

**WHO
MAKES THE
NEWS?**



GEORGIA

Global Media Monitoring Project 2010 National Report



Acknowledgements



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GMMP 2010 is co-ordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), an international NGO which promotes communication for social change, in collaboration with data analyst, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA), South Africa.

The data for GMMP 2010 was collected through the collective voluntary effort of hundreds of organizations including gender and media activists, grassroots communication groups, academics and students of communication, media professionals, journalists associations, alternative media networks and church groups.



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GenderMediaCaucasus Journalists' Association

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Tbilisi

2010



Global Context

- 10 November 2009 was an ordinary day at work for newsroom staff around the world. It was however a special day for groups in over 100 countries who gathered to monitor their news media. After months of planning, preparations and training, they brought the Fourth Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) to life.
- The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) is the world's longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media. It began in 1995 when volunteers in 71 countries around the world monitored women's presence in their national radio, television and print news. The research revealed that only 17% of news subjects – the people who are interviewed or whom the news is about – were women. It found that gender parity was 'a distant prospect in any region of the world. News [was] more often being presented by women but it [was] still rarely about women.'¹
- Seventy countries participated in the Second GMMP in 2000. This and all subsequent GMMPs were coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). The research found a relatively static picture: only 18% of news subject were women, a statistically insignificant change over the 5-year period.²
- The Third GMMP in 2005 attracted the participation of 76 countries. Some progress in women's presence in the news was evident. 21% of news subjects were female. This 3% increase in the preceding five years was statistically significant. However, the overwhelming finding was women's continued near invisibility in the news. Very little news – just under 10% of all stories – focussed specifically on women. Women were rarely central in stories that comprised the bulk of the news agenda. Women were outnumbered by men as newsmakers in every major news topic. Expert opinion was overwhelmingly male with women comprising only 17% of experts who appeared in news stories. As newsmakers, women were under-represented in professional categories. The third GMMP found that the sex of the journalist made a difference in whether or not women made the news: there were

¹ *Global Media Monitoring Project, Women's participation in the news*. National Watch on Images of Women in the Media (MediaWatch) Inc. 1995

² Spears, George and Kasia Seydegart, Erin Research. with additional analysis by Margaret Gallagher. *Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project*. 2000

more female news subjects in stories reported by female journalists (25%) than in stories reported by male journalists (20%).

- The First GMMP, and as will be seen, the Fourth GMMP reveal that the world reported in the news is mostly male. Overall, news stories were twice as likely to reinforce gender stereotypes rather than challenging them. News stories on gender (in)equality were almost non-existent.

National context

Located in the mountain region of Eurasia, Georgia is a crossroads of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. Its population is a little more than 4 million. Georgia was one of 15 republics of the former Soviet Union. The disintegration of the Soviet Union was very hard for many of these countries. It was a long and painful period for Georgia also.



Georgia currently has two regions fighting for autonomy: Abkhazia and South Ossetia. This has resulted in a bloody conflict in both places. The result has been thousands of refugees and lost land and as of yet, neither conflict has been resolved. In August 2008 Georgia was involved in armed conflict with Russia. The question about reconciliation in conflict zones is very pertinent for the country at present.

Georgia was involved in the Beijing Conferences on Women and has ratified all basic international documents. Women are a majority among the poor. Women suffer most in situations of ethnic conflict. They remain underrepresented in politics and decision making. The Women's development movement in Georgia is quite active. We consist of many strong women's NGOs which work to counter problems of gender equality. Georgian women fight against discrimination, domestic violence, trafficking, and regressive traditions. In the last 10 years, women's NGOs achieved several institutional changes: the Council on Gender Equality was created at the national parliament; the Law on gender Equality was passed; the Law against domestic violence and the law protecting

victims of trafficking were adopted. It does not mean that the equality of women and men has become our national value! Georgia is a country with a strong traditional culture but we have many educated women who do not want to live in accordance with patriarchal norms. Every effort is still needed from our activists if change is to happen. The GMMP gives the Georgian women's movement additional strong arguments based on sound data. The GMMP results are very useful for activism to create gender-just news in the national media, which are still very gender imbalanced.



media.

- News media remain the major and most influential source of information, ideas and opinion for most people around the world. It is a key element of the public and private space in which people, nations and societies live. A nation or society that does not fully know itself cannot respond to its citizens' aspirations. Who and what appears in the news and how people and events are portrayed matters. Who is left out and what is not covered are equally important. Across the world, the cultural underpinnings of gender inequality and discrimination against women are reinforced through the

What does the GMMP mean to our organization?



