

FINANCIAL TRANSPARENCY OF
MEDIA
2022

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WWW.MDFGEORGIA.GE

WWW.MEDIAMETER.GE

INTRODUCTION

The Media Development Foundation (MDF) has been researching the issue of financial transparency of the Georgian media environment for years now. The following report reflects the data of 2022 and is based on the analysis of the revenues declared by media broadcasters as demanded by the law and the practice of allocating budgetary funds for advertising and dissemination of information.

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 main findings of the report are summarized in the introduction; The first part deals with the financial revenues of broadcasters, which broadcasters are obliged to declare based on the legislation. The second part of the study deals with the practice of allocating budgetary contracts for the purpose of advertising and information dissemination is divided according to different types of media – TV broadcasters, radio, online media, print, and social. A separate chapter is devoted to the spending of budgetary funds on social media, including contracts by which individual media were obliged to post materials on various Facebook groups and pages. The last part of the research provides information about media prone to hate speech and anti-Western editorial policy, which were contracted by budgetary organizations for advertising services. The last part also deals with media outlets that pursue pro-government editorial policy and are often involved in discrediting campaigns against the opponents of the government in a coordinated manner.

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. 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 2022, compared to the previous year, the revenue of TV broadcasters increased by 60.1 million GEL at the expense of non-broadcasting income and totaled 273.6 million GEL;
- However, a downward trend was revealed in terms of broadcasting revenue, caused by the ban on gambling advertising from the second quarter of 2022;
- In the case of the opposition TV company “Formula,” the non-broadcasting revenue was revealed to have the form of a loan given by the owner, while in the case of the Public Broadcaster – through the sale of property by auction;
- In 2022, the largest share of the TV broadcasting market still belongs to the **Public Broadcaster** (54.2%); when it comes to private TV broadcasters, in terms of broadcasting revenue, **TV Imedi** – a TV broadcaster with a pro-government editorial policy takes the lead (25.1 million GEL); while in terms of broadcasting and non-broadcasting (loan) revenues – opposition TV company **“Formula”** (35.6 million);
- Similar to previous years, TV broadcasters whose operation depends on funds received from owners or other donations were identified in 2022 as well; among them are “ERI Media” – associated with the leader of the radical-extremist group Levan Vasadze, pro-Kremlin media “Alt-Info” and “Sezoni TV”, TV “Ertsulovenba” of the Georgian Patriarchate, as well as “Silk Media” and pro-opposition “Formula;”
- The “First Entertainment Channel”, which translated the entertainment programs of the Kremlin’s propaganda “Channel One” into Georgian, received 202,860 GEL revenue from Channel One of the Russian Federation only in the first half of 2022. The channel had zero financial declarations in the second half of the year. It suspended operations allegedly due to the war in Ukraine and the sanctions imposed on the channel in 2022;
- The total revenue of regional TV broadcasters decreased by 57,189 GEL compared to the previous year and amounted to 13,330,835 GEL, while Adjara Public Broadcaster still dominated the market (82.9%).
- In 2022, a case of rebroadcasting pro-Kremlin “Alt-Info” programs for commercial purposes was revealed in the case of Kvemo Kartli TV broadcaster TV4, which was stopped by the broadcaster’s decision itself after public criticism;
- As in the previous years, in 2022, a declining tendency in terms of radio revenues was revealed, while the total revenue amounted to 7.8 million GEL;

- “Radio Ucnobi”, whose revenue increased by 24,954 GEL in 2022, indicated the state-founded “Georgian Post” LLC as the source of revenue in three quarters of 2022;
- Compared to the previous year, in 2022, the value of service contracts signed between budgetary organizations and media for advertising and information services showed a downward trend (decrease by 618,829 GEL), and the total amount of such contracts amounted to 4,189,300 GEL;
- If in 2022, the total value of budget allocated to the media for advertising and information placement has decreased by more than half a million compared to the previous year, the amount allocated to national and mixed coverage TV broadcasters has almost doubled, and increased by 45.5%;
- Similar to the previous year, the largest share of budgetary contracts – 30.3% comes from online media, followed by national and mixed coverage TV broadcasters (27.4%). 18.6% of the total amount comes from regional TV broadcasters; 13.4% – from social media; 6.5% – from print media; and 2.8% – from mixed contracts. The smallest share - 1% was allocated to radio broadcasters;
- Among the national coverage broadcasters, the contract with the highest value was signed with TV Company “Imedi” and “Imedi” Radio, which has a pro-government editorial policy;
- Along with the increase of budgetary advertising in pro-government TV broadcasters, the rate of allocation of such resources in opposition TV broadcasters has been reduced significantly in 2022;
- Local municipalities and their subordinate agencies signed the highest-value contracts with regional TV broadcasters, and the contract of the highest value was signed with “Marneuli TV”;
- Similar to previous years, the largest share of budgetary contracts among online media in 2022 was distributed to publications included in the “Palitra Media” holding, followed by pro-government Kvira.ge and its affiliate outlets;
- In 2022, the contract with the highest value among the national print media was signed with the newspaper “Resonance”, and among the regional ones - with the newspaper “Borjomi.”
- According to the data of the electronic database of the State Procurement Agency, the placement of advertisements of the most value on social media was carried out by the Georgian Agency of Protected Areas;
- Similar to the previous years, instances, when budgetary contracts were signed with media with contradictory editorial policies, were found in 2022 as well;
- Budgetary organizations continued to cooperate with the newspaper “Republic of Georgia”[Sakartvelos Respublika] in 2022 as well, which disseminated materials containing hate speech, including anti-Semitic messages in the context of the war in Ukraine; The newspaper was distinguished by materials with anti-Western content;
- The practice of funding media outlets with pro-government editorial policies, which engaged in the discrediting campaigns of the opponents of the government in a coordinated manner, and in some cases, disseminated targeted false information, was revealed in 2022 as well.

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I. DECLARED REVENUES OF BROADCASTING MEDIA

1.1. TV BROADCASTERS

According to the data of the Communications Regulatory Commission,¹ in 2022, the total revenue of all categories² of TV broadcasters amounted to GEL 273.6 million, which is 60.1 million GEL higher than that of 2021. From the mentioned amount, other non-broadcasting revenue, which has a significant impact on the distribution of the broadcasting market, amounted to GEL 98.6 million (2021: 35.2 million GEL); Notably, in addition to typical broadcasting revenue, which includes advertising, sponsorship, content sales and other types of revenue, the practice of receiving non-broadcasting income in the form of a loan (29.4 million GEL) was revealed in the case of TV company “Formula”. In addition, the largest non-broadcasting revenue in 2022 was received by the Public Broadcaster (67.7 million GEL), of which 65.2 million GEL was received in December 2022 based on the sale of the GPB’s property by auction.³

Despite the increase in the total revenue of TV broadcasters, a declining trend was observed when it comes to broadcasting revenue, which was partly due to the ban on gambling advertising from the second quarter of 2022. According to the study of Transparency International Georgia,⁵ in 2022, compared to the previous year, the revenue received by broadcasters from gambling ads decreased almost 4 times (by 13.1 million GEL) and amounted to 4.8 million GEL.

¹ Communications Commission, Broadcasting • TV Revenues by Companies, Last Update 1 December, 2023
<https://analytics.comcom.ge/ka/statistics/?c=broadcasting&f=revenue&exp=tv&sid=1148106&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, interactivities, government funding, other non-broadcast and more.

³ Special Financial Report and Independent Auditor’s Report of the Public Broadcaster as of December 31, 2022
<https://cutt.ly/swP14kPi>

⁴ The law on the ban of gambling advertising came into force on March 1, 2022.
<https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/5316769?publication=0>

⁵ Transparency International Georgia, 2 October, 2023. “TV Advertising Market Report 2022”
https://transparency.ge/sites/default/files/advertising_market_2023_1.pdf

According to the 2022 data, the largest share of the TV broadcasting market still belongs to the **Public Broadcaster⁶ (54.2 %)** – excluding the non-broadcasting income, the TV company’s revenue amounted to 73.4 million GEL, which is 11.5 million GEL higher than that of the previous year (61.8 million GEL). The total revenue of TV broadcasters including non-broadcasting revenue is 141.2 million GEL (2021: 63.7 million GEL), of which 65.2 million GEL, as mentioned, is the amount received as a result of property sale.⁷

Following the Public Broadcaster, in terms of broadcasting revenue among private television stations, the biggest share is occupied by TV company “Imedi,” which has a pro-government editorial policy (25.1 million GEL), and in terms of broadcasting and non-broadcasting (loan) revenue, the opposition TV company “Formula” (35.6 million GEL), of which 29.4 million GEL is the amount given to the TV company as a loan by the owner, Davit Kezerashvili.⁸ Without loans, the revenue of “Formula” amounts to 6.2 million GEL. “Formula” is followed by the opposition-linked “Mtavari Channel” established in 2019 with 10.5 million GEL,⁹ whose revenue has decreased by 10.8 million GEL compared to the previous year.

The next position in the broadcasting market is occupied by “Media Holding” with 9.8 million GEL, whose revenue has increased by 0.4 million GEL compared to the previous year. In April 2019, the National Agency of Public Registry, based on the decision of the Supreme Court of Georgia of March 2, 2017, registered Kibar Khalvashi as the owner of the TV company “Rustavi 2.” After this decision, in 2021, the TV company “Rustavi 2” and the publication “Prime Time” were merged into “Media Holding”.¹⁰

The following TV broadcasters occupy the following positions in the broadcasting market and at the same time are characterized by a decreasing trend of revenues: **Silknet with 8.8 million GEL¹¹** (2021: 10.1 million GEL), **TV Pirveli – 6.2 million GEL¹²** (2021: 7.2 million GEL), **POS TV** (pro-governmental editorial policy) – 4.9 million GEL (2021: 5.1 million GEL). It should be noted that POS TV, unlike previous years (2021: 95,970 GEL, 2020: 100,000 GEL), did not receive any donations from the owner in 2022, although it received 134,038 GEL as non-broadcasting revenue. Advertising was the main source of revenue for POS TV. The revenues of other TV broadcasters are distributed as follows: **“Adjarasport.TV”** – 4.6 million GEL, **“BMG”** – 2.5 million GEL, **GDS TV¹³** – 1.9 million GEL, **“Ertsulovneba”** – 1.8 million GEL¹⁴, **“Alt Info”** – 0.9 million GEL and **“Obieqtivi”** – 0.8 million GEL. The revenue of other national TV broadcasters, which do not exceed 0.8 million GEL, is 5 million GEL.

⁶ Except for the Public Broadcaster’s radio

⁷ Sources of revenue for the Public Broadcaster in 2022 are archive rental, commercial advertising, product placement, state funding, sponsorship, other non-broadcasting revenue, and technical services. Available at: https://analytics.comcom.ge/ka/statistics/?c=broadcasting&f=broadcasting&exp=broadcasting_revenue&sid=1165549

⁸ “TV Advertising Market Report 2022”, pg. 7, 2 October 2023. Transparency International Georgia, Available at: https://transparency.ge/sites/default/files/advertising_market_2023_1.pdf

⁹ Non-broadcasting revenue amounts to 344 258 GEL

¹⁰ In 2021, Rustavi 2 and Prime Time merged into one holding, and one of the directors of the holding was the former executive director of Maestro, Vako Avaliani. Available at: <https://shorturl.at/tEQY5>

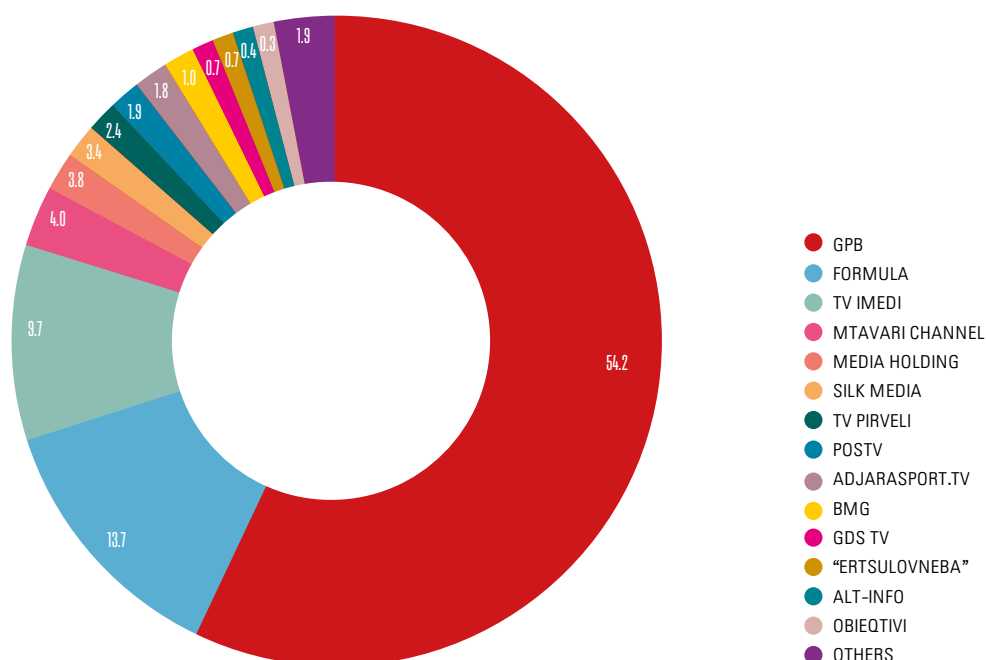
¹¹ The mentioned data includes the declared income of “Silk Media” LLC for 2022 (7.2 million GEL), whose 100% owner is JSC Silknet; [B21081595 \(napr.gov.ge\)](https://napr.gov.ge/B21081595)

¹² Non-broadcasting revenue amounts to 4 453 GEL.

¹³ Non-broadcasting revenue amounts to 6 946 GEL

¹⁴ Non-broadcasting revenue amounts to 15,475 GEL

FIGURE 1 . REVENUES OF NATIONWIDE AND MIXED COVERAGE BROADCASTERS IN 2022, 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 2022 as well. We analyzed the data of 6 TV companies, whose income is more than 80% 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, in another case, a TV broadcaster of the Patriarchate:

- **ERI Media (100%).** “Eri Media,” founded on June 22, 2022,¹⁵ linked to the leader of the radical-extremist group, Levan Vasadze, is of 100% donatory nature and spreads anti-Western and sexist messages, and according to the fact-checking portal “Myth Detector”, it disseminates disinformation.¹⁶ The owner of 100% share of the company is Vasadze’s relative Irine Mujiri. The donations of Mujiri and the company’s director, Tinatin Khorbaladze, amounted to 284,325 GEL in the 6 months of 2022.
- **Alt-Info (99,8%).** “Alt-Info” TV, which is linked with the pro-Kremlin “Alt-Info/Conservative Movement” party is almost completely donatory, which in 2022 received 99.8% of the unified income (982,760 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.”¹⁷

¹⁵ Extract from the public registry [ERI Media Group LLC](#)

¹⁶ ERI Media, Profile <https://mediameter.ge/ge/media-profiles/eri-media>

¹⁷ Alt-Info, Profile <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/alt-info>

- **Ertsulovneba (99%).** In 2022, Patriarchate’s TV company “Ertsulovneba” received 99% of its revenues as a donation, which amounted to 1,811,064 GEL.
- **Sezoni TV (98,6%).** Sezoni TV – another TV broadcaster characterized by pro-Kremlin editorial policy – depended on the 98.6% (41,416 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.¹⁸ Sezoni TV itself has spread a number of false information.¹⁹
- **Silk Media (96%).** Silk Media received 96% of its revenue (6,937,927 GEL) as a donation from the owner.
- **Formula (82,6%).** The opposition TV company “Formula” received 82,6% of its total revenue as “other non-broadcasting income”, which, according to the “Transparency International Georgia” study,²⁰ is the amount received as a loan from one of the broadcaster’s owners, Davit Kezerashvili (29.4 million GEL).

