

KETEVAN MURGHULIA

**THE RESULTS
OF SOCIAL
MEDIA
MONITORING**

**DEMOCRACY
RESEARCH
INSTITUTE
(DRI)**

**TBILISI
2020**

CONTENTS

GLOSSARY OF TERMS	3
Introduction	5
1 Methodological framework	6
2 The main messages of far-right discourse in online media	11
2.1 Pro-Russian Discourse in Online Media	12
2.2 Anti-Western Discourse in Online Media	16
3 Facebook discourse of far-right groups and their leaders	19
3.1 Nationalist Sentiments in the Far-Right Discourse	23
3.2 Antiliberal Sentiments in the Far-Right Discourse	24
3.3 Homophobic and Xenophobic Attitudes in Far-Right Discourse	26
4 Basic findings of the media monitoring	28
Recommendations	29

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The below definitions of terms are not universal and have been developed for the purposes of this research.

FAR-RIGHT IDEOLOGY

An ideology that combines racism, xenophobia, misogyny, anti-Semitism and homophobia.

FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

Groups that stir up antiliberal and anti-western sentiments. Their rhetoric is also expressly homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic and nationalistic.

EXTREMISM

A set of ideas, an ideology, that does not recognise the principle of human equality, promotes hatred, violence and intolerance, threatens the democratic structure and the rule of law in the country.

RADICALISATION

A process in which a person might go beyond legal bounds when disseminating his/her beliefs and promoting a certain ideology and become involved in a terrorist and/or extremist activity. This process demonstrates the willingness of a person to consent to and/or, if necessary, use violent methods for the sake of the objectives of the ideology supported by him/her.

ANTI-WESTERN DISCOURSE

Expressing explicitly negative sentiments towards the European Union, the North Atlantic Alliance and Western Countries and analysing them in a negative light.

ANTILIBERAL DISCOURSE

Identifying and analysing the demonisation of liberalism and diminishing liberal values.



INTRODUCTION

This study presents the results of social media monitoring conducted by the Democracy Research Institute (DRI). It analyses the far-right discourse in social and online media from 1 May 2019 to 31 March 2020. An important task of the study was to determine the extent of the use of hate speech by far-right groups and determine their approach to foreign policy. Within the framework of the current monitoring of the media, the typical messages of far-right rhetoric in Georgia were identified and the groups that are most often the target of the aggression of far-right groups and their leaders were studied. The analysis of the online narrative is based on the data obtained from Facebook pages (status updates, photos and videos). It consists of quantitative and qualitative findings.

As a basic observation, it can be said that far-right groups in Georgia are using social and online media as a platform to create an antiliberal agenda. In doing so, they create an alternative information domain different from their own, mainstream media. The former is mainly characterised by expressly homophobic, xenophobic, anti-Western, Islamophobic, misogynistic and nationalist sentiments. Georgian far-right discourse is characterised by its focus on national values and traditions, as well as actively appealing to its audience using global far-right messages. In addition, there is expressly populist and propagandistic content.

Online communication of far-right groups in Georgia serves the purpose of instilling irrational fears in their supporters, on the one hand and attracting new supporters, on the other hand. In addition, social media is actively trying to radicalise its supporters and influence political and civic events.

The definition of far-right discourse in media monitoring is as follows: it is an ideology that combines homophobia, xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and misogyny.⁶⁰

60 Macridis, Roy C., Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes, 4th ed. Glenview, Scott, Foresman and Co., 1989, p. 231.

1. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The research method used a content analysis method, based on which we studied the information broadcast about far-right groups and their activities. The main focus was on how media outlets replicate far-right rhetoric and what elements of social media platforms are involved in producing far-right discourse.

The present study aimed to study the spread of hate speech and the main elements around which the far-right discourse is formed in Georgia. Due to the research problem, discourse analysis was selected as the research design.

It was through the analysis of the discourse that it became possible to determine the main target of the aggressive rhetoric and the background of social and political events, against which the far-right rhetoric is developed in Georgia. Content analysis was used to study Facebook status updates of far-right groups and their leaders and to determine the area of action. The qualitative part of the research conveys and reflects the main messages of far-right groups, political discourse and a certain type of civic activities.

The Democracy Research Institute has studied those far-right Facebook and online pages that have disseminated anti-Western, antiliberal, homophobic, xenophobic and ultranationalist messages. During the study, new propaganda Facebook pages were being constantly created and the old ones removed. Accordingly, the report lists the media outlets that were active during the period of monitoring the media and distinguished in terms of the distribution of far-right narratives.

Democracy Research Institute studied the status updates posted on the Facebook pages of 12 far-right leaders and 15 far-right groups, in total, 20,235 posts. In addition, we have analysed 2,317 articles published on 9 websites. As a part of the ongoing media monitoring, Facebook posts were studied in terms of their quantity (approval, support and frequency of information sharing) and content. The alleged links between the far-right Facebook pages have also been revealed.