The name of our organization is GenderMediaCaucasus; it unites journalists working on gender issues. The mission of the organization is to achieve equality through the means of our profession. We take part in national and regional monitoring and we participated in the GMMP-2005. The results of it were quite symbolic: on February 16, 2005 - 80% of reporters were women and only 20% were men. These 80% of reporters, these women journalists interviewed women only in 20 cases out of 100; at the same time, that 20% of reporters who were male only about men's experience! Thus men dominated the news as subjects. Following the GMMP in 2005, we worked very hard to share its results as widely as possible. We are sure that the GMMP results are like a diagnosis: it is very important to know it in order to improve the situation in both the media and the society.

Executive Summary

Georgia is a country of old traditional culture with strictly defined gender roles. In that culture, social space is dominated by men, while private space is given to women. This traditional division is increasingly dissonant with the new reality, as there are plenty of educated and active women. Women work a lot outside their homes (but they often combine household duties and professional responsibilities, despite that in many cases they are the only breadwinners in their families. But severe gender imbalances can be noticed in national politics and at the highest decision-making levels: representatives in national parliament are 90 percent male; generally there are one or two women among dozen of ministers, and there are very few women at the state decision-making level. In the last 10-15 years, activists from women's NGOs have tried to change this situation. As the result of this activity, several gender-oriented laws were adopted to protect women from violence; the council on Gender equality operating in the parliament is headed by the parliamentary vice-speaker (who is a woman).

But these changes took place with minimal participation of the media. Women activists certainly used the help of the media in their campaigns, but gender balance had never been in evidence in the mainstream of the national media and the GMMP results prove it. There are 23 % of women and 78% of men among the subjects of the news. **Among the stories covered in the news on monitoring day, women covered 46% of the stories and men 54%. In broadcasting, the number of stories presented by women was 59 while the number of stories presented by men was 118.**

A DAY IN THE NEWS IN GEORGIA

10 November 2009. The monitoring day was not special for the national media. The main story was from the zone of armed conflict between Georgians and Ossetians: some Georgian children were kidnapped by Ossetian militants and all media reported the event or provided commentary and editorials.

The other stories that dominated the news were:

- Anniversary of destruction of the Berlin wall
- Political negotiations in Geneva
- John McCain's statement in favour of Georgia in the August war of Georgia and Russia
- Appeal of Russian politician Karasin, who has told that Georgia intends to be at war with Abkhazia and Ossetia again
- The story of Two fishermen who were kidnapped by Russian soldiers in the territory adjoining Abkhazia
- Street demonstration against insufficient pensions for veterans of police
- Small earthquake which was felt in Tbilisi that day

The Following are some examples of stories in the news in Georgia on November 10, 2009:



Example 1. Newspaper: *Akhali Taoba*, page 4, Headline: *We demand to release political prisoners*, Interview with NGO leader Nana Kakabadze. Nana Kakabadze, the leader of the organisation "Former prisoners", speaks about the opposition's demands to release political prisoners. She names some positions. One of them - to release people who had been arrested after protests on November, 7th, 2007.

The respondent speaks about all prisoners, without distinguishing between women and men. As the respondent is a woman, she could have raised the question about the release of women first of all since women conduct most of the basic grass-roots mobilizing work for political parties and indeed they are the majority among

active members of the opposition parties. It would be logical to expect from the woman-leader the support to women who have been arrested for political reasons.

Example 2. Newspaper: *Sqartvelos Respublika*, page 6-7. Headline: *The doctor, scientist, the teacher, the public figure*. The story about a the woman behind the successful career.

Eter Botsvadze is a prominent scientist and university professor. She has made big contributions to the study of Hepatitis-A and other infectious diseases. Her studies of AIDS and HIV are known around the world. Alongside her professional success she is a very good wife, mother and grandmother...

Two moments in this story are interesting for a gender-analysis. The author reproduces a stereotype that a successful professional woman- cannot also be the successful wife and mother. At the same time, the details about the professional career of this woman are not interesting at all for the reporter. One would think it logical to ask the Botsvadze how she could combine successfully the two functions - the wife and the scientist - but obviously that it would be uncomfortable, especially in a society with such a traditional culture.