FIGURE 2. 2022 REVENUES OF FULLY OR PARTIALLY DONATORY TV BROADCASTERS BY SOURCES

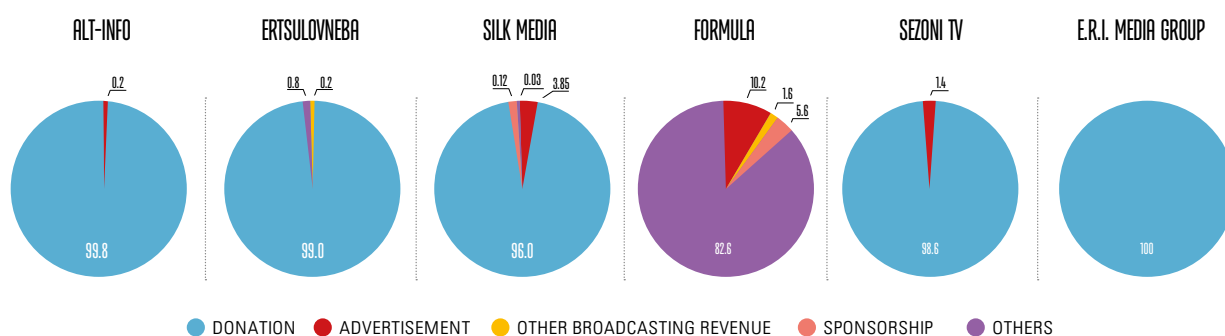


TABLE 1. 2022 DONATIONS OF FULLY OR PARTIALLY DONATORY MEDIA

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	Davit Kezerashvili, one of the owners of the broadcaster – 7 552 317 GEL	Davit Kezerashvili, one of the owners of the broadcaster – 6 689 026 GEL	Davit Kezerashvili, one of the owners of the broadcaster – 7 455 560 GEL	Davit Kezerashvili, one of the owners of the broadcaster – 7 763 765 GEL	29 460 667 GEL / 82.6%
SILK MEDIA	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet ²¹ – 2 277 111 GEL	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet – 2 277 111 GEL	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet – 2 095 117 GEL	Donation of the owner of the broadcaster – JSC Silknet – 2 095 117 GEL	6 937 927 GEL / 96%
ERTSULOVNEBA	Georgian Patriarchate – 402 700 GEL, Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 835 GEL, Donation of other people – 66 GEL.	Georgian Patriarchate – 402 700 GEL, Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 560 GEL, Donation of other people – 66 GEL.	Georgian Patriarchate – 502 700, Other non-broadcasting revenue – 4 560 GEL, Donation of other people – 66 GEL.	Georgian Patriarchate – 502 700 GEL	1 811 064 GEL / 99 %

¹⁸ Sezoni TV, Profile <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/sezoni-tv>

¹⁹ Myth Detector, <https://bit.ly/48ZEcv5>

²⁰ “TV Advertising Market Report 2022”, pg. 7, Transparency International Georgia, 2 October, 2023. https://transparency.ge/sites/default/files/advertising_market_2023_1.pdf

²¹ Extract from the registry of entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurial (non-commercial) legal entities

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
ALC-INFO	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Move- ment party – 223 800 GEL	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Move- ment party – 237 540 GEL	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Move- ment party – 287 220 GEL	Tsiala Morgoshia – a relative of the founder of the conservative Move- ment party – 234 200 GEL	982 760 GEL / 99.8 %
ERI MEDIA ²²			Irine Mujiri, Owner of ERI Media – 158 709 GEL Tinatin Khorbaladze, Director of ERI Me- dia – 63 416 GEL	Irine Mujiri, Owner of ERI Media – 62 000 GEL	284 325 GEL / 100%
SEZONI TV	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 6773 GEL	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 10 544 GEL	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 14 430 GEL	Giorgi Kandelaki, the owner and director of Sezoni TV – 9 669 GEL	41 416 GEL / 98.6%

Notably, if in previous years the TV “Obieqtivi” – linked with the pro-Kremlin “Alliance of Patriots” party – was largely of daonatory nature,²³ in 2022 its recenues became more diversified and donations made up 47.2% of the total revenue (391,702 GEL), of which 305,742 GEL was the donation of one of the owners, Irakli Tsilikishvili, and 85,960 GEL – a donation from other persons (Davit Lekishvili and Davit Gvelukashvili). 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.²⁴ In addition, it is worth noting that Davit Gvelukashvili, who donated money to TV “Obieqtivi” in 2022, was also a donor to the Alliance of Patriots during the 2016 and 2020 elections.²⁵

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.²⁶ Zilpimiani entered the parliament through the party list of “Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili – Alliance of Patriots of Georgia” and is currently a member of the “European Socialists” parliamentary group.²⁷ In the first and second quarters of 2022, Bright Industry Group also placed advertisements on the air of “Obieqtivi.”

²² 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.

²³ Media Development Foundation (2021). Financial Transparency of Media – 2020
<https://mdfgeorgia.ge/eng/view-library/215/>

²⁴ Obieqtivi, Profile <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/obieqtivi>

²⁵ Transparency International Georgia, Donations to Georgian Political Parties
<https://transparency.ge/politicaldonations/en/donations/4877>

²⁶ Zilpimiani’s share is currently managed by Giorgi Khitarishvili <https://www.my.gov.ge/ka-ge/services/6/service/179>

²⁷ Parliament of Georgia <https://parliament.ge/parliament-members/7221/declaration>

TABLE 2. SOURCES OF REVENUE OF TV OBIEKTIVI BASED ON THE DATA OF COMCOM, 2022



PERIOD	FUNDING SOURCE ACCORDING TO COMCOM ANALYTICS PORTAL	ADVERTISEMENT AMOUNT	OWNER DONATION	OTHER DONATIONS	SUM
I QUARTER	Bright Industry (401952348); Stereo+ (204986408)	114292.36	107,000.00		221292.36
II QUARTER	Bright Industry (401952348); Stereo+ (204986408)	126,597.44	58,000.00	41,900.00	226,497.44
III QUARTER	Stereo+ (204986408)	94,576.26	88,702.00	44,060.00	227,338.26
IV QUARTER	Stereo+ (204986408)	102,976.21	52,040.00		155,016.21
SUM		438442.27	305,742.00	85960	830144.27

1.3. FIRST ENTERTAINMENT CHANNEL FUNDED BY ПЕРВЫЙ КАНАЛ (CHANNEL ONE OF RUSSIA)

“The first entertainment channel” – registered in the public registry under the name of RBJ LLC, which broadcasted throughout the country and translated the entertainment programs of the Kremlin’s propaganda Channel One (Первый канал) into Georgian, indicates Channel One of the Russian Federation as the source of income in the financial declarations submitted to the regulatory commission. (Channel One Russia JSC 7717029599). The channel’s income, totaling 202,860.98 GEL, was recorded only in the first and second quarters of 2022.

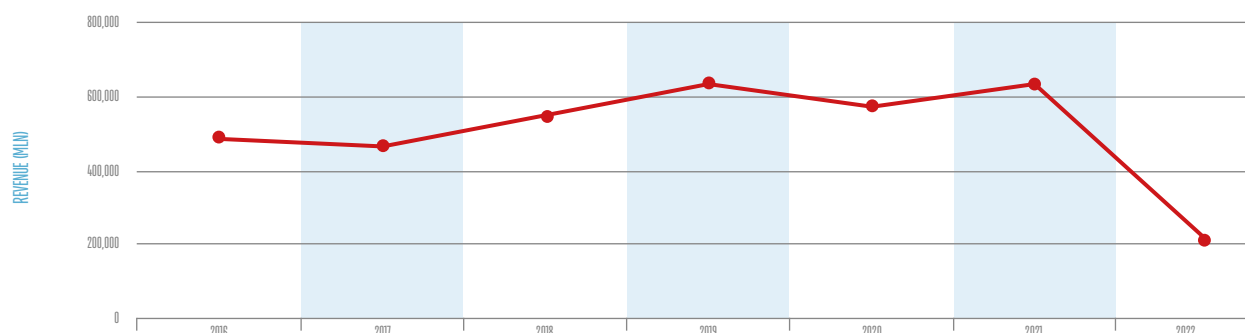


TABLE 3. SOURCES OF REVENUE OF “FIRST ENTERTAINMENT CHANNEL” BASED ON THE DATA OF COMCOM, 2022

PERIOD	ADVERTISEMENT REVENUE	FUNDING SOURCE ACCORDING TO COMCOM ANALYTICS PORTAL
I QUARTER	161,056.82	Channel One Russia JSC (7717029599) – Russian Federation 
II QUARTER	41,804.16	Channel One Russia JSC (7717029599) – Russian Federation 
III QUARTER	0	
IV QUARTER	0	
SUM	202,860.98	

During 2016-2022, the total revenue of the entertainment channel funded by Russia's Channel One amounted to 3.5 million GEL.

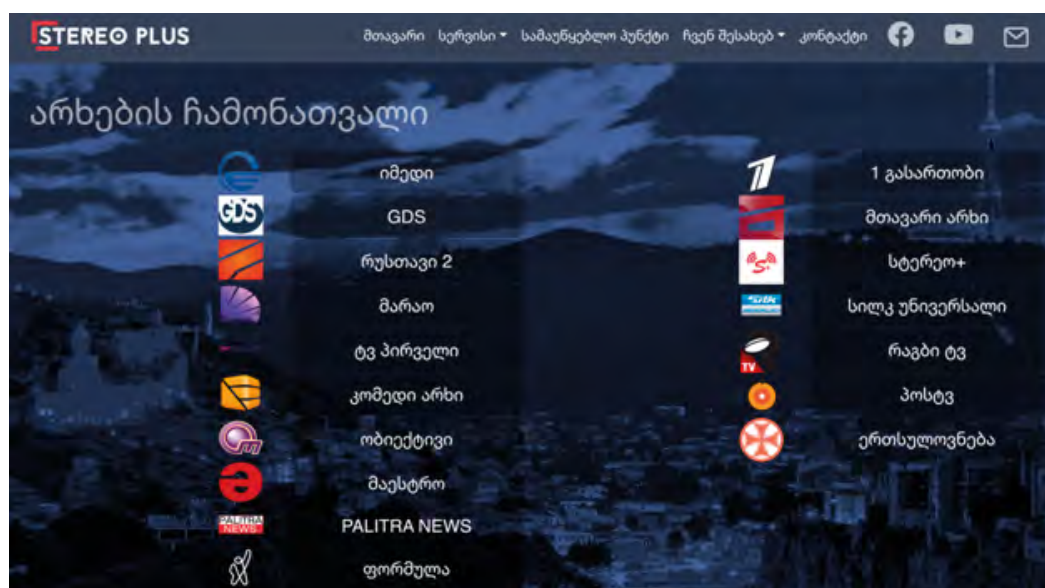
FIGURE 3. REVENUE OF ENTERTAINMENT CHANNEL SPONSORED BY RUSSIA'S CHANNEL ONE IN 2016-2022



	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
RBJ	490,590.87	465,076.46	563,938.62	639,690.65	582,752.75	619,648.77	202,860.98

According to the data of the Public Registry, the founders of RBJ are Russian citizen Olga Miliayva (90%) and Georgian citizen Irakli Adamia (10%), and the Executive Director of the company is Anna Yurina-Manjgaladze.²⁸

While “First Entertainment” is still listed in the channel list²⁹ on the Stereo Plus website, but the website of the channel is no longer available. Considering that the channel has not recorded revenues in the 3rd and 4th quarters of 2022, the assumption that the reason for the suspension of the operation of “First Entertainment” is the sanctions³⁰ imposed on Channel One of Russia in 2022 due to the war in Ukraine is legitimate.



²⁸ Registration data of RBJ, Public Registry <https://bit.ly/47J01hy>

²⁹ http://www.stereoplus.ge/channel_list_ge.html

³⁰ Giorgi Giorgashvili, Mediachecker, 26 October, 2022 “Russian Propaganda TV “First Entertainment” no longer operates in Georgia. What is happening?” <https://bit.ly/3U6RyS8>

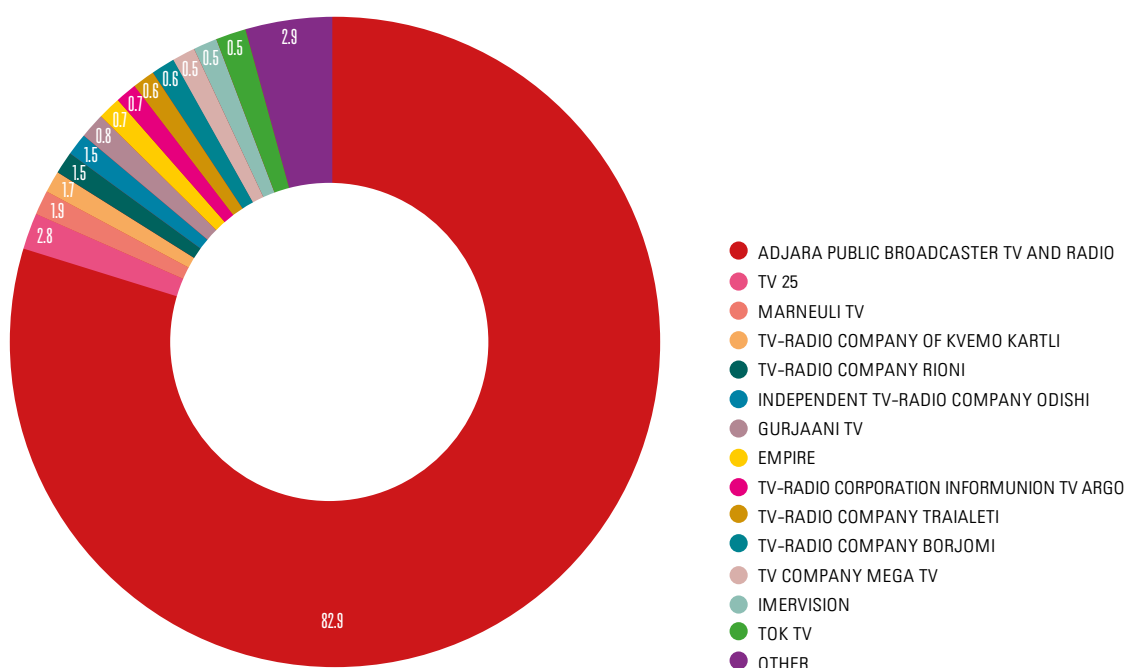
1.4. REGIONAL TV BROADCASTERS

The total revenue of regional TV broadcasters in 2022 amounted to 13,330,835 GEL (of which 306,204 GEL is other non-broadcasting revenue), which is 57,189 GEL less than that of the previous year (2021: 13,273,646 million GEL) (other non-broadcasting income is 17,203 GEL less). The largest share – 82.9% is still held by Adjara Public Broadcaster (11,053,090 GEL), and the remaining percentages are distributed as follows:

- **Adjara:** TV 25 – 370 378 (2,8% of the total revenue of the regional TV broadcasters) GEL;
- **Kvemo Kartli:** Marneuli TV – 247 535 GEL (1.9 %). TV-Radio Company of Kvemo Kartli – 222 096 GEL (1.7 %);
- **Imereti:** TV company Rioni – 203 531 (1.5%); MEGA TV – 69 408 (0.5%), Imervizia – 69 010 (0.5 %); TV-Radio Corporation Informstudio TV Argo – 90 547 GEL (0.7%);
- **Samegrelo:** Independent TV-Radio Company Odishi – 196 978 GEL (1.5%);
- **Kakheti:** Gurjaani TV – 102 610 GEL (0.8%);
- **Samtskhe-Javakheti:** Channel 9 97 167 GEL (0.7%); TOK TV – 63 450 GEL (0.5%), Borjomi – 75 767 GEL (0.6%).
- **Shida Kartli:** TV-Radio Company Trialeti – 77 305 GEL (0.6%).
- **Others:** 391 961 GEL (2.9%)

The combined revenue of other regional TV broadcasters, which does not exceed 75,000 GEL individually, amounted to a total of 593,829 GEL.

