ELECTION
MONITORING
REPORT:
SEXISM AND
GENDER
STEREOTYPES
IN SOCIAL MEDIA

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INTRIDUCTION

"Gender Barometer – Monitoring sexist speech during pre-election period" is implemented with support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The project is implemented by Media Development Foundation (MDF) in partnership with the Union Sapari. The aim of the project is to expose sexist hate speech and gender stereotypes as well as gender-based campaigns against women politician and representatives of various public institutions.

Within the framework of the project, Sapari has conducted focus groups involving media experts, politicians and gender specialists and formulated sexist hate speech indicators adjusted to international experience and Georgian political reality. Based on these indicators and using a Facebook tool, Crowdtangle, the MDF developed a social media monitoring methodology. Findings of the monitoring is provided in this report.

A mid-term report[1] which was published on 26 November, covers the results of a three-month monitoring – from 4 August through 4 November. This report is final, spanning the period from 4 August through 30 November. It sums up overall data and provides the analysis of trends in pre- as well as post-election period. The report consists of the following parts: monitoring methodology and key findings, which are followed by Part I covering quantitative data by topics, typology of violation, sources and targets of sexist hate speech, terminology; Part II provides results of qualitative analysis, in particular, typical examples by categories of gender-based violations and several cases that have stood out from the total material by their orchestrated and misinformative nature.

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[1]   Media Development Foundation, 2020. Mid-term report of pre-election monitoring: Sexism and gender stereotypes in social media. https://genderbarometer.ge/en/mid-term-report-of-pre-election-monitoring-sexism-and-gender-stereotypes-in-social-media/

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SOCIAL MEDIA MONITORING METHODOLOGY

The study is conducted by applying a mixed methodology, using both quantitative and qualitative data processing methods.

A Facebook analytical tool, Crowdtangle, has been used for the monitoring of social media to observe pre-selected monitoring subjects. The Crowdtangle database has been regularly updated with newly identified social media accounts. In addition to social media monitoring, findings of traditional media monitoring (TV, online and print media) have been considered too.

The monitoring is focused on gender discrimination/stereotyping by:

- Topics,
- Typology of violation,
- Sources,
- Targets,
- Terminology.

The quantitative component includes data on categories of violation, topics and sources (monitored media, political parties, society, government, etc.) as well as targets of sexists hate speech and terms used.

The qualitative part includes the typology of messages, examples of sexists hate speech and types of visual (video and photo) manipulations.

The typology of violations was defined according to Gender Barometer indicators formed by Sapari on the basis of expert focus groups. Sapari identified 18 forms of sexists hate speech with corresponding indicators that are characteristic of Georgian reality.[2]

Key findings reflect only those indicators that were identified in the reporting period.

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[2] The report of the study conducted by Sapari is available at www.Genderbarometer.ge.

SELECTION OF SUBJECT. Subjects of monitoring are social media accounts that include:

- **Facebook pages:** Facebook pages of political parties and their supporters, pages directed against opponents, several media and other thematic pages.
- **Public Facebook groups:** Facebook groups in which posts are published or shared by various pages or individual profiles.
- Individual Facebook accounts.

Initially, some 117 Facebook accounts were selected for the monitoring of sexist hate speech/stereotypes, but this database have been periodically updated by new platforms. Selected Facebook accounts cover a wide political spectrum: accounts supporting the ruling party Georgian Dream (GD) and discrediting opponents of the government; supporters of the United National Movement (UNM) and discrediting the government; accounts associated with the political parties the Alliance of Georgia, the Labor Party, the Georgian March as well as with anti-liberal groups; propagandist accounts and accounts linked to the Kremlin. The list of monitoring subjects was updated with newly identified Facebook accounts.

KEY FINDINGS

This report reflects the results of monitoring conducted from 4 August through 30 November. Findings of the reporting period are provided below:

- **SEXIST HATE SPEECH AND STEREOTYPING:** The total of 308 cases of sexist hate speech and stereotyping have been identified throughout the reporting period.
- Women politicians were targeted on the basis of their political affiliation and activity (187 cases) as well as gender identity (109 cases);
- **SOURCES:** Sexist hate speech and stereotyping were rarely applied against women politicians on Facebook accounts of political parties. The majority of such violations were identified on Facebook pages, groups and individual accounts associated with political parties;
- By typology of violations, Facebook accounts discrediting opponents of the government were in the lead in five out of six violation types, namely: attacks on the ground of moral criteria – 58 cases out of total 115; offence/ridicule on the ground of intellectual abilities – 27 cases of total 57; offence/ridicule on the ground of appearance – 27 cases of total 56; criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes – 20 out of 52; and ageism – 4 out of total 8 cases;
- The sixth type of violation – sexism/misogyny (18 cases) was mainly applied by a group of Facebook accounts associated with antiliberal groups;
- **TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS:** Most frequently, women politicians were attacked on the ground of moral criteria (115), which was followed, with almost equal frequency, by offence/ridicule on the ground of intellectual abilities (57) and appearance (56). Insignificantly less frequent was criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes (52);
- **TARGETS:** Targets of sexist hate speech and gender discrimination included, in equal number, representatives of the ruling Georgian Dream (GD) and the opposition party United National Movement (UNM) – 7 each, followed by representatives of the European Georgia (5);
- By the number of cases of offence, most frequent targets of sexist attacks were representatives of European Georgia (95), UNM (80) and GD (29).
- **DISCREDITING CAMPAIGNS:** Attacks orchestrated against a single-seat candidate from European Georgia, Helen Khoshtaria, concerned her political activism;
- A campaign against Eka Beselia, the founder of the political party For Justice, was gender-based;
- Three attempts to discredit President Salome Zourabichvili were gender-based;

- Several politicians were offended mainly on the ground of one characteristic, for example, age, intellectual properties or behavior not fitting into gender stereotypes;
- **TERMINOLOGY:** Terminology ranged between ordinary words used with a sexist connotation and abusive, derogatory vocabulary. Same abusive words were rarely repeated. Most frequent was the use of same words in combination with other words, or synonyms;
- **CRITICISM OF LEGISLATION:** A tendency of criticizing the legislation conducive to empowering women, protecting women against violence and in general, to achieving gender equality was observed in the monitoring period.
- **VISUAL MANIPULATION:** Photo and video manipulations were used to offend and ridicule women politicians. There were cases of spreading misinformation by means of photomanipulation to discredit women politicians.

I. QUALITATIVE DATA

1.1. TOPICS

During the monitoring period from 4 August through 30 November, the total of 308 cases of sexist hate speech/ gender stereotyping were revealed. These cases were related to three topics — politics, gender and legislation. The highest number of cases (187) related to politics and largely concerned the ongoing election campaign and candidates running for the election. These are the cases where women politicians have been targeted for their political affiliation and activity. The second by the number of cases was gender (109) where women became targets of sexism because of their gender, while the third was the legislation (12) which included cases of criticism of regulations promoting gender equality. The percentage shares by topics were, respectively, 62.1%, 34.1% and 3.8%.

CHART 1. CASES OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH / STEREOTYPING BY TOPICS (%)

3.8%
34.1%
62.1%

- POLITICS
- GENDER
- LEGISLATION
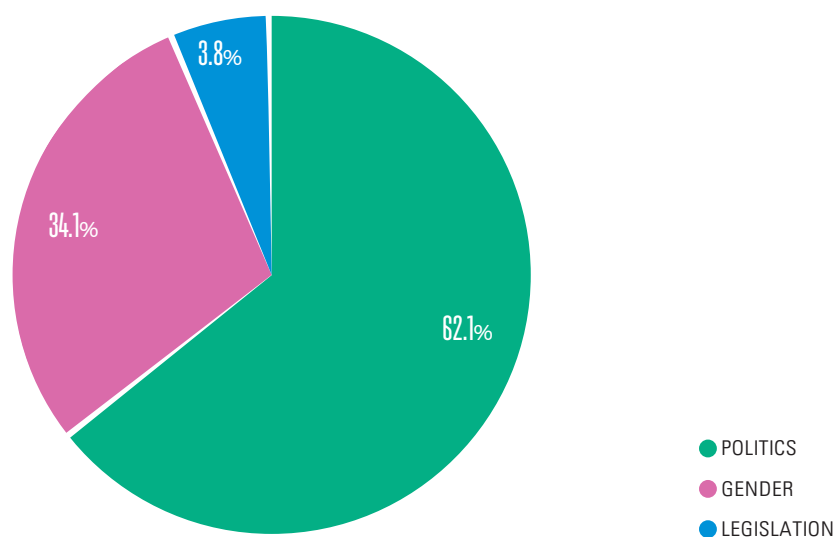
1.2. TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS

Cases of sexist hate speech/stereotyping, identified according to Gender Barometer indicators during the monitoring period, were grouped into the following categories:

1. Misogyny/sexism – attacking women, in general, and women's rights;
2. Offence/ridicule on the ground of appearance – offending and ridiculing on the ground of body, appearance, manner of talk, clothing;
3. Ageism – discriminating on the ground of age;
4. Offence/ridicule on the ground of mental abilities – diminishing intellectual capacity, skills, experience, competences;
5. Attacks based on moral criteria – attacking on the ground of moral values;
6. Criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes – attacking on the basis of stereotyped perceptions of women's role, behavior, function, activity or other traits.

Women politicians are most frequently attacked on the ground of moral criteria (115 cases). They become targets of offence/ridicule on the ground of mental abilities (57) and appearance (56) with almost equal frequency. These are followed by cases of criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes (52) and sexism/misogyny (20). The least frequent is the offence on the ground of age (5). Percentage shares are provided in the Chart 2 below.

CHART 2. TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS (%)

- MORAL CRITERIA
- GENDER STEREOTYPES
- MENTAL ABILITIES
- APPEARANCE
- SEXISM/MISOGYNY
- AGEISM
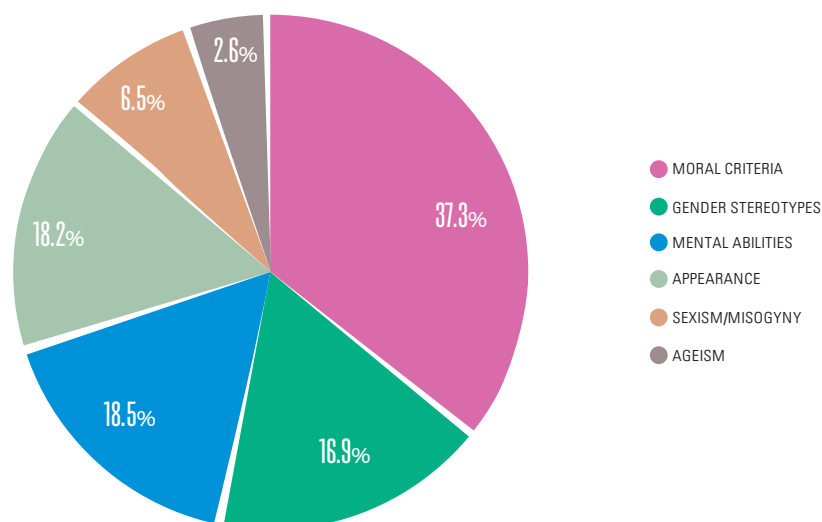
1.3. SOURCES OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH / STEREOTYPING

During the monitoring period (4 August – 30 November), the total of 88 Facebook accounts used sexist hate speech/gender stereotypes.

Based on earlier studies and information available on Facebook accounts themselves, the social media accounts were grouped by their political, ideological affiliation or other traits:

1. FB accounts supporting the ruling party;
2. FB accounts discrediting opponents of the government;
3. FB accounts supporting the UNM;
4. FB accounts discrediting the government;
5. FB accounts associated with the Labor Party;
6. FB accounts associated with the Alliance of Patriots;

7. FB accounts associated with the Georgian March;
8. FB accounts associated with anti-liberal groups;
9. Propaganda FB accounts which include those platforms that, according to various studies, spread disinformation on issues of foreign and domestic politics;
10. FB account linked to the Kremlin;
11. Miscellaneous.

