



DIVISIVE NARRATIVES ON FACEBOOK DURING THE 2018 ELECTIONS



Kingdom of the Netherlands

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Disclaimer: Names of some Facebook pages and their posts presented in this report contain vulgar and insulting language. Any such content of this report is intended for demonstration purpose only. ISFED underlines that it strictly distances itself from such pages, does not share the ideas of their posts, nor condones the inappropriate and vulgar content.

1. INTRODUCTION

In view of the increasing role of social media during electoral processes, the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED) launched social media monitoring in the context of elections, ahead of the 2018 Presidential Election. As a result of the monitoring, the organization already published two interim reports¹. Those reports cover the activity of official political party and candidate Facebook pages as well as pages of a number of public institutions; illegal campaigning by civil servants on Facebook; and monitoring of discrediting campaigns by anonymous Facebook pages against candidates, parties and other actors during the pre-election period. The monitoring illustrated that the far-reaching discrediting campaign carried out by anonymous pages through sponsored content and lack of transparency of funds spent for this purpose was the primary challenge during the pre-election period.

ISFED monitoring also entailed monitoring of value-based divisive narratives, which became active during the pre-election period. These narratives represent not only the reflection of internal political processes, but also a purposeful disinformation and propaganda exercise, directed toward incitement of irrational fears, anti-western and anti-liberal, xenophobic and homophobic sentiments. Activity of such pages during election is not directly focused on internal political processes, but instead, their activity facilitated domination of controversial narratives in the election period. In this way, they pose a significant risk to democratic processes, including election processes.

The present social media monitoring report summarizes quantitative and qualitative findings based on the study of Facebook pages that disseminate value-based divisive narratives, sheds light to possible coordination between these pages, and provides analysis of their messages in light of the political discourse and election processes.

The fact that propaganda and disinformation narratives are becoming active in Georgia is somewhat a reflection of Eurosceptic and illiberal anti-democratic messages of the European far-right forces. Considering the scale and intensity of such campaigns, propaganda and disinformation narratives pose a serious challenge in Georgia. These messages are mostly directed against European integration, however as illustrated by this report, propaganda narratives entail comprehensive and multifaceted topics in themselves and mostly resonate with the agenda of ultra-nationalistic, populist groups, which goes in line with the strategy and tactics of Russian information warfare.

In order to mislead the public, disinformation and propaganda pages increasingly resort to social media, as the most convenient micro-environment for manipulating the feelings of users, facilitated by their lack of ability to critically evaluate the information received, which eventually puts liberal democratic values at risk and helps disseminate false, irrational fears in the society.

Unlike the anonymous discrediting pages, identified during election period, that focused on political discourse, significant majority of Facebook pages disseminating the value-based divisive narratives are not anonymous and are openly engaged in the information campaign. Some of them are registered as official legal entities, making it possible to identify specific individuals behind them.

Even though significant majority of such divisive narrative pages demonstrate coordinated, inauthentic behavior and they frequently resort to use of hate speech, which is against the declared standards of Facebook, their operation on the platform is not restricted. In that respect, Facebook's response is not effective and even though several Facebook pages addressed in this report have been deactivated, their founders and ideologues continue their activities using different new pages. For instance, on May 17, 2019, Facebook deactivated four Georgian pages that published nationalistic, anti-liberal and anti-western posts but at the time of writing this report, all of them have been restored and they continue to operate.

Despite the multi-faceted challenges that this phenomenon poses, there is still no consensus on how to effectively address the problem. Various organizations, around the world are in the process of identifying and studying the reach of this phenomenon.

¹ First interim report of social media monitoring, ISFED, 26 October 2018, <https://isfed.ge/geo/angarishebi/sotsialuri-mediis-monitoringi-pirveli-shualeduri-angarishi>

Second interim report of social media monitoring, ISFED, 20 December 2018, <https://isfed.ge/geo/angarishebi/sotsialuri-mediis-monitoringi-meore-shualeduri-angarishi>

This report is a follow-up to the two social media monitoring reports published during the 2018 Presidential Elections. Based on the findings of these reports and the derived recommendations, ISFED will also publish a policy document on the role of the social media in elections.

The International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy aims to facilitate the discussion with various actors on challenges related to how social media affects election and political processes. Besides developing recommendations, ISFED aims to share its expertise with observer organizations and partners in different countries in order to popularize social media monitoring in the election context and showcase the significance of such monitoring.

2. METHODOLOGY

The International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED) carried out monitoring of disinformation and divisive narratives on social media from June 1, 2018 through January 5, 2019. Considering the popularity of Facebook among social networking platforms in Georgia, ISFED focused on monitoring the Facebook activity only.

ISFED studied pages that were actively disseminating ultra-nationalistic, anti-liberal, anti-western and other value-based divisive narratives. The report refers to such Facebook pages as divisive narrative pages (or propagandistic pages). Their significant majority is also engaged in disinformation. A total of 52 such pages were studied. Pages were collected by specially trained monitors, based on analysis of page activities on Facebook. At the time of publishing this report, some of the 52 Facebook pages are no longer operational. Additionally, a number of divisive narrative pages emerged after the monitoring period. The report covers the 52 pages that were relevant and active during the period of monitoring, and that were spreading value-based divisive narratives and disinformation.

During the monitoring period, ISFED analyzed all 22,606 posts published on 52 pages. Within the monitoring, quantitative characteristics of these posts were also studied, including post engagement – number of reactions, shares and comments and types of posts. Based on post shares between the pages, ISFED also identified possible connections among them. In terms of content, messages contained by the posts were grouped under six main narratives. ISFED studied frequency of dissemination of nationalistic, xenophobic, Islamophobic, anti-western, anti-liberal and homophobic narratives. The organization also looked into the share of these narrative types in the total number of posts and conducted qualitative analysis of their messages. ISFED also monitored pre-election activity of such pages.

The operational definition of different categories of narratives studied are given below. Each post was analyzed to determine matching narrative(s):

1. **Nationalistic** – focusing on the nation as manifestation of shared ethnic or civic identity and its characteristics (including national symbols) in an exaggerated context; and/or portraying one's own nation as more superior than others and/or openly expressing aggression toward other nations.
2. **Xenophobic** – Negative attitude toward foreign nationals expressed openly; messages that seem neutral but imply unacceptability of foreign nationals, expressed by identifying individual cultural groups with certain crimes.
3. **Islamophobic** – Negative, aggressive attitude toward Islam, Islamic sacred objects and symbols, Muslims and Muslim community.
4. **Anti-Western** – Openly negative attitude toward Euro-Atlantic structures and western countries, distrust; direct or indirect ascription of negative characteristics to the West; as well as, depiction of Eurosceptic attitudes in European countries in positive light.
5. **Anti-liberal** – resistance to liberal democracy or its individual cultural parameters; open unacceptability toward liberal values; using terms of liberalism, liberal / liberals in negative context; opposing liberal activism.
6. **Homophobic** – unacceptability and hate expressed toward LGBTIQI community.

For effective implementation of the project, social media monitoring and analysis software – Fact-a-lyzer – was created in accordance to ISFED methodology. The software enables collection of public posts on Facebook, their categorization, processing and analysis. The software was developed by the National Democratic Institute (NDI), with involvement of an international expert.

3. KEY FINDINGS

During the 2018 Presidential election, ISFED identified 52 Facebook pages that were actively engaged in dissemination of divisive value-based narratives, including nationalistic, xenophobic, Islamophobic, anti-Western, anti-liberal and homophobic messages. Their monitoring suggests that these pages aim to incite value-based confrontation and polarization in the society, create irrational fears, influence public discourse and radicalize the society on ideological grounds.

Narratives and propaganda methods of these Facebook pages are identical to those used by the Kremlin in various European countries. In particular, tactics employed by these pages resonate with Kremlin's efforts to spread divisive narratives that contain conspiracy theories in the Western society. Usually these narratives are in line with the far-right or far-left agenda and run against the liberal discourse. In Europe, these messages are often spread by Russian online media and they also move to different social media platforms. Use of this phenomenon by the Kremlin to manipulate public discourse is perceived in the West as interference with domestic political affairs of a particular country.

Spike in the activity of propaganda pages examined during the monitoring coincided with specific events and dates. During the monitoring, these pages became especially active for the first time in August, on the tenth anniversary of the 2008 war, as well as on the anniversary of the medieval Didgori Battle. Their level of activity also increased significantly after Guram Kashia was recognized for UEFA's Equal Game award and also, after the government unveiled the initiative to cultivate cannabis for export purposes.

52 pages monitored were liked by a total of **1,176,400** users.² They published a total of **22,606** posts from June 1, 2018 through January 5, 2019, with a total of **5,160,994** post interactions.³ The number of post reactions⁴ and shares were nearly equal, while comments were less frequent. The pages published posts mostly in the form of photos frequently accompanied by captions.

Divisive narrative pages can be grouped under six different categories of narratives. Posts with nationalistic and anti-liberal content were published most often, followed by posts that contained homophobic, xenophobic, anti-western and Islamophobic messages. These narratives resonate with narratives inspired by Russia, as identified by EU's East StratCom Taskforce, which are disseminated in different European countries on a periodic basis.⁵

Nationalistic messages featured ethnic, Orthodox and (ultra)conservative nationalism content. Messages against Georgia's neighbors had a significant share, including on the anti-occupation issue, where other neighboring countries were named as occupiers alongside Russia. Among these, anti-Turkish messages were most frequent, portraying Turkey as an enemy of Georgia.

The pages incited **xenophobic** feelings mostly toward citizens of Asian and African countries. These pages actively campaigned against issuing of residency permits to such individuals, entry of citizens of Iran, Arab states, India, China, Africa and other countries into Georgia, and were trying to link the immigration from non-Western countries to increased rates of crime, citing false facts.

Islamophobic messages were mostly directed against Islam or Muslims of Georgian and foreign nationality. Some of the pages tied Islam with violence and terrorism. They were openly against building of mosques in Ajara and highlighted the threat of Georgia's "Islamization".

Some divisive narrative pages contained openly **anti-western propaganda**. Among the posts that were published, messages against the EU, the Council of Europe and NATO were especially salient. Divisive narrative pages are against Georgia's integration with NATO. Often the West was identified with immorality.

Notably, some of the pages welcome strengthening of nationalism in Western countries and attempt to draw a picture that Western countries are trying to "escape" from values of liberal democracy. Ultra-nationalist pages referred to the examples of rising nationalism in Europe and cited far-right, nationalist views of leaders of governments of Hungary,

² The data does not represent the number of unique users, as one user may have liked several of these pages.

³ Interaction means total number of reactions, comments and shares.

⁴ Six types of reactions available on Facebook: like, love, haha, wow, sad, angry.

⁵ EU's special task force for combating Russian disinformation - East StratCom taskforce has been researching Russia's propaganda campaign in Europe since 2015. The task force is focused on predicting pro-Kremlin messages and providing fast response.

https://euvsdisinfo.eu/uploads/2019/05/Elections_meddling_summary.pdf

Austria, Poland and Italy. They also support the policies of Donald Trump’s administration. According to this narrative, the West is only associated with Christian culture, which, according to the divisive narrative pages, is endangered by non-Western cultures.

The pages openly oppose the cultural characteristics of liberal democracy, liberalism and those who share liberal values. Propaganda pages confront liberalism with Orthodox, national and traditional values. Some posts were also against multiculturalism. These pages were spreading anti-feminist, sexist and misogynist messages. One of the key messages was the propaganda against abortion. Additionally, campaign against George Soros and NGOs was very active.

Divisive narrative pages openly expressed unacceptability toward LGBTQI community and were against the anti-discrimination law or its application to representatives of the LGBTQI community. **Homophobic messages** sometimes manifested in violent calls. Anti-LGBTQI narrative was often related to messages against Guram Kashia.

Analysis of political rhetoric of the pages examined by ISFED indicates that they were against the policies of all current and previous authorities of Georgia, with the exception of the first president of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia. In some cases, facts of direct or indirect support toward the Georgian Dream were found. Some divisive narrative pages openly supported the Alliance of Patriots of Georgia and its leaders.

Ahead of the first round of the Presidential election in 2018, the pages studied most often supported Giorgi Andriadze as a candidate. For the second round, some of them engaged in favor of Salome Zourabichvili.

Divisive narrative pages were also involved in discrediting campaigns against Presidential candidates. Targets of discrediting campaigns ahead of the first round mostly included Salome Zourabichvili, Grigol Vashadze, Zourab Japaridze and Davit Bakradze. For the runoff, the discrediting activity of the divisive narrative pages were mostly targeting Grigol Vashadze.

Pages spreading value-based divisive narratives were mostly sharing the content of the so called alternative, ultra-nationalistic media outlets, alt-info.com and mystar.ge. They also used mainstream media in some cases, including “Interpressnews”, news pages of Imedi TV and the Public Broadcaster.

Divisive narrative pages likely form closely tied networks, with two of them seemingly the most influential. The fact that sources shared by these pages were identical indicates that these pages work as a network. The pages that are allegedly part of a network are actively sharing the content of their respective source as well as each other’s posts. Additionally, pages that make up networks publish similar posts within short intervals.

- One such network includes Facebook pages linked to *alt-info.com*: *Alt-Info*; *Anti-liberal Club*, *Geo Pepe*, *Alpha Dominant*, *Anti-Paradox*.
- Another network was organized around *mystar.ge*⁶ and included *Mystar.ge*⁷, *National Force*, *Notorious Society*, *You Are Georgia*.

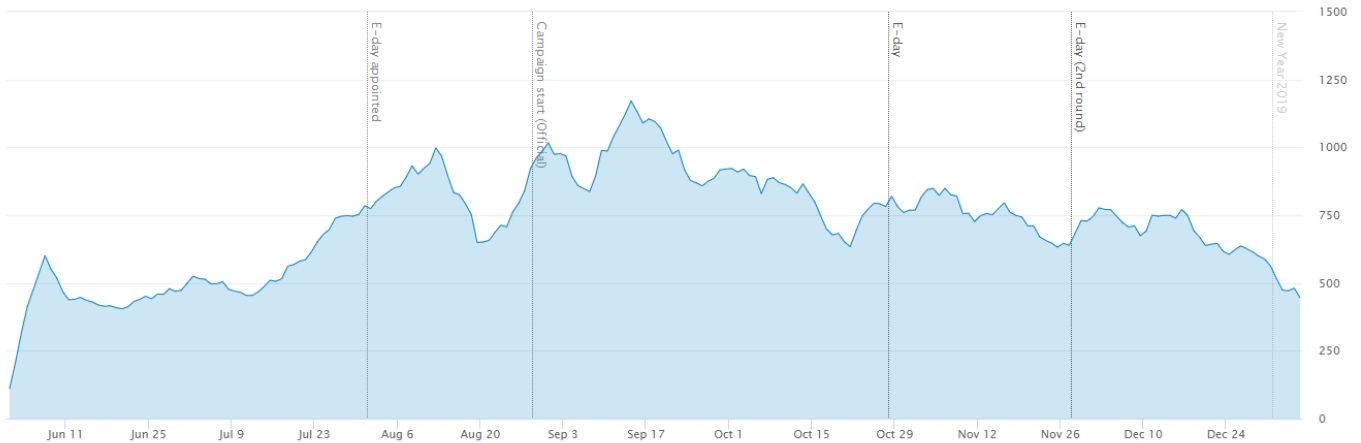
⁶ At the time of publishing this report, the website is no longer active, however it was fully operational during the reporting period.

⁷ The page “Mystar.Ge” was deactivated in October 2018. Later it was restored under the name “Mystar.Ge Sofia”. It didn’t continue publishing divisive narrative posts after restoring. Now it publishes photos of women’s jewellery and other accessories.

4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAGES MONITORED

4.1. Page activity

52 pages monitored were the least active in June 2018. Starting from mid-July, weekly activity of ultra-nationalist pages increased. In Summer, their activity soared in the week of August 6-12. During these days, a total of nearly 1,000 posts were published by the pages monitored. Rise of the activity was related to the ten-year anniversary of the Russian-Georgian war in 2008 and the historic date of Didgori Battle (August 12). The peak of the activity was recorded on August 12. 105 out of 195 posts published that day were about Didgoroba Festival. To mark this day, special rallies were organized through Facebook pages and held in Tbilisi and Batumi. The Didgori Battle continued to be the focus of these pages in other days as well. Words “Didgor(i)”/”Didgoroba” were mentioned in nearly 400 posts.



