth is being assisted in this process by someone named Nika Tatarashvili.



⁶¹ Imedi, <https://bit.ly/3AXSh18>

⁶² Myth Detector, “Facebook pages operating on behalf of regional media show support for “Georgian Dream“, 1 October, 2024 <https://mythdetector.com/ka/qarthuli-otsnebis-mkhardatcheras-avlenen/>



Research by Myth Detector also revealed that pro-government media benefiting from budgetary contracts (*Imedi, Rustavi 2, Postv, 1TV, Info9.ge, Primetime.ge, Newshub.ge, Kvira.ge, MPN.ge*) cited questionable election observers as reliable sources during the 2024 parliamentary elections. These observers primarily issued statements supporting the government.⁶³

3.3. IDENTICAL DISINFORMATION

Myth Detector has also uncovered that media outlets aligned with pro-government editorial policies frequently disseminate identical disinformation to discredit opponents and promote anti-Western narratives.

Along with pro-government propaganda television channels (*Imedi, POSTV, Rustavi 2*) and online media (*NewsHub, Prime Time, Info 9, Marshalpress, Resonance, InfoPostalioni.com*, and others), Public Broadcaster was also involved in the dissemination of identical disinformation aligned with the government’s agenda.

DISINFORMATION/MANIPULATION	PRO-GOVERNMENT TV MEDIA	PRO-GOVERNMENT ONLINE MEDIA
False or unauthentic covert recording misleadingly described as activists recruiting people willing to commit murder. ⁶⁴	Public Broadcaster’s Channel 1, Imedi TV, PosTV	For.ge, kvira.ge ⁶⁵ , xnews.ge ⁶⁶ , Marshalpress, info9
Disinformation suggesting that the former Public Defender criticized President Zourabichvili ⁴	Imedi, PosTV, Rustavi 2	




⁶³ Ani Kistauri, Myth Detector, “What do we know about the international observers quoted in the pro-government media?” 25 November, 2024 <https://mythdetector.com/en/international-observers-quoted/>

⁶⁴ Ani Kistauri, 10 May, 2024. TV company Imedi and For.ge spread false information based on a hidden audio recording” <https://mythdetector.com/ka/imedi-da-for-ge-audiochanatserze-daqhrdnobith-mtsdar-inphormatsias-avrtseleben/>

⁶⁵ <https://kvira.ge/925722>

⁶⁶ <https://bit.ly/4fRuD8>

⁶⁷ Myth Detector, 20 November, 2024. Falsehood that Lomjaria’s statement on new initiatives is related to the President <https://mythdetector.com/ka/mtsдаря-akhal-initsiativebe-gantskhadeba/>

<p>False claim that the Edison Research exit poll results significantly deviated during the U.S. elections⁶⁸</p>	<p>Imedi; Rustavi 2, POSTV</p> 	<p>NewsHub, Prime Time, Info 9, Reportiori Tia.ge, Exclusive Media, Radio Sivrce, InfoPostalioni.com, Resonance</p> 
<p>Manipulation based on an unreliable platform, falsely claiming that Georgia ranks 4th among European countries for safe nighttime movement for tourists.⁶⁹</p>	<p>Public Broadcaster's Channel 1, Imedi TV</p> 	<p>Reportiori, Leader, Prime Time, Marshalpress, Xnews</p> 

⁶⁸ Myth Detector, 11 November, 2024. Disinformation as if Edison Research’s exit poll results in US elections were significantly off the mark. <https://mythdetector.com/en/edison-research-s-exit-poll/>

⁶⁹ Myth Detector,, 14 February, 2024. How Reliable are the Data Used by Georgian Media When Reporting Safety Statistics? <https://mythdetector.com/en/how-reliable-are-the-data-used-by-georgian-media-when-reporting-safety-statistics/>