TABLE 1. SOCIAL MEDIA ACCOUNTS BY THEIR POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AFFILIATION / OTHER TRAITS

THE RULING PARTY AND ASSOCIATED ACCOUNTS	GD / SUPPORTERS	DISCREDITING OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT
	FB pages ლიდერი 41 ირაკლი კობახიძე / Irakli Kobakhidze **FB groups** ჩვენ გავიმარჯვებთ 41 /we will win 41 პრემიერ-მინისტრი გიორგი გახარია ბიძინა ივანიშვილის მეგობრები „ფეისბუქზე" დარეჯან ლიპარტელიანის პოსტი ჯგუფში კახა კალაძე თბილისის მერი 41-კვლავ ხალხის სამსახურში ბიძინა ივანიშვილი. ქართული ოცნება. **FB individual profiles** Sopiko Kikacheishvili ლაშა გვასალია David Akhrakhadze Mindo Mandela გაბრიელი კამაევი Oboladze Gia	**FB pages** ქვეყნის მტრები ერთიანი ნაციონალური დვიჟენია მიხეილ უკრაინოლოგი საქართველოს ოკუპირებული ტერიტორიები რეუჩიმ გიფყურებს ტერენტი გლდანელი სექტა სირცხვილის კორიდორი რეალობა მეხუთე რეიხი ნაცი კლავს შუბლის ძარღვ გაწყვეტილები Miha Hamodi **FB groups** ნაცების დასასინი ოფიციალური სააგენტო „სიმართლის გზა" გასამართლდეს ნაციონალური მოძრაობა! დავასრულოთ ნაცები — Davasrulot Nacebi! INFO
OPPOSITION	UNM/SUPPORTERS	DISCREDITING THE GOVERNMENT
	FB pages Alli Babaa (ტროლი) გააზიარა ჯგუფებში ხატია დეკანოიძე-ისნის მაჟორიტარად მიხეილ სააკაშვილის შტაბი მიშა პრემიერად! **Individual FB profiles** Mikheil Saakashvili Kakhaber Adamia მე შენ ლელა Ani Tsitlidze Alli Babaa	**FB groups** ქოცების დასასინი ოფიციალური სააგენტო ექვთიმე ბიძინაშვილი ჯალათი მამის ცივსისხლიანი შვილი ქვეყნის არაფორმალური მმართველი ლურჯი ვირი What the fuck is that Annual events ყოველწლიური მოვლენები ყოველდღიური მოვლენები **FB groups** LIVE GEORGIA აქტუალური თემები, საინტერესო მოვლენები და ფაქტები!

LABOR PARTY	ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS / SUPPORTERS / ASSOCIATED	ASSOCIATED WITH THE GEORGIAN MARCH
FB pages Shalva Natelashvili – შალვა ნათელაშვილი **Individual FB profiles** Shalva Natelashvili	**FB pages** Tinp.ge – დღეს პოლიტიკაში[3] Memeატურები[4] პოლიტიკური სარკაზმი პოლიტიკოსები 1 ლარიდან BS Info **Media outlet FB page** მედია-კავშირი ობიექტივი[5] **FB groups** პატრიოტთა ალიანსის მხარდამჭერები!!! ირმა ინაშვილის მხარდამჭერები POLITIKO **Individual FB profiles** ნინო კვარაცხელია	**FB pages** ანტილიბერალური დოქტრინა[6] **FB groups** „ქართული მარში – ეროვნული მოძრაობის" მხარდამჭერთა ჯგუფი **Individual FB profiles of Georgian March members** Ermile Nemsadze ერმილე ელგუჯას-ძე ნემსაძე Sandro Breg
	PROPAGANDA	**ASSOCIATED WITH ANTI-LIBERAL GROUPS**
	Online media FB pages iNews. აინიუსი[7] საერთო გაზეთი[8] მარშალ პრესი[9] რეპორტიორი[10] ქართული აზრი[11] Tvalsazrisi.ge[12] POSTV-ანალიტიკა **Individual FB profiles** ირაკლი ჯანყარაშვილი[13]	**FB pages** ალტ-ინფო[14] Geo Pepe **FB groups** ანტილიბერალური სივრცე

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[3] The page is not available on Facebook now. Facebook removed accounts associated with the Alliance of Patriots. Facebook (5 November 2020). October 2020 Coordinated Inauthentic Behavior Report.https://about.fb.com/news/2020/11/october-2020-cib-report/ https://www.mythdetector.ge/ka/myth/ndi-da-iri-sacinaaghmdego-reklama-tinpge-ze-1000-1500-ghirs

[4] Myth Detector, "Connect to real opposition!" - FB accounts with close links to Alliance of Patriots and other anti-Western groups. https://www.mythdetector.ge/en/myth/connect-real-opposition-fb-accounts-close-links-alliance-patriots-and-other-anti-western

[5] Obieqtivi, profile. Source: Myth Detector. https://www.mythdetector.ge/en/profile/obieqtivi

[6] ISFED, 26 October, 2020. Social Media Monitoring – II Interim Report https://isfed.ge/geo/angarishebi/201026065446sotsialuri-mediis-monitoringi-meore-shualeduri-angarishi

[7] Fake news published by Inews. Source: Myth Detector. http://mythdetector.ge/ka/search?keyword=inews

[8] Fake news published by Saerto Gazeti. Source: Myth Detector https://bit.ly/2GLjXtY

[9] Marshalpress, profile. Source: Myth Detector. https://www.mythdetector.ge/en/profile/marshalpress

[10] TI Georgia, Who owns Georgia's media; https://www.transparency.ge/en/post/report/who-owns-georgia-s-media

[11] Fake news published by Kartuli Azri. Source: Myth Detector'. https://bit.ly/38MqcsY

[12] Tvalsazrisi profile. Source: Myth Detector. http://mythdetector.ge/en/profile/tvalsazrisige

[13] Myth Detector, 11 June, 2020. What do Иракли Иракли, Antiliberal Doctrine, News Front and Tvalsazrisi.ge Have in Common? http://mythdetector.ge/en/myth/what-do-irakli-irakli-antiliberal-doctrine-news-front-and-tvalsazrisige-have-common

[14] October 2020 Coordinated Inauthentic Behavior Report Facebook, October 2020, https://about.fb.com/news/2020/11/october-2020-cib-report/

	LINKED TO THE KREMLIN	MISCELLANEOUS
	FB groups კოტე ჩიკვილაძის და გულბააი რცხილაძის თანამოაზრეების ჯგუფი: Россия и Грузия[15]	**FB groups** რუსთავი 21 / RUSTAVI 21 პროტესტი! Protest! Протест Georgia • საქართველო ✓ ქართველთა მსოფლიო ცენტრი Georgians World Center Всемирный центр грузин Gürc **Individual FB profiles** Tamaz Chikhladze Gela Zedelashvili ბესიკ ჩუბინიძე Irakli Zakareishvili Nino Labartkava

Sexist hate speech and stereotyping were rarely applied against women politicians on Facebook accounts of political parties. The majority of such violations were identified on Facebook pages, groups and individual accounts associated with political parties.

The total of 24 cases of the use of sexist hate speech and stereotyping by politicians have been identified, which are distributed as follows: the government — 7 (including GD — 2 and the executive government — 5), Georgian March — 7, UNM — 4, Labor Party — 2, Georgian Idea — 2, Alliance of Patriots — 1 and Georgian Roots — 1.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF CASES BY POLITICIANS

| PARTY AFFILIATION	STATUS	NUMBER OF CASES
GEORGIAN DREAM		
Lasha Gvasalia	Head of State Representative's Office of Samegrelo–Zemo Svaneti region	4
Irakli Kobakhidze	GD executive secretary	1
Mamuka Mdinaradze	Chairman of GD political council	1
Sifiko Kikacheishvili	Governor of Melani village, Samtredia district	1
GEORGIAN MARCH		
Ermile Nemsadze	Head of wester Georgia office of Georgian Dream, single-seat candidate from Kutaisi	4
Sandro Bregadze	Leader of Georgian March	3

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[15] Myth Detector, 1 November, 2019. News Front Georgia — Kremlin's New Information Front in Georgia. http://mythdetector.ge/en/myth/news-front-georgia-kremlins-new-information-front-georgia

UNITED NATIONAL MOVEMENT		
Mikheil Saakashvili	UNM leader	2
Ani Tsitlidze	Member of Zugdidi city council, chairperson of UNM faction	1
Meg Goziridze	Candidate form the UNM party list	1
LABOR PARTY		
Shalva Natelashvili	Leader of Labor Party	2
GEORGIAN IDEA		
Aleksandre Palavandishvili	Candidate from Georgian Idea	2
ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS		
Irma Inashvili	Leader of Alliance of Patriots	1
GEORGIAN ROOTS		
Besik Chubinidze	Candidate from Georgia Roots	1

Among the groups of social media accounts, the highest number of cases was identified on FB accounts discrediting the government's opponents (127); the second was the group of accounts associated with anti-liberal groups (36), while the third was the group of accounts of GD/supporters (31). These are followed by accounts associated with the Alliance of Patriots (27), accounts discrediting the government (25), propagandist accounts (21), accounts associated with Georgian March (11), the UNM (8), Labor Party (2). Total of 20 cases were identified on various FB accounts.

The percentage shares of cases by grouped FB accounts is provided in Chart 3. Two cases of violation by the Labor Party are included in the category "Other."

CHART 3. TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES BY GROUPS OF SOCIAL MEDIA ACCOUNTS (%)

- DISCREDITING THE GOVERNMENT'S OPPONENTS
- ASSOCIATED WITH ANTI-LIBERAL GROUPS
- ASSOCIATED WITH THE ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS
- DISCREDITING THE GOVERNMENT
- GD/SUPPORTERS
- PROPAGANDIST
- ASSOCIATED WITH GEORGIAN MARCH
- UNM/SUPPORTER
- OTHER
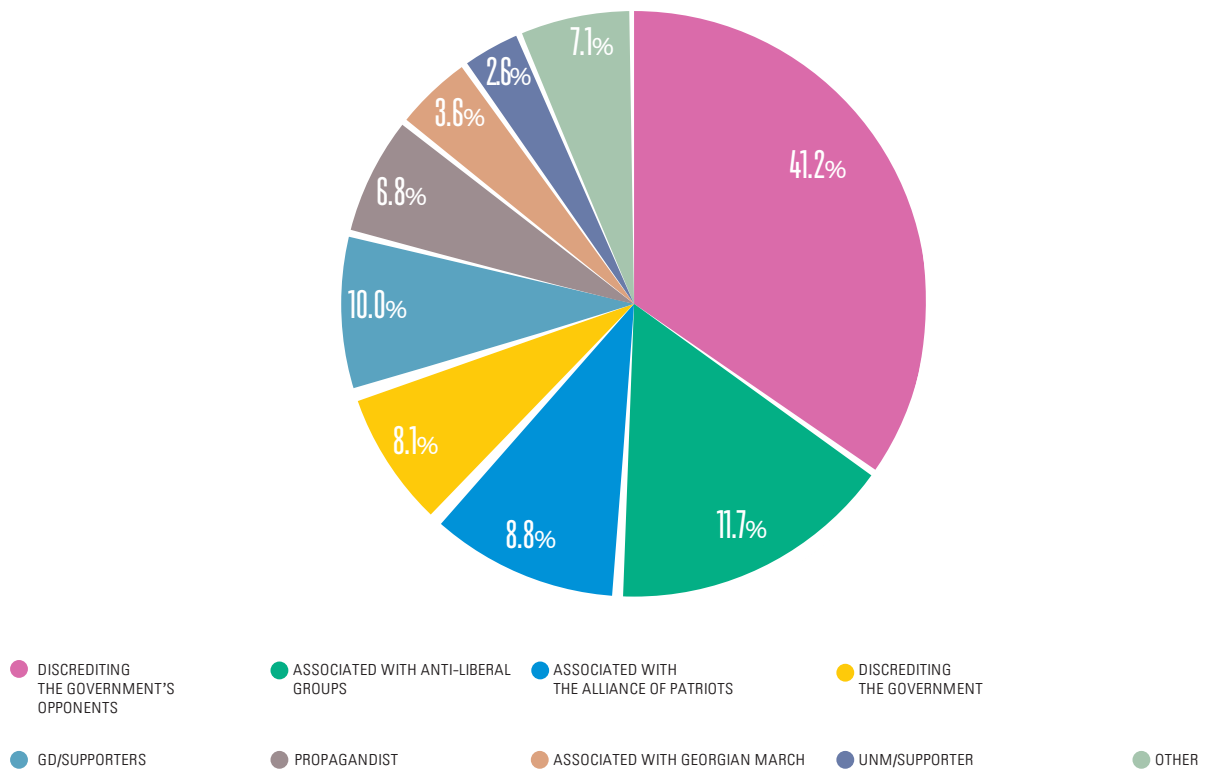
By typology of violations, leaders in all types of violation save one were Facebook accounts discrediting opponents of the government, in particular: attacks on the ground of moral criteria – 58 cases out of total 115; offence/ridicule on the ground of intellectual abilities – 27 cases of total 57; offence/ridicule on the ground of appearance – 27 cases of total 56; criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes – 20 of 52; and ageism – 4 of total 8 cases.