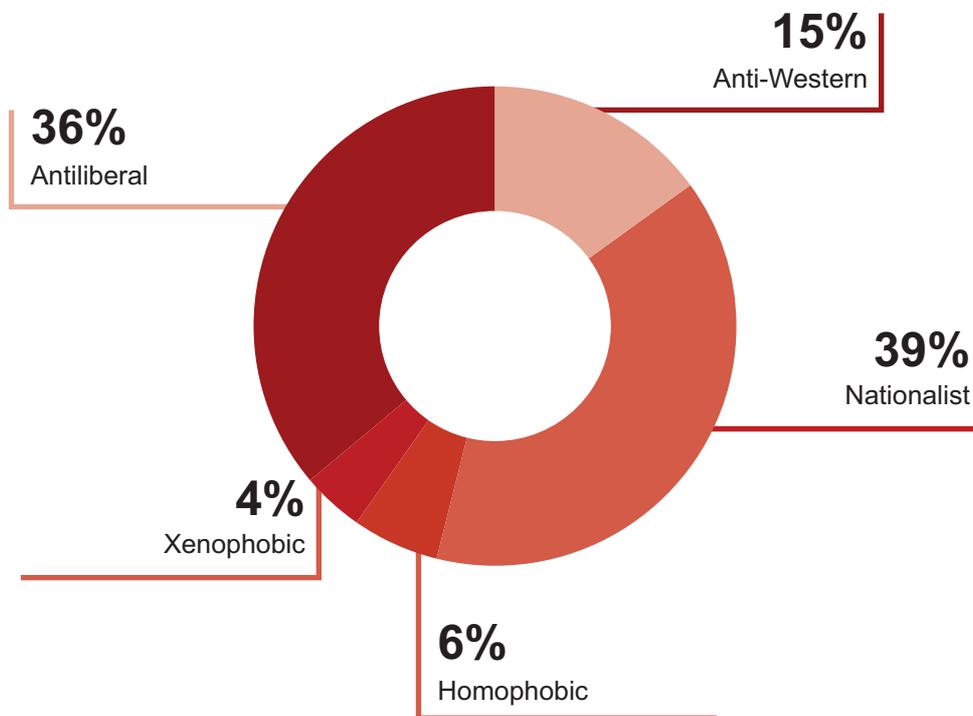
The studied far-right narratives, according to the content characteristics may be classified into five main groups: xenophobic, homophobic, antiliberal, anti-Western and nationalist discourse.

QUANTITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERACTION ON POSTS

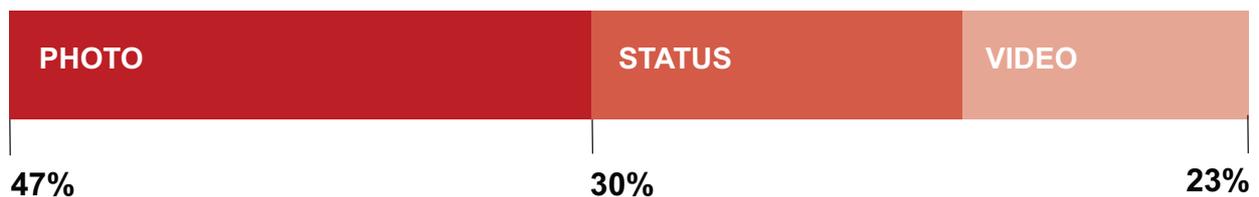
Statistics

NARRATIVE	NUMBER OF STATUSES	NUMBER OF SHARES	NUMBER OF COMMENTS	OTHER TYPES OF REACTIONS	INTERACTION IN TOTAL
Xenophobic	345	11 127	15 345	1 070	27 687
Homophobic	475	15 230	17 120	1 245	34 070
Anti-Western	1 150	28 122	19 340	2 350	50 962
Nationalist	3 100	30 125	20 125	3 456	56 806
Antiliberal	2 865	29 628	19 450	4 320	56 263

PERCENTAGE CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERACTION ON POSTS



TYPES OF POSTS



Nearly half (47%) of the posts on the studied pages were submitted as photo material, and the video content covered 23%. The percentage of information provided in the form of statuses was 30%. In addition, the accompanying texts to these photos and videos contained cynical content. The photographic material was most often published on the following pages: Silent Georgia, Rezoni and Georgian Page. Facebook pages of the World Family Congress and the Society for the Protection of Children's Rights were actively streaming videos in real time.

The cross-referencing of the studied posts revealed that the posts with nationalist and antiliberal content had the highest rating. The nationalist discourse is especially a characteristic of the Facebook pages – Turkey is an Occupier, Silent Georgia and Kardhu. Antiliberal sentiments are stirred up by pages such as the Antiliberal League, Alt-Club and Liberalizmi? Shen Meispe.