THE CONTEXT

Country background. Georgia has two un-resolved ethno-political conflicts. In August of last year the country had to endure a military conflict with Russia. Stories related to this theme dominate the media. The news media landscape in Georgia is extremely politicized, with a deficit of social news. Men dominate the news. They are the majority of commentators and sources of information. At the same time women are the majority among journalists but a minority among high management and owners.

Media monitored in Georgia:

- **2 TV channels:** *Rustavi2, Imedi*
- **2 Radio channels:** *First National Radio, Mtsvane Talgha*
- **3 Newspapers:** *Sqartvelos Respublika, 24 Saati, Akhali Taoba*

The popular media were selected according to the demands of the GMMP methodology to balance the sample based on ownership, political orientation and circulation or reach etc.

The monitors in Georgia:

- 1/ Roza Kukhalashvili: TV Rustavi2, Np Akhali Taoba
- 2/ Cicino Julukhidze: *First National Radio, NP 24 Saati*



The Sample of News Stories Monitored on November 10, 2009:

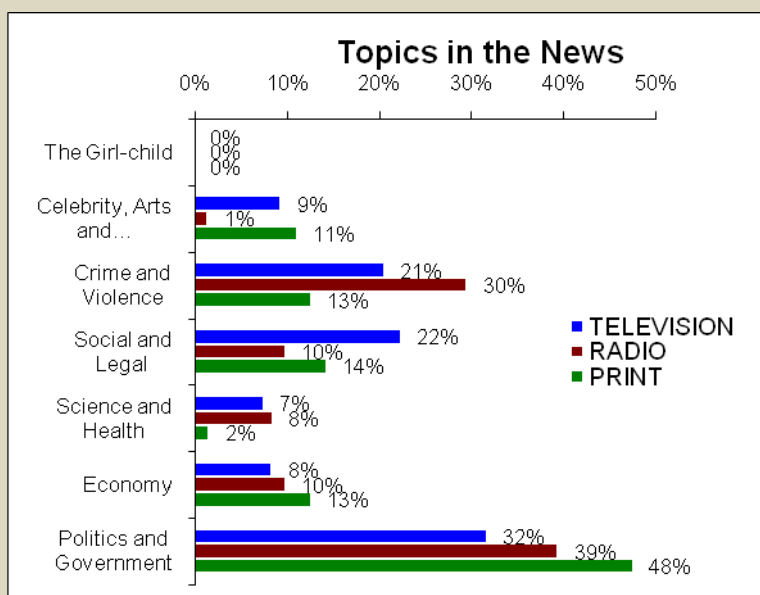
In total 37 news stories from newspapers, 88 Radio-news items, and 44 TV news stories for a **total of 169 new stories were monitored and coded;**

Out of these stories, 34 women (17%) and 174 men (83%) subjects of the news were identified. Thus the overall presence of women as subjects in the news was 17%. Out of the 169 news stories, **female reporters covered 46%** and male reporters 54%.