The only category was sexism/misogyny in which another group, namely, the group of Facebook accounts associated with antiliberal groups was in the lead (18 cases of total 20 cases).

CHART 4. TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS BY GROUPS OF SOCIAL MEDIA ACCOUNTS (%)

- MORAL CRITERIA
- GENDER STEREOTYPES
- MENTAL ABILITIES
- APPEARANCE
- SEXISM/MISOGYNY
- AGEISM
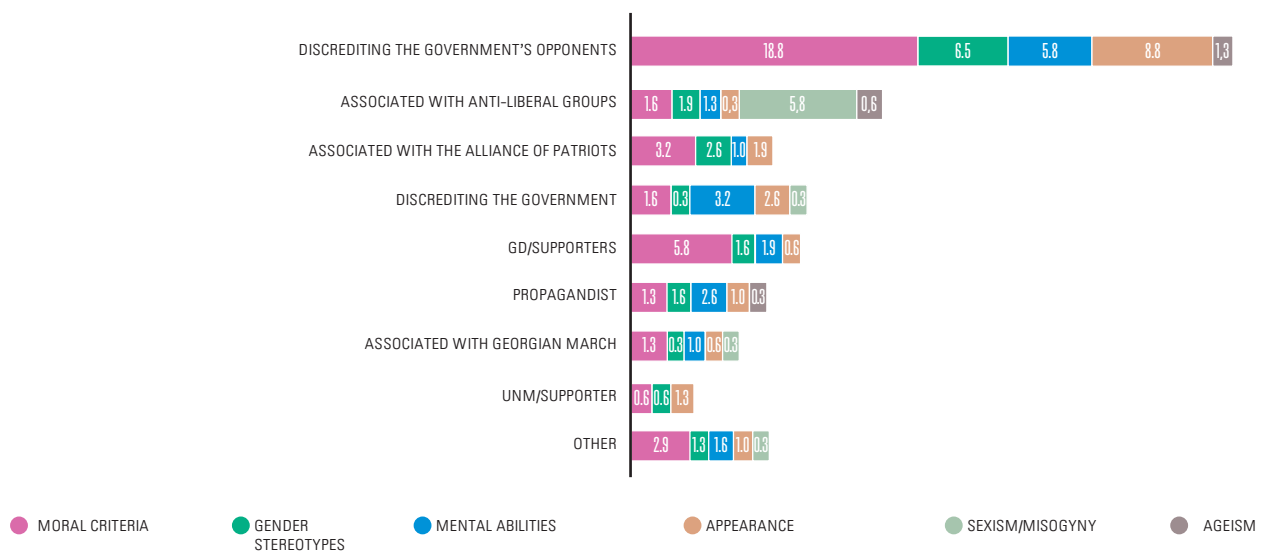
As regards violations by concrete accounts, the leader was Simartlis Gza[16] – 49 cases among which offences on the ground of moral criteria prevailed (23). The second was Alt-Info[17] – 32 cases of which 18 belonged to the category of sexism/misogyny. Half of the cases of offence by Natsebis Dasatsicni Oficialuri Saagento accounted for attacks based on moral criteria (20). Almost equal number of cases were identified on the FB accounts Political Sarcasm (12) and Mikheil Ukrainology (11 cases) which offended women politicians most frequently on the ground of moral criteria (5 each). These were followed by Kotsebis Dasatsini Oficialuri Saagento, Saerto Gazeti, Gasamartldes Natsionaluri Modzraoba and Kakha Kaladze Tbilisis Meri with 9 cases of offence each. Most often the first of them ridiculed women politicians for their appearance (6), the second offended them on the ground of mental abilities (3) while third and fourth criticized them on the ground of gender stereotypes (5 and 6, respectively). The chart below shows the top nine FB accounts by typology of violations. They accounted for the total of 160 cases while the remaining 79 FB accounts for 148 cases.

CHART 5. TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS BY FB ACCOUNTS

Legend: MORAL CRITERIA · GENDER STEREOTYPES · MENTAL ABILITIES · APPEARANCE · SEXISM / MISOGYNY · AGEISM
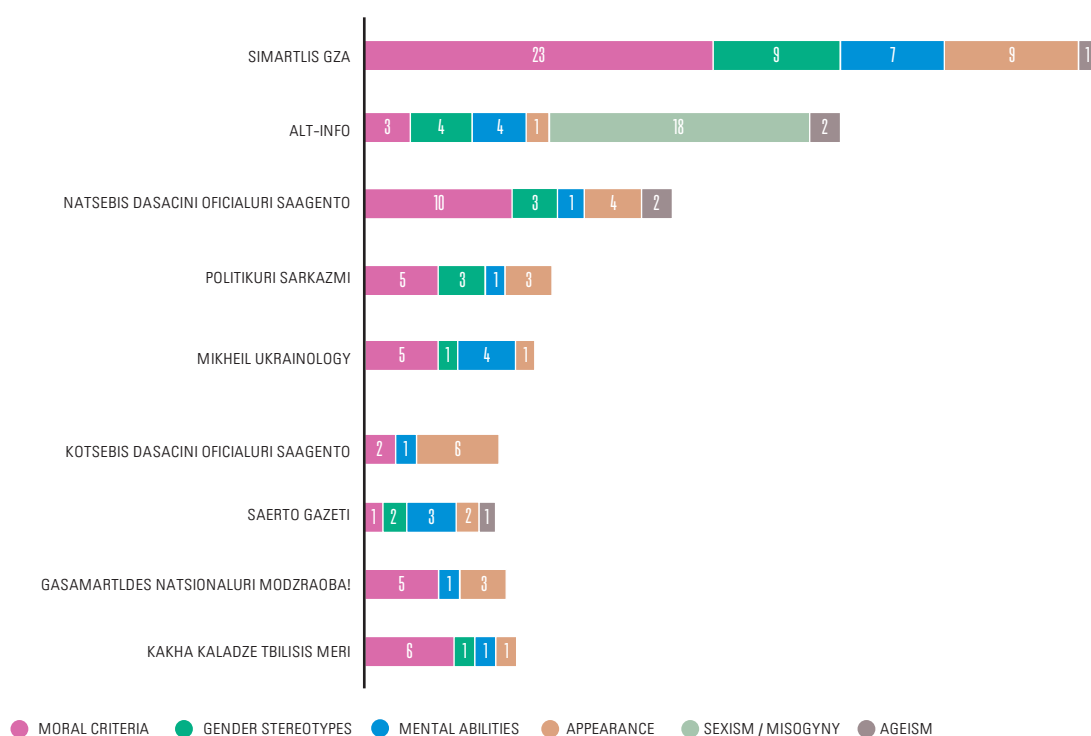
1.4. TARGETS

Targets of discriminatory and offensive attacks mainly include politicians – MPs, candidates for single seat constituencies and from party lists, high officials as well as activists engaged in election campaign and several staunch party supporters. The data on the editor-in-chief of online media outlet Tabula, Tamar Chergoleishvili, was included in the quantitative data of European Georgia because she was engaged in the election campaign of this political party. Targets also include women leaders of Belarussian political opposition, the President of Estonia and the US Ambassador to Georgia.

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[16] During the monitoring period this account has changed its name from Gasamartldes Natsionaluri Modzraoba – Simartlis Gza into the Simartlis Gza.

[17] Alt-Infor is not accessible now.

As seen from the list below, the equal number of targets were from the ruling party GD and the opposition party UNM (7 each), followed by the European Georgia (5). Two women were targeted from the Alliance of Patriots and Lelo each. Six women of various political affiliation were grouped under "Other."

TABLE 3. POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF TARGETS OF ATTACKS

| GEORGIAN DREAM	UNM	EUROPEAN GEORGIA	ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTS	LELO	OTHER
1. Salome Zourabichvili, President of Georgia	1. Tina Bokuchava	1. Helen Khoshtaria	1. Irma Inashvili	1. Sesili Chitanava	1. Tako Charkviani Law and Justice
2. Tea Tsulukiani, former Justice Minister	2. Salome Samadashvili	2. Khatuna Gogorishvili	2. Tamar Kodoshvili	2.Tamar Belkania	2. Nino Burjanadze Democratic Movement – United Georgia
3. Ekaterine Tikaradze, Health Minister	3. Khatia Dekanoidze	3. Irma Nadirashvili			3. Ana Dolidze Movement for the People
4. Sopo Kiladze, Chairperson of Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights	4. Nanuka Zhorzholiani	4. Nino Goguadze			4. Eka Beselia For Justice
5. Maya Tskitishvili, Minister of Regional Development and Infrastructure	5. Megi Gotsiridze	5. Tamar Chergoleishvili			5. Khatuna Samnidze, Republican Party
6. Guguli Maghradze, MP	6. Sandra Roelofs				6. Tsira Javakhishvili, Georgian March
7. Rima Beridze, member of Tbilisi City Council	7. Nato Chkheidze				

However, by the number of attacks, in terms of political party affiliation, the most frequent targets were representatives of European Georgia (95), followed by the UNM (80) and the GD (29). The founder of the political party For Justice, Eka Beselia, and the founder of Law and Justice, Tako Charkviani were each targeted 23 times, while the Democratic Movement – United Georgia Nino Burjanadze nine times.

CHART 6. POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF TARGETS BY THE NUMBER OF VIOLATIONS (%)

- ● DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT – UNITED GEORGIA
- ● FOR JUSTICE
- ● LAW AND JUSTICE
- ● GD
- ● UNM
- ● EUROPEAN GEORGIA
- ● OTHER
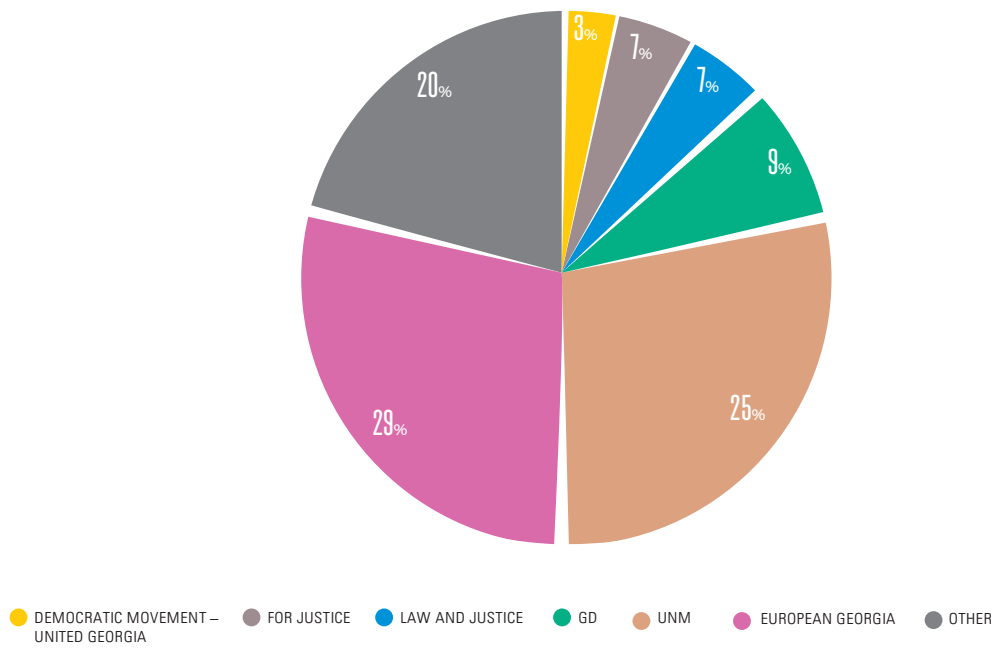
As for concrete targets, the most frequent target of sexist hate speech and stereotyping was a representative of European Union Helen Khoshtaria (54 cases), followed by the activist of the same party Tamar Chergoleishvili (26), UNM representative Nanuka Zhorzholiani (26), the founder of For Justice, Eka Beselia (23). From among representatives of the government, the primary target was President of Georgia Salome Zourabichvili (16). The chart below shows the targets by the number of attacks. The chart does not include those targets that were attacked less than four times.