Weekly number of posts published by the pages studied within the monitoring (June 1, 2018 – January 5, 2019)

Activity of pages decreased after August 12. After August 22, when it became known that UEFA would present Guram Kashia, a member of the Georgian national football team, with the Equal Game award, activity of divisive narrative pages spiked. In the week of August 25-31, these pages published 1,017 posts - majority of which, contained messages against Kashia and homophobic content.

The third peak of activity is the highest throughout the reporting period. On September 8-14, within the 7-day period, 1,171 posts were published. This particular wave of increased activity was mostly related to reports on September 11 that the government was considering the issue of cultivating and producing marijuana for export purposes. The primary goal of the divisive narrative pages became to oppose this initiative.

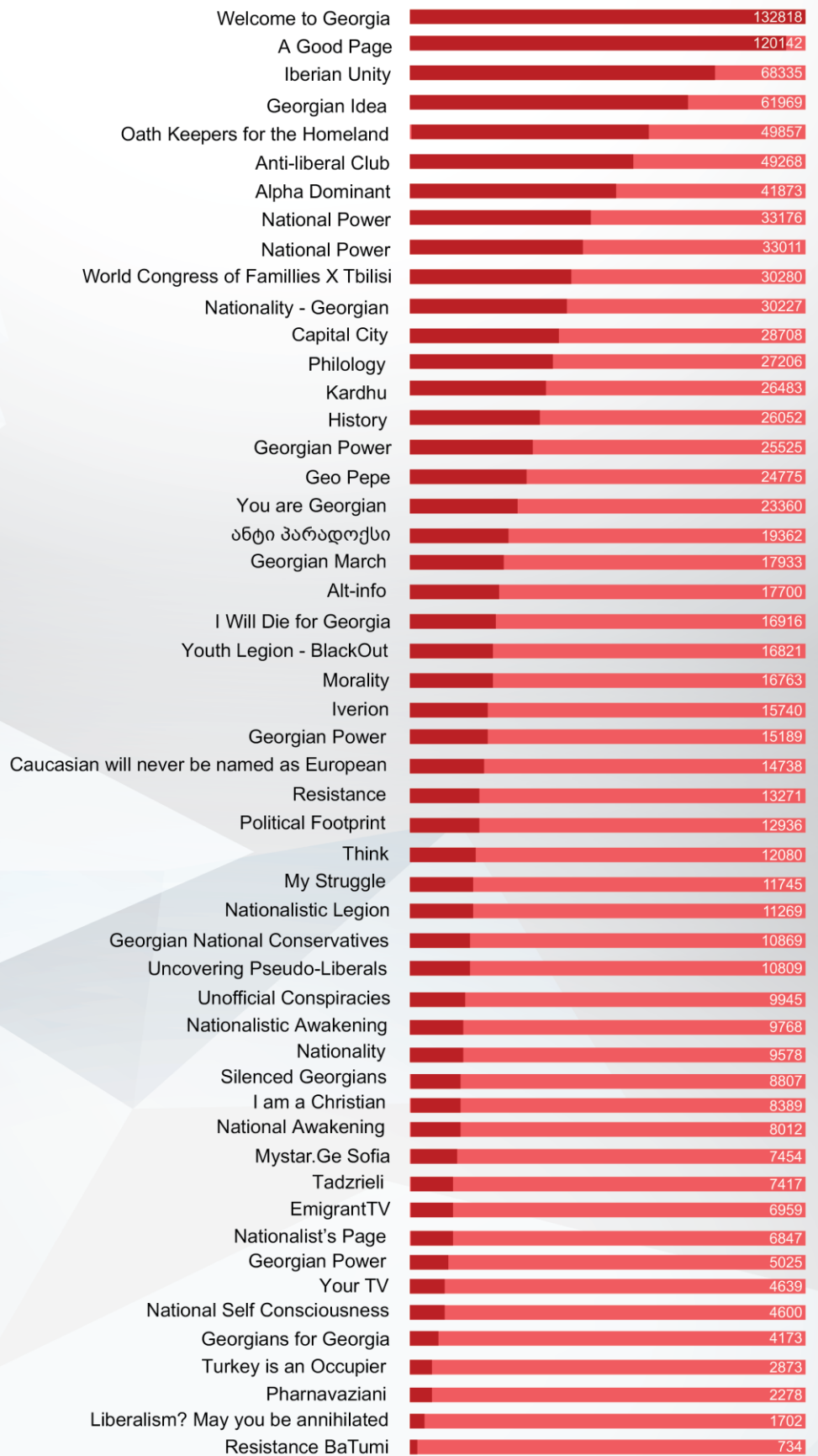
There was no significant change in the level of activity of the pages in the subsequent period. Low level of activity was reported in the last week of 2018 and in the beginning of 2019, which was probably related to the New Year and Christmas celebrations. Their majority only posted congratulatory messages.

Notably, activity of the monitored pages was somewhat influenced by the Presidential elections. Elections and election-related issues were one of the topics of discussion for these pages during the pre-election process. Unlike divisive narrative pages, the peak of activity of discrediting pages coincided with the election period.

4.2. Page likes

52 pages covered by the monitoring were liked by a total of **1,176,400** users. Average number of likes per page was 22,263. The page *Welcome to Georgia* had the highest number of subscribers; it was liked by over 132 thousand users. *Good Page* had more than 120,000 likes. Pages like *Iberian Unity*, *Georgian Idea*, *Sworn for the Motherland*, *Anti-Liberal Club* and others had high number of subscribers as well.

NUMBER OF PAGE LIKES

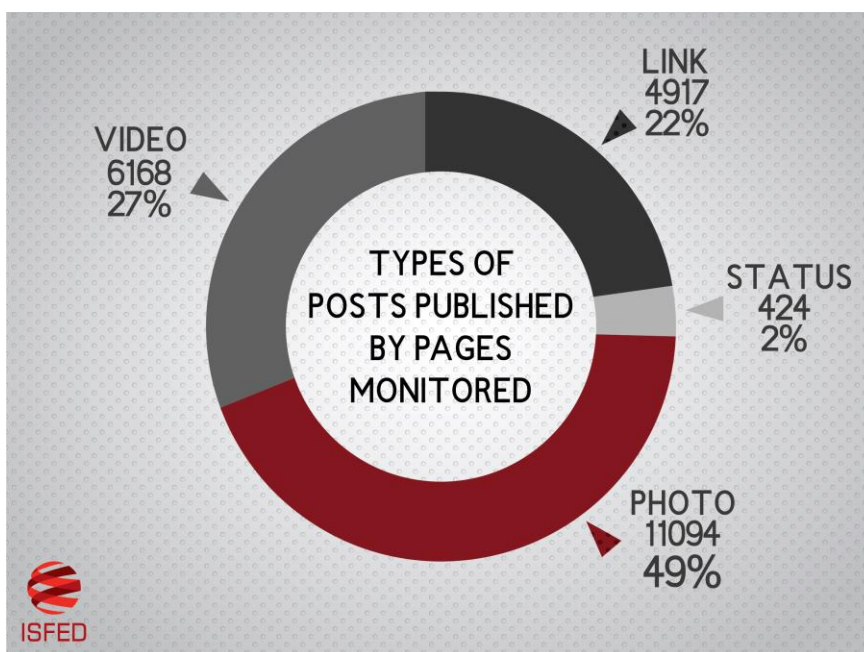


4.3. Posts and post types

During the monitoring period, a total of 22,606 posts were published, with an average of 435 posts per page. Most posts (1,752) were published by *Tadzrieli*. Five of the monitored pages published more than a thousand posts each. These pages include: *Geo Pepe*, *Georgian Idea*, *Anti-Liberal Club*, *Anti-Paradox*. Least number of posts was published by *Parnavaziani* and *Georgians for Georgia*.

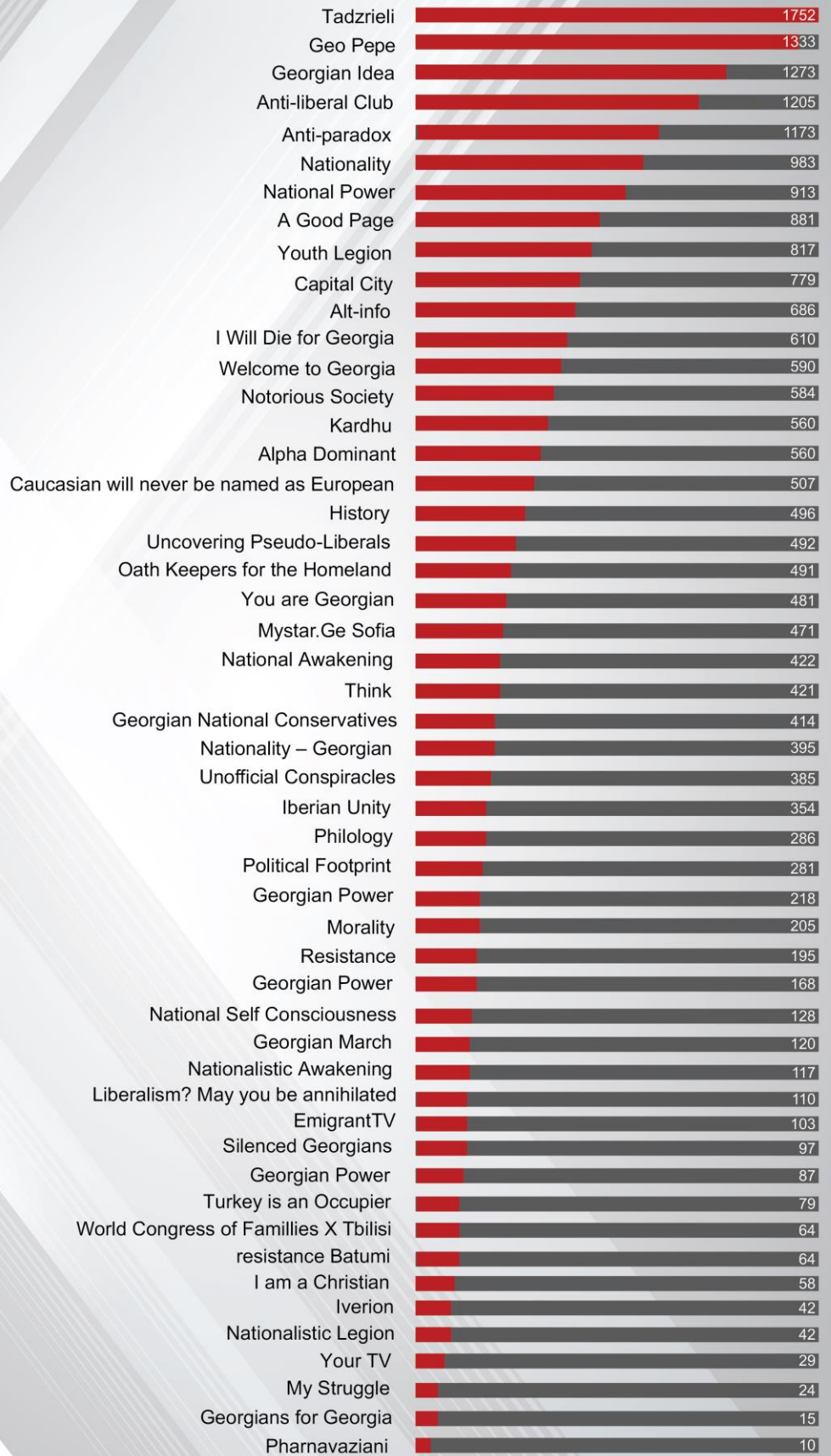
Average number of words per post was 47. Longest posts were published by pages *Morality* (an average of 231.8 words per post), *Georgian Idea* (an average of 148.4 words per post) and *Nationalist Awakening* (an average of 105.3 words per post). On average, the shortest texts were published by the following pages: *Caucasian Will Never Be Called European* (an average of 1.6 words per post), *Parnavaziani* (an average of 5.5 words per post) and *Georgian Force* (9 words per post).

Nearly half (49%) of the posts published by pages studied within the monitoring were photos, 27% of posts were videos and 22% had the form of a shared link. All three types of posts were mostly accompanied by text. Only 2% of posts were published as a status (without photo and video images). Links were most often shared by *Alt-Info*, *Morality* and *Anti-Liberal Club*. *Iveron* and *Turkey is an Occupier* most often published their own statuses. Photos were most often published by pages like *Think*, *Georgian Power*, *Georgians for Georgia*, *Silenced Georgians*, and *Nationality*. Videos and Facebook lives were most often published by pages like *World Congress Of Families X Tbilisi*, *Good Page*, *EmigrantTV*, *Caucasian Will Never Be Called European*, etc.



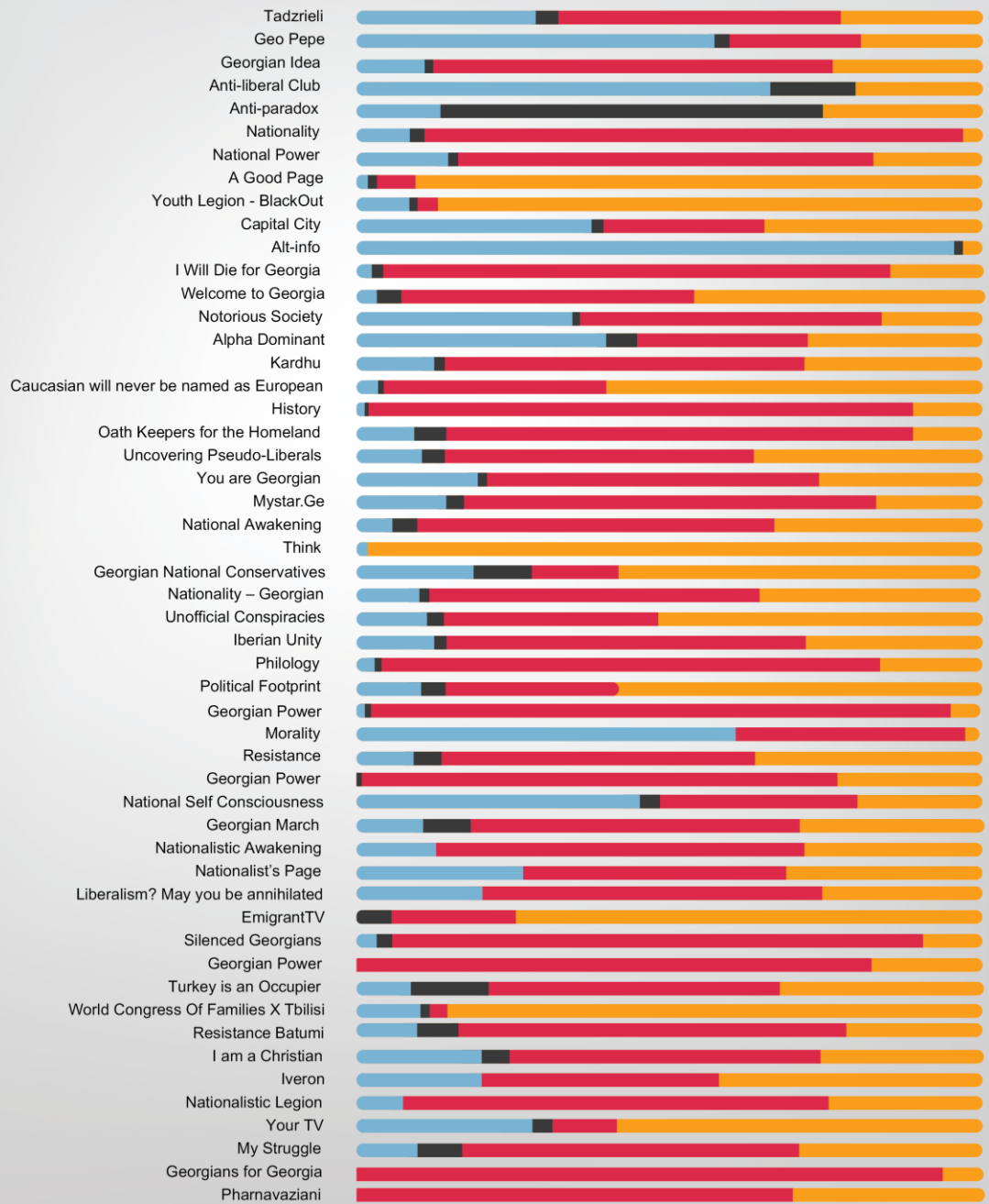
Types of posts published by the pages monitored

NUMBER OF POSTS



Number of posts per page (June 1, 2018 – January 5, 2019)

POST TYPES



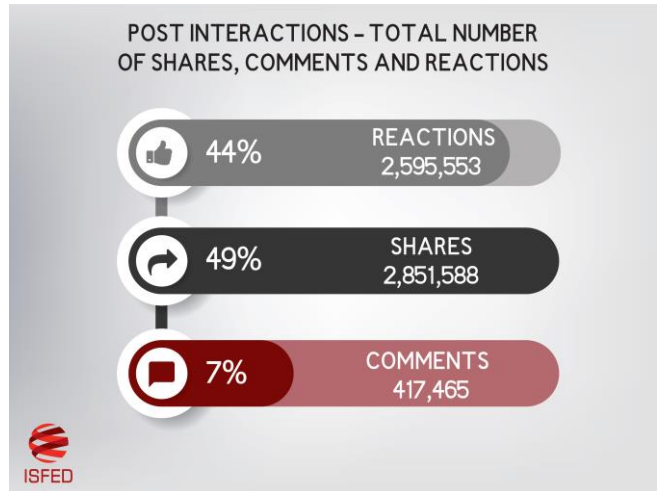
● Link ● Status ● Photo ● Video

Distribution of post types posted by each page (June 1, 2018 – January 5, 2019)

4.4. Interaction – Shares, Comments and Reactions

During the monitoring period, posts published by the divisive narrative pages had a total of **5,160,994** reactions, shares and comments. On average, each post had 259 interactions. Most frequently, interaction of Facebook users manifested through shares followed by frequency of reactions, while comments were fewer.