THE FOLLOWING WERE SELECTED AS THE SURVEY OBJECTS DURING THE MONITORING:

1. NINE WEB-PAGES:

TVM.GE	https://tvm.ge/
GEORGIA AND WORLD	http://geworld.ge/ge/
POLITICANO	https://www.facebook.com/Politicano
	Georgia/
ALT-INFO	https://alt-info.com/
KAVKAZPLUS.GE	http://ge.kavkazplus.com/news.php?id=25025#
SAQINFORM	http://saqinform.ge/
ZNEOBA	https://zneoba.ge
NEWS FRONT GEORGIA	https://ge.news-front.info/
SPUTNIK SAQARTVELO	https://sputnik-georgia.com

2. FIFTEEN FAR-RIGHT GROUPS' FACEBOOK PAGES:

ALT-CLUB	http://tiny.cc/eg21lz
KARDHU	https://tinyurl.com/y45xpde8
ANTILIBERAL LEAGUE	http://tiny.cc/mo21lz
GEORGIAN PAGE	https://www.facebook.com/QartuliGverdi/
GEORGIAN IDEA	https://www.facebook.com/groups/456135808490178/
ANTI-PARADOX	https://www.facebook.com/antiparadox/
REZONI	https://www.facebook.com/rezoni/
SILENT GEORGIA	http://tiny.cc/z811lz
LIBERALIZMI? SHEN MEISPE ⁶¹	https://www.facebook.com/DaunDeLiberalizmi/
SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN'S RIGHTS	http://tiny.cc/r311lz
WORLD FAMILY CONGRESS	http://tiny.cc/st21lz
TURKEY IS AN OCCUPIER	https://www.facebook.com/StopTurkishOccupation/
GEORGIAN MARCH	https://www.facebook.com/QartuliMarshiGeorgianMarch/
GEO-PEPE	https://www.facebook.com/geopepe01/
ZNEOBA	http://tiny.cc/yd21lz

61 The Facebook page has been blocked by Facebook administration.

3. THE STUDY ALSO MONITORED THE PERSONAL FACEBOOK PAGES OF FAR-RIGHT LEADERS (HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS LEADERS).

THE FOLLOWING 12 PAGES WERE SELECTED AS RESEARCH OBJECTS:

GURAM PALAVANDISHVILI

<https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100045584140398>

ALEKSANDRE PALAVANDISHVILI

<https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100051116913835>

KONSTANTINE MORGOSHIA

<https://www.facebook.com/konstantine.morgoshia>

LEVAN CHACHUA

<https://www.facebook.com/Chachua.Levan>

GULBAAT RTSKHILADZE

<https://www.facebook.com/gulbaat.rcxiladze.001>

BEKA VARDOSANIDZE

<https://www.facebook.com/beqa.vardosanidze.1>

ZVIAD TOMARADZE

<https://www.facebook.com/ztomaradze>

DAVIT LORTKIPANIDZE

<https://www.facebook.com/onisime.lortkipanidze>

NIKOLOZ MZHAVANADZE

<https://www.facebook.com/nikoloz.mzhavanadze>

SANDRO BREGADZE

<https://www.facebook.com/sandro.breg>

LEVAN VASADZE ⁶²

https://www.facebook.com/wcf10/?epa=SEARCH_BOX

DIMITRI LORTKIPANIDZE

<https://www.facebook.com/dimitri.lortkipanidze>

62 Levan Vasadze does not have a personal page on Facebook. However, his messages can be examined on the Facebook page of the World Family Congress, where Levan Vasadze's video statements are actively shared.

2. THE MAIN MESSAGES OF FAR-RIGHT DISCOURSE IN ONLINE MEDIA

Right-wing leaders are often respondents of online media in Georgia. Accordingly, the online platform is actively used to attract supporters and send key messages. The observed media providers disseminated misinformation and propaganda against the liberal West. Discrediting articles containing hate speech are frequently posted as well. In Georgia, far-right groups actively use online media to disseminate and promote deliberately pro-Russian narratives.

The surveyed websites clearly demonised Georgia's strategic partners, the European Union, the North Atlantic Alliance and the United States. The current anti-Western course was based on pseudo-nationalist sentiments. In this case, a powerful tool was to present liberalism as a combination of values incompatible with Orthodox and national matters. Stimulating negative attitudes towards Georgia's strategic partners and undermining Western values are part of the Kremlin's propaganda.

The main goals of the ongoing rhetoric on the online platform by far-right forces are, on the one hand, to diminish the trust of Georgian citizens in democratic, Western institutions and, on the other hand, to present Russia's side as a guarantor of the country's economic development and security. Far-right leaders actively use pro-Russian media to discredit European integration. Euro-Atlantic cooperation is always presented as a threat and liberal values are showed to be incompatible with the Georgian identity. Their weapon is to fabricate conspiracy theories and myths to establish Euroscepticism in the society.

Far-right rhetoric on the online platform can be divided into two main groups: openly pro-Russian media (Saqinform, Georgia and World, Sputnik Georgia, and News Front Georgia) and expressly anti-Western media (Politcano, Alt-info, and Zneoba). The rhetoric of current websites is identical to each other and often relies on antiliberal messages. The anti-Western discourse even covers topics such as human rights, identities and values. It is in this context that Orthodox Russia is presented as Georgia's main ally and, on the other hand, the West is shown as depraved. The EU is equated with uncontrolled immigration, crime, terrorism and LGBT propaganda. Behind the far-right rhetoric, Russian-language media providers are the main source of online platforms, which in turn are characterised by the circulation of hate speech.

The present study reviews the editorial policies of online media platforms with distinct pro-Russian and anti-Western rhetoric based on open sources; their indirect or direct links with far-right groups and leaders are also reviewed.