FIGURE 4. REVENUES OF REGIONAL TV BROADCASTERS IN 2022, BY MEDIA OUTLETS



³¹ Empire LLC <https://registry.comcom.ge/Organisation.aspx?OrgID=280>

The revenue of Adjara Public Broadcaster Television and Radio, together with other non-broadcasting revenue, increased by 963,231 GEL (2021: 10,089,859, 2022: 11,053,090 GEL), of which the amount received from rental services is 79,146 GEL.³² A slight increase was also observed in the case of other regional TV broadcasters: **Marneuli TV** – an increase of 17,734 GEL (2021: 229,802, 2022: 247,535 GEL); **TV-Radio Company Borjomi** – 13,912 GEL (2021: 61,855, 2022: 75,767 GEL); **TOK TV** – 27,835 GEL (2021: 35,615, 2022: 63,450 GEL); **Broadcasting Company Bolneli** – 11,010 GEL (2021: 14,625, 2022: 25,635 GEL).

Notably, in 2022, Kvemo Kartli TV broadcaster TV4 aired programs of the pro-Kremlin TV company “Alt-Info” on a commercial basis. In June 2022, the non-governmental organization “Media Ombudsman” released a confidentially obtained contract,³³ which provided for the rebroadcast of “Alt-Info” programs on TV4 for 1000 GEL per month.



The contract obtained by Media Ombudsman, which was signed between Kvemo Kartli TV-Radio Company and Alt-Info

³² pg. 15, 2022 Budget Implementation Report, 09 March 2023, available at: <https://ajaratv.ge/files/shares/090322.pdf>
³³ “A contract was signed between “Alt-Info” and TV-Radio Company TV4 for the purpose of rebroadcasting “Alt-Info” programs. <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/31899642.html>

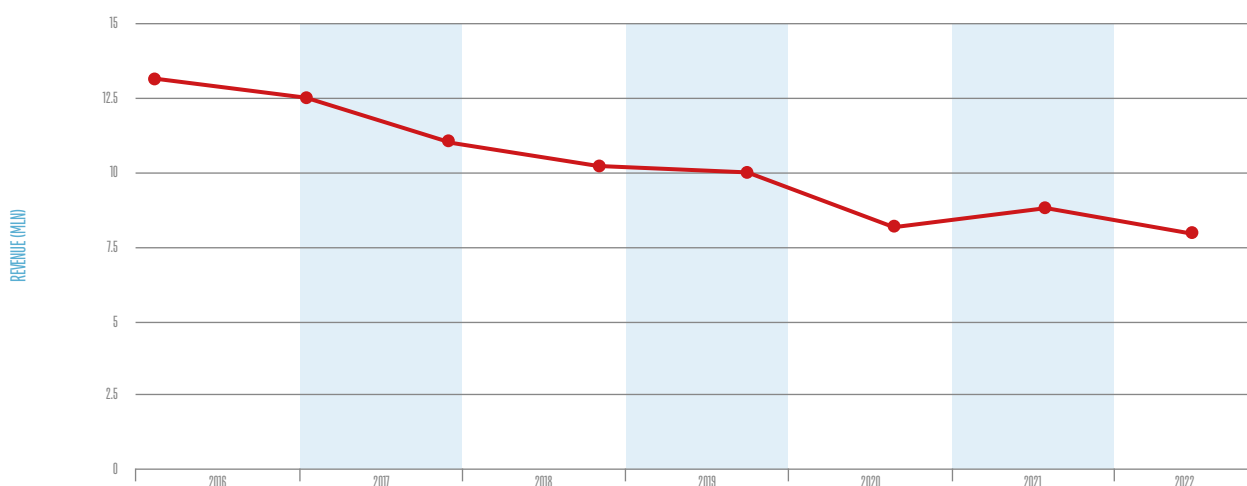
Due to the public criticism for the mentioned fact, on July 27, TV 4 issued a statement³⁴ that the programs of Alt-Info, which were being broadcast in test mode, would no longer be placed on the channel’s broadcasting network.

Noteworthy that in 2022, Kvemo Kartli TV received 42,860 GEL as other non-broadcasting revenue from the “Quality Channel”,³⁵ which is a channel known for its anti-Western conspiracies. In addition, the broadcaster has been receiving budgetary funds for the purpose of disseminating information and advertising for years. We will discuss this topic in detail in the budgetary contracts section.

1.5. RADIO BROADCASTERS

In 2022, the total revenue of radio broadcasters amounted to 7.8 million GEL, of which other non-broadcasting income was 0.5 million GEL. Compared to 2021, the revenue of radio broadcasters decreased by 871,404 GEL. Notably, from 2015 to 2022, the radio market is characterized by a decreasing trend in terms of revenue.

FIGURE 5. REVENUE OF RADIO BROADCASTERS IN 2015-2022



Source: Analytical portal of the National Communications Commission

Similar to the previous years, the market of nation-wide radio broadcasters was again dominated by Radio Holding “Fortuna”, whose revenue amounted to 3,645,692 GEL. Compared to 2021, the company’s revenue decreased by 313,422 GEL; however, it should be noted that the revenue of “Fortuna” amounts to 56.5% of the total revenue (6 449 671 GEL) of the nationwide radio broadcasters. Next is Radio “Imedi” – 646,100 GEL, in this case, compared to the previous year, the revenue has decreased by 78,801 GEL. Radio “Palitra” occupies the third place by 472,673 GEL. Compared to the previous year, the revenue of Radio “Palitra” increased by 358,416 GEL. Palitra is followed by “Georgian Radio” (316,068 GEL), whose revenue decreased by 75,912 GEL compared to the previous year. Next is “Radio Ucnobi”³⁶ (273,852 GEL), whose revenue increased by 24,954 GEL. The rev-

³⁴ TV4, 27 July, 2022. Alt-Info Programs will no longer be placed on the air of TV4, <https://bit.ly/47D2J8h>

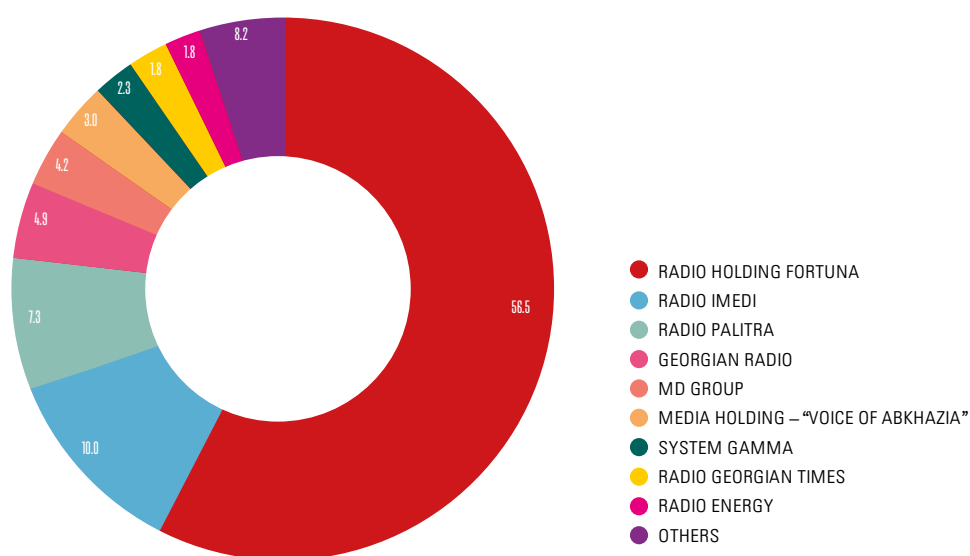
³⁵ Davit Giorgobiani, Quality Channel host, <https://mythdetector.ge/ka/profiles/giorgobiani-davithi/>

³⁶ MD Group LLC – On giving consent to the transfer of private broadcasting license No. B70 of “Radio Ucnobi” LLC to “MD Group” LLC

enue of Media Holding – “Voice of Abkhazia” in 2022 amounted to 193,829 GEL, while the revenue of System Gamma (148,832 GEL) decreased by 19,188 GEL, as well as that of Radio “Georgian Times” (115,687 GEL) – by 168,032 GEL. The income of Radio Energy³⁷ amounted to 115,096 GEL. The revenue of other radios, which does not exceed 115,100 GEL, amounted to 860,022 GEL.

According to the information of the Communications Commission,³⁸ in 2022, only 4 radio broadcasters received other non-broadcasting income in the amount of 157,266 GEL. These are: Radio Palitra (119,508 GEL), Radio Imedi (16,872 GEL), Palitranevs (11,364 GEL), Radio-Iveria of the Patriarchate of Georgia (9,522 GEL);

FIGURE 6. REVENUES OF NATIONWIDE AND MIXED COVERAGE RADIO BROADCASTERS, 2022



Notably, according to the informational-analytical portal of the Communications Commission, which based on the law, discloses the sources of revenue of broadcasters above 7,000 GEL on a quarterly basis, has indicated the state-founded “Georgian Post” LLC as the source of funding for “Radio Ucnobi” in all three quarters of 2022. The source of financing of the advertising revenues of the fourth quarter, which totaled 71,111.93 GEL, is not indicated on the portal of the commission.

TABLE 4. SOURCES OF REVENUE OF “RADIO UCNOBI” ACCORDING TO COMCOM DATA, 2022

PERIOD	FUNDING SOURCE ACCORDING TO COMCOM'S OFFICIAL ANALYTICS PORTAL	ADVERTISEMENT REVENUE
I QUARTER	Georgian Post (203836233)	64,727.43
II QUARTER	Georgian Post (203836233)	66,983.67
III QUARTER	Georgian Post (203836233)	71,029.49
IV QUARTER	Data on the source of revenue is not available	71,111.93
SUM		273,852.52

³⁷ LLC “Mediastream” company” [Legal Entity \(comcom.ge\)](https://comcom.ge/legal-entity/mediastream)

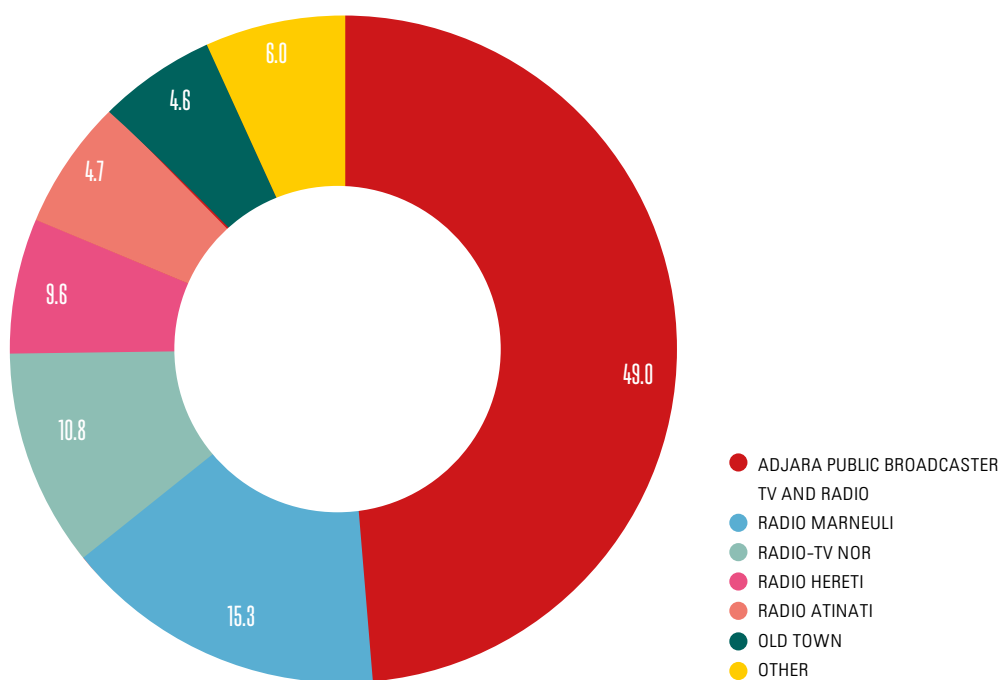
³⁸ Broadcasting Radio Revenues by Companies, 2022, Available at <https://analytics.comcom.ge/ka/statistics/?c=broadcasting&f=revenue&exp=radio&sid=1148699#>

1.6. REGIONAL RADIO BROADCASTERS

In 2022, regional radio broadcasters received a total revenue of 1,373,898 GEL, of which the largest share (49%), almost half, comes to Adjara Public Radio (673,160 GEL). The revenues of other radio stations are relatively less and were distributed as follows: Union of Journalists People’s Voice – Radio Marneuli 96.9 FM – (210,731 GEL); Radio TV-NOR (Ninotsminda Radio) (147,680 GEL); Radio Hereti (131,354 GEL); Radio Atinati (64,694 GEL); Old City (62,694 GEL); Radio Trialeti (32,470 GEL); Radio of Poti³⁹ (17,281 GEL); Radio “Odishi” (16,680 GEL); Radio “Ri-
oni” (9 742 GEL); TV-Radio Corporation Inform-union “Argo” (4 835 GEL); “Kvemo Kartli Women’s Association, Women and the World”⁴⁰ (1,705 GEL), Radio Dia-932 GEL; in 2022, other non-broadcasting income in regional radios totaled 324,479 GEL.