TOPICS IN THE NEWS

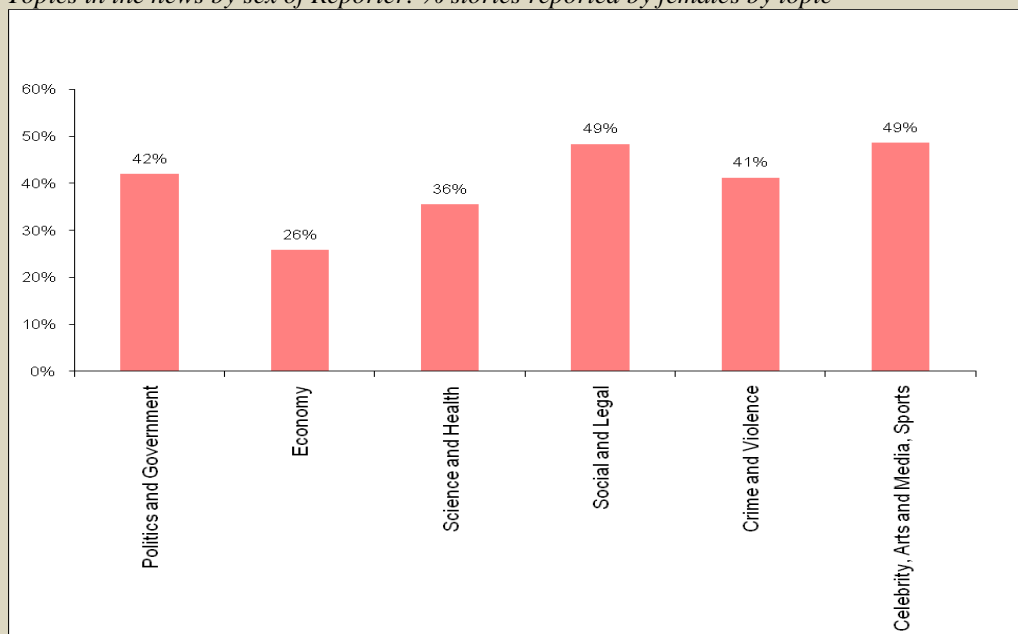
• **Topics in the news.**

On November 10, just as on any other day, Politics and Government was the main topic of the day for the Georgian media. 48% of newspaper articles, 39% of radio news and 32% of TV news stories in the sample were focused on this topic. Social and Legal took the second position, and local TV stations were especially particular about it. Crime and Violence was also popular; as usual, newspapers, TVs and radios spoke about it.



- **The percentage of stories by female and male reporters by topics reported.** The results of November 10 monitoring did not unveil any favorite women’s topics. Both women and men tend to speak or report stories about politics and crime, i.e. the topics demanded by their offices.