2.1. PRO-RUSSIAN DISCOURSE IN ONLINE MEDIA

The main platforms spreading Russian misinformation and Kremlin Propaganda in Georgia are the media outlets Georgia and World, Saqinform, Sputnik-Georgia, News Front Georgia, Kavkaz Plus and TVM News. The media monitoring demonstrated the trend of spreading various myths originating from Russian-language news agencies to discredit the West. The transformation and dissemination of satirical information into real stories are the kind of propaganda that is actively used by pro-Russian media to spread anti-Western rhetoric. Based on this method, they try to create an image of the enemy from Europe in Georgia and present the West as the main cause of all the depravity.⁶³

The proliferation of misinformation and myths by pro-Russian media providers has become particularly widespread about such issues as Lugar Research Centre in Georgia and the coronavirus (COVID-19). Richard Lugar Centre for Public Health Research acquired special importance in the fight against the coronavirus in Georgia. At the same time, pro-Russian media providers, which had been discrediting the laboratory and linking it to the Pentagon's bio-bacteriological activities in Georgia for years, became even more active.⁶⁴ Saqinform published its article on this issue on October 11, the original source of which was the Russian-language Internet magazine Military-Political Analytics.⁶⁵ Russian traces are also evident in the conspiracy content of the article. Elements of demonisation of the United States are also noticeable in the smear campaign. Another pro-Russian media outlet, Sputnik, published an interview with Alan Margiev, the Head of the Veterinary and Phytosanitary Service, in August, citing Richard Lugar Public Health Research Centre as the reason for the emergence of the Black Death and brown marmorated stink bug in South Ossetia. This interview is based on falsehoods and misinformation.⁶⁶

The coronavirus (COVID-19) has again intensified pro-Russian misinformation against Lugar Research Centre. News Front Georgia published an article on March 12⁶⁷ with the title "Natsis (members of the National Movement) with One Brain Cell and 'Lugar Laboratory'", where the positive role of the diagnostic centre in the fight against the virus is questioned. It is emphasised that any laboratory would be able to diagnose. An article was published on the website on 21 March 2020,⁶⁸ with the title "China is Helping Us, not Lugar Laboratory!" - where it is stated that the entire hype around Lugar laboratory serves only the interests of George Soros' propaganda forces from the United States and that China is helping Georgia in the fight against the coronavirus.

63 Myth Detector, "How did the Russian Satire become a disinformation of Saqinform?" 19 February 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/PtRedIF>.

64 Saqinform, "Pentagon's Bio-Bacteriological Activities - Threat to Peace and Security in Eurasia, 11 October 2019", available at <https://cutt.ly/TtRiWaL>.

65 "Military-Political Analytics", "Pentagon Bio-Bacteriological Activities – Threat to Peace and Security in Eurasia", September 28, 2019, available at <http://bit.do/ffJHz>.

66 Myth Detector, "They Again Accuse Lugar's Laboratory against Diseases in Occupied Territories", 12 August 2019, available at <https://cutt.ly/rtRaUw>.

67 News Front Georgia, "Natsis with One Brain Cell and Lugar Laboratory", 12 March 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/wtRoulZ>.

68 News Front Georgia, "China is helping us, not Lugar Laboratory!", 21 March 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/btRpNes>.



website
SCREENSHOT

Биобактериологическая деятельность Пентагона – угроза миру и безопасности в Евразии

Южная Осетия связывает появление новых болезней с лабораторией Лугара в Грузии

The spread of COVID-19 in Georgia is accompanied by a pro-Russian information campaign based on manipulations. It should be noted that the spread of existing misinformation serves the purpose of discrediting the West⁶⁹ and demonising European institutions.⁷⁰ The openly pro-Russian news agencies News Front Georgia and Georgia and World publish actively articles about the virus, which, on the one hand, show Europe as weak and, on the other hand, highlight the need for getting closer to Russia;⁷¹ the preventive measures taken by the government are criticised as well. The declaration of a state of emergency is perceived as a fight of liberal forces against Orthodoxy.⁷² Numerous articles have criticised the measures of social distancing and all those who obey these rules are referred to as enemies of the country and the church.



website
SCREENSHOT

საქართველოს სასიცოცხლო არტერია რუსეთზე გადის

ჩინეთის საგარეო საქმეთა სამინისტრო: აშშ-ს წამოსცდა, რომ Covid-19 მათთან გაჩნდა

69 Georgia and World, “The Foreign Ministry of China: USA admitted that Covid-19 originated in the US”, 18 March 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/ZtRdOBG>.
 70 News Front Georgia, “Georgia is better than France, that’s it, what is the level in the European Union”, 20 March 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/gtRdNh7>.
 71 Georgia and World, “Georgian Vital Artery Passes through Russia”, 25 March 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/2tRfWQF>
 72 News Front Georgia, “The supermarket is safe and the temple – dangerous?”, 20 March 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/ytRfLH>.

Web pages Georgia and World, Saqinform and Sputnik Georgia have similar editorial policies, which are distinctly antiliberal and pro-Russian. The domains of Georgia and World, as well as Saqinform, are registered on Taras Gagnidze's name.⁷³ This fact explains the identical editorial policies of these websites.