It should be noted that the income of Radio TV-Nor decreased by 83,764 GEL compared to the previous year (2021: 109,418 GEL, 2022: 25,654 GEL), despite the fact that the channel had an increase in non-broadcasting income during this period – (2021: 109,418, 2022: 147 680). The income of Radio “Trialeti” also decreased by 11,807 GEL (2021: 44,278, 2022: 32,470.28).

FIGURE 7. REVENUES OF REGIONAL RADIO BROADCASTERS BY MEDIA, 2022



³⁹ Poti TV LLC

⁴⁰ “Kvemo Kartli Women’s Association, Women and the World”

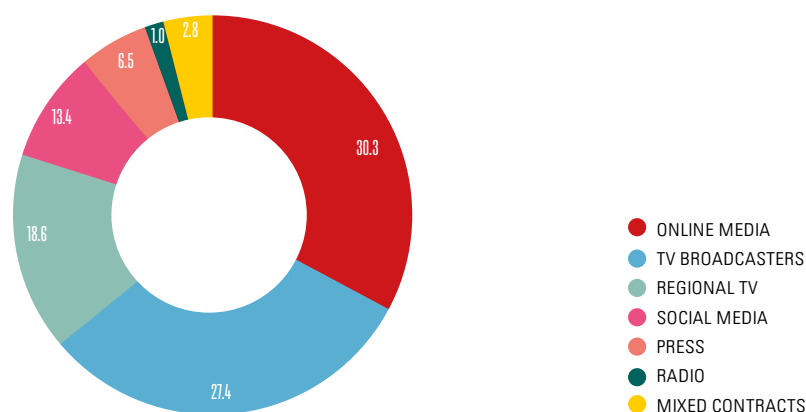
II. THE PRACTICE OF ALLOCATING BUDGETARY FUNDS FOR ADVERTISING AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN MEDIA

2.1. TOTAL DATA

According to the data available in the electronic database of the State Procurement Agency, in 2022, for the purpose of advertising and dissemination of information, budgetary organizations signed service contracts with media worth GEL 4 189 300. The mentioned amount is 618,829 GEL less compared to that of 2021 (4,808,129 GEL).

The largest share of the total amount – 30.3% (1 269 541 GEL) went to online media, followed by national and mixed coverage TV broadcasters with a small difference (27.4% – 1 149 724 GEL). 18.6% (778,894) of the mentioned amount went to regional TV broadcasters; 13.4% (560,407 GEL) – on social media;⁴¹ 6.5% – on print media (271 173 GEL); 2.8% (119,732 GEL) – on mixed contracts. The smallest share - 1% (39,830 GEL) was allocated to radios. Notably, mixed contracts simultaneously combine different types of media. Since it is impossible to identify which type of media the money was transferred to based on certain contracts, we merged this data into a separate category called “mixed contracts.”

FIGURE 8. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY CONTRACTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF ADVERTISING AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION BY THE TYPOLOGY OF MEDIA, 2022



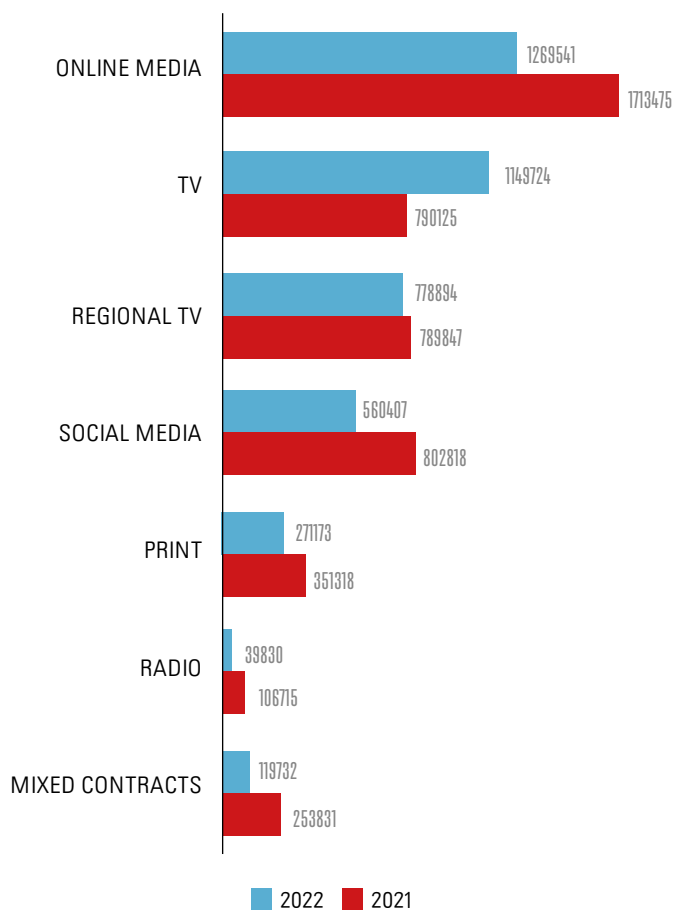
⁴¹ The mentioned data is approximate and may not reflect the complete picture due to the specifics of the procurements. See in detail the Social Media Chapter.

If in 2022, the total amount of the budget allocated to the media for the purpose of advertising and information dissemination has decreased by more than half a million compared to the previous year, the amount allocated to national and mixed coverage TV broadcasters has almost doubled and increased by 45.5%. At the same time, the share of both radio-related service contracts (by 62.7%) and mixed-type (52.8%) budgetary contracts (different types of media at the same time) has been reduced significantly.

TABLE 5. DYNAMICS OF ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY SERVICE CONTRACTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN 2021-2022

TYPES OF MEDIA	2022	2021	INCREASE / DECREASE TENDENCY
Online Media	1 269 541	1 713 475	Decreased by 26%
National Coverage TV	1 149 724	790 125	Increased by 45.5%
Regional TV	778 894	789 847	Decreased by 1.4%
Social Media	560 407	802 818	Decreased by 30.2%
Print Media	271 173	351 318	Decreased by 22.8%
Mixed	119 732	253 831	Decreased by 52.8%
Radio	39 830	106 715	Decreased by 62.7%

FIGURE 9. THE TENDENCY OF ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY SERVICE CONTRACTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION IN 2021-2022



In 2022, as in previous years, budgetary organizations in some cases signed contracts with media organizations for information dissemination through intermediary companies. In 2022, five such contracts signed through an intermediary company were identified: three contracts were signed with “IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus” Ltd by Tbilisi City Hall’s Public Relations Agency,⁴² the General Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia,⁴³ and the State Service of Veteran Affairs.⁴⁴ Tbilisi State Medical University⁴⁵ signed one contract with “Clip-Art” LLC, and Zugdidi City Hall signed one with “PR Consulting Group” LLC.⁴⁶ The mentioned agreements did not allow the identification of how the funds were distributed according to the media, therefore, in order to clarify the data, the Media Development Foundation requested information from both public agencies and service provider organizations.

Despite the request, Tbilisi City Hall’s Public Relations Agency, the General Prosecutor’s Office of Georgia, and the State Service of Veterans provided us with incomplete information and did not specify how the total amount stipulated in the contract was distributed among media organizations. Part of the information was provided by the service provider company “Afiem Market Intelligence Caucasus.”

2.2. NATIONAL COVERAGE TV BROADCASTERS

According to the data available in the database of the National State Procurement Agency, in 2022, budgetary organizations signed contracts worth 1,928,618 GEL with TV broadcasters for advertising and information dissemination. Part of the amount – 1,149,724 GEL – was allocated to national and mixed coverage TV broadcasters and 778,894 GEL – to regional TV broadcasters.

As mentioned, compared to 2021, the total value of the contracts signed with TV broadcasters almost doubled in 2022, although the increase was mainly observed in the case of national coverage TV broadcasters (increase by 359,599 GEL), and in the case of regional television stations, a slight downward trend was observed (decrease by 10,953 GEL).

Among TV broadcasters, the contracts with the highest total value (794,606 GEL) were signed with the TV company “Imedi,” which has a pro-government editorial policy and leads in TV ratings.⁴⁷ TV Imedi is followed by the TV company “Rustavi 2,” which also has a pro-government editorial policy (141,768 GEL). Contractual agreements with other television stations are distributed as follows: TV company “Pulsi” (95,342 GEL), pro-government “POS TV” (47,211 GEL) and “GDS TV” (22,436 GEL), opposition TV company “Mtavari Channel” (14,359 GEL); “Public Broadcaster” (13,750) and “TV Pirveli” (11,371 GEL), “Maestro” (3,742 GEL), “Formula” (2,267 GEL). Televisions with relatively small contract services are united in the “Various” category, which amounts to 2,874 GEL in total.

⁴² NAT220000609, Agreement amount: 62370 GEL, Source: State Procurement Agency [website](#)

⁴³ NAT210024826, Agreement amount: 66 600 GEL (Actual payment: 66241.94 GEL) Source: State Procurement Agency [website](#)

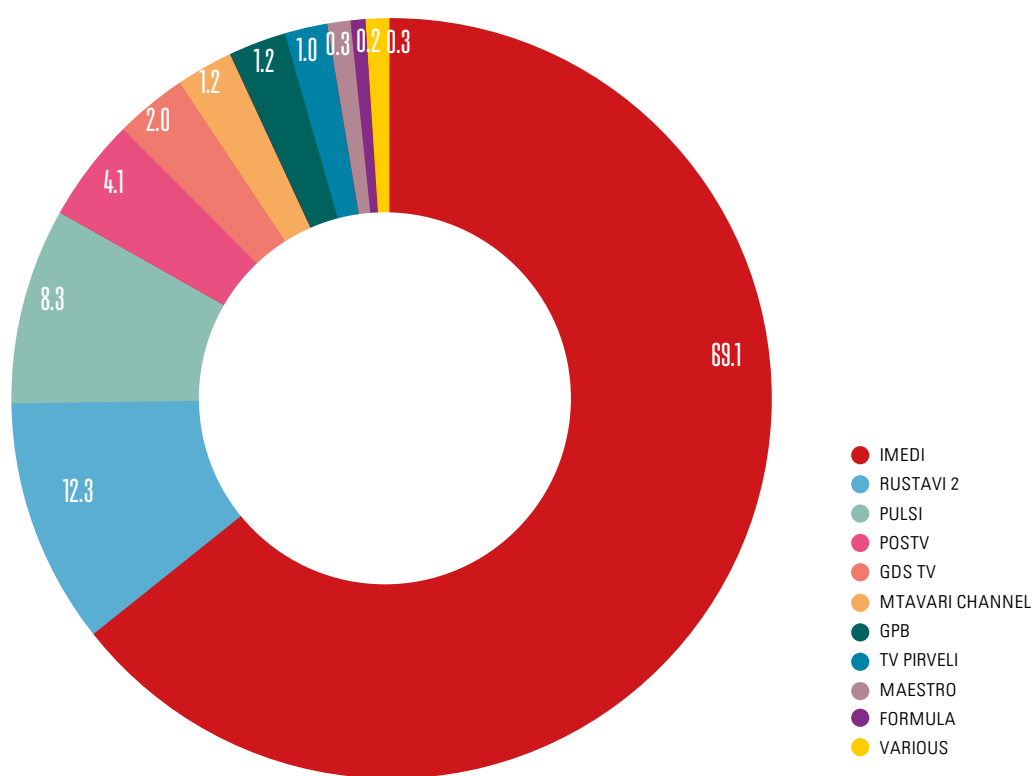
⁴⁴ SPA220000962, Agreement amount: 76208 GEL, Source: State Procurement Agency [website](#)

⁴⁵ NAT220001532, Agreement amount: 22 800 GEL, Source: State Procurement Agency [website](#)

⁴⁶ NAT220005822, Agreement amount: 32 418 GEL, Source: State Procurement Agency [website](#)

⁴⁷ TVMR Georgia – Nielsen Television Audience Measurement’s Official License <http://www.tvmr.ge/en#len/main>
TMI – official Georgian licensee with KANTAR MEDIA <https://www.tmi.ge/en/pages/7>

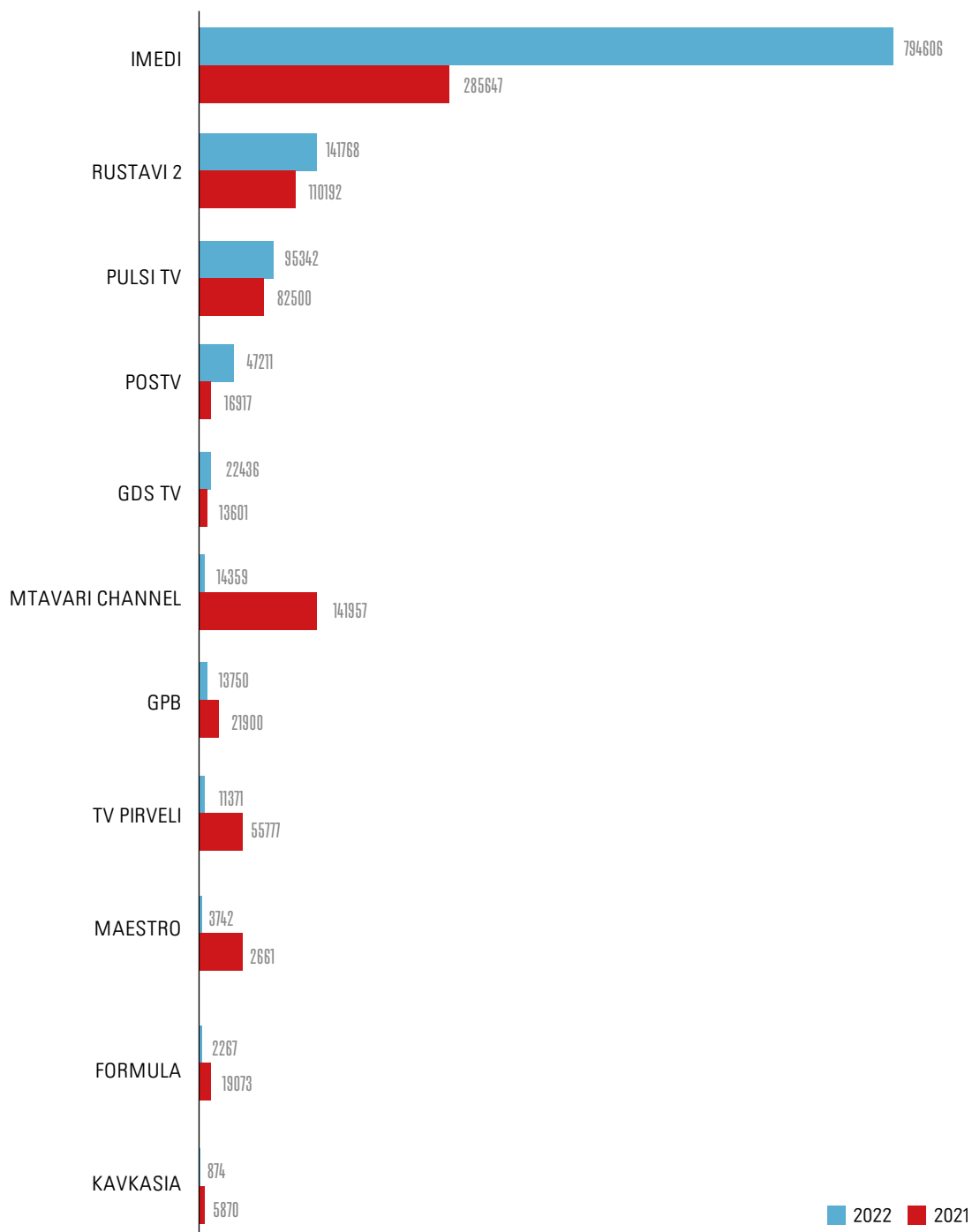
FIGURE 10. DISTRIBUTION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATION SERVICES BY NATIONAL COVERAGE TV BROADCASTERS, 2022 (PER CENT)



As demonstrated by the figure below, the share of allocation of budgetary contracts to TV stations with the pro-government editorial policy is considerably higher. In 2022, compared to 2021, the budgetary contracts of “Imedi” (by 508,959 GEL) and “POSTV” (by 30,294 GEL), both of which are pro-government, increased almost three times. The revenue has increased in the cases of TV company “Rustavi 2” (by 31,576 GEL), Pusli TV (by 12,842 GEL), and GDS TV (by 8,835 GEL).