Among the pages monitored, *Welcome to Georgia* had the highest interaction number. Posts published by this page had 1,056,222 reactions, shares and comments. The following pages also had high levels of interaction: *Good Page, I Will Die For Georgia, National Force, Georgian Idea, Alpha Dominant*, etc.



The level of interaction is mostly related to the number of likes (subscribers) of the page and the number of posts published. *Welcome to Georgia* and *Good Page* have the highest number of likes. These pages also published a large number of posts. The pages with fewer likes had lower level of interaction, including even when they posted a lot. For instance, even though *Tadzrieli* published highest number of posts among the pages monitored by ISFED, it ranked 32nd in terms of interaction. This was due to a small number of page subscribers. Among the pages monitored *Tadzrieli* ranked 42nd in terms of likes.

In this respect, divisive narrative pages were different from the discrediting or false media pages described in the social media monitoring reports published by ISFED during the election period. In particular, despite small number of subscribers those pages were able to reach high level of interaction through sponsored posts.

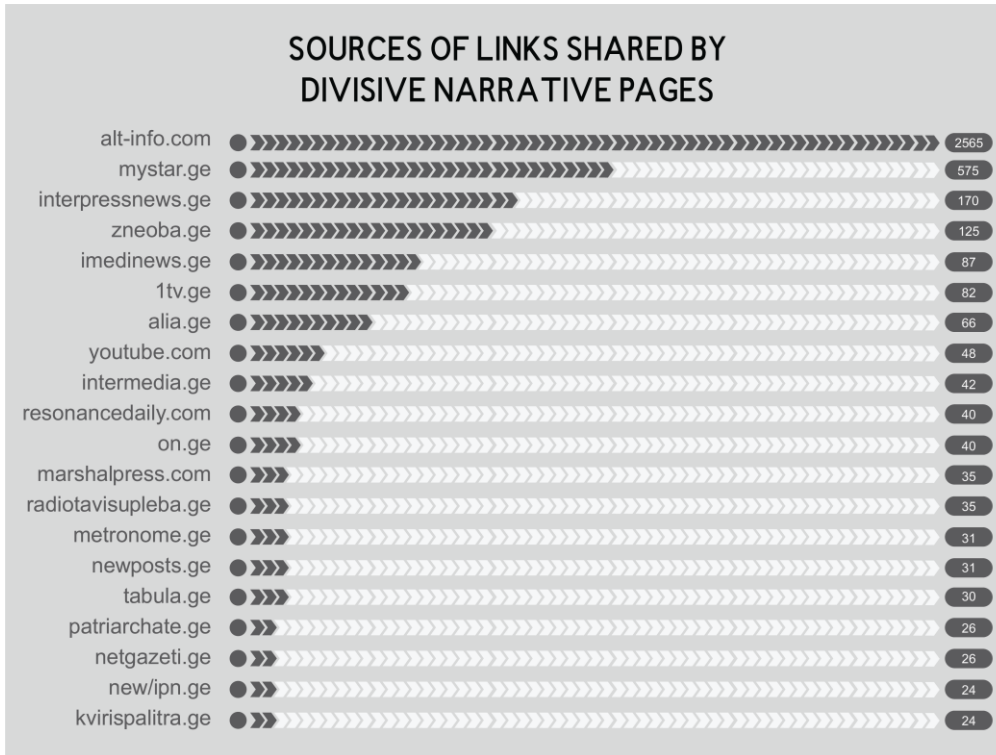
On the pages monitored, Facebook users interacted the most with videos. On average, a video had 411 shares, comments and reactions. Photos had the highest level of interaction after videos (210 interactions per photo on average). Other types of posts were less interactive, with shared links being the least interactive.

Interactions according to types of posts

Type of post	Number of posts	Shares		Comments		Reactions		Total interactions	
		Total	Avg.	Total	Avg.	Total	Avg.	Total	Avg
Link	4,917	110,685	23	30,320	6	128,196	26	269,201	55
Status	424	13,336	31	7,435	18	8,685	20	29,456	69
Photo	11,094	1,258,857	113	167,947	15	901,883	81	2,328,687	210
Video	6,168	1,468,462	238	211,691	34	853,030	138	2,533,183	411
Notes	3	248	83	72	24	147	49	467	156

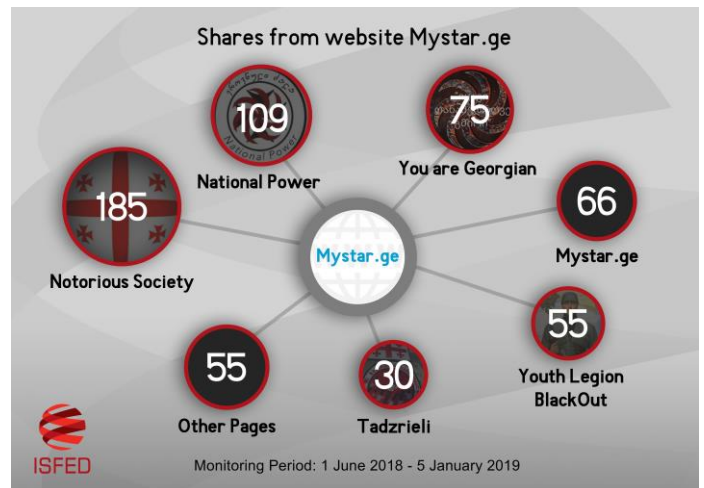
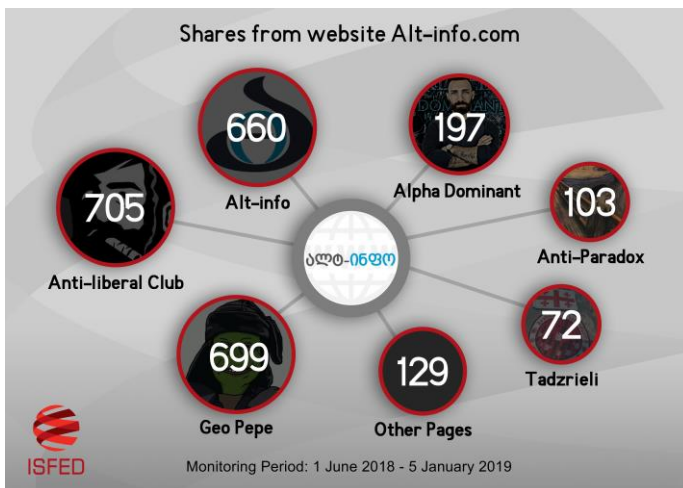
5. NETWORKS AND SOURCES OF SHARES

5.1. Sharing from webpages



Most used sources and number of times they were shared
(monitoring period: June 1, 2018 – January 5, 2019)

Divisive narrative pages were mostly using the so-called alternative, ultra-nationalistic information website – *alt-info.com* as a source for sharing information. This website is mostly engaged in anti-liberal, anti-immigration, anti-LGBTQI and anti-Western propaganda. It was most frequently used as a source for sharing information by *Anti-Liberal Club*, *Geo Pepe*, *Alt-Info*, *Alpha-Dominant* and *Anti-Paradox*. On the most part, these pages are simultaneously sharing information of *alt-info.com*, within a small period of time (often within a 1-3 minute interval), which is indicative of a close link between them.



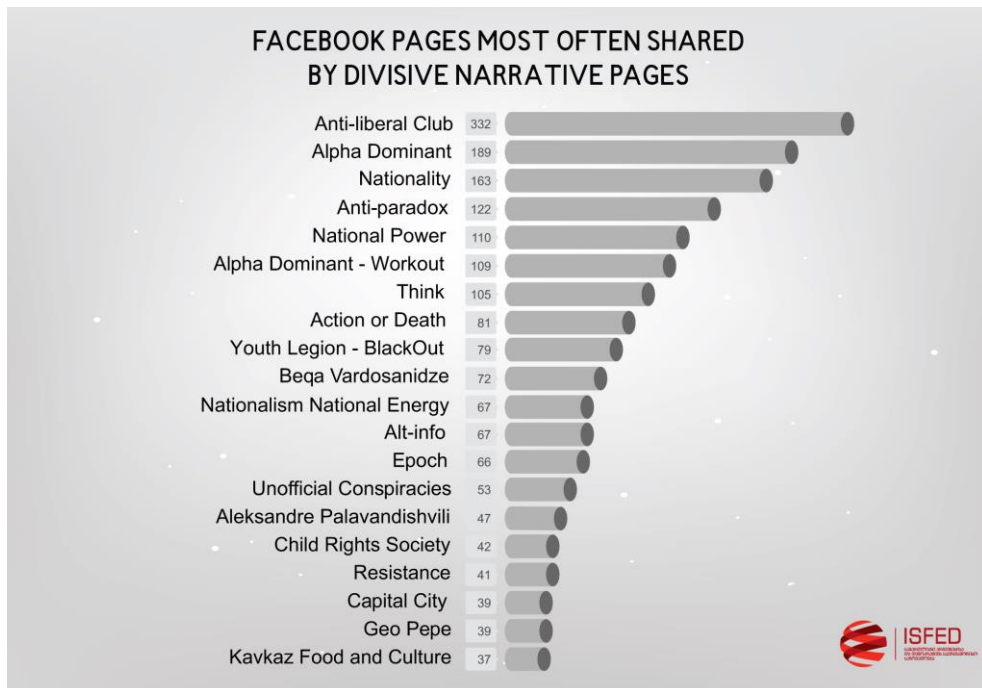
Another most popular source of alternative information was *mystar.ge*. The information published on this website was shared by a Facebook page with the same name. Material published on *mystar.ge* was also actively used by *Notorious Society*, *National Force*, *You Are Georgia*, *Youth Legion – BlackOut* and other pages. Often these pages used identical content and simultaneously shared materials published by *mystar.ge*. The website itself is no longer operational.

Divisive narrative pages sometimes used mainstream media for sharing information. For instance, during the reporting period, website of the news agency Interpressnews was used most often as a source of information, followed by news websites of Imedi TV and the Public Broadcaster.

Zneoba.ge ranked fourth among the most shared sources. 95.2% of shares from the website was by its namesake Facebook page – *Zneoba*. *Zneoba.ge* has religious content and materials published there mostly concerned Orthodox holidays, work of the clergy and their sermons. Often it published content that contained anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQI and anti-Western messages.

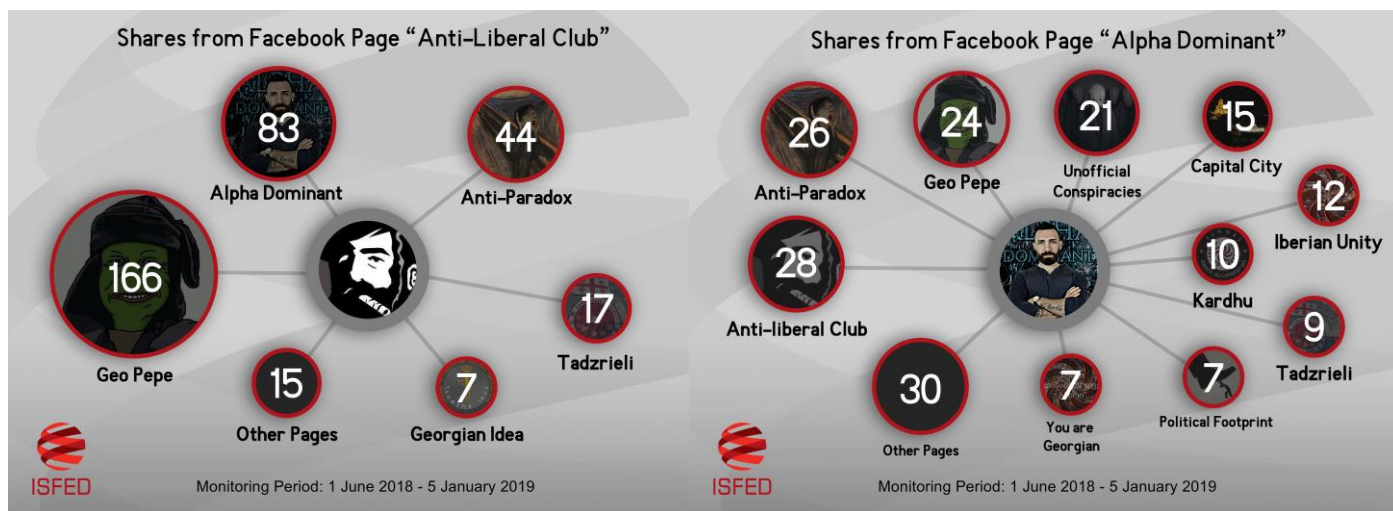
5.2. Sharing from Facebook Pages

As to sharing of posts from Facebook pages, the pages monitored mostly shared posts from each other; however, they sometimes used posts published by pages that were not covered by ISFED monitoring. The most shared five pages were all monitored by ISFED. Three of them – *Anti-Liberal Club*, *Alpha Dominant* and *Anti-Paradox* were acting in a coordinated manner and it seems that they represent a closely linked network. *Geo Pepe* and *Unofficial Conspiracies* (partially) were also connected to these pages through sharing practices.