During the media monitoring process, various misinformation was repeatedly published on the mentioned websites, which contained anti-Western messages. A clear example of this is the misinformation campaign launched by Saqinform against Matthew Bryza, a former senior State Department official.⁷⁴ The editor of the website is Arno Khidirbegishvili,⁷⁵ who is distinguished by his publication of articles with anti-Western and pro-Russian content,⁷⁶ constantly highlighting the need for getting **closer to Russia** and in parallel demonising the **North Atlantic Alliance**. Saqinform repeatedly shared statements made by Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov⁷⁷ about Georgia. The main focus was on Russia's good neighbourly relations and the resumption of air travel. In the current discourse, there was a negative attitude towards Georgia's NATO membership.

The website of Georgia and World is also characterised by pro-Russian rhetoric. In addition, frequent respondents to these online media are the far-right leaders Dimitri Lortkipanidze, Gulbaat Rtskhiladze, Nikoloz Mzhavanadze and Zviad Tomaradze. Their homophobic and xenophobic messages are spread on the website of Georgia and World. These Far-right leaders have often discredited the West. They tried to portray liberalism as legitimising child prostitution and LGBT propaganda.

Sputnik is an important information platform for Russian propaganda in Georgia and around the world. It was established on 9 December 2013 by an order of the President of Russia. According to the report of Damoukidebloba.com, the Anti-Fascist Coalition of Multinational Georgia, the National Congress of the Slavic Peoples of Georgia and others held a press conference at the Sputnik's office. These organisations are closely linked to Russia. Moreover, on 12 December 2016, the Anti-Fascist Coalition of Multinational Georgia signed an agreement on cooperation with the Russian Public Patriotic Movement Immortal Legion of Russia.⁷⁹

The pro-Russian course of Sputnik's editorial team became especially active in Georgia in September and October. The main focus was on Russia's good neighbourly relations and the resumption of air travel.⁸⁰ Sputnik has a separate editorial block in Georgia where it actively publishes various news from Russia's political, social and artistic spheres.

73 T. Kintsurashvili, *Anti-Western Propaganda 2018*, pp. 51-52, available at <http://mdfgeorgia.ge/uploads/library/119/file/AntiWest-2018-GEO.pdf>.

74 On 16 October, Saqinform published an article about Matthew Bryza, a former high-ranking official of the US State Department, which talks about the final loss of territories by Georgia. "Matthew Bryza: Russia will never leave," reads the title of the article. These words of Matthew Bryza were removed from an interview with the Ukrainian TV channel "Espresso" on 8 October. Alt-Info and Saqinform distort the facts and use a quote from the context.

75 Media Profiles, Saqinform, source: <http://mediameter.ge/ge/media-profiles/sakinpormi>, 30 November 2019.

76 Saqinform, "Arno Khidirbegishvili: Georgia and the United States have no common values", 2 February 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/GtRhJ8o>.

77 Saqinform, "Lavrov is in favour of restoring air traffic with Georgia", 27 September 2019, is available at <https://cutt.ly/KtRkRII>.

78 Georgia and World, "Educational Programmes for Elementary Schools to Come Out in the Near Future to Boost and Introduce Certain Liberal Standards to Children from an Early Age," 30 October 2019, available at <https://cutt.ly/AtRkrIL>.

79 Sputnik Georgia, "Immortal Legion Enters Georgia", 12 December 2016, available at <https://cutt.ly/jtRH2wj>.

80 Sputnik Georgia, "Moscow hopes to restore direct air travel with Georgia", 27 September 2019, accessible at <https://tinyurl.com/y5hr9g9z>.



website
SCREENSHOT



Kavkaz Plus web-page was also identified as a research object of our media monitoring. The online publication regularly publishes Armenophobic, xenophobic and discriminatory materials in Georgian, Russian and English. In many cases, their editorial policy is based on manipulation and misinformation. The identity of the owner of the domain is unclear. The publication tries to present Armenia as the main threat to Georgia's territorial integrity and constantly appeals to the Samtskhe-Javakheti issue.⁸¹ Their Armenophobic rhetoric was particularly exacerbated in July when religious manipulation shifted to the forefront. An article was published on the background of a fake photo on the Kavkaz Plus page on 4 July,⁸² where they talk about the capture of the Georgian Church by the Armenians. The first source of this misinformation was the Russian site infoteka24.ru. The majority of articles cite Russian- propaganda publishers Sputnik, regnum.ru, aif.ru, etc. as the main source of their information.



website
SCREENSHOT



81 Kavkaz Plus, Armenian Interest in Samtskhe-Javakheti and Bavra Ninotsminda Road as Rock Tunnel and Lachin Corridor for Javakheti Separatists, 25 October 2019, available at <http://bit.do/ffP98>.

82 Kavkaz Plus, "Armenians Turned Conquered Georgian Church into a Hayloft: sacrilege on the shores of Lake Paravani", 4 July 2019, available at <https://cutt.ly/zfRLArc>.

During the media monitoring period, a new pro-Russian page called News Front Georgia emerged. These pages are full of manipulative articles, distinctly aimed at stirring anti-Western sentiments. In January, News Front Georgia published disinformation,⁸³ concerning the arrest of the United Kingdom Ambassador to Iran, Robert Macaire at a protest rally. Pro-Russian and Kremlin media outlets wrongly claimed that that Ambassador Macaire led the protests. According to BBC, the ambassador attended the public memorial service for those killed in the plane crash and he was arrested when returning to the embassy. According to the Iranian embassy in the United Kingdom, the arrest of the ambassador was a misunderstanding. Misinformation about the arrest of the British ambassador to Iran has been spread by Kremlin media providers such as Russia Today, Ria Novosti and gazeta.ru.