CHART 7. NUMBER OF CASES BY TARGETS
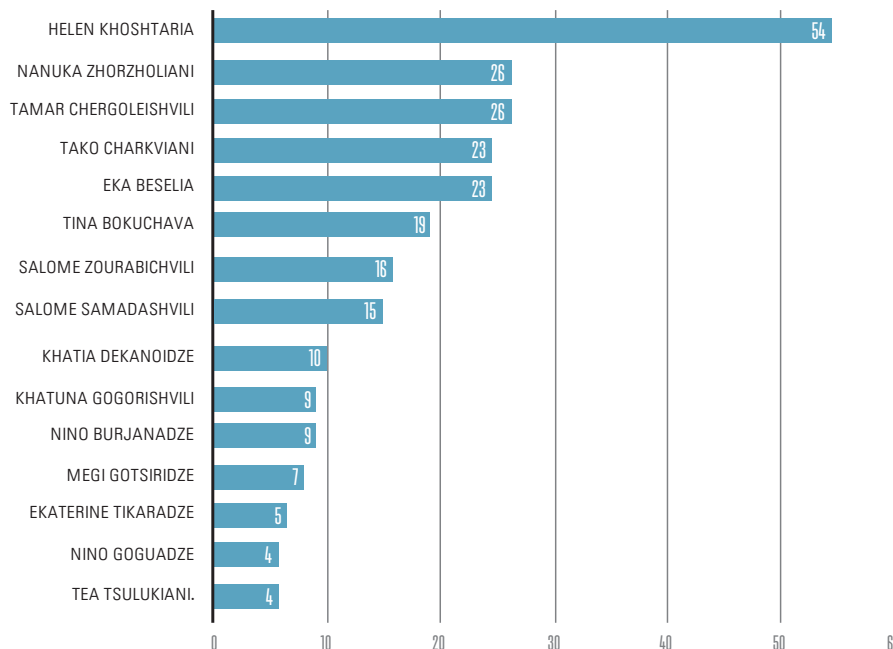
By categories of offence, Helen Khoshtaria was most frequently offended on the ground of moral criteria (39). The absolute majority (22) of attacks against Eka Beselia was on the ground of moral criteria. Offence on the ground of mental abilities was most frequently applied against Nanuka Zhorzholiani (18) and Salome Zourabichvili (8). The table below shows the typology of offences by targets. The table does not include those women politicians who were targeted less than four times.

TABLE 4. TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS BY TARGETS

TARGETS	ATTACKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA	CRITICISM ON THE GROUND OF GENDER STEREOTYPES	OFFENCE / RIDICULE ON THE GROUND OF MENTAL ABILITIES	OFFENCE / RIDICULE ON THE GROUND OF APPEARANCE	SEXISM / MISOGYNY	AGEISM	TOTAL
Helen Khoshtaria	39	7	5	3			54
Tamar Chergoleishvili	3	18		3	1	1	26
Nanuka Zhorzholiani	4	2	18	2			26
Eka Beselia	22	1					23
Tako Charkviani	11	7	3	2			23
Tina Bokuchava	6	1	1	11			19
Salome Zourabichvili	4		8	4			16
Salome Samadashvili	2	2		10	1		15
Khatia dekanoidze	6	2	2				10
Khatuna Gogorishvili		1		5		3	9
Nino Burjanadze	2	1	2	2		2	9
Megi Gotsiridze	3			4			7
Ekaterine Tikaradze	1	1	2	1			5
Nino Goguadze		1	2	1			4
Tea Tsulukiani		1		3			4

1.5. TERMINOLOGY

Offensive terms used against women during the monitoring period ranged between ordinary words applied with sexist connotation (such as, for example, girl or grandma to offend on the basis of age) and highly abusive terms.

The targets of such terms were Helen Khoshtaria of the European Georgia (73 cases), followed by Nanuka Zhorzholiani of the UNM (49). Among the representatives of the government, abusive terms were most frequently applied against Health Minister Ekaterine Tikaradze (6). The chart below reflects the number of abusive terms used by targets. The chart does not reflect those targets that were offended with less than four such terms.

CHART 10. USE OF OFFENSIVE TERMS BY TARGETS

Target	Value
HELEN KHOSHTARIA	73
NANUKA ZHORZHOLIANI	49
TAMAR CHERGOLEISHVILI	28
KHATIA DEKANOIDZE	26
SALOME SAMADASHVILI	12
KHATUNA GOGORISHVILI	9
NINO GOGUADZE	8
MEGI GOTSIRIDZE	8
TINA BOKUCHAVA	7
TAKO CHARKVIANI	6
EKATERINE TIKARADZE	6
SALOME ZOURABICHVILI	4
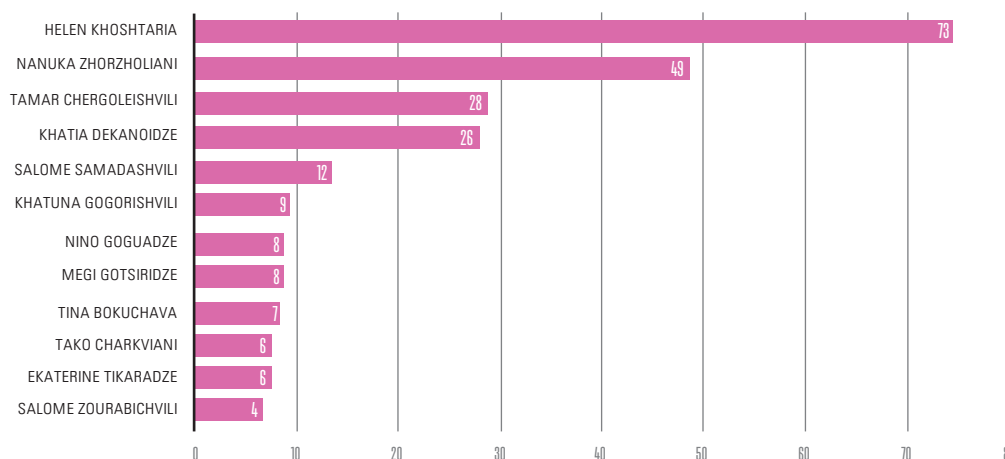
Same abusive words were not frequently repeated in the material collected through the monitoring. More frequent were the instances of using those words in combination with other words. For example, the word "stupid" was used in combinations with the word provincial – "provincial stupid," or the word "devil" in the following combinations "evil devil" and "devil artillerist," or "non-woman" in "trashy non-woman."

The table below provides discriminatory/offensive words and phrases identified during the monitoring period.

TABLE 8. DISCRIMINATORY OFFENSIVE TERMS BY TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATIONS

TYPOLOGY OF VIOLATION	TERMS
Attacks based on moral criteria	Slut, traitor, founder whore, Soros' whore, whore from head to toe, abominable; Komsomol activist, Gavrilov's informant, of unidentified orientation, GIMO-graduate, pro-Russian politicians, dangerous for the country, girls, liberast [the combination of liberal and pederast], LGBT lobbyist, barren slut, woman slut, Dutch slut, women-typhoon, deranged women, immoral, degraded, majorka [diminutive for majoritarian], prostitute, bastard, shameless, one of Shkhuila's [Saakashvili] women, butcher, trash, non-woman,trashy non-women, slave woman, "saint,", indecent, flirtatious, UNM's woman, seasoned lesbian, Badri Esebua's women, android, bred in incubator, dishonest, Satan, serial, soulless, Shkhuila's [Saakashvili] woman in Ukraine, bitch, bastard, dick-woman, criminal woman, animal, scoundrel, rascal.
Offence / ridicule on the ground of appearance	Cinderella, trio, fairies, hysterics of agitated woman, ugly, long-neck, unlovely, delicious slice, gorgeous slice, dirty, big-head buffalo, ugly snake, girl, rolling, queen of devils' land, untidy, cawing like a crow, crow, how dare you with this appearance!! Despicable, Zezva's offspring, Shrek's cousin, hideous, scarecrow
Criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes	Housewife, desperate housewives, insane, devil, squatting women, tomboy, woman running with whistle in the street, whistler, ladies with nice bottoms, Armenian pretty woman with augmented lips, purity of virgin, Takoia, manly, one of leader's wife, psychic laugh, somewhat virtuous, womanly, womanish, dames, our sister-in-law, non-political lady, housewife lady, weak woman, faceless, flexible
Sexism / misogyny	Heroines, Pussy Riot, cunt, quota-allocated idiots, female squad, cunt feminosaurs, Soros' crew, feminists. Wife of one of the leaders
Offence / ridicule on the ground of mental abilities	Smooth and fold-less brain, uneducated, dim fool, total stupid, ignorant, madwoman, dummy, dull creature, idiot, moron, stupid, dim-witted
Ageism	Old donkey, grandma, exemplar, menopausal woman, crow, girls

II. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

A qualitative analysis of cases identified in the reporting period (4 August – 30 November) has revealed that women politicians are most frequently targeted on the ground of moral criteria (115). They are offended/ridiculed on the ground of mental abilities (57) and appearance (56) with almost equal frequency. Insignificantly less frequent is the criticism based on gender stereotypes (52). Disparaging women politicians by expressing hate against women in general is also a frequent exercise, which falls under the category of sexism/misogyny (20). The least frequent is the offence on the ground of age (8).

Tools applied included abusive messages as well as photo and video manipulations. Visual manipulation is provided in subchapter 4.

2.1. ATTAKS BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA

Among the categories of violation, most numerous were attacks based on moral criteria. The monitoring revealed 115 such cases. These attacks aimed at shaming and discrediting targets on the ground of moral values. To this end, offenders used photo and video manipulations of sexual nature, messages portraying women as sexual objects, disinformation and even blackmail.

The monitoring period revealed one case of blackmail in which a public official threatened members of the youth wing of Zugdidi organization of the political party Lelo with releasing discrediting information about their private lives.[18]

To shame targets on the basis of moral criteria, offenders often used a form of sexist hate speech called slut-shaming. Slut-shaming was used to chastise targets for not conforming to gender norms and stereotyped expectations of behavior, appearance or clothing. The monitoring identified 33 cases of slut-shaming of which 32 were directed against women politicians from the opposition spectrum while the remaining one was against Chairperson of Central Electoral Commission (CEC) Tamar Zhvania.

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[18] See, Mid-term report of pre-election monitoring: Sexism and gender stereotypes in social media.
https://genderbarometer.ge/en/mid-term-report-of-pre-election-monitoring-sexism-and-gender-stereotypes-in-social-media/, pg.23.

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

Slut-shaming in the sphere of politics is used to portray women as sexual objects. This comes from a ste-reotyped and discriminatory attitude whereby politics is not a field of activity for women because they lack necessary skills and if any woman is in this sphere, it is because she is a favorite of a male politician. The word "favorite," in this context, most often implies a "mistress." Based on such stereotypes, Sapari formulated a Georgia-specific indicator – **"someone's woman"** which means "any form of referring to a woman politician as a property of a male politician." Most frequently this from of sexist hate speech was used against representatives of the UNM.

In a status shared on the FB account associated with the GD, "Leader 41," supporters of Mikheil Saakashvili, having gathered for a meeting with him in Athens, were called "Misha's women," while a photo of CEC chair Tamar Zhvania shared on the account "Supporters of Mtavari Arkhi," had an inscription "Bidzina's personal prostitute."