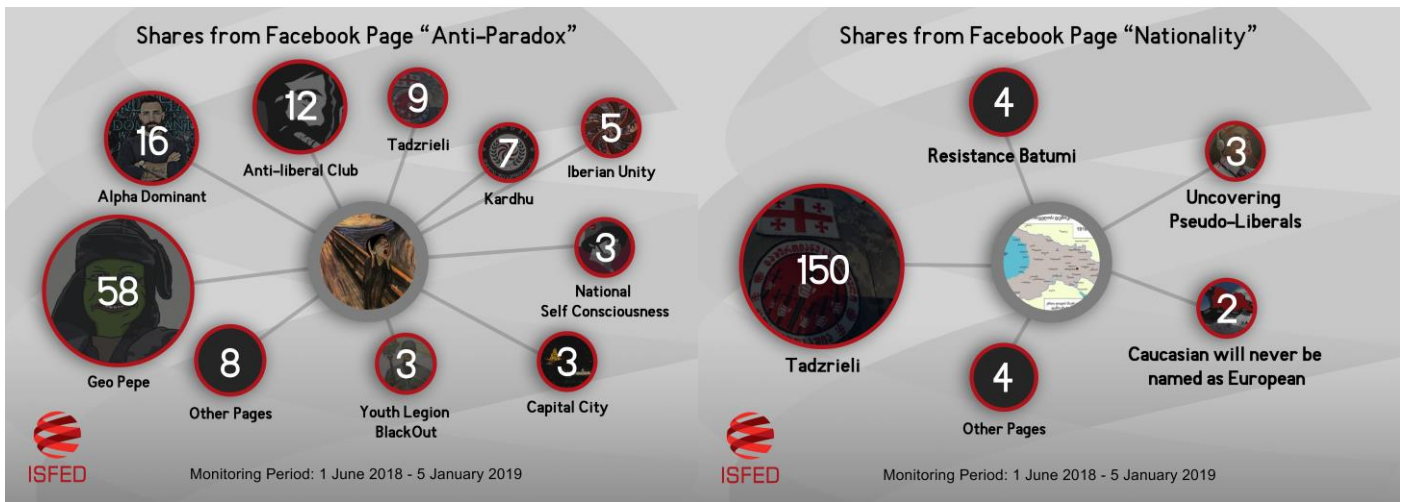
Facebook pages most often shared by divisive narrative pages (June 1, 2018 – January 5, 2019)

Posts of *Anti-Liberal Club* were shared by 14 out of 52 pages. *Geo Pepe* accounted half of all the posts shared. Additionally, posts of *Anti-Liberal Club* were often shared by *Alpha Dominant*, *Anti-Paradox*, *Unofficial Conspiracies*, etc.



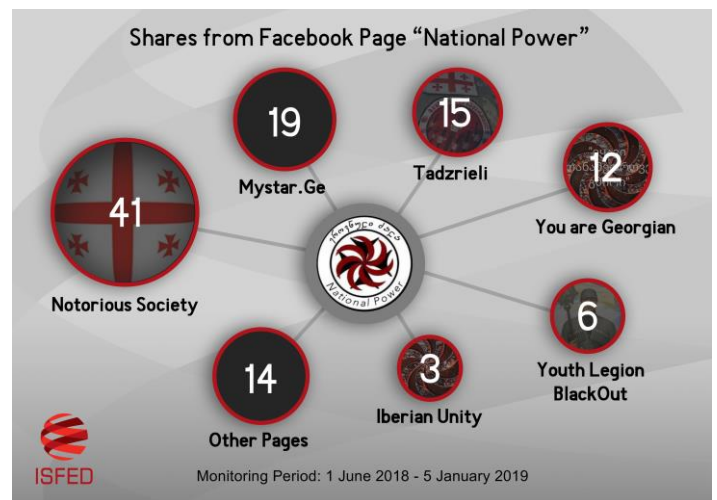
Posts of the page *Alpha Dominant* were shared by 24 divisive narrative pages. Its posts were most often shared by *Anti-Liberal Club*, *Anti-Paradox*, *Geo Pepe* and *Unofficial Conspiracies*.

Posts of *Anti-Paradox* were shared by 15 pages, with *Geo Pepe*, *Alpha Dominant* and *Anti-Liberal Club* being the most active.



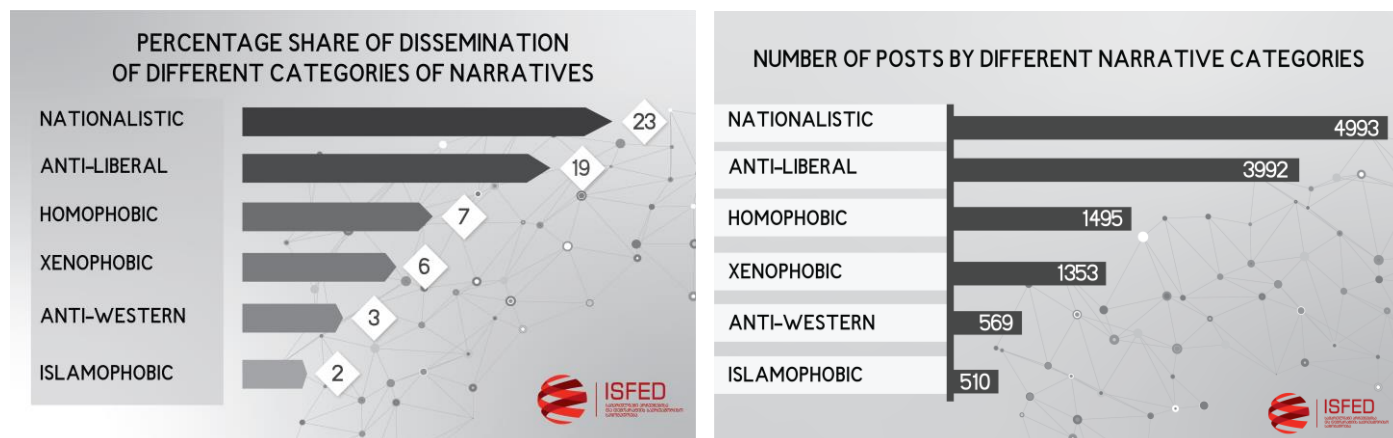
Absolute majority of shares from *Nationality* and *Think* is by *Tadzrieli*. This can be explained by shared values or their shared administration.

National Force forms a separate network of shares. Posts of this page were shared by 17 other pages, but ten of them shared only one or two posts. Posts of the *National Force* were most often shared by *Notorious Society*, *Mystar.Ge*, *Tadzrieli*, *You are Georgia*, etc.



6. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES

ISFED analyzed contents of 22,606 monitored posts and grouped them under six different categories of narratives. These narratives contain all types of posts including video addresses. Some posts fell under the category of several different narratives, while others could not be classified under any of the narrative groups because their content was general and not relevant for the research.



Posts published on propagandistic pages were most often of nationalistic nature. Nationalistic messages featured in 4,993 posts or 23% of posts examined. From the Facebook pages monitored, most nationalist posts were published by: *Tadzrieli* (448), *Nationality* (338), *History* (287), *National Force* (268), *Georgian Idea* (258), *Good Page* (235), *Youth Legion-BlackOut* (223), *Caucasian Will Never Be Called European* (214). The following pages had the highest shares of nationalist posts: *Parnavaziani* (90%), *Turkey is an Occupier* (83%), *Resistance Batumi* (75%), *World Congress Of Families X Tbilisi* (67%), *Silenced Georgians* (64%), *National Awakening* (63%), and *Nationalistic Legion* (61%).

ISFED found that the second most frequently disseminated posts were anti-liberal. **19% of the posts studied (3,992) contained anti-liberal messages.** Most of the anti-liberal posts were published by: *Tadzrieli* (269), *Geo Pepe* (242), *Think* (240), *Georgian Idea* (236), *Nationality* (230), *Anti-Paradox* (215), *Anti-liberal Club* (203). The following pages had the highest share of anti-liberal posts: *World Congress Of Families X Tbilisi* (57%), *Think* (57%), *Political Trace* (50%), *Iveron* (50%), and *Georgian March* (43%).

7% of posts on pages spreading divisive narratives were homophobic. Messages of LGBTQI intolerance were contained by 1,495 posts examined by ISFED. Most homophobic posts were published by: *Tadzrieli* (129), *Nationality* (118), *Alpha Dominant* (96), *Geo Pepe* (77), *Anti-Paradox* (76). The following pages had the highest share of homophobic posts: *Georgian March* (29%), *Political Trace* (26%), *Iveron* (21%), *Resistance* (18%), and *Alpha Dominant* (17%).

Within the monitoring, 1,353 xenophobic posts were identified, amounting to 6% of all published posts studied. Most xenophobic posts were published by: *Geo Pepe* (124), *Tadzrieli* (104), *Nationality* (75), *Disclosing Pseudo Liberals* (68), *Notorious Society* (62). The following pages had the highest share of xenophobic posts: *Resistance Batumi* (40%), *Turkey is an Occupier* (28%), *Iveron* (27%), *Georgian Power* (19%), and *Silenced Georgians* (17%).

Through the research, **569 posts that contained openly anti-Western messages were identified, amounting to 3% of total posts published.** The following pages played the key role in dissemination of openly anti-Western messages, based on the number of posts published: *Think* (84), *Alt-Info* (80), *Tadzrieli* (67), and *Georgian Idea* (56). The following pages had the highest share of anti-Western posts: *Parnavaziani* (30%), *Think* (20%), *Alt-Info* (12%), *World Congress of Families X Tbilisi* (7%), *I am a Christian* (7%), *Georgian National Conservatives* (7%).

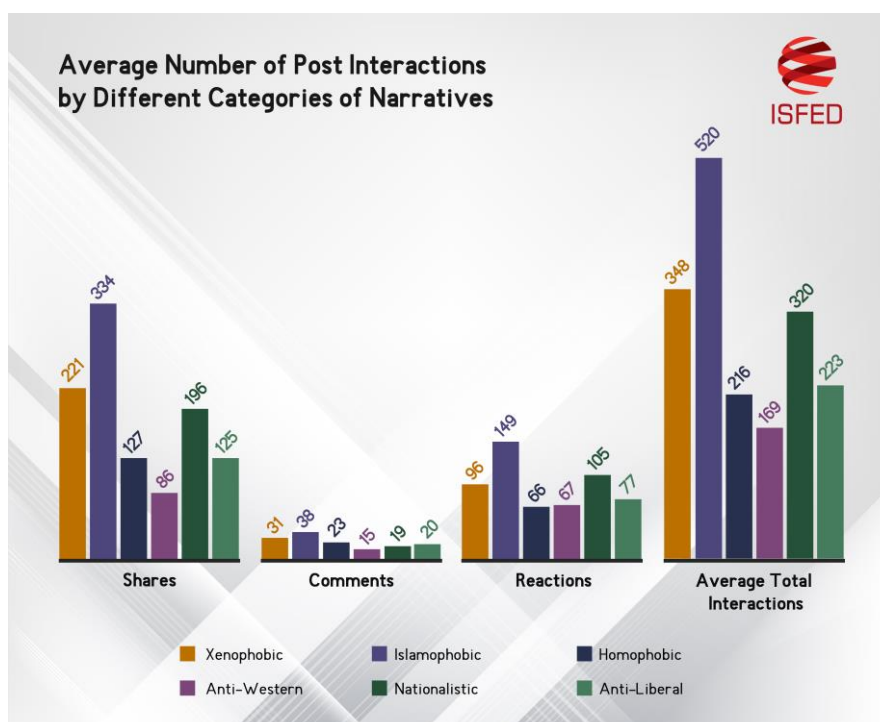
2% of posts of divisive narrative Facebook pages contained Islamophobic content. A total of 510 such posts were found. Most Islamophobic posts were published by: *Geo Pepe* (45), *Tadzrieli* (41), *Anti-Paradox* (35), *Alt-Info* (31), *Cardhu* (27). The following pages had the highest share of Islamophobic posts: *Turkey is an Occupier* (16%), *Resistance Batumi* (11%), and *Parnavaziani* (10%).

Post interactions by different categories of narratives

Categories of narratives	Number of posts	Shares		Comments		Reactions		Total interactions	
		Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Xenophobic	1,353	298,831	221	42,201	31	130,456	96	471,488	348
Islamophobic	510	170,107	334	19,412	38	75,844	149	265,363	520
Homophobic	1,497	190,530	127	34,124	23	99,192	66	323,846	216
Anti-Western	569	49,211	86	8,385	15	38,386	67	95,982	169
Nationalist	4,993	980,483	196	95,695	19	523,525	105	1,599,703	320
Anti-liberal	3,993	500,143	125	79,926	20	308,975	77	889,044	223
Total posts examined	22,606	2,851,588	126	417,465	18	1,891,941	84	5,160,994	228

Posts containing nationalistic and anti-liberal narrative had the highest total interaction. Most posts were about these two types of narratives, which explains the high figures of these two narratives.

However, in terms of interaction, **Islamophobic and xenophobic posts had highest engagement**. Even though the number of Islamophobic posts was nearly 8 times less than anti-liberal ones and nearly 10 times less than nationalistic ones, they had two times more comments than nationalistic and anti-liberal posts. On average, each Islamophobic post had 520 shares, comments and reactions, while each xenophobic post had 348 interactions on average. **Posts that contained openly anti-Western narratives were less effective. Average number of interactions to anti-Western posts was far behind the average number of interactions to all posts.** From 22,606 posts published by divisive narrative pages during the reporting period, each had 84 reactions, 18 comments and 126 shares on average⁸, while anti-Western posts had 77 reactions, 15 comments and 86 shares on average. In this way, from 6 categories of narratives, anti-Western was the only category that fell behind average interactions for divisive narrative posts with respect to all types of interactions. This may be due to lack of popularity of openly anti-Western narratives in Georgia.

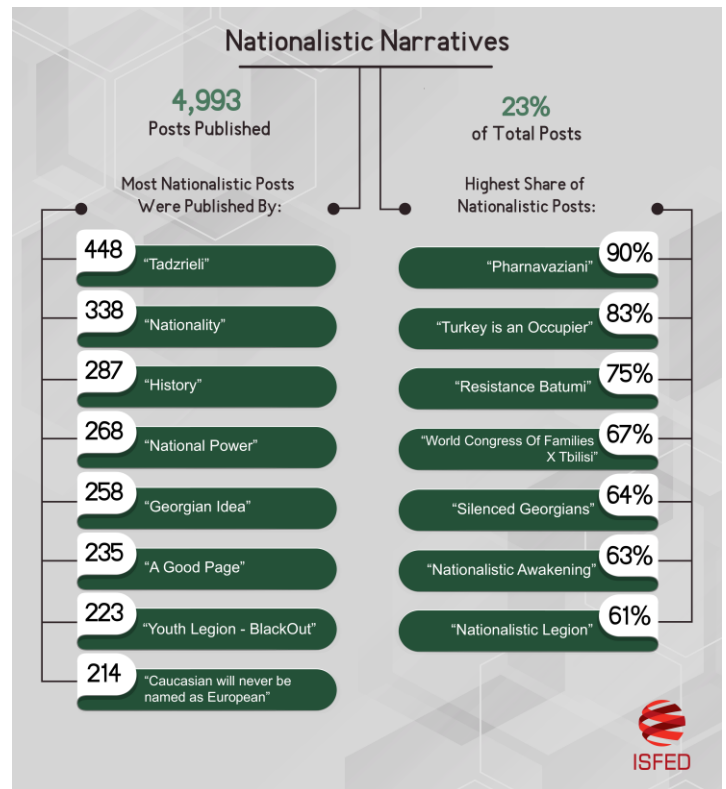


⁸ Including significant majority of posts studied that did not fall under any of the six categories of narratives.

6.1. Nationalistic Narratives

Nationalistic messages identified during the monitoring contained both non-radical messages based on civic nationalism, as well as ultra-nationalist messages.

Ethnic nationalism is one of the key characteristics of nationalist narratives. Usually, in such case the main message is that Georgia is a country of ethnic Georgians and all other ethnic groups are just guests. Objects of exclusion are mostly ethnic Azerbaijani or Armenian citizens of Georgia. In some cases, calls about their expulsion from the country are voiced. They also spread the propaganda that portrays the threat of turning Georgians into an ethnic minority. Ethnocentrism holds a significant place as well. Centuries-old history, fighting back against the conquerors is used to justify the claim that Georgians are special. At the same time, posts saying that Georgians are more talented than other nations are frequently published.



Examples of Ethnic Nationalism and Ethnocentrism

Iberian Unity (31.07.2018): "A young Georgian couple was severely beaten by 7 Azerbaijanis claiming that this is their land in Georgia. You probably understand that we need to take radical measures. We shouldn't let them stay in the country! Soon they will demand autonomy, just like Armenians are doing..."