Along with the increase of budgetary advertising among pro-government media, the rate of allocation of resources in opposition media is significantly reduced in 2022: budgetary advertising on “Mtavari Channel” has decreased almost 10 times (127,598 GEL), in the case of “Formula” – 8.4 times (16,806 GEL), “in the case of “TV Pirveli” – almost 5 times (by 44,406 GEL), and in the case of “Kavkasia”, where the amount was already low last year – by almost 7 times (by 4,996 GEL).

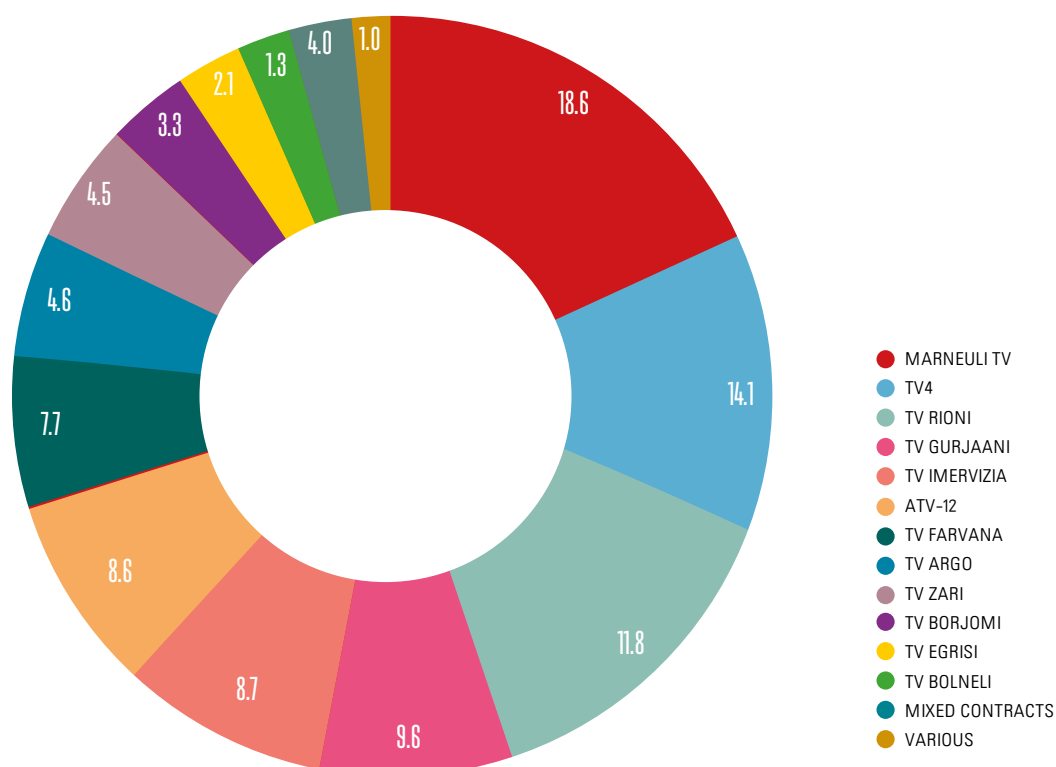
FIGURE 11. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATION SERVICES AMONG NATIONAL AND MIXED COVERAGE TV BROADCASTERS, 2021-2022



2.3. REGIONAL TV BROADCASTERS

Local municipalities and their subordinate agencies signed the highest-value contracts with regional TV broadcasters (778,894 GEL in total). As mentioned, compared to 2021, in 2022 the value of information and advertising contracts decreased slightly – by 10,953 GEL.

FIGURE 12. DISTRIBUTION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATION SERVICES BY REGIONAL TV BROADCASTERS, 2022 (PER CENT)



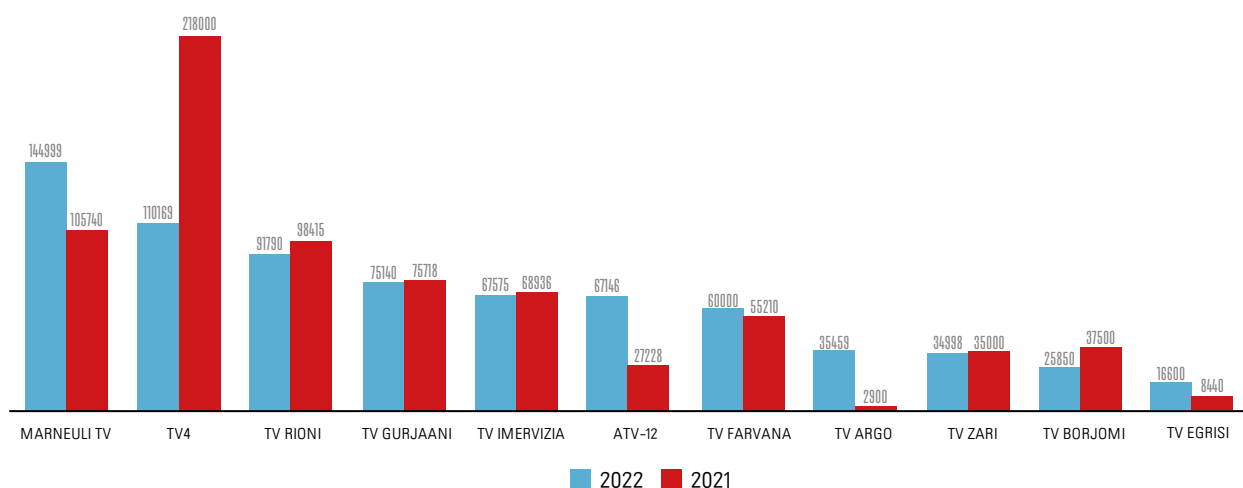
In 2022, contracts (144,999 GEL) with the highest value among regional broadcasters were signed with “Marneuli TV”, with an increase of 39,259 GEL compared to the previous year.

Marneuli TV is followed by “Kvemo Kartli Television – TV 4, whose budget advertising revenues have decreased almost 2 times compared to the previous year (2022: 110,169 GEL, 2021: 218,000 GEL). It should be noted that “Kvemo Kartli Television” was in first place in terms of budgetary contracts in 2016-2021. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 2022, “Kvemo Kartli TV” became the object of criticism due to the commercial contract signed with the pro-Kremlin “Alt-Info TV,” which provided for the rebroadcast of their programs, after which the TV company stopped cooperation with Alt-Info.

Budgetary and information service contracts were distributed among other regional TV broadcasters as follows: “Rioni” – 91,790 GEL, “Gurjaani” – 75,140 GEL, “Imervizia” – 67,575 GEL, “ATV-12” – 67,146 GEL, “Parvana” – 60 000 GEL, “Argo” – 35,459 GEL, “Zari” – 34,998 GEL, “Borjomi” – 25,850 GEL, “Egrisi” – 16,600 GEL, “Bolneli” – 10,080 GEL. TV broadcasters whose contracts amounted to less than 10,000 GEL, totaling 7,791 GEL were included in the “Various” category.

Noteworthy that in 2022, compared to 2021, the revenues from budgetary contracts of “Marneuli TV” (with 39,259 GEL), “ATV-12” (with 39,918 GEL), “Argo” (with 32,559 GEL), “Egris” (with 8,160 GEL) and “Parvana” (by 4,790 GEL) have increased, while those of TV 4 have decreased (by 107,831 GEL).

FIGURE 13. DISTRIBUTION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATION SERVICES BY REGIONAL TV BROADCASTERS, 2021-2022



In 2022 the Ministry of Defense of Georgia signed a contract worth 31,295 GEL with NNLE “Regional Broadcasters Alliance of Georgia” for the purpose of placing budgetary advertisements in regional TV broadcasters (“Rioni”, “Argo”, “Imervizia”, “Zari”, “TV-Borjomi”, “ATV-12”, “Parvana”, “TV Monitoring”, “Bolneli”, “TV4”, TV company “Marneuli”, TV company “Tanamgzavri”, “Gurjaani”, “Egrisi”, “Kolkheti 89”) and in radio stations (“Nori”, “Old City”, “Rion”, “Argo”, “Bolneli”, “Atinati”). We included the mentioned contract in the category of mixed contracts since the available documents did not separate the amount of money allocated to radio and television, nor to individual media. The Ministry of Defense, which we contacted to clarify the information, provided us with incomplete information.⁴⁸ The Ministry’s answer indicates the allocation of money according to regions and not according to the typology of media and media outlets. According to their answer, the funds were distributed as follows: Imereti – 11,405 GEL; Kvemo Kartli – 6,506.30 GEL; Samtskhe-Javakheti – 4,504 GEL; Kakheti – 3,630 GEL; Samegrelo – 3 350 GEL; Shida Kartli – 1900 GEL.

2.4. ONLINE MEDIA

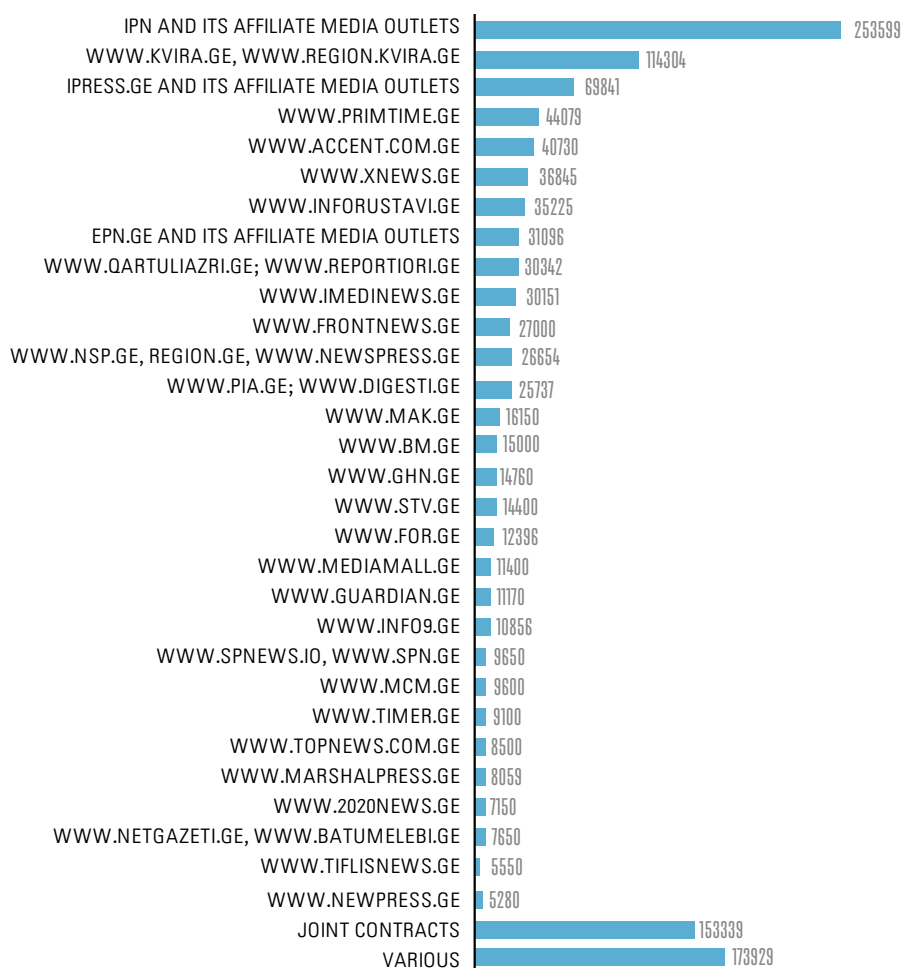
According to the data available in the electronic database of the State Procurement Agency, in 2022, the largest amount – 1,269,541 GEL – was allocated to online media for the purpose of advertisement and dissemination of information. However, compared to the previous year, this amount decreased by 443,934 GEL (2021: 1,713,475 GEL).

The most significant share of this amount (253,599 GEL) went to online publications included in the “Palitra Media Holding” (IPN, PalitraTV.ge, Kvirispalitra.ge, Bpn.ge, Ambebi.ge, Allnews.ge); The following place is occupied by pro-government Kvira.ge and its affiliate kids.kvira.ge, region.kvira.ge (114,304 GEL). Kvira.ge is followed by lpress.ge and those media (ibusiness.ge; iregions.ge; imtavroba.ge; mpress.ge) which are listed

⁴⁸ Agreement signed between the Ministry of Defense of Georgia and the Alliance of Regional Broadcasters (NAT220003873), The value of the agreement: 38,096.30 (actual payment: 31,295.30 GEL); Source: State Procurement Agency [website](#).

as partners on the Ipress.ge website. Single contracts are mostly signed with the latter (69,841 GEL). Funds distributed to other online media outlets are as follows: Primetime.ge – 44,079 GEL; Accent.com.ge – 40,730 GEL; Xnews.ge – 36,845 GEL; Inforustavi.ge – 35 225 GEL, Epn.ge and related media (Economic.ge; 1news.ge, www.faxinter.news) – 31,096 GEL; Qartuliazri.ge and Reportiori.ge – 30,342 GEL; Imedinews.ge – 30 150.9 GEL; Frontnews.ge – 27,000; Nsp.ge, Region.ge and Newspress.ge – 26,654 GEL; Pia.ge and Digesti.ge – 25,737 GEL; It should be noted here that the data of PIA is incomplete, because in a joint contract with Clip-Art⁴⁹ related to the same agency, PIA is also listed along with other agencies, although it is not specified how the funds were distributed to the media. The value of other online media contracts is as follows: Mak.ge – 16,150 GEL; BM.ge – 15,000 GEL, Ghn.ge – 14,760 GEL, Stv.ge – 14,400 GEL, For.ge – 12 396 GEL; Mediamall.ge – 11,400 GEL; Guardian.ge – 11 170 GEL; Info9.ge – 10,856 GEL; Spnews.io and Spn.ge (“Spaces” LLC) – 9,650 GEL; Mcm.ge – 9,600 GEL; Timer.ge – 9 100 GEL; Topnews.com.ge – 8,500 GEL; Marshalpress.ge – 8,059 GEL; Netgazeti.ge and Batumelebi.ge – 7,650 GEL; 2020 news.ge – 7 150 GEL; Tiflisnews.ge – 5,550 GEL, and newpress.ge – 5,280 GEL. Contractual services worth less than 5,000 GEL totaled 173,929 GEL and are included in the “Various” category.