Topics in the news by sex of Reporter: % stories reported by females by topic



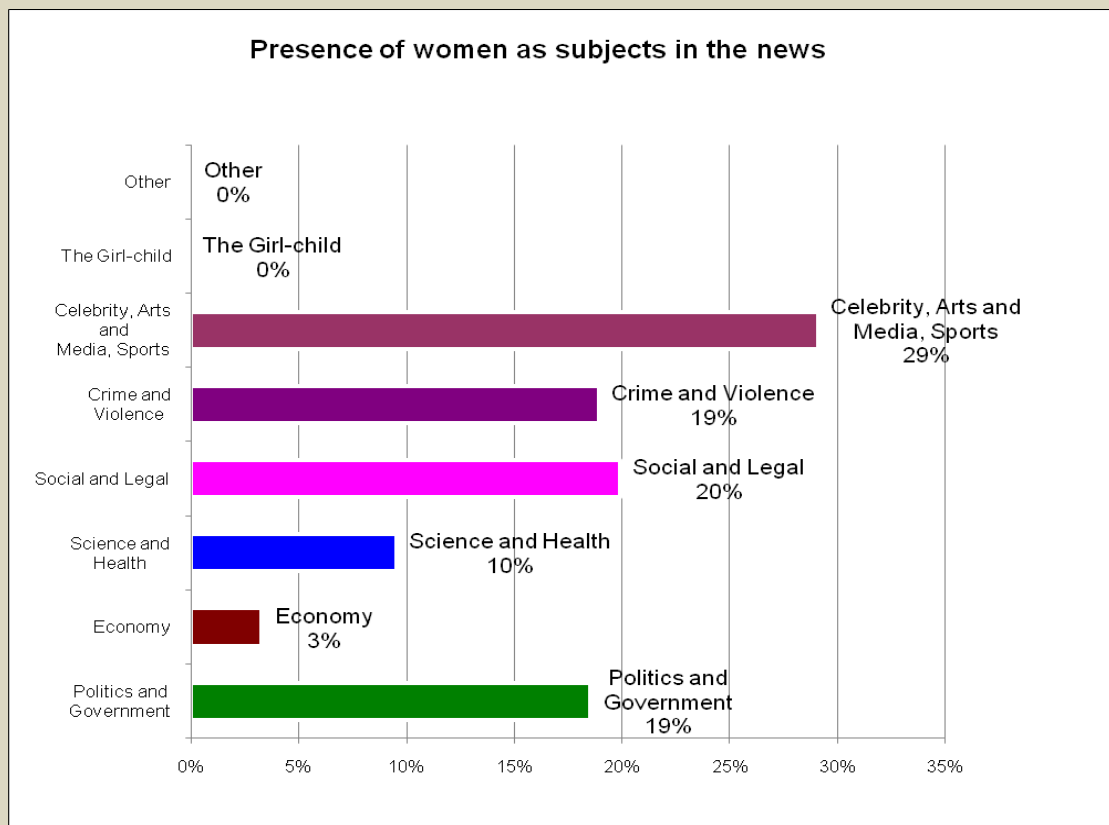
THE NEWS



Overall presence of women and men in the news in Georgia as news subjects, reporters and presenters. Who were the subjects of the news? Men were 81% of the subjects of stories on Politics and Government, 97% of subjects in stories on the Economy, and 90% of the subjects of stories on Science and Health.. On the monitoring day, the media focused on 174 men and only 34 women (83.7% to 16.3%) The proportion of women and men in political news approximately corresponds to their presence in national politics. However, the situation in Economy and Science is much different and in those topic areas, the proportion of subjects by sex in the news does not reflect the real situation. This means that reporters PREFER men's point of view even when there are plenty of female experts.

Overall presence of women and men as subjects in the news

	%F	%M
Topic	2010	2010
Politics and Government	19%	81%
Economy	3%	97%
Science and Health	10%	90%
Social and Legal	20%	80%
Crime and Violence	19%	81%
Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	29%	71%
The Girl-child	0%	0%
Other	0%	0%
N = 208	17%	83%



- Presence of female and male news subjects in Georgia by medium – radio, TV and newspapers.**
 The overall tendency to under-represent women in the news can be viewed in all media: newspapers, TV and radio. Women were the principal subjects of only 23% of the news in print media, in only 5% of stories on radio, and for only 18% of news items on TV.

Sex of news subjects in print, radio and TV news

	PRINT	RADIO	TELEVISION	Total N
Female	22%	5%	18%	34
Male	78%	95%	82%	174

- News Sources.** The number of female and male news subjects quoted as sources of information in stories about local, national, and international affairs in newspapers corresponds to the general tendency: in the news on local, national and international events, women made up 21% to 24% of the subjects, however on stories of national/regional scope, none of the subjects were female.
9cF (sex of news subjects (sources))

Sex of news subjects (sources) in local, national, national & other, and Foreign/International Stories

	Female %F	Male %M	Total N
Scope			
Local	24%	76%	28
National	21%	79%	107
National and other	0%	100%	40
International	23%	77%	33
Total	17%	83%	208

Presence of female and male news subjects in Georgia by story topic

The theme of women in political power and decision-making (local, regional, national) was covered only twice and both times by women. Men seemed to be not interested in that topic at all. The same can be stated about women's participation in politics and in decision making: only female journalists seem interested in this topic. All other topics were mainly covered by men: the issues of state planning, economy, religion, war and peace issues, and international relations. Women were traditionally noticed in the articles about home, family budget, school education, and children. The monitoring proved that traditional distribution of gender roles is still common in the media.

- **Who are the newsmakers? Position/occupation of female and male news subjects**

Subjects of the news are often identified by their occupation. Of the subjects identified as Government official, politician, president, government minister, political leader, political party staff, and spokesperson, 95% were male. In Georgia the power is represented by men, despite women's NGO leaders' active fight against this imbalance. But in reality, gender imbalance looks less severe than in the media on monitoring day. According to the results, women newsmakers prevail in the occupational categories of Media professional (with women being 59% of those subjects stated by that occupation), journalist, video or film-maker, and theatre director. This almost reflects the reality: women make up to 80 percent of Georgian journalists. Presence of women's point of view can be viewed in the news on Homemakers and parents – 71% of these newsmakers were women. Some presence of women's viewpoint can be noticed in the news on subjects employed in civil society (with females being 34% of subjects with this occupation) and the education system (30%). All comments on business were made by men; it seems that men do not consider it necessary to include the voices of women, even those who are successful in this field.

- **Function of female and male news subjects**

are also misbalanced. Women chosen to appear as sources in the news mostly speak based on Personal experience, they are the persons who provide opinion or comment, based on individual personal experience or they are asked to be witnesses or opinion givers in short street interviews.