National Force, Mystar.Ge, You are Georgia, Notorious Society (12.11.2018, 08.12.2018), **National Awakening** (25.12.2018): "Georgia is a country of Georgians and others are guests!... There are many ethnic groups in our country and we have allowed everyone to maintain their identity. We didn't make anyone feel like they have a different ethnicity and that they annoyed us. There are many mixed families and this has never been the reason of confrontation. However, because of today's reality, the situation is now very serious. We can't stay silent because ethnic Georgians will be oppressed! In the hands of liberal politicians in Georgia, we are getting a country with a motto – "Georgia without Georgians."

Mystar.Ge, National Force (14.12.2018): "Everything is happening exactly the way we predicted! Georgian nation is becoming the minority on its own land and there is a major growth of Azerbaijani population. Based on the census, three leading surnames in Georgia are Beridze, Mamedov and Aliiev. This is a tragedy! Last names of different ethnic origin rank second and third, nothing like this happens in any other country."

Silenced Georgians (30.11.2018): "Georgia, this is the country where Georgian nation lives, the country of geniuses and heroes, the nation that they couldn't finish off even with a three-century long conquest. This is the nation that has never been defeated, that will always come out winning in the end, the nation whose patriotism they tried to kill but couldn't, the nation that survived centuries-long battles and continues to barely but still stand on its feet in the 21st century..."

The pages monitored often used principles of conservative nationalism, which in some instances took radical forms. Often these messages were about having an overly high opinion about the institute of family, portraying traditional symbols, national costumes, Georgian kings, historic battles and other topics in a mythologized context and making them relevant. Further, multiculturalism is presented as a threat to national identity. Resistance to immigration holds a significant place among post messages. Georgian land is subject to a particular attention. Divisive narrative pages are clearly resisting to sale of land resources including agricultural land to foreign nationals. Some of the posts published by the pages monitored are militarist in nature. These pages view strengthening militarization as a guarantee of territorial integrity of Georgia and they sometimes consider warfare as a way to restore jurisdiction on the occupied territories.

Messages of some of the posts studied may be categorized under the umbrella of Orthodox nationalism. For these pages, national identity is equated to Orthodoxy, and citizens of Georgia of different religion, including Muslims living in Ajara, are objects of exclusion.

Examples of Orthodox Nationalism

Nationality (13.07.2018): “In today’s globalized world, igniting national spirit among Georgian youth and propagating the values that have brought Orthodox Georgia to this day is necessary like never before. Therefore, we need to underline national spirit, historic and military traditions...”

Nationalistic Legion (29.08.2018): “Orthodoxy is not only a code of moral rules but also the only way, without an alternative, to correctly understand the world and correspondingly, to understand yourself in the world. Great Martyr Saint George is the symbol of Georgia, the knight who fought for the Christ, who was martyred for the Christ... Fighting for the Christ, confirming the faith of the Christ and crucifixion for the Christ is the essence of the Georgian idea! As Earnest Father Gabriel taught us, the Georgian nation should be martyred for the Christ...”

Georgian Idea (08.11.2018): “Christ’s faith wasn’t just a religion for Georgians but it was also a mortar that unified and held together many different parts of Georgia. Unity of religion meant unity of the nation. There was time when no such or other element could create desired unity since the beginning of our history...”

Turkey is an Occupier (14.10.2018): “Of course, it is a fact that Georgians converted to Islam live in Ajara and in the border regions of Turkey, and thank God, our Mother Church is constantly trying to bring them back to the bosom of the Church. Let’s remember how our ancestors were turned Muslim... Of course, all sources, both written and verbal indicate the same fact: Islam was spread in Georgia through the most cruel and wicked violence... Existence of Muslim Georgians on the territories that we control is the result of this reality.”

The issue of historic territories of Georgia holds a significant place in the messages of pages engaged in nationalistic propaganda. In some cases, they are focusing on Russia’s occupation of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region; however, together with Russia they are naming other neighbors of Georgia as occupiers. In that respect, anti-Turkish messages hold a significant place. Turkey is considered Georgia’s historic and contemporary enemy. Anti-Turkish sentiments are evident in the name of one of the pages. The page operates under the name *Turkey is an Occupier*. Tao-Klarjeti is considered the territory occupied by Turkey. At the same time, they are actively disseminating the opinion that it is the purpose of Turkey to annex Ajara. Frequently they publish calls to give the status of an occupier to Turkey as well, similar to Russia. Nationalist propaganda pages are disseminating messages against Armenia and Azerbaijan. In this case, opposition toward them is expressed by claims about historic territories. Additionally, their policies are portrayed as a threat to Georgia’s territorial integrity.



Page Name: Welcome to Georgia

Post Text:

Turkey is an Occupier

#Share as much as you can

Text on the photo:

Tao-Klarjeti and Lazeti should be given the status of occupied lands!

Page Name: History

Post Text:

Turkey is an Occupier

In the mid-19th century, Turk-Seljuks started moving from the Central Asia and soon they conquered the entire Iran, South Caucasus and Lesser Asia.

1. In 1065 Turks invaded Georgia for the first time, they ravaged Trialeti, Samtskhe, Shavsheti, Klarjeti and Javakheti. Alp-Arslan captured Akhalkalaki and wiped out its population...

Text on the photo:

Turkey is a genetic enemy of Georgia

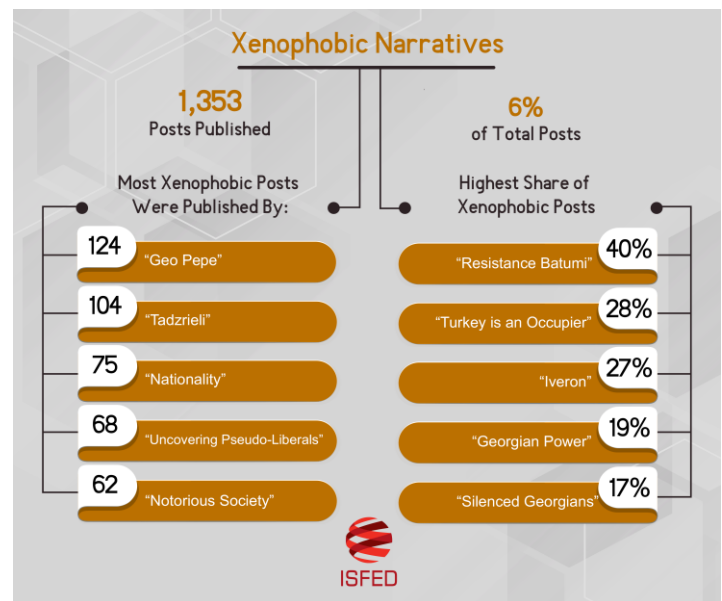
Portraying other neighboring countries as occupiers, as opposed to Russia

Nationality (23.07.2018): “When Azerbaijani nationalists are claiming the territory of Kakheti, Armenians are claiming Samtskhe-Javakheti, and Turks are claiming Ajara; and when from Tuapse to Anaklia, including Samachablo-Dvaleti, Georgian land is occupied by Russian Mongoloids, Tao-Klarjeti and Lazeti by Turkey, Lore by Armenia and Hereti by Azerbaijani... all of my actions will be justified by the truth called motherland!”

Nationality (14.07.2018): “Hujabi (Khujabi) Monasttery Complex and Arpi National Forest Park was given to Armenia in fall 2017 and by doing so, Georgian authorities satisfied “friendly” claims of Armenia. At the same time, Armenia has taken illegal ownership of majority of Georgian territory (Lore Province) and is demanding part of Javakheti. Do you think that a Georgian can call Armenia a friend? Of course not. #Armeniaisanoccupier.”

6.2. Xenophobic Narratives

In some cases, divisive narrative Facebook pages are disseminating openly xenophobic messages. During the monitoring period, significant majority of xenophobic narratives were Turkophobic. According to these messages, Turks are “genetic enemies” of Georgia. In some cases, Russophobic posts were also published. The pages studied by ISFED were against giving residency permit to foreign nationals. Often they disseminated anti-immigration messages. Notably, anti-immigration sentiments were mostly directed against citizens of non-Western countries and most frequently against the Iranians. Dissemination of xenophobic messages against the Chinese, the Indians, the Iranians, citizens of Arab and African countries were frequent.



Examples of Xenophobic Narratives

Nationality (28.07.2018): “Iranians who are aliens and infidels are defacing the country and posing a threat to it. They are now going to do what Shah-Abass couldn’t do to Georgia in the 17th century, and they’re not doing it directly but rather, indirectly and covertly. There is no place for the Iranians, the Arabs, the Turks, the Indians and the Chinese in Georgia!!! What did Georgian kings and queens fought to death for? For their rampancy?!!!”

Nationality (21.08.18): “We know well that our country is a leading country with respect to culture and tourism and therefore, we always have many tourists visiting. However, some infidel nations without culture want more than tourism and they decided to procreate in Georgia and impose their poor nation on the Georgian nation. The Arabs, the Indians, the Iranians, the Chinese and the Africans arrive on a daily basis. They arrive and don’t want to leave. It is their goal to procreate in Georgia and turn Georgians into minority in the near future.”

Silenced Georgians (29.10.2018): “A Turk will never say that Tao Klarjeti belongs to Georgia – a Turk will never say that Ajara is ours fairly. Turkey is the nation that has never taken the path of fairness and if it has, it didn’t continue the path.”

Nationality-Georgian (17.11.2018): “Konstantine Gamsakhurdia was speaking in Russian only to his dog – you should speak to a dog in the language of dogs!”

Tadzrieli (08.08.2018): “This evening I blocked several lovers of Russia and Putin. This page is Georgian, it carries Orthodox ideology. I will not allow lovers of Turkish dogs, Russian pigs or other damned breed to fill this place with praising comments.”



დადუმებული ქართველობა
December 9, 2018 · 🌐

მერე უმტკიცოს პოლიციას ანან მცენა ანან მცენაო 🤔



Page Name: Silenced Georgians
Post Text:
 Let's see if he can prove to the police who beat him
Text on the meme:
 The moment you see an Iranian who's been trying to provoke you for years in a place with no cameras.

During the monitoring period, the pages were frequently distributing information about crimes, which according to them, were committed by Asians and Africans. At the same time, posts about crimes committed by Asian and African immigrants in EU member states were frequently published. Notably, some of these posts are clearly a disinformation, as confirmed by research.

Examples of Anti-Immigration Propaganda

Alt-Info, Anti-Liberal Club, Geo Pepe, Alpha Dominant, Iberian Unity (13.11.2018): “A Pakistani man was arrested in Akhaltsikhe for sexually assaulting 7 underage girls.”

Geo Pepe (29.09.2018): “In Italy, a couple was attacked by an African migrant while walking in a park.”

Alt-Info, Anti-Liberal Club, Geo Pepe, Alpha Dominant, Anti-Paradox (21.09.2018): “In Sweden, Arab students raped a teacher at school.”

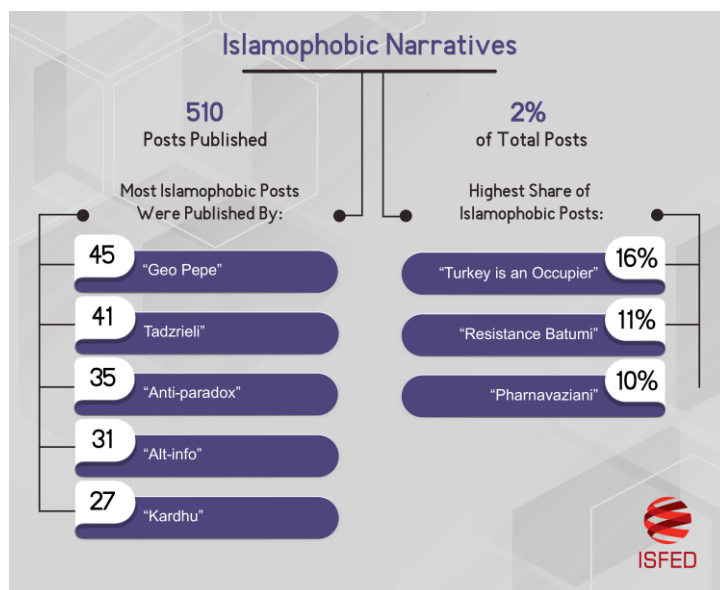
Alt-Info, Anti-Liberal Club, Geo Pepe (12.10.2018): “An activist that supported migrants was raped by a Moroccan man.”

Alt-Info, Anti-Liberal Club, Geo Pepe, Alpha Dominant (10.09.2018): “An Afghan migrant in Paris attacked people in the street with a knife and wounded 7.”

6.3. Islamophobic Narratives

Divisive narrative pages were trying to portray Islam as the enemy of Christianity and equated Islam with violence and terrorism. Muslim hijab, mosque and rituals including prayers were often subject to mockery and repulsion on pages studied by ISFED. Additionally, Islamophobic messages were used for demeaning Europe and illustrating its weaknesses, in the context of Europe’s supposed weakness to address the alleged threat posed by Muslim migrants.

Unacceptability of Islam was manifested in two forms. First, antagonistic messages were spread about Muslim community and the chairman of Georgian Muslims Union, Tariel Nakaidze. These pages were openly against building mosques in Ajara. Additionally, divisive narrative pages were disseminating information about poor condition of historic Georgian churches on Turkish territory, stating that since there are no Georgian Orthodox churches operating in Turkey, mosques should not be built in Georgia.



On the other hand, Islamophobic messages were disseminated against foreign nationals. Propagandistic posts frequently claimed that Georgia will face the threat of Islamization in the nearest decades and majority of the population will be Muslim.

Examples of Islamophobic Narratives

Turkey is an Occupier (14.10.2018): “An Orthodox Christian has an opportunity to obtain blessing, bliss and light in the eternal life while non-Orthodox people, including Muslims are doomed for permanent torment, darkness and hell.”

Iberian Unity (20.07.2018): Muslim Nigerians killed over 6,000 Christians in the country. After that, can anyone dare and say that Islam is a religion of peace? That it is possible to find common grounds with them? Their majority does not recognize nationality, sister, brother, etc. You are a Muslim or you’re not. You may find yourself in the same situation and there are many examples of it. And for those who will start defending them and accuse us in instigating hostility, let me ask you who instigates hostility more, those who have killed 6 0000 Christians or us, who are simply writing a post on Facebook. Give us a single example when Christians acted this way and then make your arguments 😊 #Islamisthereligionofevil #getreadytofight #protectyournationandreligion.”

Unofficial Conspiracies (24.12.2018): “Yesterday I saw a video of Moroccan Muslims killing a Norwegian girl. It had a bad effect on my nerves, it’s not a video that’s pleasant to watch but everyone should see it in order to realize the threat that the country is facing. They have already signed it and 8 or 9 ministries are working on the topic of migration and soon they will bring [immigrants] in. You can’t mix them with us, uncontrollable things will happen, for several years anti-liberal pages have been disseminating facts about threats that may be posed by multiculturalism. Majority was saying that we were disseminating [these facts] in vain but the fact is that the situation is really alarming.”

Some divisive narrative Facebook pages are portraying Europe in a positive light, in the context of Christian identity. They are also focusing on the confrontation of Europe with the East and Africa. In this respect, vision of the pages that have been studied is orientalist. According to their vision, non-European nations are “uncultured” and they are putting European Christian identity at the risk of Islamization or their “racial expansion”.

გადაურჩება გამოტოლოერანტენტული ევროპა საბოლოო ისლამიზაციას?



Page Name: Political Trace

Post Text:

Will tolerant Europe survive ultimate Islamization?



“ჩვენ არ მივიღებთ არცერთ მუსლიმ მიგრანტს. ჩვენ ქრისტიანები ვართ და ქრისტიანული ფასეულობებისთვის ვიბრძვით. ჩვენ შეიძლება თანამედროვე ჯვაროსნები გვეწოდოს, რადგან დღეს ცივილიზაციების ომი მიმდინარეობს.”

დომინიკ ტარჩინსკი, პოლონეთის მმართველი პარტიის წევრი

Page Name: Anti-Liberal Club

Text on the photo:

“We will not accept a single Muslim migrant. We are Christians and we are fighting for Christian values. We may be called contemporary crusaders because today there is a war of civilizations.”
Dominik Tarczyński,
a member of the Polish ruling party.