Leader 41, 13 October:
"Misha's deranged women!"

Supporters of Mtavari Arkhi, 5 November:
"Bidzina's personal prostitute."

Attacks on the ground of moral criteria were not limited to the aspect of sexuality. They targeted moral criteria and values such as devotion to principles, allegiance to the country, etc.

Allegiance to the country of the member of the European Union, Helen Khoshtaria, was questioned in an attempt to discredit the politician. This attack was launched after Khoshtaria requested that the Prosecutor's

Office investigate the issue of party financing of the Alliance of Patriots and took on a form of orchestrated counteraccusations concerning her higher education in Russia. Messages posted on FB accounts pursued the aim of accusing Khoshtaria of harboring kind attitudes towards Russia.[19]

2.2. OFFENCE / RIDICULE ON THE GROUND OF MENTAL ABILITIES

This category includes cases of offence/ridicule on the ground of intellectual abilities, experience, competences, etc. During the monitoring period 57 cases were identified in this category. Objects of ridicule were education, experience, knowledge and opinions of women politicians. Women were called stupid, idiot, ignorant, dim-witted, moron, uneducated, to name a few.

Most frequent targets of such offence were women politicians from the political opposition groups. Among the victims was Public Defender Nino Lomjaria too. The primary target was Nanuka Zhorzholiani from the UNM (18 cases). Attacks against Zhorzholiani intensified after she had been nominated a single-seat candidate from the political party.

A video, uploaded by a propaganda FB account "POSTV-analitika," in which Nanuka Zhorzholiani was ridiculed on the ground of mental abilities, was shared simultaneously by Gia Abashidze, the presenter of a TV program on Imedi TV channel, on three accounts discrediting the government's opponents. The post said: "Dim-witted Nanuli."[20]

An account discrediting the government's opponents, "Ertiani Natsionaluri Dvizhenia," ridiculed UNM member Tina Bokuchava for her TV comment, while a post shared on "Davasrulot Natsebi!!! – Simartlis Gza" belittled Khatia Dekanoidze's competences.

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[19] This campaign is described in Mid-term report of pre-election monitoring: Sexism and gender stereotypes in social media. https://genderbarometer.ge/en/mid-term-report-of-pre-election-monitoring-sexism-and-gender-stereotypes-in-social-media/

[20] https://www.facebook.com/groups/134290193315393/permalink/3557843604293351; https://www.facebook.com/groups/439518096893849/permalink/812683526243969; https://www.facebook.com/groups/439518096893849/permalink/812683526243969
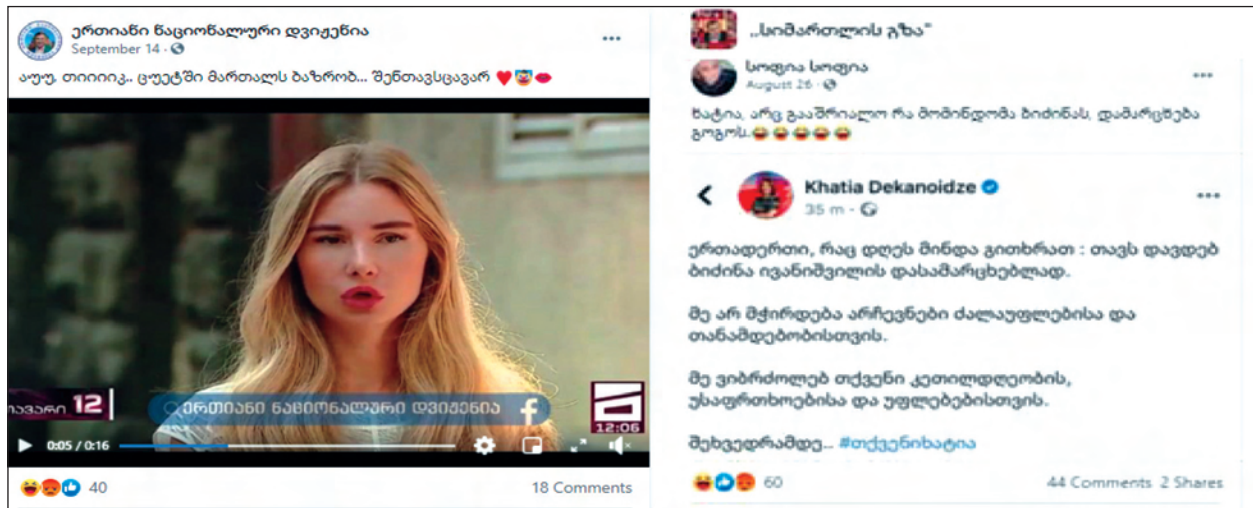
Ertiani Natsionaluri Dvizhenia, 14 September:
"Owww Tiiika.. I swear, you are speaking a sheer truth…."

Davasrulot Natsebi!!! – Simartlis Gza, 26 August:
"Come on Khatia, do you, girl, really think you can beat Bidzina."

The Health Minister, Ekaterine Tikaradze, was ridiculed for the higher education she obtained. A FB account discrediting the government, "Mtavari Ambebi, Aktualuri Temebi, Saintereso Movlenebi da Faktebi!" shared a photo featuring Bidzina Ivanishvili, Giorgi Gakharia and Ekaterine Tikaradze. Tikaradze bears the inscription "Trikotazha" ["textile"]. In November media released information that a private medical educational institution graduated by Tikaradze was housed in the building of the former textile factory.[21]

A post shared on another FB group discrediting the government, "Live Georgia," questioned the competence of the Health Minister.

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[21]   http://newpost.ge/?newsid=247048

Live Georgia, 12 November: "In the country where this person, this scarecrow, is in charge of preventing coronavirus, the virus, I think, is already widely spread and by the end of the year, we will be totally ruined…. I have a serious doubt that the government supports such a scenario."

This case also falls under the category of offence/ridicule on the ground of appearance, as Tikaradze is called a scarecrow because her har, as seen on the photo, was blowing up in the wind.

Among representatives of the government, the most frequent target of ridicule on the ground of intellectual properties was President Salome Zourabichvili (8). Two cases identified during the monitoring period, in which Zourabichvili was ridiculed on this ground by means of distorted quotes.

On 13 November, a Facebook account discrediting the government, "Koveldgiuri Movlenebi," shared a screenshot of Salome Zourabichvili's photo and a quote: "I would like to congratulate Georgia on a successful match. We fought, but unfortunately lost. Never mind. Salome Zourabichvili". The post came with a caption saying: "She is already inadequate".

This status was published on the next day of the defeat of the Georgian football team in a match against the team from North Macedonia. No other source could be found to verify the authenticity of this quote. The president herself denied saying anything like that. She published the screenshot, shared by a Facebook user Nina Ninka, with the inscription "FAKE".

2.3. OFFENCE / RIDICULE ON THE GROUND OF APPEARANCE

As many as 56 cases of offence/ridicule on the ground of appearance were identified in the monitoring period. Quite a large number of attacks on appearance may be explained by a wrong stereotypical opinion that the main virtue of a woman is her appearance and hence, the main concern for women. Women politicians were ridiculed and offended for separate features of their face, parts of a body, body weight, manner of speech, clothing and taste, even hygiene. This category of offence corresponds to indicators "body shaming" and "emotional manner of speech" which were formulated by Sapari.

To offend and ridicule women on the ground of appearance, sources used to publish photos in which women politicians looked enraged or displayed other emotions. A photo collage shared by journalist Gela Zedelashvili is one of this kind.

In a post shared on the FB account discrediting opponents of the government, "Davasrulot Natsebi!!!-Simartlis Gza," members of the European Georgia, Irma Nadirashvli and Khatuna Gogorishvvili, as well as a member of the UNM, Megi Gotsiridze, are called "ugly," while a Facebook group of UNM supporters, "Misha Premierad!" ridicules the appearance of former Justice Minister Tea Tsulukiani.
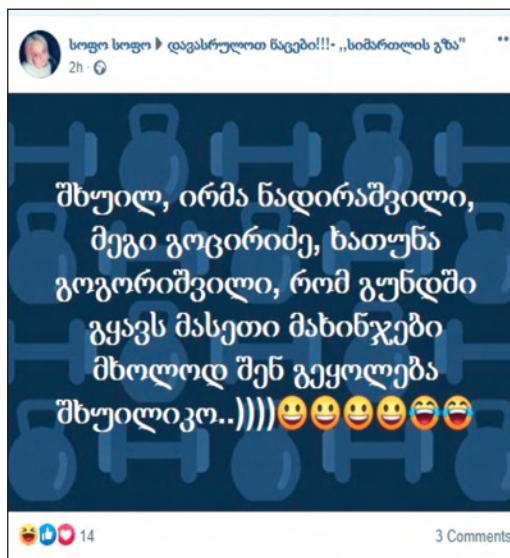
Davasrulot Natsebi!!! — Simartlis Gza, 19 August: "Skhuil [addressing Mikheil Saakashvili], only you can have ugly women such as Irma Nadirashvli, Megi Gotsiridze and Khatuna Gogorishvvili in your team…)))".
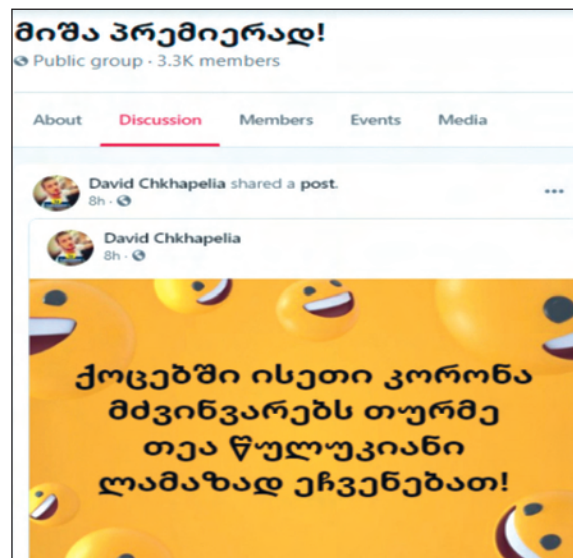
Misha Premierad!, 20 November: "Coronavirus has spread on such a scale among GD that they even consider Tsulukiani pretty!"

Objects of ridicule include clothing and manner of speech. In a status shared on the FB account discrediting opponents of the government, "Davasrulot Natsebi!!! – Simartlis Gza," European Georgia's election campaign activist, Tamar Chergoleishvili, is ridiculed for an element of her attire while a member of the same party, Khatuna Gogorishvili, is ridiculed for her emotional speech by a propagandist account, Marshalpress.

Davasrulot Natsebi!!! – Simartlis Gza, 8 September: "Ah, Chergo, Chergo, what a shame…."
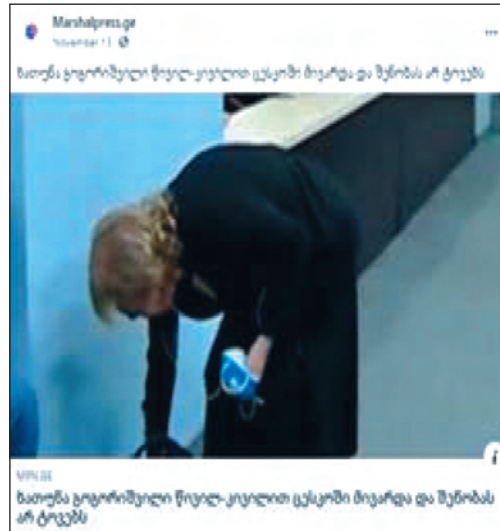
Marshalpress.ge, 13 November: "Khatuna Gogorishvili burst into the CEC screaming and shouting and refuses to leave the building."