News subject's Function in news story, by sex

	Female %F	Male %M
Function in News Story	2010	2010
Subject: the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said etc.	6%	94%
Spokesperson: the person represents, or speaks on behalf of another person, a group or an organization	20%	80%
Expert or commentator: the person provides additional information, opinion or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise	0%	100%
Personal experience: the person provides opinion or comment, based on individual personal experience; the opinion is not necessarily meant to reflect the views of a wider group	65%	35%
Eye witness: the person gives testimony or comment, based on direct observation (e.g. being present at an event)	12%	88%
Popular opinion: the person's opinion is assumed to reflect that of the 'ordinary citizen' (e.g., in a street interview, vox populi etc); it is implied that the person's point of view is shared by a wider group of people.	0%	0%
Other. Use only as a last resort (describe the function in 'Comments' section of coding sheet).	0%	0%
NA – Use this where you are coding a secondary source only	0%	0%
N=172		
Total	17%	83%

- Constructing ‘victims’ in the news.** Regarding the results on Female and male news subjects who are portrayed as victims and survivors in Georgia, only one news item mentioned a Victim of discrimination based on gender ability and this victim was a woman.. Also, only one publication was coded as Victim of violation based on religion, tradition, cultural belief but this time a man was the victim. In monitoring results 100% fixed in the both cases, but this index is not strongly representative of a larger trend given the infrequent occurrences of these types of stories and the small N value. On the Topic Victim of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state-based violence there were 5 cases –4 of them described females as victims and 1 of them male (80% и 20%). In total 64% of those described as victims and survivors were women, and 36% were men.
- Identity and family status in the news: the results on Female and male news subjects identified by family status.**
As a rule, family status of news subjects was not mentioned -- this information was absent for 88 percent of women and 99 percent of men. However, it is significant that 12 percent of women were defined as someone's wife or sister or mother while much fewer men were presented by their family identity.
- Images in the news: the female and male news subjects appearing in newspaper photographs.**

Women and men appeared in photographs almost equally (56 % of the female news subjects were photographed while 55 % of male subjects had accompanying photos). Qualitatively these photos were much different though, as men's pictures illustrated articles on politics and business, while women's images are used in stories focused on fashion and housekeeping.

News subjects appearing in photographs

Whether photographed	% Female		% Male	
	2010	N	2010	N
No	44%	4	45%	14
Yes	56%	5	55%	17

WHO DELIVERS THE NEWS?

- **Overall Presenters**

Number of stories presented by women in broadcasting was 59 **compared to 118 by men.**



- **Announcers. Overall presence of women and men as news announcers on radio and TV.**

Presence of women and men as news announcers was more balanced with 47% of stories on TV presented or reported by women and 53% by men. However the presence of female announcers on radio was minimal – women were present in only 2% of stories. .

- **Presence of women and men as announcers in domestic and foreign stories.**

Women and men as announcers were balanced (50% of stories for each) in local stories. In national news women worked on 41% of the stories and in news about international events – only 13%. This correlates with the general media practice, where the majority of international observers, foreign correspondents, foreign policy analysts etc. are men.



The Presence of women and men as announcers in major news topics: the number of women announcers was highest in news on Social and Legal (48%), Crime and Violence (45%) and Politics and Government (39%). These subjects were also the most popular on the day of monitoring.

- **Reporters.** Presence of women as news reporters was highest in TV news – with female reporters accounting for 56 % of stories, but only for 18% of Radio news stories. In newspapers women reported 47% of the stories. Men inversely, announced or reported 44% of TV stories, 82% of Radio news items and 53% of newspaper stories. It reflects the real situation: women are the majority among reporters on TV and in the newspapers, but not on radio.

Television, Radio & Newspapers Reporters, by sex

Media Type	% Female		% Male	
	2010	N	2010	N
Print	47%	17	53%	19
Radio	18%	5	82%	23
Television	56%	20	44%	16
Total	42%	42	58%	58

Domestic and international news by female and male reporters: the number of stories presented by women and men was balanced enough – women reporters in all levels (local, national and international) were 46%, the most stories reported by women were in “National and other”.

Major story topics by female and male reporters. The highest presence of women featured in the topic Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports at 75% of reporters within this story topic. The highest presence of men was in stories on the Economy (68% of reporters of these stories were men) and Crime (64%). Political and social topics had balanced numbers of female and male reporters.

Major story topic by sex of reporter

Reporters on major topics	% F	% M
	2010	2010
Politics and Government	48%	52%
Economy	32%	68%
Science and Health	55%	45%
Social and Legal	49%	51%
Crime and Violence	36%	64%
Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	75%	25%
The Girl-child	0%	0%
Other	0%	100%
N=100		
Total	46%	54%

- **Reporters and news sources.** Female news sources were found more in stories reported by women (64%)! Male reporters addressed female sources only in 27% of the stories while in 73% their news stories they cited male experts or commentators.