გაპიარებთ ~~მარში~~ X
ქალაქ ბათუმის მერიამ, საკრებულომ, უზენაესმა საბჭომ "ქართული მარში" და ქართული ერო მოატყუა - დავით აღმაშენებლის ძეგლის დასადგამად ნაბიჯი არ გადადგა-საკითხი დაკონსერვა - სამკეთილად ადგილობრივი ხელისუფლების გადაწყვეტილებით ამოწმდა ახალი მერეთი !!! უკარის მინისტრთან საბჭოს თავმჯდომარე რიყვაძემ დღეს გამოაცხადა რომ უახლოეს ხანში აუცილებლად დაიწყება ახალი მერეთის მშენებლობა. კულუარებში გვეუბნებიან, რომ აღმაშენებლის ძეგლის დადგმას მუშაობის სახელმწიფოების მოთხოვნით ვერ გაბედავენ !!! აი ახლა თვევს გვეითხებიან-არის თუ არა ეს დალატი და ქვეყნის მოდალატეობა ?? სულ მალე ეროვნული გამოღვივება ბათუმში დაიწყება !!! გონს მოეცეთ !!!



Page Name: Georgian March

Post Text:

Please share

City Hall of Batumi, Sakrebulo and the Supreme Council deceived Georgian March and Georgian nation – it didn't make a single step to install the monument of Davit the Builder. Instead, a new mosque will be built under the decision of local authorities. Chair of the Council of Ministers of Ajara, Rizhvadze announced today that soon building of a new mosque would begin. We are being told backstage that they wouldn't dare to install the monument of Davit the Builder because of neighboring states' demand!!! Now I am asking you – is this a betrayal and treason??

Soon national awakening will begin in Batumi!!! You need to come to your senses!!!

Text on the photo:

I am against

There's no place for a new mosque in Batumi

ნებისმიერი ხელისუფლება თუ პოლიტიკური ძალა, რომელიც არ აღიარებს თურქულ ოკუპაციას, ხელს უწყობს აჭარის თურქეთიზაციას, თანახმაა მეჩეთების მშენებლობაზე არის ანტიქართული და არ იმსახურებს ხალხის ნდობასა და მხარდაჭერას!
#თურქეთიოკუპანტია



Page Name: Turkey is an Occupier

Post Text:

Any government or political force, which does not recognize Turkish occupation, promotes Turkification of Ajara, agrees to building of mosques, is anti-Georgian and does not deserve people's trust and support!

Text on the photo:

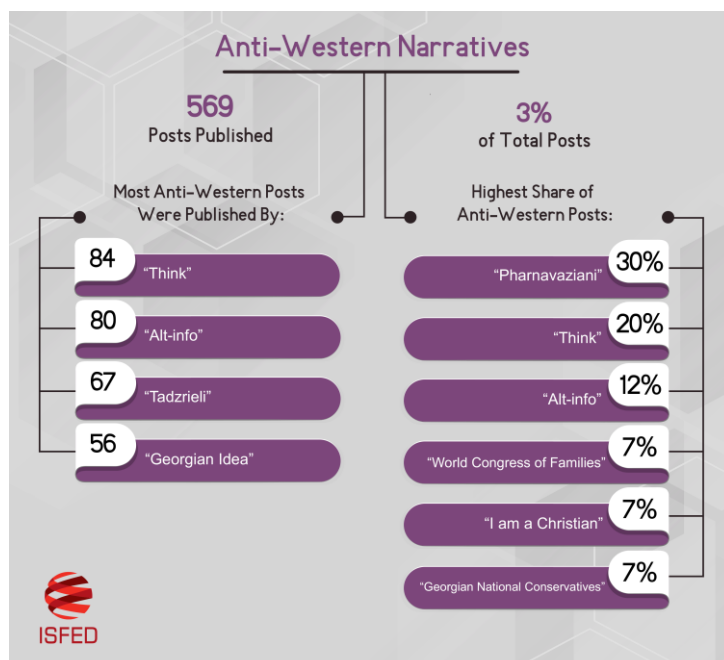
No to Turkish Expansion and Islamization of Adjara!
No to a new mosque in Batumi!

6.4. Openly Anti-Western Narratives

Divisive narrative pages exhibit two types of attitudes toward the West. On the one hand, they disseminated openly anti-Western messages or messages with anti-Western subtext. On the other hand, divisive narrative pages portray the West and Europe in the context of confrontation between Christian Culture, the East and non-Western societies. Divisive narrative pages often cited anti-immigration messages of European conservative forces. Additionally, they actively endorsed anti-immigration policy of the U.S. President Donald Trump. Policy of governments of Hungary, Austria, Poland and Italy were provided as positive examples of dissemination of nationalist ideas in Europe.

Divisive narrative pages did not shy away from openly anti-Western propaganda. Openly anti-Western messages mostly identified the West with moral depravity. The main source of such messages was *alt-info.com*. Materials published on this website that contained anti-Western subtext mostly entailed anti-LGBTQI propaganda.

Euro-skepticism and anti-NATO messages hold a significant place among openly anti-Western messages. Divisive narrative pages were mostly against the EU and its institutions. They believe that EU policy is damaging to the national interests of Georgia. Alongside the EU, they also criticized the Council of Europe, portraying it as an imposer of liberal values on the country. Some of the pages disseminated anti-NATO messages. They were against Georgia's integration with NATO and criticized the Georgian authorities for striving to integrate in the Alliance. Such narrative was mostly spread by the following pages: *Anti-Liberal Club*, *Alt-Info*, *Geo-Pepe*, *Alpha-Dominant*, *Tadzrieli*, *Georgian Idea*, *Nationality*, *Good Page* and *Youth Legion-BlackOut*.



Examples of Euroscepticism and Anti-NATO Messages

Anti-Liberal Club (17.06.2018): "In Ukraine, the entire army of police is protecting gay-parade from opponents of LGBT-propaganda. The police fired tear gas at opponents of LGBT movement and several individuals sustained bodily injuries. It seems that the Ukrainian authorities had a serious assignment from the EU, to hold a gay parade at any cost, just like here [in Georgia]."

Alt-Info, Anti-Liberal Club, Geo Pepe, Alpha Dominant, Tadzrieli (12.09.2018), **Georgian Idea** (15.09.2018): "British politician Nigel Farage to Hungarian PM: EU wants to take away your right to vote and stop your funding because you confronted Soros; join the club of those who are leaving the EU, you'll like it."

Georgian Idea (19.10.2018): "We should stop wagging [our] tail to EU. Another misunderstanding happened in Batumi – EU Days were launched, an event that people don't understand at all, while Georgian high-ranking officials subordinated to Euro-bureaucracy are quite happy about it... Gulbaat Rtskhiladze."

Nationality (29.09.2018): "NATO is propagating LGBT"

Nationality (16.10.2018): "North Atlantic Alliance is intensively continuing its military intervention in hotspots of the world, in which the U.S. plays the biggest role."

Tadzrieli (27.12.2018): "They are using Georgian soldiers as cannon meat in NATO's military missions, they are sending them in areas that are quite dangerous. At the same time, they receive salaries that are 10 times less than the salaries of European and American militaries. Equality in NATO standards."

Good Page (04.01.2019): "What will the New Year bring to us? You reap what you sow... So what did you sow in 2018 for the good of the nation? 1. Selling lands. 2. Constitutional slavery to NATO..."

Youth Legion-BlackOut (01.08.2018): 1. Legalization of marijuana. 2. Large-scale settlement of aliens. 3. Selling land to aliens. 4. Low pensions and salaries. 5. Politicians with high salaries that they don't deserve. 6. Protecting LGBT community. 7. Giving more rights to LGBT community and aliens than to Georgians. 8. No attempts to get back the lands that have been lost, for instance: Hereti, Tao, Lore, Abkhazia and Samachablo. 9. Attempt to join the EU, where nations become depraved. Besides, they haven't even met half of the requirements. 10. Attempting to join NATO while our neighboring country, the aggressor, is threatening with war "if we join NATO"----- these are part of Georgia's problems."

"The Second West"

Anti-Western propaganda of some of the Facebook pages aims to portray two different sides of the West and Europe. In their view, while first side is liberal, the second side is based on conservative, Christian values. The latter is actively supported by divisive narrative pages. They support right-wing populist, ultra-conservative forces in Western countries, including Hungarian PM Victor Orban, Italian Deputy PM Matteo Salvini and Austrian PM Sebastian Kurz. The pages studied by ISFED are actively citing statements of right-wing populist members of the Polish ruling party Law and Justice. Some of these pages were actively supporting the policy of the U.S. President Donald Trump's administration. They viewed Trump's policy as an example of spreading nationalist and conservative values.

Examples of Portraying "Two Wests"

Alpha Dominant (video) – *"Liberals are not saying on purpose that there are anti-liberal or normal forces in the West and they enjoy increasing support. They are fighting to remove liberal democracy and establish Christian democracy. The liberal media is intentionally hiding that the West is not just being a liberast animal but rather, healthy forces are getting closer to victory. They are hiding it in order for liberasts not to lose the exclusivity of pro-Western status. To them, this is the mechanism for maintaining power."*

Anti-Liberal Club (13.09.2018): *"A member of the Polish ruling party in an interview with France 24: "If European leftists want to accept Muslims, they can take them to their homes but don't teach Poland what to do! The great thing is that today is 335-year anniversary of the day when Polish King Jan Sobieski was able to stop the Ottoman Empire and saved Europe. The Muslims lost. He stopped the Islamic aggression and we must stop it now. European values are Christian culture, Christian belief, Christian continent."*

Georgian Idea (29.09.2018): *"Nationalist Deputy PM of Italy, Matteo Salvini made the following remarks at a political rally: "Europe will either rediscover its own force and pride, or we will leave to our children Europe that will be a scattered, dark and small microbe between Asia and Africa."*

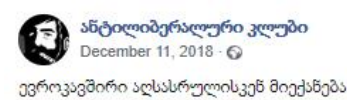
Anti-Liberal Club, Geo Pepe, Alpha Dominant (29.07.2018), **Iberian Unity** (30.07.2018): *"Hungarian PM: it is our interest to achieve transition to non-liberal Christian democracy through European Parliamentary Elections and finish multiculturalism."*

Alt-Info, Anti-Liberal Club, Geo Pepe (03.01.2019): *"Hungarian PM Viktor Orban: we don't want to mix our Christianity-based culture with Islam."*

Georgian Idea (16.10.2018): *"Christianity is the last hope of Europe' – Viktor Orban [Hungarian PM]"*

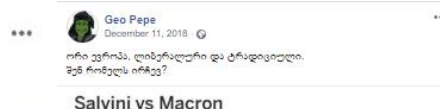
Iberian Unity (24.10.2018): *"Trump's administration has decided to present definition of gender, based on which gender is biologically inherent and unchanged and there are only male and female genders. Traditional America. Fat middle-aged men will no longer be able to say "depravity comes from America."*

Georgian Idea (05.10.2018): *"The fact that majority of migrants are Arabs and our genetic enemies Iranians (Persians), causes public protest. Against this background, we can see pro-Russian community becoming active and trying to portray Europe in negative light. Intentionally or unintentionally, the fact is that making Europe out to be the enemy creates nostalgia about the order during Communist times."*



Page Name: Anti-Liberal Club

Post Text:
EU is speeding to the Judgment Day



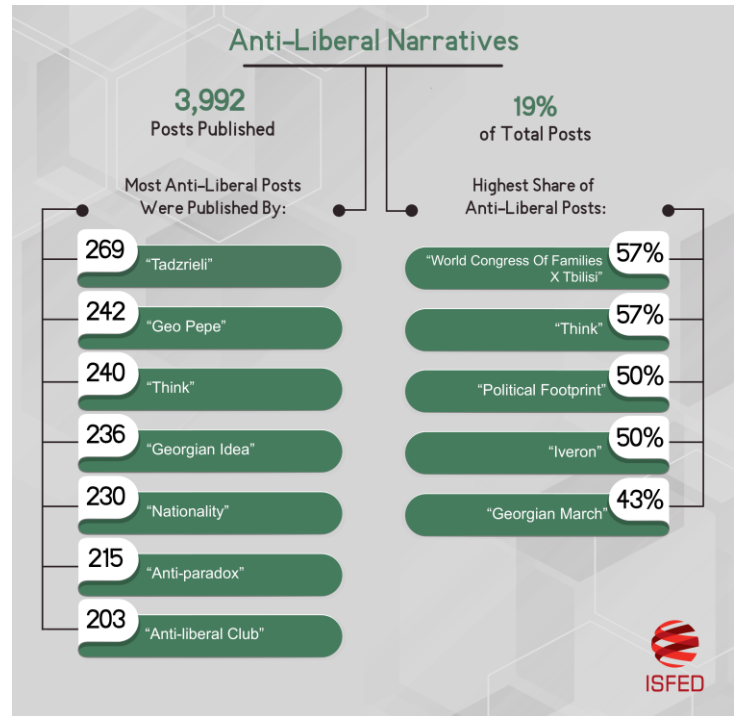
Page Name: Geo Pepe

Post Text:
Two Europes, liberal and traditional
Which one do you choose?

6.5. Illiberal Narratives

Majority of divisive narrative pages are openly against the values of liberal democracy, including: cultural characteristics of liberal democracy; individualism; human rights, especially minority rights; the society that shares these values; and liberal state or public approach toward different issues. Some pages express such attitude in their names, for instance, two of the examined pages are named *Anti-Liberal Club* and *Liberalism? Come on*.

Divisive narrative pages often use the term “liberast”⁹ to refer to liberals. This term is often used by pages Alpha-Dominant, World Family Congress, including in video appeals of Levan Vasadze, who openly expresses his anti-liberal sentiments.



Examples of Using the Terms “Liberal” / “Liberast” in a Negative Context

National Awakening (07.12.2018): “aliens want the buy our land watered by the blood of our ancestors in unlimited quantities. Even though this decision will be in force until December 16, I don’t even want to think about how many hectares of land blessed by God will be purchased during this time. This is betrayal and spitting into the soul by cohabitated UNM-GD liberasts.”

Exposing pseudo liberals (23.07.2018): “Tornike Rizhvadze – new mosque should be built in Batumi with only Georgian money. Please know him as the new liberast.”

Good Page (24.12.2018): “Lord, what are these liberasts doing, if we listen to Channel 1, we are anti-liberals, xenophobes, Russia’s agents and we use hate speech. Public Channel aired a report commissioned by Soros. Poor things, they have realized that liberalism will soon come to an end and they are panicking.”



Page Name: Anti-Paradox

Post Text:
Liberast times

Text on the meme:

Before –

{upper left image} I think of myself as a woman

{upper right image} I’ll get married and have children

Now –

{lower left image} I think of myself as a woman

{lower right image} She is here with us, let’s welcome her.

⁹ Used as a derogatory term, constructed with combination of words “liberal” and “pederast”.

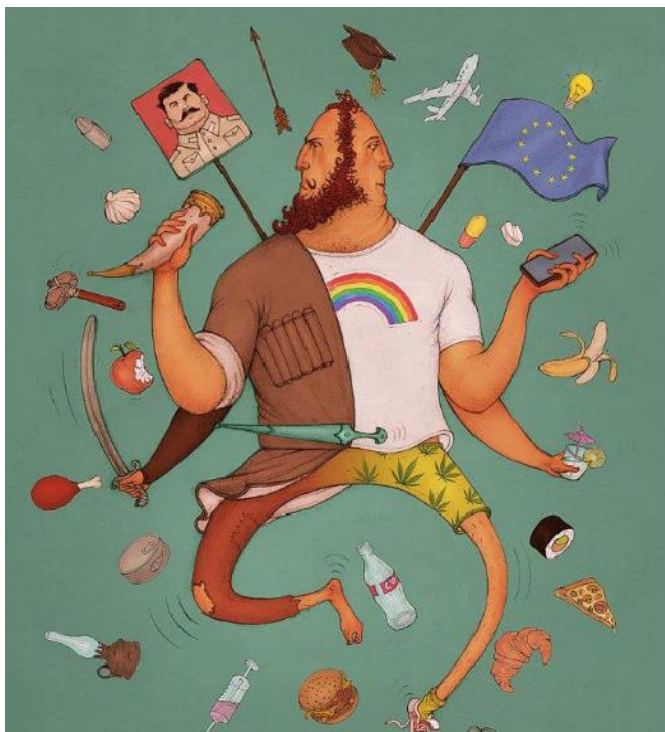
Liberalism – “Against Christianity and National Traditions”

The pages studied by ISFED view and/or portray liberalism as a threat to national and Orthodox identity and traditions. Consequently, they often use such messages as arguments against liberalism. Main narrative is that liberalism is anti-Christian and anti-national in its essence.