FIGURE 14. DISTRIBUTION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISING AND INFORMATION SERVICES IN ONLINE MEDIA, 2022



⁴⁹ The contract signed between the International Center of Education and Clip-Art (CMR220024192) provided for the posting of information on the following websites: www.pia.ge www.digest.ge and www.kvira.ge, Funtime.ge, the total cost of the contract – 4,543 GEL

As already mentioned, some of the budgetary contracts with media outlets were signed through intermediary companies, which is why the presented data cannot reflect an accurate picture of the allocation of funds. We combined similar contracts in the category of joint contracts (total value – 153,339 GEL); Among such contracts, the highest value contracts were signed by the State Service of Veterans’ Affairs (76,208 GEL) and Tbilisi City Hall’s Public Relations Agency (32,670 GEL) with IPM Market Intelligence Caucasus LLC. Part of the mentioned agreements provided for media monitoring services, while another part provided for the placement of information about the agency in online publications.⁵⁰

As the previous research conducted by the Media Development Foundation reveals, some online media outlets, in compliance with professional standards, post sponsored materials on their website and inform the audience that the sponsored content is not a media product, although this practice is not equally established in all publications. In addition, as we will see in the next chapter, part of the media outlets (For.ge, Kvira.ge, Pia.ge, Marshalpress.ge, Spnews.io, Reportiori.ge, Qartuliazri.ge, Xnews.ge, Lider.ge, Tiflisnews.ge) which have signed budgetary contracts, carries out pro-government editorial policy and is involved in discrediting campaigns against the opponents of the government.

2.5. PRINT MEDIA

In 2022, according to the data of the State Procurement Agency, contracts worth 271,173 GEL were signed for information and advertising services with print media. This amount has been reduced by 80,145 GEL compared to the previous year (2021: 351,318 GEL).

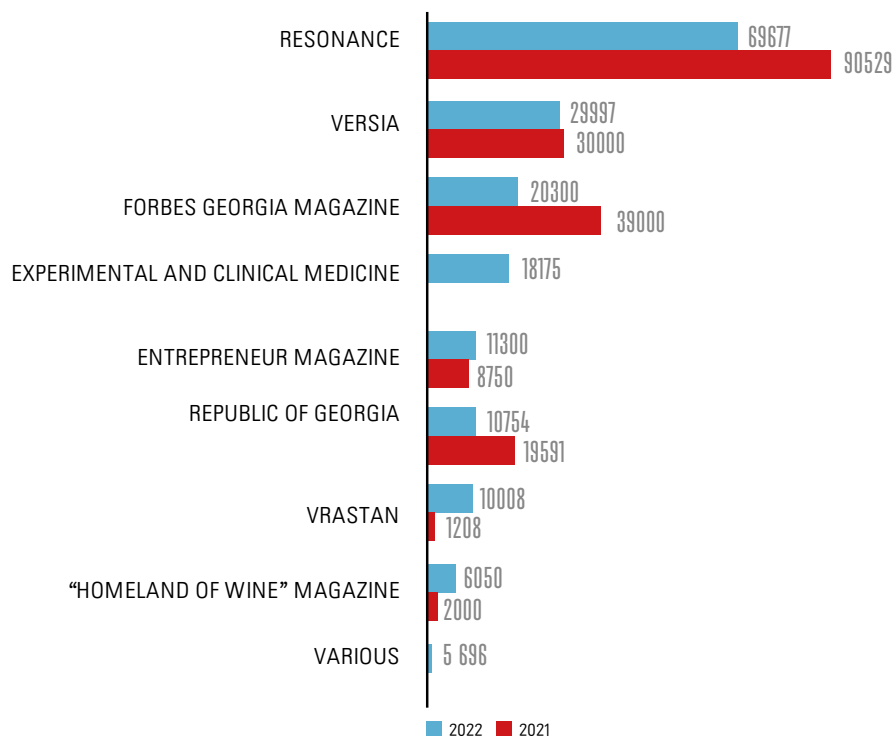
Similar to the previous year, in 2022, an information service contract of the highest value was signed with “Resonance” (69,677 GEL). The value of budgetary contracts for other print publications was distributed as follows: “Versia” newspaper – 29,997 GEL, “Forbes Georgia”⁵¹ – 20,300 GEL, “Experimental and Clinical Medicine” magazine – 18,175 GEL, “Entrepreneur” magazine – 11,300 GEL, newspaper “Republic of Georgia” – 10,754 GEL, “Vrastan” newspaper – 10,008 GEL, “Homeland of Wine” magazine – 6,050 GEL. Budgetary contracts worth less than 5,000 GEL in print media total 5,696 GEL and are included in the “Various” category.

In 2022, compared to 2021, the value of the budgetary contracts of “Resonance” newspaper decreased by 20,852 GEL; “Forbes Georgia” magazine – by 18,700 GEL; “Republic of Georgia” newspaper – by 8,837 GEL; And “New Generation” – by 2,900 GEL. Contracts of almost the same value as the previous year were signed with “Versia” newspaper, while the value of budgetary contracts of “Entrepreneur” magazine increased slightly (by 2,550 GEL).

⁵⁰ IPN, Kvira.ge, Reportiori.ge; Mediacenter “Mtavari”, Region.ge; Info9; Mediaholding “Georgian Times”; “Xnews”; “Lideri”; “Spaces”.

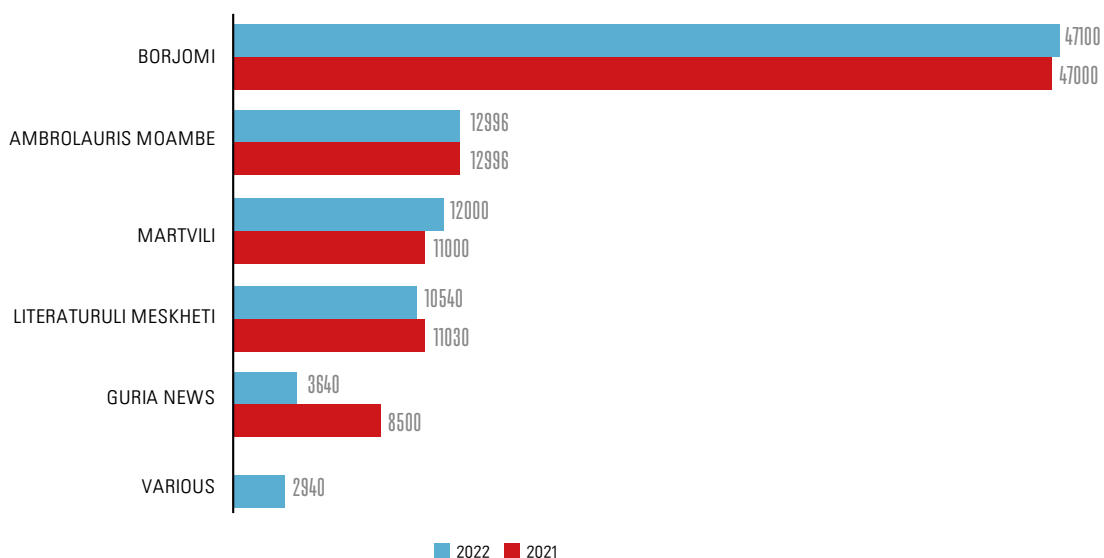
⁵¹ “Forbes Georgia” includes both print and online services.

FIGURE 15. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISEMENT AND INFORMATION SERVICES AMONG NATIONAL PRINT MEDIA, 2021-2022



In 2022, budgetary organizations signed contracts with regional print media worth 89,216 GEL. The highest value contract was signed with “Borjomi” newspaper (47,100 GEL), which had an almost identical value contract last year. The contracts signed with other regional print publications are relatively less: “Ambrolauris Moambe” newspaper – 12,996 GEL, “Martvili” newspaper – 12,000 GEL, “Literaturuli Meskhети” newspaper – 10,540 GEL, “Guria News” – 3,640 GEL, reduced by 4,860 GEL compared to the last year. The “Various” category includes those regional newspapers whose contracts are less than 3,000 GEL, which made a total of 2,940 GEL.

FIGURE 16. ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY ADVERTISEMENT AND INFORMATION SERVICES AMONG REGIONAL PRINT MEDIA, 2021-2022



2.6. SOCIAL MEDIA

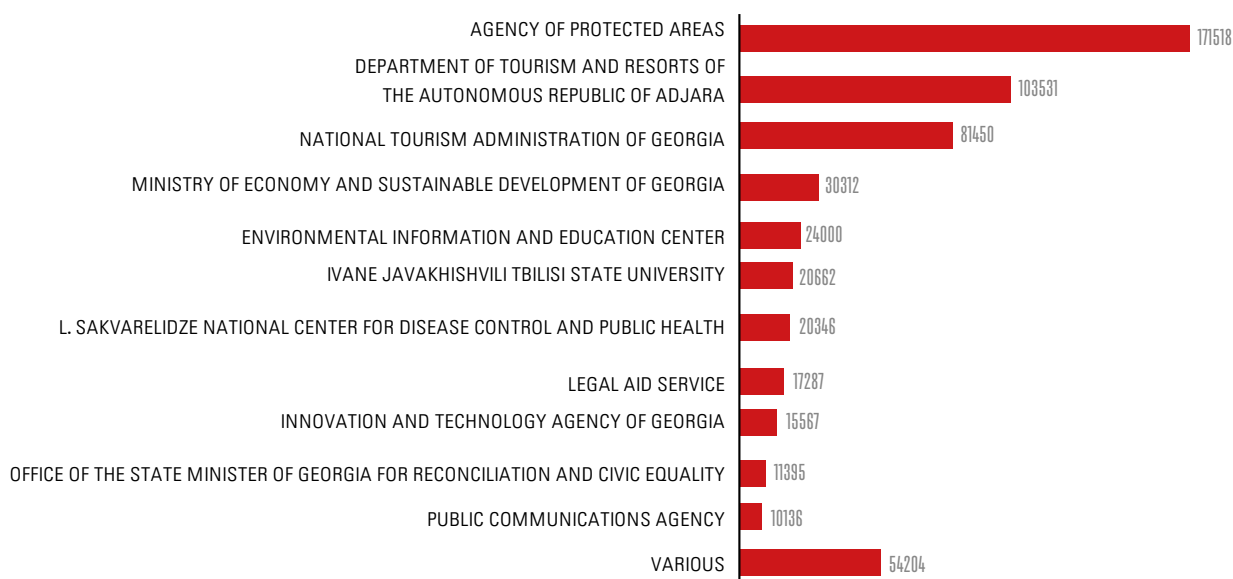
We searched for the data on advertising service contracts placed on social media in the electronic database of the State Procurement Agency,⁵² according to which, in 2022, for advertising and marketing services, budgetary organizations made contractual services on social media (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, LinkedIn) worth a total of 560,407 GEL, which, compared to the previous year (2021: 802,818 GEL) was reduced by 242,411 GEL.

According to the data available in the database of the Procurement Agency, the largest amount of advertising money for social media services was allocated by the Agency of Protected Areas (171,518 GEL). The funds of other organizations were distributed as follows:

- Department of Tourism and Resorts of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara – 103 531 GEL,
- LEPL National Tourism Administration of Georgia – 81 450 GEL,
- Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development of Georgia – 30 312 GEL;
- Environmental Information and Education Center – 24 000 GEL;
- Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University – 20 662 GEL;
- LEPL L. Sakvarelidze National Center for Disease Control and Public Health – 20 346 GEL,
- LEPL Legal Aid Service – 17 287 GEL;
- LEPL Innovation and Technology Agency of Georgia – 15 567 GEL;
- Office of the State Minister of Georgia for Reconciliation and Civic Equality – 11 395 GEL;
- NNLE Public Communications Agency – 10 136 GEL.

Other budgetary organizations, whose cost of advertising on social media amounted to less than 10,000 GEL, totaled 54,204 GEL.

FIGURE 17. ADVERTISING PURCHASES OF BUDGETARY ORGANIZATIONS ON SOCIAL MEDIA ACCORDING TO DATA FROM THE STATE PROCUREMENT AGENCY, 2022



⁵² 79300000 – market research and economic research; Surveys and statistics

BUDGETARY FUNDS FOR AGENCIES TO DISSEMINATE INFORMATION ON FACEBOOK PAGES AND GROUPS. While analyzing the budgetary contract data of 2022, similar to 2021, one could observe the instances when contracts signed by the budgetary organizations on the dissemination of information services, in addition to posting the materials on the agency’s website, also entailed the obligation to share the information on other Facebook groups and pages.

In 2022, 3 contracts of the mentioned type were signed with For.ge (total value – 10,796 GEL), and one with Samegrelo media organization Stv.ge (3,000 GEL). The table below shows the Facebook groups and pages where public agencies’ information should have been posted. It should be noted that all five Facebook pages (For.ge, Yellow Faqts, Tbilisi news, Freedom, Poetry, Front news) and both groups (Positivi, For.ge), are related to the agency For.ge itself since all of them indicated www.for.ge as the address in the About Us section; While the groups “For.Ge – informational, analytical portal” and “Positivi” are managed by the founder and editor of For.ge, Rozeta Zhgamaia and the 4 pages listed above. On August 7, 2020, the founders of the agency and the board member Roseta Zhgamaia and Giorgi Iakobashvili, together with Ia Metreveli and Ioseb Manjavidze, founded the non-governmental organization “Davasrulot NNLE”, whose goal, according to them, was to end the United National Movement (UNM).⁵³

In addition to the news agency “For.ge”, an agreement of identical content was also found with the Samegrelo media organization Stv.ge, which was supposed to distribute materials of Khobi municipality on their Facebook page.