News Front Georgia's editorial policy also focused on the information campaign against George Soros and Non-Governmental Organisations. An article⁸⁴ on the murder of Georgian citizen Zelimkhan Khangoshvili in Berlin was published on News Front Georgia's website in December. The Kremlin media provider claimed that the search for Russian traces in the case was a “provocation of Soros” and not an official position of the German government. The material published by News Front Georgia is a **lie** as the German Federal Prosecutor's Office pointed out directly Russia's involvement in the case of Khangoshvili's murder. Furthermore, two Russian diplomats were expelled from the country.

2.2. ANTI-WESTERN DISCOURSE IN ONLINE MEDIA

The Alt-Info team is characterised by negative attitudes towards the liberal West.

Their main editorial tools are lies⁸⁵ and manipulations⁸⁶. Alt-Info editorial team shares far-right, conservative views and often relies for its rhetoric on the US President Donald Trump;⁸⁷ the leader of the French right-wing National Unity Party, Marine Le Pen;⁸⁸ and the former Italian Foreign Minister, Matteo Salvini.⁸⁹ Their anti-Western rhetoric is directed against globalism, the European Union and liberalism.

Alt-Info is the most frequently shared source of information on far-right Facebook pages. This website is very popular on Facebook pages such as Anti Paradox, Geo Pepe and Alt Club. Alt-Info has been actively pursuing anti-immigration discourse and based on dubio-

83 News Front Georgia, “Iranians have taught the British ambassador a lesson,” 12 January 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/wtRZBwM>.

84 News Front Georgia, “Soros Organisations attempt at initiation of a new scandal between Georgia and Russia”, 8 December 2019, available at <https://cutt.ly/itRXT2g>.

85 Alt-Info Media Group, Fact Check, available at <http://bit.do/fnrNw>.

86 “Russia's threat of false information disappears from material due to Alt-Info censorship”, Myth Detector, 9 January 2019, available at <https://tinyurl.com/y5n2jdng>.

87 “Donald Trump: God, Family and Homeland are the most important”, Alt-Info, 17 February 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/CtEtydl>.

88 “Marine Le Pen and Matteo Salvini call for referendums on immigration”, Alt-Info, 22 September 2019, available at <https://tinyurl.com/yxw8rygh>.

89 “Matteo Salvini still dominates the polls, with only a third of voters supporting Italy's ruling coalition,” Alt-Info reported on 25 November 2019, available at <https://cutt.ly/DtEtzMF>.

us research, has highlighted the economic damage caused by migrants to various European countries.⁹⁰ In addition, they are constantly spreading information about the crimes committed by migrants.⁹¹ All this serves to create an image of the enemy and stir up xenophobic attitudes in Georgia.



website
SCREENSHOT



შედეგი
ნორვეგიაში დანაშაულის სტატისტიკაში იმიგრანტები ფართოდ არიან წარმოდგენილი



შედეგი
შვედეთში ახლად ჩასული ყოველი 16 მიგრანტიდან მხოლოდ ერთს აქვს ისეთი სამსახური, რომელიც სახელმწიფო ბიუჯეტიდან არ ფინანსდება

Web page Zneoba tries to present the West as a supporter of LGBT propaganda, anti-Christian morals and all sort of filth. It is especially known to manipulate the issue of children and raise religious issues in the antiliberal discourse. Davit Lortkipanidze, a representative of the Youth Centre Zneoba, together with Guram Palavandishvili, the Chairman of the Society for the Protection of Children's Rights, held a number of rallies in November, December and March. Their main messages were directed against the LGBT community, feminists and liberals.

On 30 January, the Youth Centre Zneoba responded to the adoption of the Code of the Rights of the Child by the Parliament of Georgia. They claimed that the code destroys family values and corrupts children morally. In addition, a campaign against abortion was launched on their Facebook page in January. Zneoba demanded the government to ban abortion. Abortion is considered by them to be infanticide. Manipulating children and discrediting liberalism in this regard distinguishes the Zneoba team from the homophobic and antiliberal discourse of other online websites.

Anti-Western messages are also noticeable within the editorial team of Politicano. As a general observation, the Politicano's team likens liberalism to the United States and globalisation. Consequently, both elements are demonised. In addition, there is an attempt to romanticise the Soviet Union. The information materials published by them

90 "Only one in every 16 newcomers to Sweden has a job that is not funded by the state budget," Alt-Info reported on 4 February 2020, available at <https://cutt.ly/HtErKu1>.