Portraying Liberals Against Traditions

Georgian National Conservatives (14.06.2018): “At the LGBT rally in Greece, LGBT people used Orthodox symbols as accessories of their clothes, in order to desecrate Orthodox symbols. This was followed by a protest of clergyman, who were arrested immediately, which somehow indicates that liberalist legislation fights against Orthodoxy in the entire world and we are not an exception in that respect! (Of course, our “liberal” media would not report about it).”

Georgian Idea (14.08.2018): “According to the perspective of liberal nationals, you should fight traditions with any means, the main thing is to maintain external ethical norms on the surface, for the public to see.”



ანტილიბერალური კლუბი

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national geographic აქვეყნებს სტატიას იდეოლოგიურად გაყოფილი ქართველი ერის შესახებ, რომლის ილუსტრაციაზეც ლიბერალი ქართველის მხარეს დახატული წიშნები და წივები სრულიად დადებითი შინაარსის არის, ხოლო ტრადიციული ღირებულებების მქონე ქართველის მხარეს პირველყოფილი ადამიანების ჩაქუჩი, გამოხეული შარვალი, წავთის ლამფა და სხვა მარგინალური, კარიკატურული და უარყოფითი წიშნები და წივები გამოსახული.

ეს წახატი კარგი ილუსტრაციაა ლიბერალური იდეოლოგიის სრულიად ანტიეროვნული შინაარსის და იმ ფაქტის, რომ უცხოეთიდან დაფინანსებული აქაური ლიბერალები ჩვეულებრივი ქართველოფობები არიან და მიზანმიმართულად ცდილობენ ქართული ეროვნული იდენტობის მარგინალიზაციას.

Page Name: Anti-Liberal Club

Post Text:

National Geographic publishes an article about ideologically divided Georgian nation, on the illustration of which, items and signs drawn on the side of liberal Georgia are of positive content, while on the side of a Georgian with traditional values a hammer, torn out pants, oil lamp and other marginal, grotesque and negative items and elements belonging to primitive people are shown.

The drawing is a good illustration of the completely anti-national content of liberal ideology and the fact that local liberals funded from abroad have anti-Georgian sentiments and they are intentionally trying to marginalize the Georgian national identity.

Campaign against George Soros and NGO sector

The pages studied often disseminate posts against George Soros. The main message is that the Open Society Foundation founded by George Soros allegedly serves the purpose of destroying traditional and Orthodox values. These pages are often used for mobilizing participants for rallies against George Soros. To form a critical opinion about George Soros, often they cite news from countries where they also oppose his activities.

Divisive narrative pages exhibit negative attitudes toward NGOs and are discrediting their representatives. NGO representatives are referred to in a negative context as “grant eaters” and “Sorosists”.



Examples of Messages Against George Soros

Think (08.12.2018): “In the last several days you probably saw the grief of Georgian feminists, LGBT activists and liberal organizations and their sorrow about the good news that happened in Hungary. In particular, in Hungary they closed down the Central European University (CEU) funded by George Soros, which massively brainwashed students with its biased neo-liberal propaganda...”

Nationality (28.11.2018): “As you may know, Jehovah’s sect is widely spread in the world as well as in Georgia and you also know that members of the sect are funded from the Soros Foundation.”

Resistance Batumi (13.08.2018): “Anti-national media outlet funded by Soros’s Open Society Foundation, which spares no effort to portray everything traditional in the light of violence, aggression, xenophobia and many other phobias. They are the nation’s dirt; they are not serving the country but only their pockets.”



Page Name: Think

Post Text:

From the movie “Everyone Wants Soros’ Grant”

Text on the meme:

Will you give me your dignity?

How dare you, how can I give up liberal values, universal equality and the truth?

Not even for a grant?

Where should we do it, on the bed?

Attacks on NGOs and Associating it with George Soros

Good Page (29.12.2018): “Address of a sick man George Soros to leaders of the dirty NGOs funded by him!!! The plan of destroying our country spiritually!!!”

I will die for Georgia (12.10.2018): “People like Eka Gigauri are a threat to our country and to our future!! There is no place for Soros’ and Saakashvili’s rats in Georgia!!!”

The pages that have been studied are clearly against liberal drug policy in Georgia and they were actively involved in the propaganda against legalization of marijuana and its cultivation. The portrayed liberalization of drug policy as something that goes against Orthodox and Georgian morals and customs. Divisive narrative pages were actively sharing speeches of clergymen about this topic.

Majority of pages studied are against multiculturalism and portray it as a threat to national values. These pages depict European multicultural environment as negative and dangerous.

Messages Against Multiculturalism

Anti-Liberal Club (26.11.2018): “In multicultural Germany scared by terrorism, Christmas markets look more like military camps encircled by protective fences.”

Alt-Info (28.12.2018): “According to research, multicultural city of Marseille in France is one of the most dangerous cities in the world.”

Some pages are propagating against abortion and have a radical position about it. During the monitoring period, propaganda against abortion was especially active on the religious page Zneoba.

Messages Against Abortion

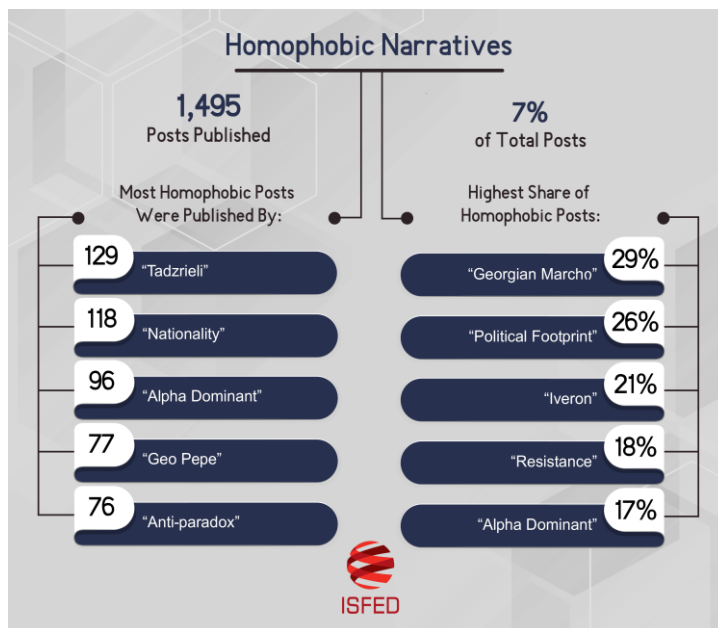
Think (20.10.2018): “The “kind” aunt UN: UN experts on human rights are urging governments of the countries with limitations on abortion to stop protecting unborn children and allow pregnant women to kill their fetus. This really is a paradox because human rights experts do not view an unborn child as a living organism and to them, killing [unborn children] is a minor event. Such “experts” and international organizations are telling the world what to do and giving it instructions.”

Morality (31.12.2018): “The demand that the government legally prohibit killing of unborn children! No to abortions! #forlife #abortionismurder #notoabortion.”

6.6. Homophobic Narratives

Part of the posts on divisive narrative pages were homophobic. Pages studied by ISFED show extremely negative attitudes toward representatives of the LGBTIQI community. Some posts are inciting violence. Often the topic is addressed viewed in the context of religion, and homosexuality is identified as a “sodomitic” sin.

The issue became especially active after Guram Kashia announced support to the LGBTIQI community. Majority of pages studied were actively discrediting him and urged people to come to Dinamo Arena to express their anti-LGBTIQI position. The only exception was Nationalist Legion, which opposed the campaign against Guram Kashia and instead, was actively voicing calls to support the national team.



Examples of Homophobic Narratives

Morality (06.12.2018): “Homosexuals are trying to hold gay parades in Georgia, just like in other countries, festive marches, in order to preach their deadly, disgraceful sin in front of everyone, with no shame. We want to protect our youth, our children from such infidels. We want to protect Georgia from God’s wrath that follows this sin.”

Georgian Idea (12.12.2018): “Giorgi Margvelashvili, the President imposed by the Georgian Dream, who legitimized sodomitic sin by the anti-discrimination law, awarded Guram Kashia with the Presidential order of excellence, for spreading of humane ideas and for his excellent merit before the country, i.e. sodomization of Georgia and propagation of homosexuality is the priority of current Georgian authorities, they understand it as humanism.”



Page Name: Notorious Society

Post Text:
 Those defending them can come and challenge us. Yes, we will be violent toward everything anti-Georgian and anti-Orthodoxy. Yes, we hate pederasty. Go to your homes and no one will touch you. When everyone and everything is involved in dissemination and instilling of Sodom and Gomorrah, it gets deadly. No one will be able to impose their propaganda on me as well as on you, those of us who are developed psychologically and mentally. No one will be able to reflect this depravity in our lives, but there are children and youth who are in a puberty, and it is easy to have both good and bad influence on them in any way. It depends on the extent to which you will provide them with a particular product. Let's face the reality:

The pages examined were promoting violence against the LGBTIQI people. Divisive narrative pages were actively declaring their support to a minor who attacked an LGBT activist on homophobic grounds, while he was making a speech at the rally against homophobia and transphobia on May 17, 2018.

Majority of divisive narrative pages oppose the anti-discrimination law on homophobic grounds. They were demanding removal of the terms “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” from the law.



Page Name: Morality

Post Text:
 The Georgian nation should understand that the anti-discrimination law is against the established norms of morality in our country and they should demand Parliament and the authorities to remove terms from the law that legalize sodomy: “sexual orientation” and “gender identity”.

Text on the photo:
 Banner on the photo reads: “Do not turn Georgia into Sodom-Gomorrah”

7. POLITICAL CHOICE OF MONITORED PAGES AND THEIR PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITY

Majority of divisive narrative pages accused former and current Georgian authorities, with the exception of the first President of Georgia - Zviad Gamsakhurdia, of treason. They mostly targeted three political parties: Georgian Dream, United National Movement and European Georgia. Additionally, in some cases, instances of supporting the Georgian Dream and Bidzina Ivanishvili were also recorded. In this respect, Nationalist's Page is notable; it often published posts that contain messages in support of the authorities.¹⁰ Some pages studied within the monitoring also published posts that supported the pro-Russian party – Alliance of Patriots of Georgia and its leaders. These pages include: Nationality, Exposing Pseudo-Liberals, Capital City, Good Page, Nationalist's Awakening.

Significant part of the pages studied before the first round of the Presidential election (16 pages) supported Giorgi Andriadze, a candidate nominated by an initiative group. Most posts supporting Andriadze were published on the following pages: Nationality, Capital City, and Exposing Pseudo-Liberals. Posts supporting Salome Zourabichvili and Kakha Kukava were also published. Posts supporting Salome Zourabichvili were published by Nationalist's Page, Nationality, Tadzrieli, Notorious Society, Cardhu. Posts supporting Kakha Kukava were published by Nationality Georgian, Nationality, You Are Georgia and Good Page. In two instances, Shalva Natelashvili's campaign materials were also published.

For the second round of the election, seven other pages joined five ultranationalist pages that supported Salme Zourabichvili. Among them, most posts supporting Zourabichvili were published by Anti-Paradox and Exposing Pseudo-Liberals. As for the opposition candidate running in the second round, Grigol Vashadze, none of the pages monitored published posts in his support.

Some of the pages studied were actively discrediting the main Presidential candidates. Among them, most were engaged in discrediting Salome Zourabichvili, Grigol Vashadze and Zurab Japaridze. Relatively fewer pages were discrediting Davit Bakradze. For the second round, the number of divisive narrative pages discrediting Zourabichvili were reduced by half, but the intensity of discrediting campaign against Vashadze remained high.

Notably, on November 1, 2018, the Georgian March organization announced that they would support Salome Zourabichvili if the authorities met certain conditions. After these conditions were not fulfilled by the authorities, the Georgian March published a statement on their website saying that they didn't support Zourabichvili, but that they would expel anyone from their organization who would vote for Vashadze.

Number of divisive narrative pages that discredited and supported Presidential candidates and parties that nominated/supported them for the 2018 Presidential election

#	Candidate	Round I		Round II	
		Discrediting	Supporting	Discrediting	Supporting
1	Salome Zourabichvili	38	5	16	12
2	Grigol Vashadze	35	0	31	0
3	Davit Bakradze	11	0	-	-
4	Shalva Natelashvili	2	2	-	-
5	Davit Usupashvili	3	0	-	-
6	Zurab Japaridze	32	0	-	-
7	Kakha Kukava	0	4	-	-
8	Giorgi Andriadze	0	16	-	-

¹⁰ Notably in the recent period Nationalist's Page has been engaged in sponsored pro-governmental and anti-opposition campaign. This may indicate that this page is linked to discrediting pages identified by ISFED in its previous reports.