TABLE 6. CONTRACTS SIGNED BY BUDGETARY AGENCIES IN 2022 ON THE SERVICE OF SHARING INFORMATION ON FACEBOOK GROUPS AND PAGES

CONTRACTOR	BUDGETARY AGENCY	CONTRACT VALUE IN GEL	THEMATIC FACEBOOK PAGES	FACEBOOK GROUPS
For.ge	Didube district administration of Tbilisi Municipality	4 400	1. For.ge 2. Yellow facts 3. Tbilisi news 4. Petry front news 5. Freedom	1. For.ge 2. Positivi
For.ge	National Agency for Sustainable Land Management and Land Use Monitoring	3 996	1. For.ge 2. Yellow facts 3. Tbilisi news 4. Petry front news 5. Freedom	1. For.ge 2. Positivi
Stv.ge	Cultural and educational center of Khobi municipality	3 000	STVSamegrelo	
For.ge	Tbilisi NNLE National Screening Center	2 400	1. For.ge 2. Yellow facts 3. Tbilisi news 4. Petry front news 5. Freedom	1. For.ge 2. Positivi

⁵³ 36-37 pg. Financial Transparency of Media 2020, Media Development Foundation, Available: <https://mdfgeorgia.ge/uploads//Finacial%20Transparency%20Report%20ENG.pdf>

III. BUDGETARY CONTRACTS WITH MEDIA OUTLETS OF CONTROVERSIAL EDITORIAL POLICIES

Similar to the previous years, instances, when budgetary contracts were signed with media with contradictory editorial policies, were found in 2022 as well. From this point of view, 2 types of media cooperation practices were identified:

1. Publications that incite hate speech and anti-Western sentiments;
2. Media outlets with pro-governmental editorial policies, which were involved in coordinated campaigns against the opponents of the government and, in selected cases, disseminated fake news.

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

REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA (SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA). According to the data available in the database of the State Procurement Agency, budgetary organizations signed a contract worth 10,754 GEL with the newspaper “Republic of Georgia”⁵⁴ in 2022. These budgetary organizations are:

- Ministry of Finance and Economy of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara;
- Government of the Autonomous Republic Of Abkhazia;
- Georgian Academy of Agricultural Sciences;
- Georgian Technical University;
- LEPL Rafiel Dvali Institute of Machine Mechanics
- LEPL Ilia Vekua Sukhumi Institute of Physics and Technology

Notably, compared to the previous years (2021: 19,591; 2020: 38,008; 2019: 55,525; 2018: 129,710),⁵⁵ the budgetary contracts signed with the “Republic of Georgia” in 2022 have decreased significantly; however, according to preliminary data for 2023, a growing trend will be noticed, while the editorial policy of the publication has not changed either. In particular, according to preliminary data, in 2023, Sakparent signed a contract worth 18,525

⁵⁴ “Republic of Georgia” was published under the name of the “Communist” newspaper during the Soviet period, and under the name “Akhali Georgia” in the 90s. <https://mediameter.ge/en/media-profiles/newspaper-sakartvelos-respublika>

⁵⁵ Mediameter, Financial Transparency of Media, <https://mediameter.ge/en/research>

GEL with the Republic of Georgia, and a contract worth 9,450 GEL was signed by the Roads Department of the Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure of Georgia.

The budgetary contracts with the “Republic of Georgia” are subject to criticism due to the publication’s editorial policy. According to Recommendation #7 of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe,⁵⁶ member states should be guided by an anti-discrimination policy when concluding contracts. Considering that based on MDF research, in the fifth cycle report⁵⁷ of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) in 2015, the Commission recommended to the Georgian authorities to review the existing contracts with media outlets that were found to be exhibiting racist or homo/transphobic hate speech, such type of cooperation with the media decreased, although it still continues in selected cases.

The articles published in “Republic of Georgia” in 2022 are both xenophobic and homophobic. In selected cases, anti-Semitic content was also revealed, which was addressed to Ukrainians and conveyed the pro-Kremlin message, according to which “Ukrainians are Nazis”, and Jews deliberately turn Russian and Ukrainian brotherly nations against each other. It should be noted that this same article with anti-Semitic content was previously published in the pro-Kremlin publication “Georgia and World:”⁵⁸

- “The Jews, using Ukrainian nationalists, are creating Khazarian Khaganate from Ukraine. They are conquering the territory of Ukraine, which Ukrainians, who are propagandized to hate the Russians as their enemies, will serve to them on a symbolic silver platter. The substitution and confusion of concepts is a classic method of the Jews: a Russian, a brother by kin is declared an enemy”; “Russians and Ukrainians are in almost the same trap as in 1917, when the Slavic peoples, divided into reds and whites by Jewish propagandists, killed each other in order to bring to power the Bolsheviks, whose upper class consisted almost entirely of Jews.”⁵⁹
- “The great Arab rule in Georgia,”⁶⁰
- What awaits us by 2050?! The result of grafting women with woman and man with man⁶¹
- Zurab Tsutskiridze: Nino Lomjaria, answer me, pederasts of the world, did you unite already?⁶²
- “No to nationality, homeland, faith, history, gender and “American aid”⁶³
- “How the Bayramovs Bayram over the Georgian family”⁶⁴

⁵⁶ 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/>

⁵⁷ European Commission against Racism and Intolerance Report on Georgia <https://rm.coe.int/fourth-report-on-georgia/f6808b5773>

⁵⁸ Iakob Lezhava, “Georgia and World.” August 24, 2022. “Georgians, how did you mess up like this, did you really go crazy?!” <https://geworld.ge/ge/ase-ram-gadagria/>

⁵⁹ “Republic of Georgia,” #129-120, 29-30 August, 2022 <https://sakresp.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-12/>

⁶⁰ “Republic of Georgia,” #187-88, 8-10 July, 2022 <https://sakresp.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-5/>

⁶¹ “Republic of Georgia,” #19, 2 February, 2022 <https://sakresp.ge/9339-2-2-2/>

⁶² “Republic of Georgia,” #70, 6 June, 2022 <https://sakresp.ge/9339-2-2-50/>

⁶³ “Republic of Georgia,” #127-128, 26-28 August, 2022 <https://sakresp.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-11/>

⁶⁴ “Republic of Georgia,” #129-120, 29-30 August, 2022 <https://sakresp.ge/9339-2-2-54-7-14-12/>

სხვადასხვა

„დიდი არაბოზა“ საქართველოში

ჩვენთან ისვენებენ... ფულს საგზოვლოში რისხავენ...

მეუ. ჩვენ რაღა?



საქართველოში არაბი ტურისტებისთვის რომ მიზიდავდა ქვეყანა, ამას სტატისტიკის გარდა ტურისტულ დედაქალაქში მათი სიბრძნედი მოწოდებს. არაბი ტურისტების მოზიდვაზე ზრუნვას მთავრობაც ატვირთავს ცდილობს.

მა. თუმცა ქართული ტურისტულ კომპანიების უმეტესობა „კომერსანტთან“ ამბობს, რომ არაბი ტურისტების გაზრდელი რეაქცია არც ადგილობრივი ტურისტული კომპანიებისთვის და არც ქვეყნის ეკონომიკისთვის მნიშვნელოვანი შემოსავლის ანაზღაურებებს სავსებით უფეროა. მთავრობის მიერ მოწოდებული ინფორმაცია კიდევ უფრო დაბნელებულია.

რა მოგველის 2050 წლისთვის?!



ქალის ქალზე და განის განზე დაქმნობის შედეგი

ზურაბ სუსთერიძე:



ნირო ლომჯარიან, მიპასუხე, კედეკასტები ყველა ქვეყნისა, უკვე შეერთდით?! ④

როგორ ბაიკაგობენ ბაიკაგობები ქართულ ოჯახზე!

ღია წერილი საქართველოს პრემიერ-მინისტრს, ბატონ ირაკლი ღარიბაშვილს, საქართველოს შინაგან საქმეთა მინისტრს, ბატონ ვახტანგ გომეზაურს

ბატონო, ჩემს ბარბაქო შიმშილი ეფგომბარბოვის ბაგო, იკულებული მარ შიგანაწნოთ

იქრიშვილთან და ბეკა ედიბერიძესთან, დაცინვით მიპასუხეს – „რეაგირება იქნება ელვისებური“ ?!.

ზურაბ სუსთერიძე:

უვიცობის უგინსობა ④

ჭკვიდან გადასული ნახვარი მსოფლიოს უსამყილოვის ქრონიკები

ნუზარ ფოფხაძე:



ეგებ, სხვა მებობრების გაბერინათ, ქალბატონო დებნან! ③

ბია გაბრიჭიძე:

სხვისი მამაკაღლები



- რატომ არ ხდება აშერიკაში სახალფიფო გადაბრიალება? - იმიტომ, რომ იმ აშერიკის საეღრო არ არის!.. ②

აშუ-ის ეღრს ბოტაღური სისრუე მსოღოდ გადაცღომა ან „ქრიტიკული აზრი“ ჰგონია ③

ღაერთი მხეიძე:

არა

- ეროვნებას,
- საგზოვლოს,
- რწმენას,
- ისტორიას,
- სქენს და...

„აშერიკული დასმარება“ ⑥





3.2. MEDIA OUTLETS PURSUING PRO-GOVERNMENT EDITORIAL POLICY

Budgetary contracts were also signed with media outlets that pursue pro-government editorial policy (POSTV, Kvira.ge, Reportiori, Qartuliazri.ge, Pos TV, Marshallpress, For.ge, Lider.ge, www.spnews.io, Xnews.ge) and are often involved in a coordinated campaign against the opponents of the government, and in some cases, cases of deliberate dissemination of false information have also been revealed.

MEDIA OUTLET	CONTRACT SERVICE AMOUNT IN GEL	BUDGETARY ORGANIZATION
Kvira.ge, kids.kvira.ge, region.kvira.ge	114 304 GEL	Ministry of Agriculture of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara; LLC “Startup Georgia”; Civil Aviation Agency; Self-governing unit Zestafoni municipality and municipalities of different regions.
Pos TV	47 211 GEL	Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Environment Protection and Agriculture; Land Transport Agency; NNLE “Public Communication Agency” (4); Center for Reforms and Training of LPU Election Systems Development; Agency of Protected Areas (2); Public Service Hall.
Xnews.ge	36 845 GEL	Adigeni Landscaping and Cleaning Service; City Hall of Samtredia Municipality; City Hall of Adigeni Municipality (2); Greening Service of Bolnisi Municipality; Dedoplistskaro Culture and Monument Protection Center; Sports Center of Gardabani Municipality; State Military Scientific-Technical Center “DELTA”; NNLE Kutaisi Lighting Service; City Hall of Dusheti Municipality; Unifion of NNLE Culture Objects of Sagarejo Municipality; City Hall of Baghdati Municipality; City Hall of Tianeti Municipality; Samgori district administration of Tbilisi.
Qartuliazri.ge and Reportiori	30 342 GEL	Sukhumi State University; Ozurgeti Municipality; State Military Scientific-Technical Center “DELTA; Land Transport Agency; Administration of State Representative in the Municipalities of Lanchkhuti, Ozurgeti and Chokhatauri; Unification of Institutions of Culture and Artistic Schools.

MEDIA OUTLET	CONTRACT SERVICE AMOUNT IN GEL	BUDGETARY ORGANIZATION
Pia.ge	25 737 GEL	Defense Ministry; Gardabani Municipality Preschool Educational Institution; International Center for Education; Kvareli Municipality; Culture Center of Bolnisi Municipality; Education, Culture and Sports Development Center of Kazbegi Municipality; Protected Areas Agency; Isani district administration of Tbilisi; City Hall of Zugdidi Municipality; A subsidiary institution of the Ministry of Finance and Economy of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara – Highways Department; NNLE “Public Communication Agency”.
For.ge	12 396 GEL	Administration of State Representative in the Municipalities of Lanchkhuti, Ozurgeti and Chokhatauri; National Agency for Sustainable Land Management and Land Use Monitoring; National Screening Center; Didube district administration of Tbilisi.
“Spaces” (www.spnews.io)	9 650 GEL	Akhmeta Municipality; JSC “DELTA”; Preschool Education Agency of Gori Municipality;
Agency Marshallpress	8 059 GEL	Administration of State Representative in the Municipalities of Lanchkhuti, Ozurgeti and Chokhatauri; Dedoplistskaro Municipality; City Hall of Mtskheta Municipality; My Lawyer; City Hall of Khelvachauri Municipality;
Tiflisnews.ge	5 550 GEL	“Public Service Hal”; NNLE “Citizens’ Involvement and Information Center
Internet publication www.Lider.ge	The amount is unspecified. The contract worth 76,208 GEL provided for cooperation with 10 online publications, including Lider.ge ⁶⁵	State Department of Veterans Affairs LEPL

These publications often disseminate materials of the same content against political opponents, civil society organizations, and the West in a coordinated manner, and as a primary source rely on the Twitter post of Goga Khaidrava, a pro-government film director, which they cover with identical titles and messages.

■ DISCREDITING CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE “GLORY TO UKRAINE!”

The international conference – “Glory to Ukraine!” – held in Tbilisi on September 5-6, 2022, organized and hosted by the “McCain Institute”, “George Bush Institute” and “Economic Policy Research Center”, was targeted by pro-government and pro-Kremlin media outlets.⁶⁶ Pro-government media cultivated messages on this topic based on Goga Khaidrava’s post, which spoke about the West’s responsibility in Russia’s intervention in Ukraine, called Western politicians to be “dancing over corpses,” blaming them for dragging Georgia into the war:

⁶⁵ Agreement between “APM Market Intelligence Caucasus” LLC and the State Service of Veterans’ Affairs (SPA220000962).

⁶⁶ Ani Kistauri, 8 September, 2022. “Messages of Pro-Governmental and Pro-Kremlin Actors Against the Tbilisi International Conference ‘Glory to Ukraine’” <https://bit.ly/30im1Jn>

TWITTER POST

“Glory to Ukraine!” – a session of “International Committee for Revolutionary Breakthrough” was opened – not in Kyiv, Odessa or Lviv... in Tbilisi?! “Honorable corpses” were forced to come together to execute the “Hot Autumn”. If not, then... Bye funding!”

“These days – the heaviest battles, hundreds of dead and wounded on the Ukrainian front. And in Tbilisi – people hidden under “Glory to Ukraine”! Kramers, Fotygas, Hodges, Thorntons and local Tchinkas [Creature from Georgian mythology] “dancing on corpses” – what they promise to our homeland is clear to everyone! Wait for the answer!”

Goga Khaindrava
@KhaindravaGoga

ეს დღეები - უმძიმესი ბრძოლები, ასეულობით დაღუპული და დაჭრილი უკრაინის ფრონტზე. თბილისში კი - "დიდება უკრაინას" ამოფარებულები! "გვამებზე მოცეკვავე" კრემერები, ფოტიგები, ჰოჯესები, ტორტონები და აქაური ჭინკები - რას უპირებენ ჩვენს სამშობლოს ხომ ყველასათვის ცხადია!

პასუხს დაელოდეთ!

[Translate post](#)

10:06 AM · Sep 7, 2022

Goga Khaindrava
@KhaindravaGoga

"რევოლუციური გარდატეხის ინტერნაციონალური კომიტეტის" სხდომა - "დიდება უკრაინას!" გაიხსნა - არა კიევში, ოდესაში ან ლვოვში... თბილისში?! "პატივცემული გვამები" იძულებული შეიქმნენ ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს - "ცხელი შემოდგომის" აღსასრულებლად. თუ არა და...