91 Alt-Info Media Group, 24 February 2020, "Immigrants are widely represented in crime statistics in Norway", available at: <https://cutt.ly/jtErhCJ>.

often emphasise the ideal life of Soviet citizens⁹² and a healthy environment. They diminish liberal values. Negative sentiments towards the North Atlantic Alliance are also evident.⁹³



website
SCREENSHOT



Politico · პოლიტიკანო
September 4 at 7:48 PM

ეს საკამათო არ უნდა იყოს, რადგანაც საქართველომ ყველაზე მტკივნეულად გამოსცადა ეს ჰუმანიტარული კატასტროფა თავის თავზე. 30 წლის განმავლობაში, ნეოლიბერალური ექსპერიმენტების შედეგად საქართველო იქცა ზანანის რესპუბლიკად და თანამედროვე დასავლურ კოლონიად.

● გაჩანაგებული ეკონომიკა, გაუარესებული ცხოვრების დონე, კატასტროფულად შემცირებული მოსახლეობა, ღირსებადაკარგული ხალხი - აი რა მივიღეთ, თან ამ ყველაფრის ფონზე ერთი მუჭა ბიზნეს ელიტები, რომლებიც უსამართლოდ გამდიდრდნენ და განუსაზღვრელი ძალაუფლება ჩაიგდეს ხელში, დღეს თავისუფლებაზე ლადადებენ.

92 "Soviet Citizens", Politico, 1 October 2019, available at <http://bit.do/ffPVo>.

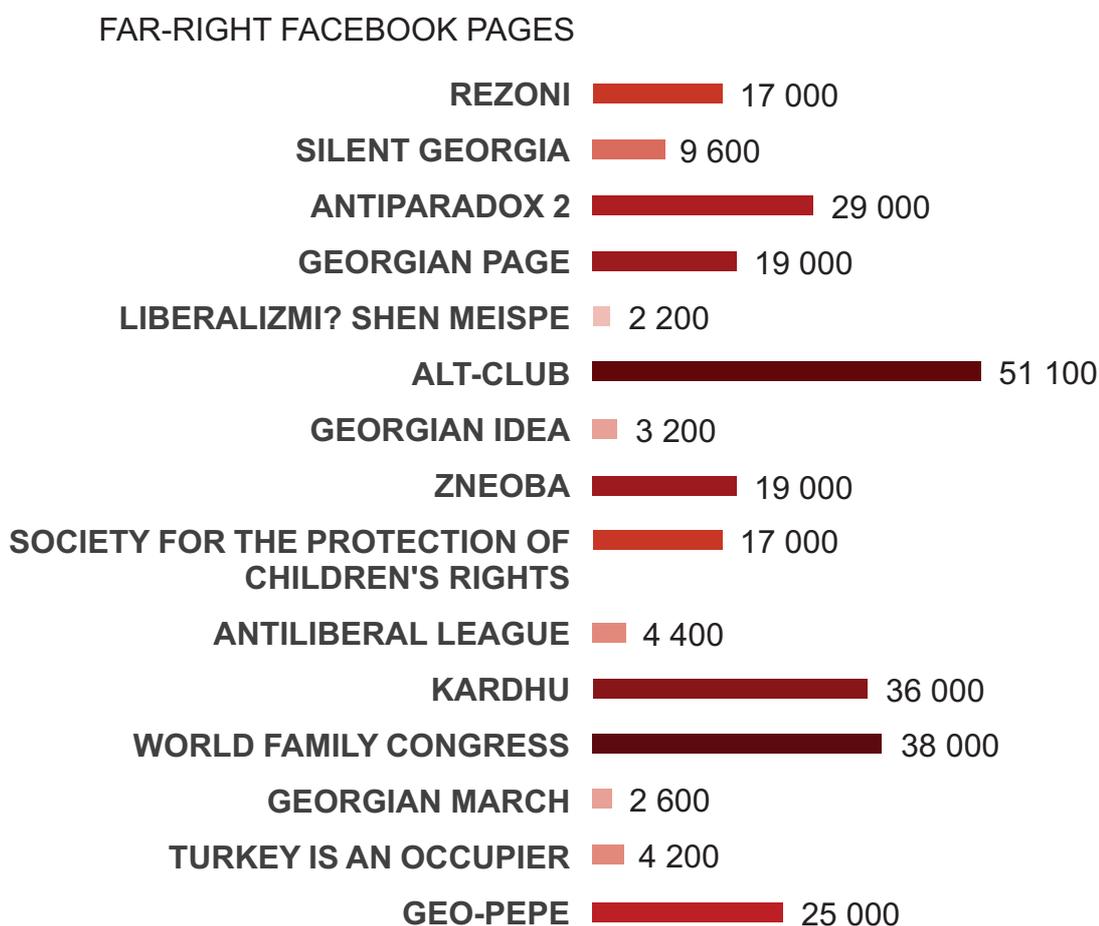
93 "After such a long time, the NATO Secretary General has the audacity to make such cynical statements", Politico, 17 September 2019, available at <https://tinyurl.com/y2bd7mc2>.

3. FACEBOOK DISCOURSE OF FAR-RIGHT GROUPS AND THEIR LEADERS

For far-right groups, Facebook has become an environment conducive to the introduction of Euroscepticism and antiliberal sentiments in the society. Dissemination of Kremlin conspiracy theories and myths against Europe and America is also noteworthy. In addition, far-right groups in Georgia are actively engaged in anti-Western propaganda. In this regard, the discrediting of NATO and the European Union is obvious, where the West is presented as the main reason for depravity in and degeneration of Georgia.