Hairstyle was also an issue of ridicule. A member of the UNM, Ani Tsitlidze, criticized the Health Minister Ekaterine Tikaradze for excess care about her hairstyle.
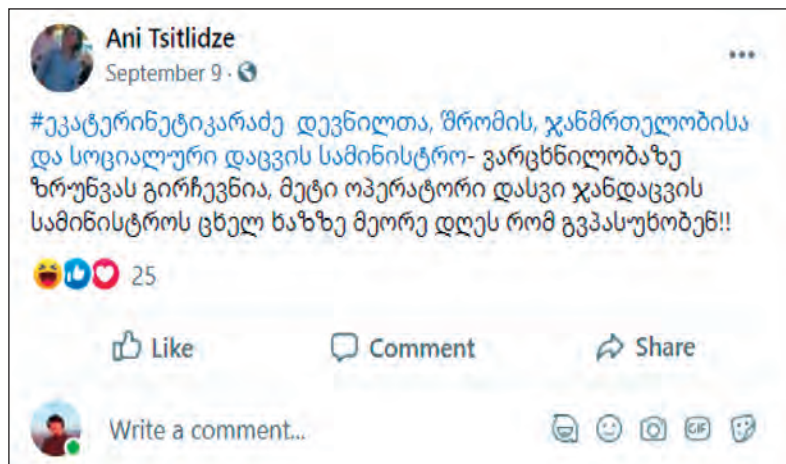
Ani Tsirlidze, 9 September: "Instead of taking care of your hairstyle, you'd better ensure the availability of more operators for the Health Ministry hotline to avoid day-long delays in answering it!"

The monitoring also revealed cases of positive sexism.

POSITIVE SEXISM means any such evaluation of gender that may appear subjectively positive to the person who is evaluating, but is actually damaging to people and gender equality more broadly.

The total of two examples of positive sexism were identified during the monitoring period. In one of them, when nominating women candidates from the party, the Labor Party leader emphasized their look and age, rather than education, skills or experience. This example falls under the category of offence/ridicule on the ground of appearance. Another example (which concerned the leader of Alliance of Patriots, Irma Inashvili), belongs to the criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes as it underlined a quality of being oriented on a cause as an unusual trait for women. These examples are described in the mid-term report. This form of sexist hate speech corresponds to indicator "positive sexism/false compliments" formulated by Sapari. [22]

2.4. CRITICISM ON THE GROUND OF GENDER STEREOTYPES

Criticism on the ground of gender stereotypes is the fourth category by the quantity of cases. The total of 52 such cases were identified during the monitoring period (4 August – 30 November). This category combines all those forms of sexism that are nourished by gender stereotypes about the function, roles, behavior, responsibilities or activities of women. The frequency of such cases speaks about a deep entrenchment of such stereotypes in society.

Women politicians are often rebuked for their "un-womanish" behavior. A frequent target of such attacks is Helen Khoshtaria who is often called a "tomboy," as well as "whistler" because when participating in rallies she often expresses her protest by blowing a whistle.

> **Maia Nikoleishvili, Marhalpress, 1 November:** "It's so disappointing; how come that in my Vake [a single-seat constituency in Tbilisi], in once educated, intelligent, cultured Vake, a woman who runs with a whistle garnered 30 percent [of votes in the election]?!."

In a status shared on the FB account discrediting the government's opponents, "Simartlis Gza," a UNM member Khatia Dekanoidze and an active participant in the election campaign of European Georgia, Tamar Chergoleishvili, are criticized for their manner of sitting.

<p style="text-align:center">Simartlis Gza, 1 October: "Look at these two squatting savages …"</p>

In this category, there were cases when husbands of women politicians were mentioned and women were chastised and ridiculed based on patriarchal opinions about gender roles of men and women.

In a video shared on the FB account supporting GD, "Premier-Ministri Giorgi Gakharia," the founder of the political party Law and Justice, Tako Charkviani, says in a comment to a journalist that she renounces her MP mandate and ends the comment by addressing Bidzina Ivanishvili: "I don't give a damn about the status of MP; you seem to have no idea about the decency of my family." A post accompanying the video questions decency of Tako Charkviani's family in a comment of sexual nature about her husband.

Lela Mikeladze-Beriashvili, Premier-Ministri Giorgi Gakharia, 3 November: "She has the decent family. Now I understand why Joni Gigani, Tako Cahrkviani's husband, is a frequent visitor of prostitutes throughout his entire life 😊😊😊"

The above example corresponds to a form of sexist hate speech, formulated by Sapari as being characteristic of the Georgian reality, "hate variations by using heteronormative family."

2.5. SEXISM / MISOGYNY

Pre-election period saw a step-up in an antiliberal discourse against gender equality and the criticism of legislation that contributes to elimination of gender discrimination and inequality, protection of women's rights, political empowerment of women. The total of 20 cases were identified in this category during the monitoring period. Ahead of the election this topic was discussed by ultranationalist, antiliberal and pro-Russian media and separate actors. Legislation promoting gender equality was portrayed as a result of liberal system and imposed on Georgia by the West.

MISOGYNY is the hatred of women and implies low evaluation of women's political rationality, portraying women as inferior beings and only as sexual objects.

SEXISM denotes a systemic and structural characteristic of a social order which is a basis of oppression of women by men, discrimination or prejudice based on sex. Sexism may manifest in evaluating a woman as physically or mentally inferior to a man, in a different attitude to a woman in public or private spheres, exclusion of women from certain spheres of activity, etc. Sexism is largely based on traditional stereotypes about gender roles.

Criticism targeted the amendment to the Election Code, adopted by the parliament of Georgia on 2 July 2020. According to this amendment, one in every four candidates from a party list running for parliamentary elections until 2028, must be a representative of an opposite sex, while thereafter, until 2032, every third candidate must be a representative of an opposite sex. Otherwise, a political party will not be registered for an election.[23]

Another target of criticism was an amendment to the Law on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and/or Domestic Violence, and the Protection and Support of Victims of Such Violence, adopted by the parliament of Georgia on 13 July 2020. Under this amendment, the definition of a "family member" was extended to also include a former husband, a partner, a former partner and was added a new provision about the implementation of electronic surveillance to better protect a victim of domestic violence.[34]

Moreover, the regulation toughening the punishment for the perpetrators of sexual violence was also criticized.

2.6. AGEISM

There were eight cases of ageism identified in the reporting period. Targets of all the eight were representatives of the opposition.

AGEISM means discriminating, stereotyping and marginalizing on the ground of age. This type of discrimination covers all age groups, but more frequently it is against aged people.

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[23] Election Code of Georgia, Chapter XX, Article 203. https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/1557168?publication=65

[24] https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/4923612?publication=0

A photo published by a FB group discrediting opponents of the government, Natsebis Dasatsicni Oficialuri Saagento, contained a hint about Nino Burjanadze's age.

Natsebis Dasatsini Oficialuri Saagento, 10 November: "Nino Burjanadze's election campaign. Tbilisi, 2040."

A FB page associated with anti-liberal groups, Alt-Info, called women nominees for the election from the GD "girls."

Alt-Infor, Giorgi Kardava, 11 September: "Who are, after all, these girls, these ladies, what skills do they have, what is their political experience?... By what criteria are they selected?"

3. CAMPAIGNS AGAINST WOMEN POLITICIANS

During the monitoring period three cases of orchestrated attacks on women politicians were identified. A gender-based campaign against Eka Beselia was triggered by a private talk between her and the Labor Party leader, Shalva Natelashvili, during a meeting of political opposition. The talk was interpreted as a "flirt" and followed by series of video and photo manipulations on the social network. This campaign which took on a form of slut-shaming is described in the mid-term report.[25] Two other campaigns were related to a political activity of a member of European Georgia, Helen Khoshtaria and concerned:

1. Khoshtaria's request to the prosecutor's office to investigate into alleged financing of the Alliance of Patriots by Russia (this campaign is described in the mid-term monitoring report).[26]

2. A rally held to voice protest against a statement of the Russian Foreign Ministry, concerning a conference call within the Abashidze-Karasin format.

3.1 CAMPAIGN AGAINST HELEN KHOSHTARIA

Participation of Helen Khoshtaria in a rally to voice protest against a statement of the Russian Foreign Ministry triggered a campaign against her. This campaign, pursuing the aim to misinform by using manipulated photo, started on 30 November.

Facebook pages discrediting opponents of the government, Seckta, Mekhute Raikhi, Realoba, Mikheil Ukrainologi and Antiliberaluri Doktrina as well as Facebook users Gabriel Kamaevi, Oboladze Gia, Mindo Mandela and Nino Labartkava spread identical photos in which Elene Khoshtaria was seen as spraying paint into a police officer's face. A five-second video of the same content was uploaded on the Facebook page Political Sarcasm too.

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25 Mid-term report of pre-election monitoring: Sexism and gender stereotypes in social media.
https://genderbarometer.ge/en/mid-term-report-of-pre-election-monitoring-sexism-and-gender-stereotypes-in-social-media/, pg. 54.

26 Mid-term report of pre-election monitoring: Sexism and gender stereotypes in social media.
https://genderbarometer.ge/en/mid-term-report-of-pre-election-monitoring-sexism-and-gender-stereotypes-in-social-media/, pg.47.

In reality, Khoshtaria was trying to write on the wall with a paint sprayer and police officers were preventing her from doing it. Khoshtaria's paint sprayer was pointed at the wall, not the police officer.
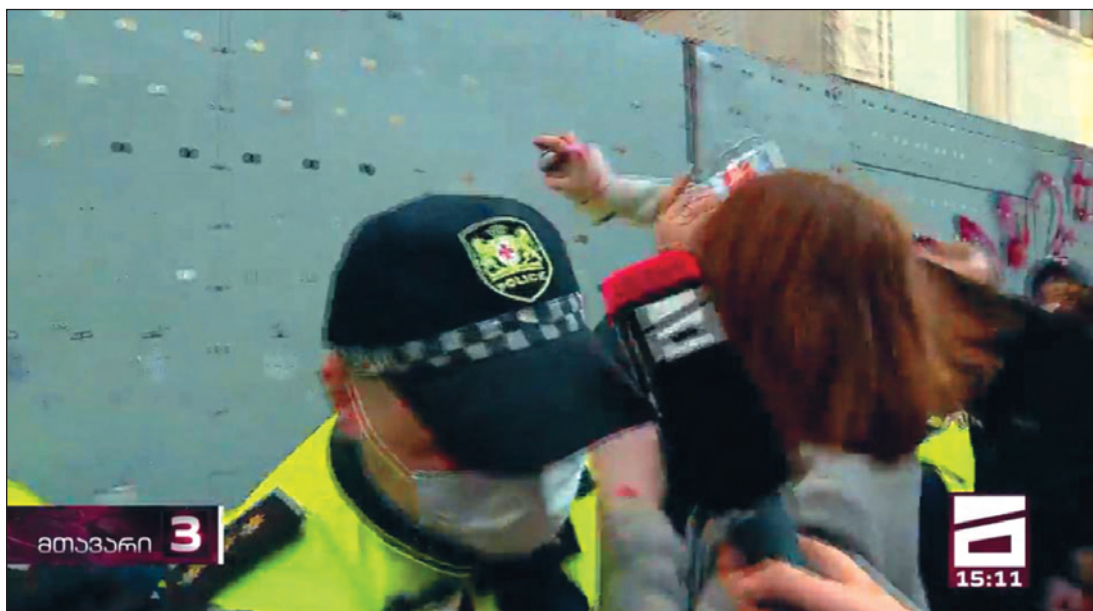
The still which was then spread as a manipulated photo was taken from a video footage of the rally held on 28 November to protest the statement of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Russia.

The content of messages, the frequency and time period of sharing all indicated about an organized manner of attack.