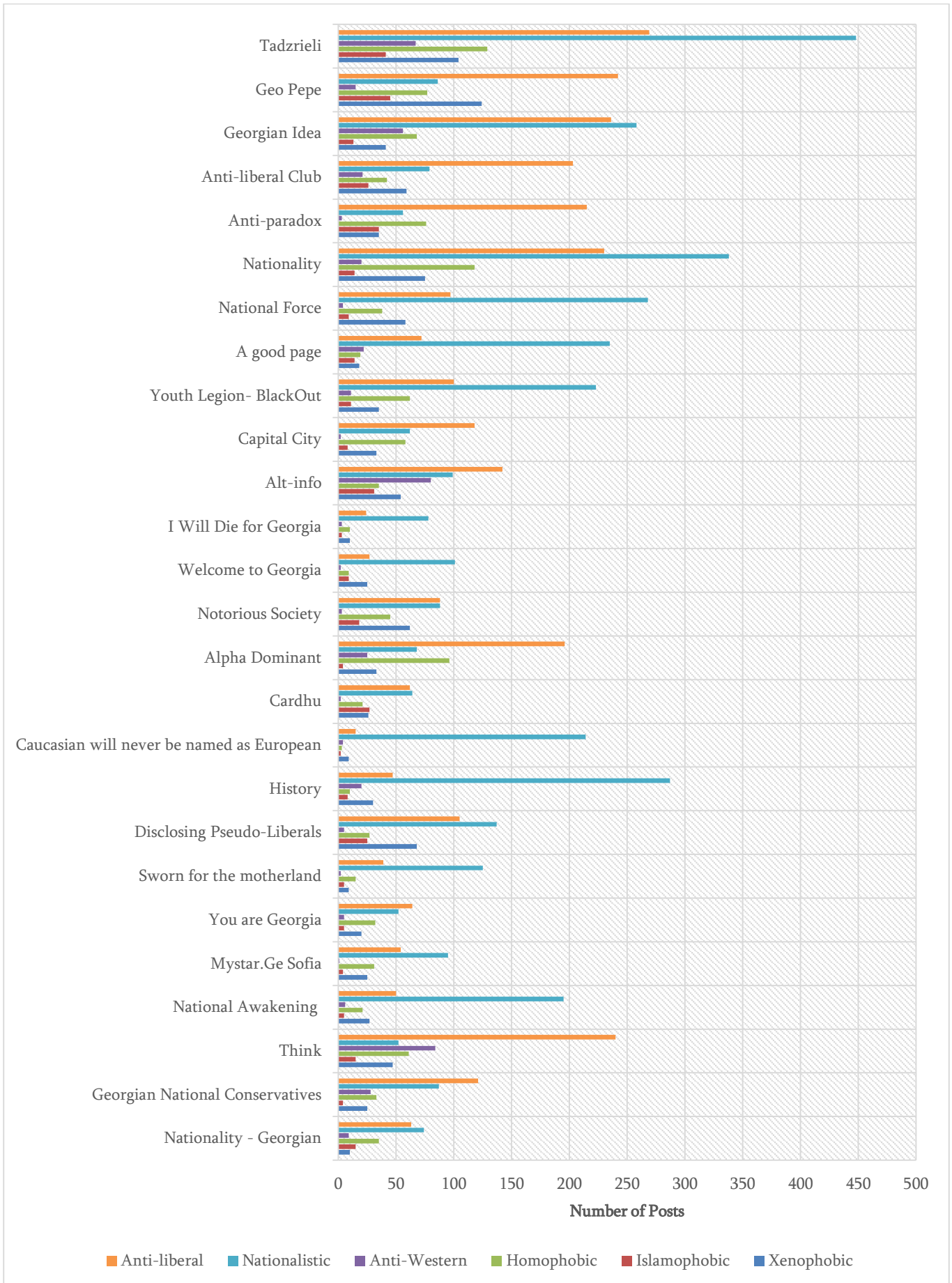
8. ANNEXES

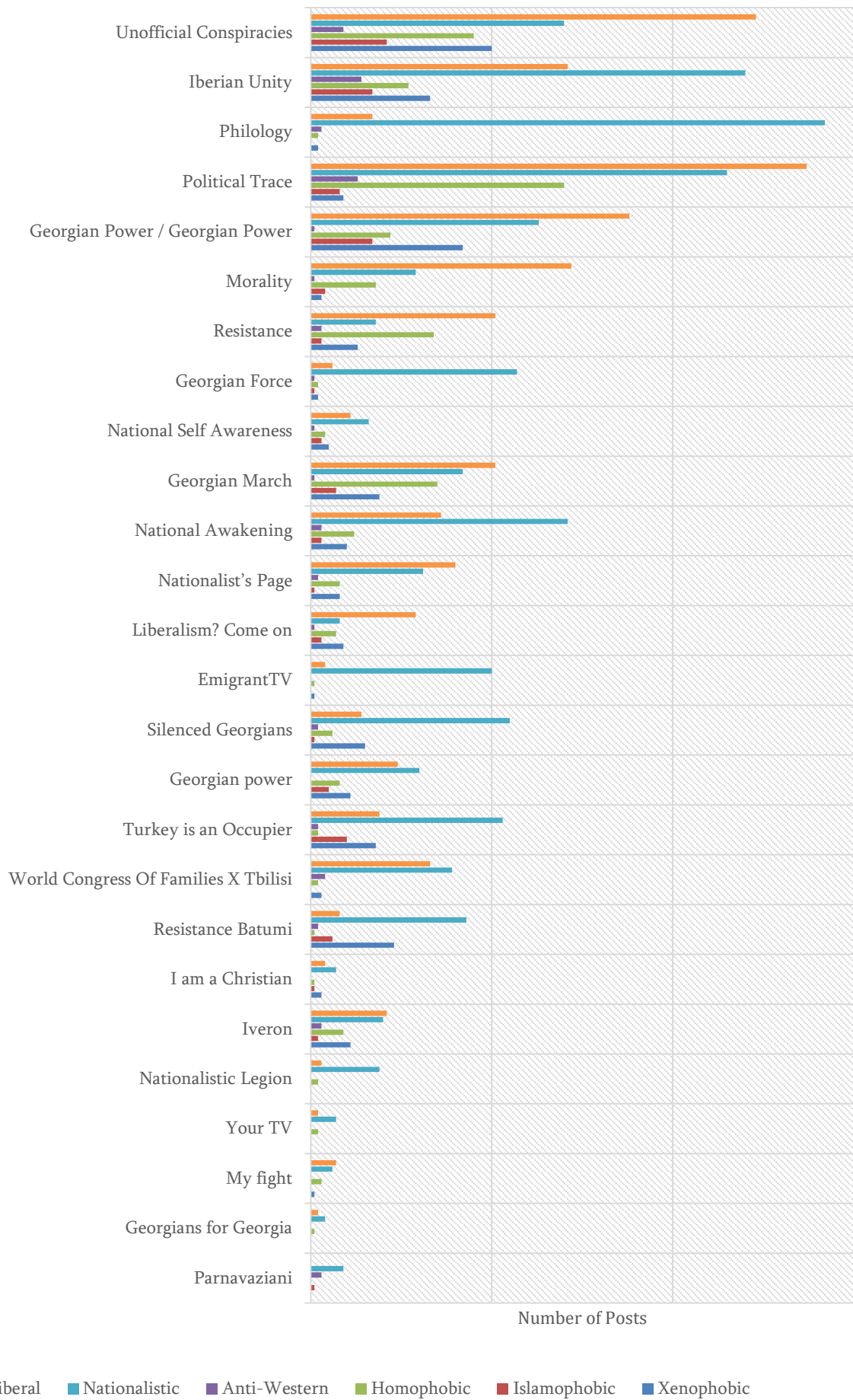
Annex 1. Pages spreading value-based divisive narratives during the monitoring period

Facebook Page	URL	Page ID	Current Status
1. Nationalistic Awakening	https://www.facebook.com/GeorgianNationalAwakening/	139802409900775	Active
2. Capital City	https://www.facebook.com/dedakalaki/	1183718718339254	Active
3. Your TV	https://www.facebook.com/Shenitv/	770229859852137	Active
4. Unofficial Conspiracies	https://www.facebook.com/BlackRavenn/	398429137299898	Active
5. Georgian Power	https://www.facebook.com/ქართული-ძალა-267579327040357/	267579327040357	Active
6. Georgian Power/Georgian Power	https://www.facebook.com/GeoAltRight/	1940631769490442	Active
7. Nationality - Georgian	https://www.facebook.com/erovnebaqartveli/	1832642990356803	Active
8. Anti-paradox	https://www.facebook.com/antiparadox/	1810229982333154	Active
9. Turkey is an Occupier	https://www.facebook.com/StopTurkishOccupation/	530912393970614	Active
10. Georgian Force	https://www.facebook.com/ქართული-ძალა-267028267422865/	267028267422865	Active
11. My Fight	https://www.facebook.com/chemibrzola/	859624777514328	Active
12. World Congress of Families X Tbilisi	https://www.facebook.com/wcf10/	139446296420571	Active
14. Political Trace	https://www.facebook.com/პოლიტიკური-ნაკვალევი-217550438412640/	217550438412640	Active
15. Iveron	https://www.facebook.com/iveroncorp/	416728645005961	Active
16. Morality	https://www.facebook.com/zneoba.ge/	1700810070132715	Active
17. Notorious Society	https://www.facebook.com/irakli.miashvili/	1806306382920213	Active
18. Mystar.Ge Sofia	https://www.facebook.com/www.Sofia.Bara/	502767286790903	Active
19. EmigrantTV	https://www.facebook.com/EmigrantTV/	583371801996801	Active
20. Youth Legion - BlackOut	https://www.facebook.com/ახალგაზრდული-2114551732146264/	2114551732146264	Active
21. Sworn for the motherland	https://www.facebook.com/სამშობლოსათვის-შეფიცულები-319066468458621/	319066468458621	Active
22. History	https://www.facebook.com/istoria.01/	1774097992826905	Active
23. Caucasian will never be named as European	https://www.facebook.com/კავკასიელს-არასდროს-ერქმევად-ევროპელი-1063797520329047/	1063797520329047	Active
24. Parnavaziani	https://www.facebook.com/FarnavaZiani/	700550180083121	Active
25. You are Georgia	https://www.facebook.com/შენ-ხარ-საქართველო-133433490557782/	133433490557782	Active
26. Silenced Georgians	https://www.facebook.com/Qartveloba1/	904888692939665	Active
27. I am a Christian	https://www.facebook.com/GeorgiaOrthodox/	1165122006962816	Active

28. Cardhu	https://www.facebook.com/ვარდჭყე-217114512148619/	217114512148619	Active
29. Disclosing Pseudo-Liberals	https://www.facebook.com/ფსევდოლიბერალების-მხილება-176579149696722/	176579149696722	Active
30. Philology	https://www.facebook.com/ფილოლოგია-264904123911945/	264904123911945	Active
31. Welcome to Georgia	https://www.facebook.com/WelcometoGeorgia/	978054062338090	Active
32. I Will Die for Georgia	https://www.facebook.com/MovkvdebiSakartvelostviss/	1994629287227943	Active
33. Liberalism? Come on	https://www.facebook.com/DaunDeLiberalizmi/	707229322781001	Active
34. Think	https://www.facebook.com/Iazrovne/	1845454939092857	Active
35. Anti-liberal Club	https://www.facebook.com/ANTILIBERALURI/	1518398495141117	Active
36. Nationalist's Page	https://www.facebook.com/SakartveloKartveliKartuli/	132782797576452	Active
37. Geo Pepe	https://www.facebook.com/geopepe01/	401054186904440	Active
38. Alt-info	https://www.facebook.com/altinfocom/	675017592692207	Inactive/Removed
39. Alpha Dominant	https://www.facebook.com/dominant.ge/	1529192183870392	Inactive/Removed
40. Nationality	https://www.facebook.com/Nationality1121/	131272507680653	Inactive/Removed
41. Iberian Unity	https://www.facebook.com/იბერიული-ერთობა-1839261739624701/	1839261739624701	Inactive/Removed
42. Resistance Batumi	https://www.facebook.com/ResistanceBatumi1121/	148006326074336	Inactive/Removed
43. Georgian National Conservatives	https://www.facebook.com/GeorgianNationalConservatives/	1001224759960847	Inactive/Removed
44. National Force	https://www.facebook.com/ეროვნული-ძალა-356682314831760/	356682314831760	Inactive/Removed
45. Resistance	https://www.facebook.com/NationalistMovementResistance/	1549344798475941	Inactive/Removed
46. Nationalistic Legion	https://www.facebook.com/NationalisticLegion/	307580206299884	Inactive/Removed
47. National Self Awareness	https://www.facebook.com/Nationalselfconsciousness/	1655795604675798	Inactive/Removed
48. National Awakening	https://www.facebook.com/Georgianpower14/	299584553829334	Inactive/Removed
49. Georgians for Georgia	https://www.facebook.com/ქართველები-საქართველოსთვის-119958788401672/	119958788401672	Inactive/Removed
50. A Good Page	https://www.facebook.com/kaiGverdia/	736970286339571	Inactive/Removed
51. Georgian Idea	https://www.facebook.com/KartuliIdea/	1442080826006745	Inactive/Removed
52. Georgian March	https://www.facebook.com/qartulimarshi/	183431302200806	Inactive/Removed
53. Tadzrieli	https://www.facebook.com/ტაძრიელი-169627343658606/	169627343658606	Inactive/Removed

Annex 2. Frequency of dissemination of narratives on the pages monitored



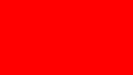




Annex 3. Propaganda pages that discredited and supported Presidential candidates for the first round of the 2018 Presidential election

N	Page	Salome Zourabichvili	Grigol Vashadze	Davit Bakradze	Shalva Natelashvili	Davit Usupashvili	Zurab Japaridze	Kakha Kukava	Giorgi Andriadze
1	Alt-info	Red	Red				Red		
2	Alpha Dominant	Red					Red		Green
3	National Awakening	Red					Red		Green
4	Capital City	Red	Red				Red		Green
5	Your TV	Red	Red	Red			Red		
6	Unofficial Conspiracies	Red	Red	Red		Red	Red		
7	Georgian Power ღღღ	Red							
8	Georgian Power	Red							
9	Nationality - Georgian	Red	Red				Red	Green	Green
10	Anti-paradox	Red	Red				Red		Green
11	Nationality	Red	Green	Red	Red		Red	Green	Green
12	Turkey is an Occupier	Red	Red						Green
13	Iberian Unity	Red	Red	Red			Red		
14	Georgian Force	Red	Red				Red		
15	Resistance Batumi ^a	Red	Red				Red		
16	My Fight	Red							
17	World Congress Of Families X Tbilisi	Red	Red				Red		
18	Political Trace	Red	Red				Red		Green
19	Iveron	Red	Red	Red					
20	Morality								
21	Georgian National Conservatives	Red	Red				Red		
22	Notorious Society	Red	Green	Red			Red		Green
23	Mystar.Ge Sofia								
24	EmigrantTV								
25	Youth Legion - BlackOut				Green				
26	National Force	Red	Red	Red			Red		
27	Tadzrieli	Green							Green
28	Sworn for the motherland								

N	Page	Salome Zourabichvili	Grigol Vashadze	Davit Bakradze	Shalva Natelashvili	Davit Usupashvili	Zurab Japaridze	Kakha Kukava	Giorgi Andriadze
29	Resistance ^a	Red	Red				Red		
30	History	Red							
31	Nationalistic Legion						Red		
32	National Self Awareness		Red				Red		
33	National Awakening	Red	Red						
34	Caucasian will never be named as European								
35	Parnavaziani								
36	You are Georgia	Red	Red				Red	Green	
37	Silenced Georgians	Red	Red						
38	I am a Christian						Red		
39	Cardhu	Red	Green	Red			Red		Green
40	Disclosing Pseudo-Liberals	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red		Green
41	Philology	Red	Red	Red					
42	Georgians for Georgia		Red						
43	Welcome to Georgia	Red							Green
44	A Good Page	Red	Red	Red	Green		Red	Green	
45	I Will Die for Georgia						Red		
46	Georgian Idea	Red	Red	Red			Red		
47	Georgian March	Red	Red						
48	Liberalism? Come on	Red	Red				Red		Green
49	Think	Red	Red				Red		
50	Anti-liberal Club	Red	Red				Red		Green
51	Nationalist's Page	Green	Red	Red		Red	Red		
52	Geo Pepe	Red	Red				Red		Green

Note: 'a' discrediting all other candidates without specifying

	Page that published a discrediting post about a candidate or a party that supported/nominated the candidate
	Page that published a supporting post about a candidate or a party that supported/nominated it
	Page that published both supporting and discrediting posts about a candidate or a party that supported/nominated the candidate

Annex 4. Propaganda pages that discredited and supported Presidential candidates for the second round of the 2018 Presidential election

N	Page	Salome Zourabichvili/GD	Grigol Vashadze/UNM
1	Alt-info		
2	Alpha Dominant		
3	National Awakening		
4	Capital City		
5	Your TV		
6	Unofficial Conspiracies		
7	Georgian Power ☸☸☸		
8	Georgian Power / Georgian Power		
9	Nationality - Georgian		
10	Anti-paradox		
11	Nationality		
12	Turkey is an Occupier		
13	Iberian Unity		
14	Georgian Force		
15	Resistance Batumi*		
16	My Fight		
17	World Congress Of Families X Tbilisi		
18	Political Trace		
19	Iveron		
20	Morality		
21	Georgian National Conservatives		
22	Notorious Society		
23	Mystar.Ge Sofia		
24	EmigrantTV		
25	Youth Legion - BlackOut		
26	National Force		
27	Tadzrieli		
28	Sworn for the motherland		
29	Resistance		
30	History		
31	Nationalistic Legion		
32	National Self Awareness		
33	National Awakening		
34	Caucasian will never be named as European		
35	Parnavaziani		

N	Page	Salome Zourabichvili/GD	Grigol Vashadze/UNM
36	You are Georgia		
37	Silenced Georgians		
38	I am a Christian		
39	Cardhu		
40	Disclosing Pseudo-Liberals		
41	Philology		
42	Georgians for Georgia		
43	Welcome to Georgia		
44	A Good Page		
45	I Will Die for Georgia		
46	Georgian Idea		
47	Georgian March		
48	Liberalism? Come on		
49	Think		
50	Anti-liberal Club		
51	Nationalist's Page		
52	Geo Pepe		

	<i>Page that published a discrediting post about a candidate or a party that supported/nominated the candidate</i>
	<i>Page that published a supporting post about a candidate or a party that supported/nominated it</i>
	<i>Page that published both supporting and discrediting posts about a candidate or a party that supported/nominated the candidate</i>