ფაფუ დაფინანსება!

[Translate post](#)

12:11 PM · Sep 5, 2022

MEDIA COVERAGE

კრიტიკოსი გოგა ხაინდრავა Twitter-ის საჯარო გვერდზე თბილისში მიმდინარე საერთაშორისო კონფერენციას „დიდება უკრაინას“ ესაუბრა.

ეს დღეები - უმძიმესი ბრძოლები, ასეულობით დაღუპული და დაჭრილი უკრაინის ფრონტზე. თბილისში კი - „დიდება უკრაინას“ ამოფარებულები! „გვამებზე მოცეკვავე“ კრემერები, ფოტიგები, ჰოჯესები და აქაური ჭინკები - რას უპირებენ ჩვენს სამშობლოს ხომ ყველასათვის ცხადია! პასუხს დაელოდეთ!” - წერს ხაინდრავა.

Goga Khaindrava
@KhaindravaGoga

ეს დღეები - უმძიმესი ბრძოლები, ასეულობით დაღუპული და დაჭრილი უკრაინის ფრონტზე. თბილისში კი - „დიდება უკრაინას“ ამოფარებულები! „გვამებზე მოცეკვავე“ კრემერები, ფოტიგები, ჰოჯესები და აქაური ჭინკები - რას უპირებენ ჩვენს სამშობლოს ხომ ყველასათვის ცხადია!

კრიტიკოსი გოგა ხაინდრავა თბილისში საერთაშორისო კონფერენცია „დიდება უკრაინას“ გახსნასთან დაკავშირებით:

„რევოლუციური გარდატეხის ინტერნაციონალური კომიტეტის“ სხდომა - „დიდება უკრაინას!“ გაიხსნა - არა კიევში, ოდესაში ან ლვოვში... თბილისში! „პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს - „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად. თუ არა და... ფაფუ დაფინანსება!“

გოგა ხაინდრავა: „პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

#ხაინდრავა #გვამები

KVIRA.GE

გოგა ხაინდრავა: „პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

„პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

MPN.GE

„პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

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SPNEWS.ID

„პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

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LIDERI.GE

„პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

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INFOPOSTION.COM

„პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

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NEWS HUB

„პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

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FOR.GE

„პატივცემული გვამები“ იძულებული შეიქმნენ, ერთად წვეოდენ საკურატოროს „ცხელი შემოდგომის“ აღსასრულებლად, თუ არა და, ფაფუ დაფინანსება

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XNEWS.GE

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DISINFORMATION AND MANIPULATION AGAINST THE US AMBASSADOR

In 2022, based on a Twitter post by film director Goga Khaindrava, pro-government media reported disinformation, as if US Congressman Jamie Raskin said that Russia is an Orthodox country and, therefore, must be destroyed at all costs.⁶⁷ The said claim, which was based on the manipulative interpretation of the Fox News host, who claimed that the war in Ukraine against Orthodox Russia is an American Jihad, was directed against Kelly Degnan, the then US ambassador to Georgia, with the words: “What do you think, Ms. Ambassador Degnan, Georgia is an Orthodox country, a preacher of traditional values. What should we expect?” The model of disseminating false information, which established the idea that the US is fighting against Orthodox countries, which is the cause of the war in Ukraine, was identical in this case as well: Khaindrava’s Twitter post was covered by TV companies “Imedi” and POSTV, news agencies PIA.GE, “Kvira”, “info 9”, Lider .ge, Tiflisnews⁶⁸, For.ge⁶⁹, Xnews.ge⁷⁰, and infopostalioni.com with identical messages in a coordinated manner.



⁶⁷ Myth Detector, 2 November 2022 “False Statement Attributed to a US Congressman Disseminated Among Pro-Governmental Media” <https://bit.ly/3OcOyQw>

⁶⁸ Tiflisnews.ge, 1 November, 2022. “Goga Khaindrava: Congressman Jamie Raskin stated that Russia is an Orthodox country that preaches traditional values, so it must be destroyed, Ms. Ambassador Degnan, what should we expect?” <https://bit.ly/42gjmFP>

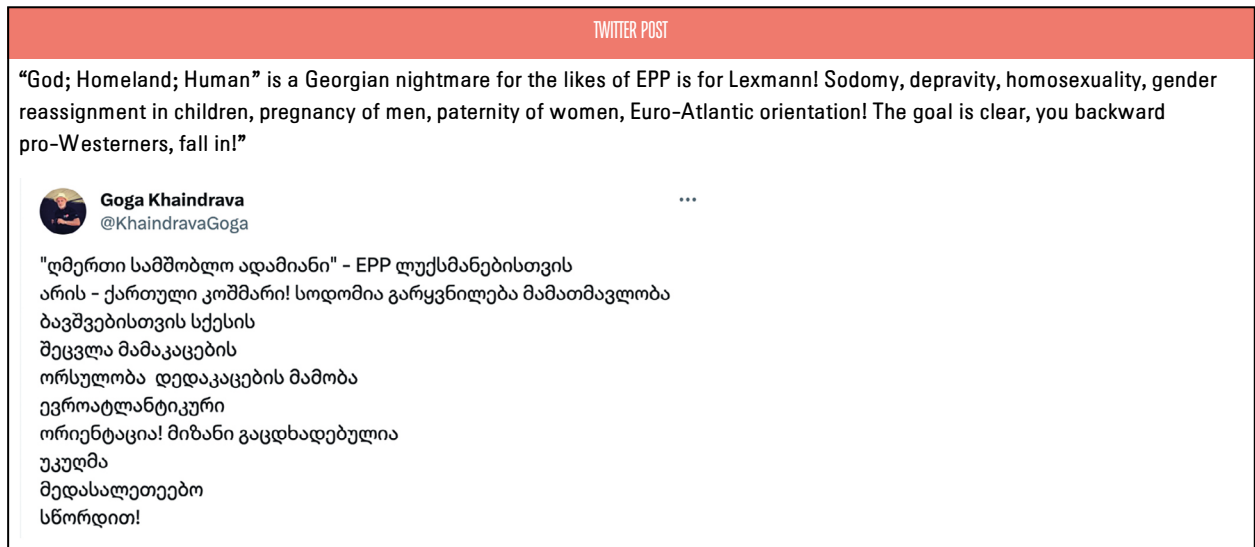
⁶⁹ For.ge, 1 November, 2022. Goga Khaindrava: Congressman Jamie Raskin stated that Russia is an Orthodox country that preaches traditional values, so it must be destroyed, Ms. Ambassador Degnan, what should we expect? <https://bit.ly/47SGED1>

⁷⁰ Xnews.ge, 1 November, 2022. Goga Khaindrava: Congressman Jamie Raskin stated that Russia is an Orthodox country that preaches traditional values, so it must be destroyed, Ms. Ambassador Degnan, what should we expect? <https://bit.ly/3uiQgZM>



HOMOPHOBIC MESSAGES AGAINST THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The criticism by the member of the European People’s Party (EPP), MEP Miriam Lexmann regarding the participation of the Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Gharibashvili, in the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Budapest,⁷¹ was followed by a homophobic post by Goga Khaindrava, which was covered by several media outlets (For.ge⁷², Pia (Newshub)⁷³, kivira.ge,⁷⁴ lideri.ge,⁷⁵ infopostalioni,⁷⁶ tiflisnews.ge⁷⁷) distributed without criticism in a coordinated manner:



⁷¹ Mtavari Channel, 5 May, 2023. “The Georgian Nightmare works against our values and against Georgian people’s euro-atlantic aspirations” – Lexmann of Garibashvili’s Participation in CPAC” <https://mtavari.tv/news/121938-kartuli-koshmari-mushaobs-kartveli-khalkhis>

⁷² For.ge, 5 May, 2023 “Goga Khaindrava: “God; Homeland; Human” is a Georgian nightmare for the likes of EPP is for Lexmann!” <https://bit.ly/49c59w3>

⁷³ Newshub (Pia), 5 May, 2023. “The goal is clear, you backward pro-Westerners, fall in!” – Goga Khaindrava <https://bit.ly/4b9JnL7>


⁷⁴ Kvira.ge, 5 May, 2023. “The goal is clear, you backward pro-Westerners, fall in!” – Goga Khaindrava <https://kvira.ge/832049>

⁷⁵ Lideri.ge, 5 May, 2023. “Goga Khaindrava: “God; Homeland; Human” is a Georgian nightmare for the likes of EPP is for Lexmann!” <https://bit.ly/3HwpWWhU>

⁷⁶ Infopostalioni, 5 May, 2023. “Goga Khaindrava: “God; Homeland; Human” is a Georgian nightmare for the likes of EPP is for Lexmann!” <https://bit.ly/3vKvhPY>

⁷⁷ Tiflisnews.ge, 5 May, 2023. Goga Khaindrava: God; Homeland; Human is a Georgian nightmare for the likes of EPP is for Lexmann! Sodomy, depravity, homosexuality, the goal is clear, you backward pro-Westerners, fall in!” <https://bit.ly/42hyse4>


MEDIA COVERAGE



FOR.GE
გოგა ხაინდრავა: "ღმერთი სამშობლო ადამიანი" - EPP ლუქსმანებისთვის არის ქართული კომპარი!"




LIDERI.GE
გოგა ხაინდრავა: „ღმერთი, სამშობლო, ადამიანი“ - EPP ლუქსმანებისთვის არის - ქართული კომპარი!"



www.kvira.ge
„მიზანი გაცნადებულია, უკლება შედასაღვლებელი სწორიდი!"
გოგა ხაინდრავა

კორუფციო, გოგა ხაინდრავა - კვიციანი უკონსტრუქციო, უკონს სახელი პარტი იყოს, სოლო ლუქსმანებისთვის კომპარი და წყვილი.

ღმერთი, სამშობლო, ადამიანი - EPP ლუქსმანებისთვის არის - ქართული კომპარი სოლომა გარეწილება, მათხაველობა, ბავუხისთვის სჯის შევლა, მასკაცების ორჯობა, დედაკაცების შაბიხა, უკონსდარსტერი ორჯობა! მიზანი გაცნადებულია, უკლება შედასაღვლებელი სწორიდი!" - ზეს ხაინდრავა




INFOPOSTALIONI.COM
გოგა ხაინდრავა: ღმერთი სამშობლო ადამიანი EPP ლუქსმანებისთვის არის ქართული კომპარი! - INFO...



EWS HUB
15/05/2022 12:00 პოლიტიკა A- A+
ქობის სახალხო პარტიის (EPP) წევრის, შირაქ ლუქსმანის PES-ის განცხადების უმჯობესი, რომელსაც პრეზიდენტი ოსკარი ღარიბაშვილი კონტრეაქციულ პოლიტიკა საბოლოო კონფერენციაში ბონისშია დაგმო კენჭისთვის იმდენი, ქართული კომპარი მუხარამ ჩვენ დონტულებსა და ქართული ხალხის უკონსდარსტერი მწრსაველებს წინაღობაზე.

ქობის სახალხო პარტიის განცხადების კორუფციო გოგა ხაინდრავა დიდრეკე იყოს:

ღმერთი სამშობლო ადამიანი - EPP ლუქსმანებისთვის არის - ქართული კომპარი სოლომა გარეწილება, მათხაველობა, ბავუხისთვის სჯის შევლა, მასკაცების ორჯობა, დედაკაცების შაბიხა, უკონსდარსტერი ორჯობა! მიზანი გაცნადებულია, უკლება შედასაღვლებელი სწორიდი!" - ზეს ხაინდრავა დიდრეკე



გოგა ხაინდრავა: ღმერთი, მშობლო, ადამიანი" EPP ლუქსმანებისთვის ქართული კომპარი - სოლომა, რეცნილება, მათხაველობა, მიზანი გცნადებულია, უკლება შედასაღვლებელი სწორიდი

■ QUOTING FAKE ACCOUNTS IN PRO-GOVERNMENT MEDIA

A case was identified when selected media outlets with budgetary contracts (Kvira.ge, Reportiori.ge, Marshallpress, For.ge) quoted a troll (Nikoloz Ghloni) with a photo of a Russian citizen (Artyom Stefanov) in an anti-opposition publication as if he were a real person.⁷⁸



KVIRA.GE
ნიკოლოზ ღლონტი: კვირა არ გავა, სააკაშვილის პარტიის წარმომადგენლები პოლონეთში არ ჩამოვიდნენ;



REPORTIORI.GE
ნიკოლოზ ღლონტი: კვირა არ გავა სააკაშვილის პარტიის წარმომადგენლები პოლონეთში არ ჩამოვიდნენ. ყ

⁷⁸ Ani Kistauri, Myth Detector, 4 May, 2022. The Ukrainian Front of Georgian Pro-Government Trolls,” <https://mythdetector.ge/en/the-ukrainian-front-of-georgian-pro-governmental-trolls/>



■ OTHER EXAMPLES OF DISINFORMATION, MANIPULATION AND DISCREDITING CAMPAIGNS

In 2022–2023, other types of problematic content were also identified among the pro-government media which receive budgetary contracts for the purpose of dissemination of information.

- Fake news against former President Giorgi Margvelashvili disseminated by TV Imedi, POSTV, Pia.ge, For.ge, and Spnews.io.⁷⁹
- Pia.ge published a video fabrication under the name of the American media USA TODAY, as if Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s bodyguards had a fight in a New York bar.⁸⁰
- MarshallPress, Split.spnews.io, Digest.pia.ge and Resonancedaily.com along with other pro-government media outlets were involved in the discrediting campaign against Levan Berdzenishvili.⁸¹
- Pro-government media outlets (POSTV, ImediNews.ge, Lideri.ge, Xnews.ge, For.ge, Kvira.ge, Reportiori.ge) disseminated a manipulation, as if the global policy director of the George W. Bush Center, David Kramer, offers Georgia to give up Abkhazia and Samachablo in exchange to NATO membership. Based on a pro-government expert, these media outlets disseminated manipulative content in a coordinated manner with the same headlines.⁸²

⁷⁹ Myth Detector, 28 July, 2023. “How did Pro-Government Actors Use the Document by FARA to Discredit Former President Margvelashvili?” <https://bit.ly/496YeUB>

⁸⁰ Myth Detector, 26 September, 2023. “Videofabrication About Volodymyr Zelenskyy’s Bodyguard Disseminated in the Name of USA TODAY” <https://bit.ly/48N0izP>

⁸¹ Ani Kistauri, Myth Detector, 24 January, 2023. “VOX POPULI” Coordinated by the Pro-Government and Pro-Russian Groups against Levan Berdzenishvili, <https://bit.ly/48N0Jpc>

⁸² Myth Detector, 28 November, 2022. NATO Integration at the Cost of Territorial Integrity – Pro-Governmental Actors’ Coordinated Manipulation Against David Kramer, <https://bit.ly/494kezW>