FACEBOOK ACCOUNT	MESSAGE	TERM
GASAMARTLDES NATSIONALURI MODZRAOBA!	Khoshtaria sprayed some liquid directly into the face of a police officer! I wonder whether this "criminal lady" will be punished. How long should we tolerate unacceptable behavior of these offenders?	Criminal lady
KAKHA KALADZE TBILISIS MERI	After this action you pose danger not only to politics but to your own children!!! Why are you so venomous, why do you hate homeland and people!!! You seem to be unable to reason — no wonder, you would not be taught anything better at MGIMO.	Venomous, unable to reason
SIMARTLIS GZA	Sorry, but had we been a country, these UNM butchers would have been in prison for long now and Khoshtaria would have been arrested by now, this GIMO informer, Gavrilov's slave, this whistler, non-woman, scoundrel, tomboy, butcher, Skhuila's [Saakashvili] slave…	GIMO informer, Gavrilov's slave, whistler, non-woman, scoundrel, tomboy, butcher, Skuihila's slave
ANTILIBERALURI DOKTRINA	Helen Khoshtaria sprays paint in the face of a patrol police officer	
GABRIEL KAMAEVI	Khoshtaria, you trash. This is how "a peaceful" protester treats a police officer!!!	Trash, "peaceful" protester

ფეისბუქ ანგარიში	მგზავნილი	ტერმინი
OBOLADZE GIA	Although the entire opposition supported Elene Khoshtaria, daughter of a treacherous father who betrayed Zviad [Gamsakhurdia, Georgia's first president], she lost elections in Vake [single-seat constituency]. Now, she takes out on police and using her husband's millions, she took children to the streets and sprays paint in the eyes of police officers.	Daughter of a treacherous father
OBOLADZE GIA	Have you seen anywhere in the world an MP behaving like this? Prison awaits Khoshtaria!	Prison awaits Khoshtari
MINDO MANDELA	Arrest this Russia's agent, millionaire Khoshtaria!!! How did Russia's agent dare to raise hand against Georgian police officers? Prison awaits Khoshtaria!	Russia's agent, millionaire Khoshtaria, Prison awaits Khoshtaria
რეალობა	And she calls herself a lawmaker and a politician?	
სექტა	This bastard Khoshtaria sprays paint directly in the face of a patrol police officer.	Bastard
POLITICAL SARCASM	This rascal woman sprays paint in the face of a police officer; this is their real face!	Rascal
MIKHEIL UKRAIONOLOGI	Do not you dare too much, Ms. Elene?	
NINO LABARTKAVA	Just hold this dick woman accountable and do not let her shit on your heads! If my neighbor, Ramaz sprays paint in the face of a police officer, he will not get away with it only by paying a fine and who the hell is Khoshtaria? Bring her to account! We are fed up with it!!!	Dick-woman

Time of sharing

Facebook accounts published the photomanipulation in an organized manner, within a period between 17:00 and 17:30 on November 30, while posts were shared on Facebook groups mainly between 19:10 and 19:45.[27]

Frequency of sharing and interaction

As of December 1, the post published by "Sekt" had 440 reactions, 184 comments and 92 shares while the post published by "Mekhute Raikhi" had 46 reactions and 23 comments.

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[27] http://mythdetector.ge/en/myth/disinformation-about-elene-khoshtaria-allegedly-spraying-police-officer-paint-spreads
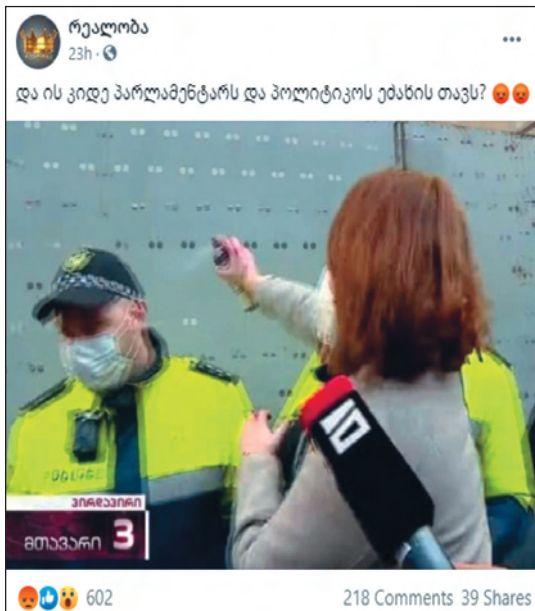
The post published by the page "Realoba" had 38 shares and the post of "Mikheil Ukrainologi" had 34 shares. The majority of comments were aggressive and abusive towards Elene Khoshtaria.
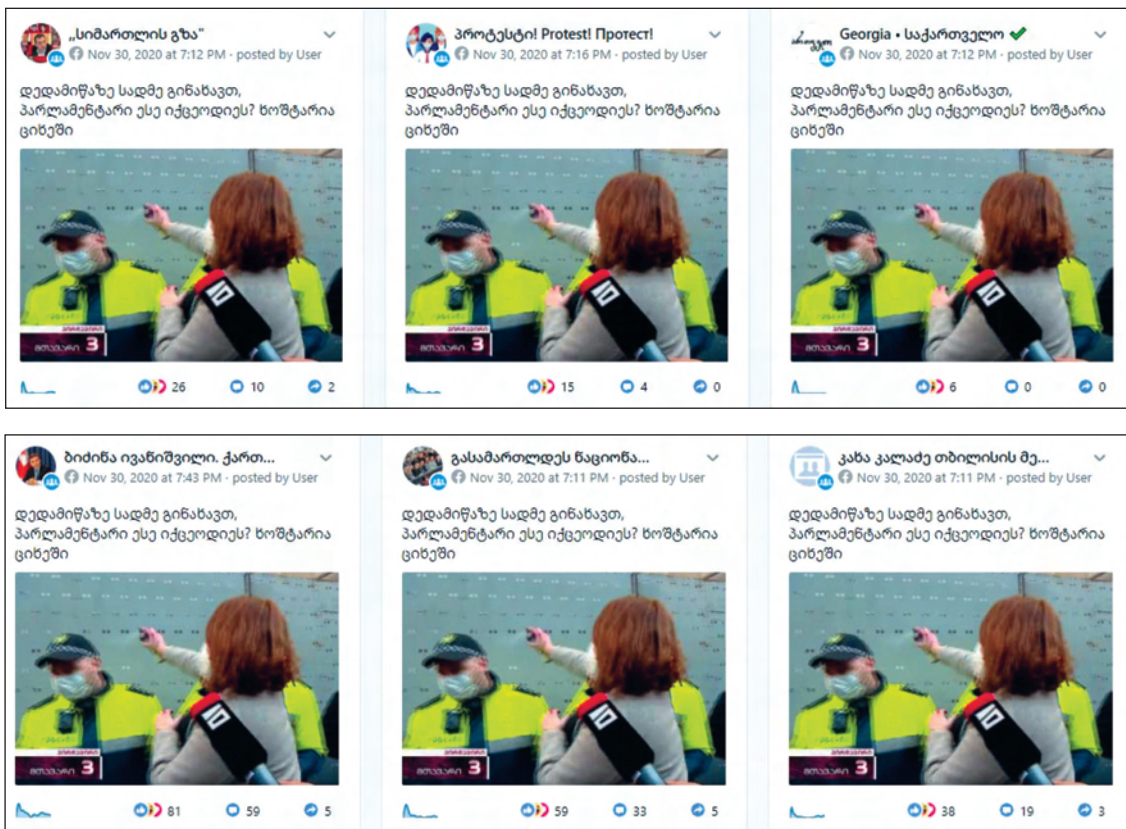
The five-second-long video uploaded by "Political Sarcasm" had 19 shares while the post of "Antiliberaluri Doktrina" had 14 shares.

Facebook account Oboladze Gia, which is marked as a government troll by Who is Who platform, shared his post with a message "Prison awaits Khoshtaria" on eight Facebook groups.
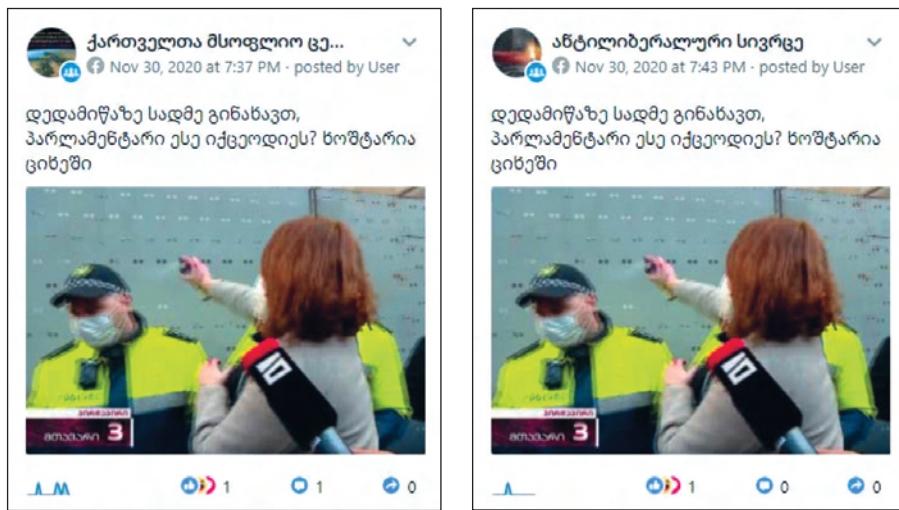
Another post by Gia Oboladze had 80 shares. As regards individual Facebook profiles, Gabriel Kamaevi's post had 87 shares, the post of Nino Labartkava had 13 shares and that of Mindo Mandela had 29 shares.
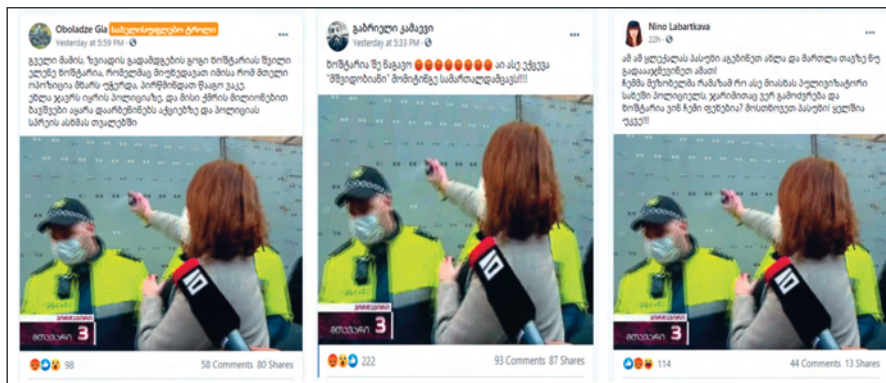
The FB account Mindo Mandela also shared its own post on three Facebook groups.

Within the framework of Third Party Fact-Checking program, the fact-checking platform, Myth Detector, flagged this information as fake.
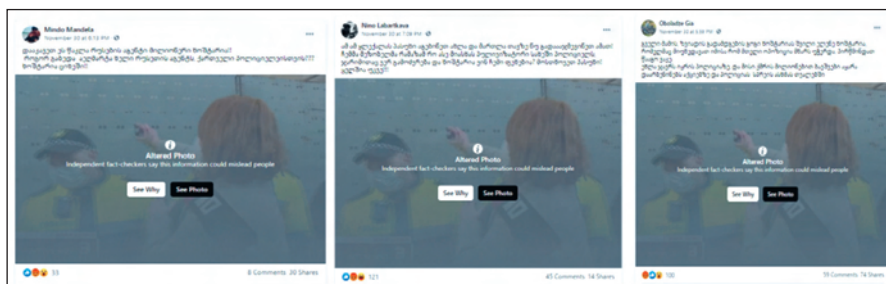
3.2. GENDER SWAPPING FOR THE AIM OF DISCREDITATION

On 21 November, a Facebook page discrediting opponents of the government, "Shublis Dzargv Gatskvetilebi," published a video manipulation in which representatives of the political opposition were morphed into animals or added some animal features. In case of only two persons – Nika Melia and Tina Bokuchava of the UNM was not such morphing used; they were discredited by gender swapping. Nika Melia was portrayed as a woman whereas Tina Bokuchav as a man. The aim of gender swapping was to discredit the politicians. A homophobic context was seen in case of Tina Bokuchava as her appearance was changed so that to resemble Conchita Wurst, an Austrian singer who won the Eurovision Song Contest in 2014.