Selection of News Subject (sex of source) by female & male reporters

Sex of Source	% Female		% Male	
	2010	N	2010	N
Female	64%	16	36%	9
Male	27%	23	73%	63
Other: transgender, transsexual	0%	0	0%	0
Do not know	0%	0	100%	1
Total	35%	44	65%	83

GENDER AND THE NEWS



“disagree”. It means, by their opinion, that they did not define any stories where issues of gender equality/inequality were raised.

- **Sex of reporters in stories with women as a central focus.** 63% of news where the women were central figures – was covered by women reporters. Male reporters accounted for 37% of those stories that focused specifically on women.
- **Stories that highlight issues of gender equality or inequality issues.** Monitors used marks AGREE and DISAGREE in this position. All monitored materials were marked as

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Comparing GMMP 2005 and GMMP 2010: it is obvious that change in the portrayal of men and women and the representation of gender in the national media in Georgia is too slow! The following major tendencies were maintained between 2005 and 2010:



gender awareness or gender analysis.

- media prefer covering politics, business and crime, and not human rights and especially not women's rights;
- all journalists, both male and female, prefer male experts, even when there are plenty of women who are experts in the field;
- women reporters lack solidarity with the women's agenda;
- the fight for women's rights finds practically no reflection in the media;
- Stories on the topic of violence contain little or no

Comparing to the previous GMMP, the number of male reporters increased significantly in Georgia. Men accounted for only 20% of stories on February 16, 2005, this time the index reached 54%. But the national team of monitors believes that further long-term monitoring would have to be done to determine a trend.

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

What can be done in the next five years to promote the fair and balanced representation of women and men in the news?

- International level. Results of four GMMP represent an important research tool that should be widely shared and discussed within the frameworks of UN. It is necessary to work for a special resolution on media and the definition of gender standards.
- National level. National legislation should be used in order to create special norms for gender and the media. For instance, there is a law on gender equality which can be successfully used.
- Constant media monitoring at the national level should take place and should be later presented to media personnel. It is important to make this event interesting to the media. Gender-oriented journalists should be encouraged to speak up.
- Seminars for media managers are necessary to influence media policy.
- Gender studies should be included in the journalism study courses.
- International and regional exchange (seminars, conferences, joint actions) are necessary
- Civil society organisations need strong strategies on cooperating with media
- The GMMP team should continue working to plan and organize a series of strategic activities based on the monitoring results and influencing the media practice.



Annex 1. Methodology

Each participating country was assigned a specific number of newspapers, and radio and television newscasts to monitor based on the national media density. This was done to ensure that global results would reliably reflect the distribution of the world's news media, while respecting the need to balance results from smaller countries with those of larger countries. The number and selection of media outlets monitored in each country reflects the density and diversity – audience, ownership, language – of media in each country.

Efforts were made to ensure a uniform understanding and application of the methodology across the world. Clear instructions on how to code were provided. Some regional and national coordinators benefited from face-to-face or virtual training while others and the broader global teams of volunteers developed skills in monitoring through online self-administered tutorials. In one region, national coordinators were trained by the regional coordinator via teleconference. In some countries, national coordinators provided advance training to volunteer monitoring groups.

In each country monitors coded the most important television and radio newscasts of the day in their entirety. For newspapers, 12 to 14 stories appearing on the main news pages – defined as the pages devoted to national, international and, in some cases, regional news – were coded. Internet news was included for the first time in the global monitoring on a pilot basis in a few countries selected on the basis of the importance of the Internet as a news source for local news consumers.

The quantitative research captured statistical data on news topics, women and men in the news, the types of news stories in which they appeared, and their function in the news. Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) in South Africa was responsible for the quantitative analysis.

An in-depth and more nuanced analysis of selected news stories examined the means, themes and patterns of gender in the news. This qualitative analysis took into account the role of story angle, language and visual representations in constructing and sustaining or challenging gender stereotypes.

A full discussion of the methodology, including considerations on reliability, accuracy and limitations, is contained in the global report *Who Makes the News? The Global Media Monitoring Project 2010*.

Annex 2. List of Monitors

The team of monitors in Georgia:



Roza Kukhalashvili: TV Rustavi2, Np Akhali Taoba



Cicino Julukhidze: *First National* Radio, NP 24 Saati



Tamta Tatarashvili: *Mtsvane Talgha* Radio, NP Saqartvelos Respublica



Besik Kacharava: TV Imedi



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