Video titled "Georgian politics with special effects" garnered 75 thousand views and 1200 likes, as of 25 November.
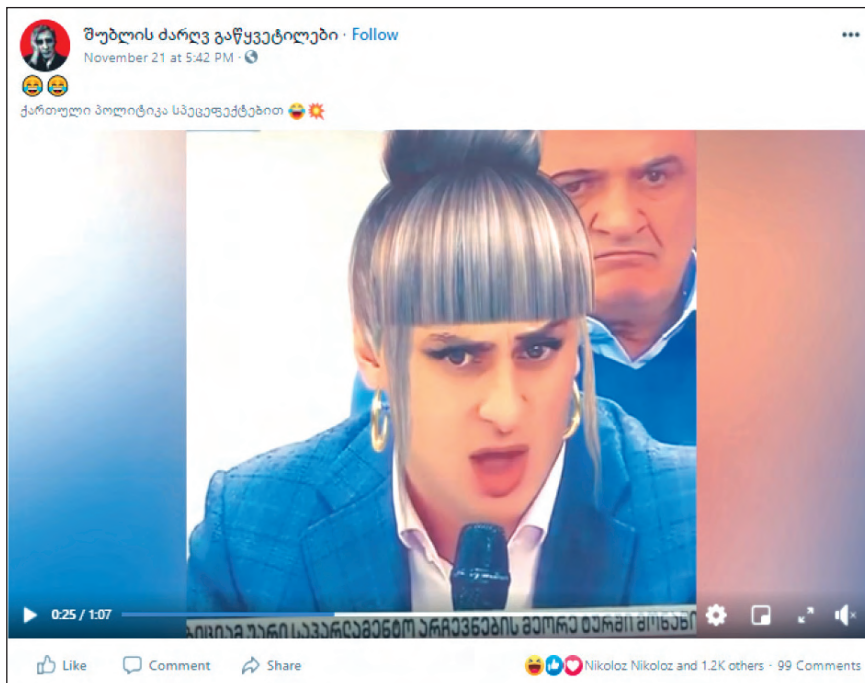
CONCHITA WURST

According to Facebook Ads Library,[28] this video was financed; up to USD 100 was spent on it, which was paid by Giorgi Kvaratskhelia.

The video published by "Shublis Dzargv Gatskvetilebi" was shared by "Mache Mache" on a Facebook group of GD supporters, "41-Kvlav Khalkhis Samsakhurshi" while a Facebook account discrediting opponents of the government "Terenti GIdaneli" shared it with the caption "Zoo."

FB group "Miha Hamodi" and FB profile "Mache Mache" shared this video from "Terenti GIdaneli" on a Facebook group "Simartlis Gza."
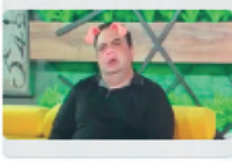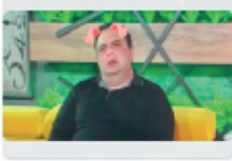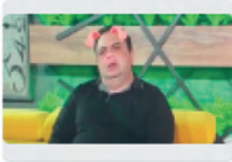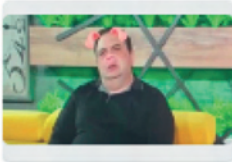
On the same day, within the span of one hour, this video was shared on a FB page discrediting opponents of the government, "Sekta" with a caption "Our wild animals" and on FB page "Mekhute Raikhi" with a caption "Animal world."
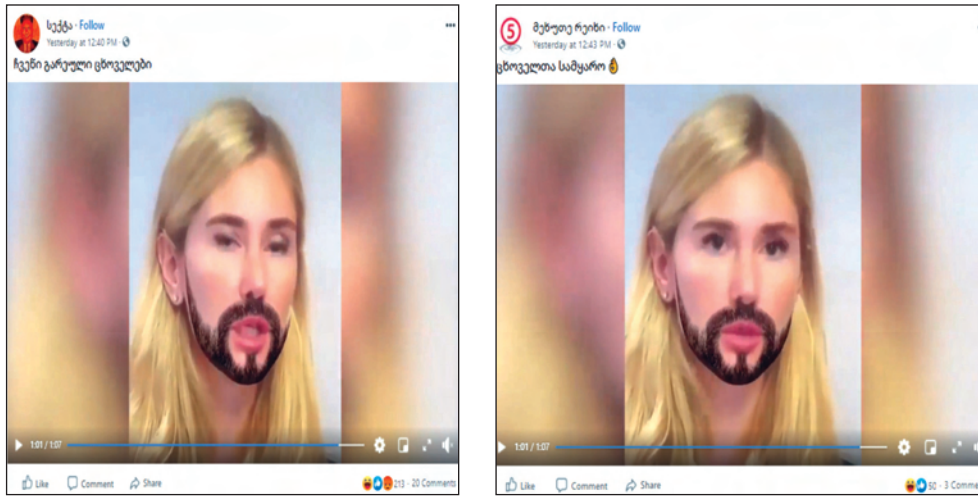

From "Mekhute Raikhi" this video was shared by FB profile Nika Kvirikashvili on the FB group "41-Kvlav Khalkh-is Samsakhurshi," while by FB profile Tamar Mikeladze on the FB group "Simartlis Gza."

4. VISUAL MANIPULATION

Photo and video manipulations were used as a tool of expressing sexism and gender stereotyping towards women politicians. Photo manipulations ranged between humorous photo collages and obscene photo manipulations. Video manipulations included video compilations of fragments from various footage as well as unedited video but with fake audio text. All this visual material aimed at ridiculing, offending and criticizing women.

USE OF PHOTO MATERIAL FOR SHAMING BASED ON MORAL CRITERIA. In a photo manipulation posted by Facebook page associated with the Alliance of Patriots, Political Sarcasm, a woman with face morphed into the face of Tina Bokuchava is seen sitting with bare buttocks on a Xerox copier machine in an office. This post has been deleted.
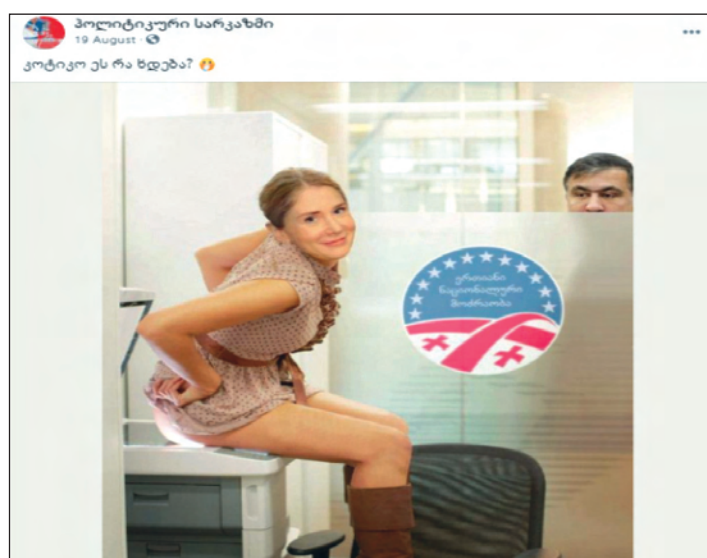
OBSCENE CARTOON. An obscene photo manipulation featuring President Salome Zourabichvili, MP Sopo Kiladze and the Minister of Regional Development and Infrastructure, Maya Tskitishvili, sitting in a room furnished with antique furniture and objects while MP Gia Volski and the president's son, Teimuraz Gorjestani, bringing in a statue of phallus, was shared by "Kotsebis Dasatsini Oficialuri Saagento," an account discrediting the government.

PHOTOMANIPULATIONS. A photoshopped election poster of candidate from UNM Nato Chkheidze was published by "Natsebis Dasatsini Oficialuri Saagento," a FB account discrediting opponents of the government, to ridicule her speech in which she used the word "favus" (honeycomb).
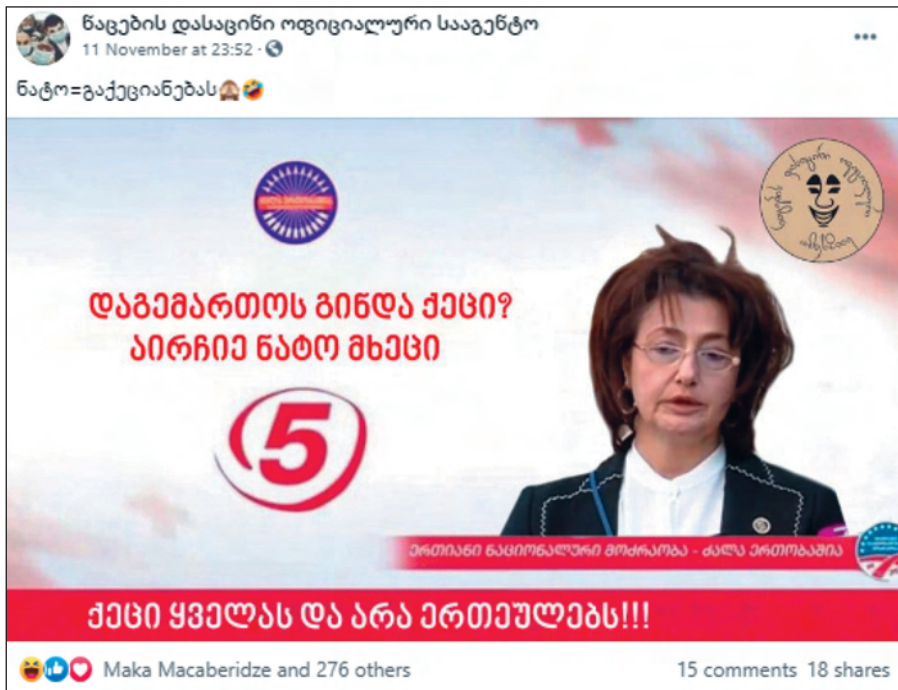
Nino Burjanadze's experience was ridiculed with a photomanipulation shared on the FB group "Rustavi 41," which bears an inscription of her election motto "Vote for strength and experience."

"Ekvtime Bidzinashvili," the account discrediting the government, uploaded an episode from a movie, Malèna, with Monica Bellucchi's face morphed into the face of the leader of Alliance of Patriots, Irma Inashvili. The caption reads: "Come to meeeeee."

A photomanipulation shared on "Simartlis Gza" was accompanied with an offensive message of sexual nature concerning Tako Charkviani. In the message she was asked when she will go to bed with the founder of the party Strategy Aghmashenebeli.

The founder of Law and Justice, Tako Charkviani, was a frequent target of photomanipulations.
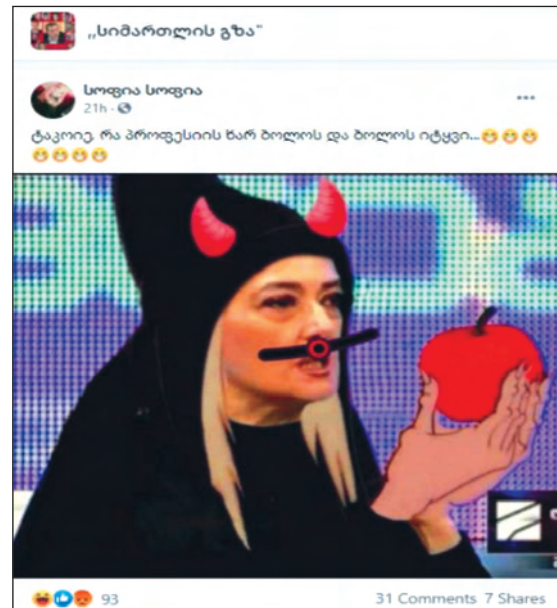
Tako Charkviani's manner to gesticulate when speaking was a source of many photomanipulations.

The slut-shaming campaign against Eka Beselia,[29] which was underway on 3 and 4 November, was revisited by photomanipulations of the same nature some time later too.

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[29] Mid-term report of pre-election monitoring: Sexism and gender stereotypes in social media.
https://genderbarometer.ge/en/mid-term-report-of-pre-election-monitoring-sexism-and-gender-stereotypes-in-social-media/,
pg. 54.

Drawing horns to heads of politicians was a popular exercise.

[29] იხილეთ „წინასაარჩევნო მონიტორინგის შუალედური ანგარიში: სექსიზმი და გენდერული სტერეოტიპები სოციალურ მედიაში", გვ. 51.

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Memes were also spread to discredit or stereotype targets. One of them, featuring Helen Khoshtaria, shows the last part of the compound word "supermarket" stricken through and the word "lie" written over it ("super-lie"). Another bears an inscription "Chergo keychain of Bokeria's car."