THE NUMBER OF LIKES ON THE FAR-RIGHT PAGES:

Statistics



There are many pages of far-right ideology on Facebook. Far-right groups are actively using the social network to attract followers and spread key messages. It should also be noted that different far-right groups and their leaders produce different discourses. Their attitudes towards Russia and the West should be separated. More specifically, in Georgia, on the one hand, some far-right groups and leaders are constantly appealing to nationalist narratives and thus explaining their antiliberal attitudes and, on the other hand, there are far-right groups and leaders whose xenophobic and homophobic attitudes are the exact reflections of the Russian propaganda. Accordingly, within the framework of media monitoring, different far-right groups and leaders were separated from the discourse and the historical perspective was studied.

THE NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS OF THE FAR-RIGHT PAGES:

Statistics

FAR-RIGHT FACEBOOK PAGES



Within the framework of the current study, small annotations were developed based on the analysis of the online narrative of the major far-right groups, which were characterised by high activity on the social network Facebook. A common feature of each group is the emphasis on national and patriotic values and the production of homophobic and xenophobic rhetoric against sexual or ethnic minorities. However, the groups studied in the research are characterised only by their characteristic ideology, foreign policy and action rhetoric.

It is also noteworthy that the formal registration of most of the far-right groups in Georgia coincides with the change of government in Georgia in 2012. However, the trend of forming current groups was observed much earlier. Following the example of Georgia, the process of activating radical groups can be linked to modern changes in the country. This is in line with the 2003 Rose Revolution when the United National Movement came to power in the name of introducing pro-Western models into the local context.⁹⁴

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF FAR-RIGHT GROUPS IN GEORGIA

Georgian Idea

Social Political Movement – Georgian Idea, formed in 2014, has a Facebook page with the same name. The leader of the movement is Levan Chachua, who was released on 13 January 2013 as a political prisoner. Chachua was also a member of the Orthodox Parents' Union. Religion is also a powerful tool in his far-right discourse. In this case, the repetition of nationalist narratives is connected with Orthodox Christianity. Social Political Movement's leaders and members actively manage demonstrations or rallies and have expressly xenophobic and homophobic rhetoric.⁹⁵

Main Goals: Restoring good neighbourly relations through direct negotiations with Russia, restoring the monarchy and demanding neutrality.

Main Strategy: Attempts to portray conservative groups as the only alternative third force. In addition, there is an appeal to Christian values and the close connection of religion with the history of Georgia. Orthodoxy is presented by the members of the Georgian Idea group as the basis of national-state ideology, while liberalism is presented as the main problem of Georgian tradition and culture.⁹⁶

Georgian March

This radical, far-right group in Georgia was founded in April 2017. Its members and leaders have homophobic, xenophobic and racist rhetoric. "Georgia for Georgians" – this is the slogan of the events organised by the Georgian March in Georgia, the whole rhetoric of which is based on the protection of nationalist values.⁹⁷ Ideologically, Georgian March is similar to the European Far-Right forces. Its rhetoric is also based on an expressly xenophobic, radical anti-immigration policy.

94 Zedania, G., (2011), *History and Theory of Modernity*, Tbilisi, Iliia State University.

95 Myth Detector, Georgian Idea, available at <https://www.mythdetector.ge/ka/profile/kartuli-idea>.

96 Georgian Idea, 30 January, "National-State Ideology", available at <http://bit.do/fuysS>.

97 Imedi News, "March - Who are they and what do the rally organisers want?" 8 July 2017, <https://imedinews.ge/ge/theme/12/marshi--vin-arian-da-ra-undat-aqtsiis-organizatorebs>.

Goals and Objectives: The idea of creating an ethnically homogeneous state (Georgia for Georgians) whose foundation will be expressly nationalist and Orthodox motives; refers to Russia as one of the country's main strategic partners by appealing to monotheism.

Main Strategy: Organising xenophobic and homophobic rallies, anti-immigration and pseudo-nationalist rhetoric.

Kardhu

Another far-right group registered in 2016 to promote nationalism and patriotism – Kardhu. Its founders are Giorgi Janadze and Gera Svanadze. Protecting the Georgian language and strengthening national forces are the main goals of the group. The group maintains xenophobic discourse. Their posts are often anti-Turkish.

Goals and Objectives: Building a nation with a nationalist foundation based on national forces and values. The members of the group also actively call on the public to maintain a healthy lifestyle. Awakening of the patriotic spirit in the population is their main goal.

Main Strategy: Kardhu's action strategy has an expressly anti-immigrant content. In the production of nationalist rhetoric, it actively uses the multimedia material of other far-right Facebook pages.

Georgian Power

Georgian Power was founded on 31 July 2015 by Niko Prangishvili, Irakli Mikeladze, Irakli Modebadze and Nikoloz Burnadze. This group is an ultranationalist platform in Georgia based on distinctly conservative visions. Unlike other far-right groups, they have an expressly anti-Russian direction. Liberal values are also unacceptable to them and they are distinguished for organising xenophobic rallies. Members of Georgian Power always wore masks and black clothes at the rallies.⁹⁸ This group is actively separated from Georgian March and is trying to distance itself from pro-Russian rhetoric. They organised a march from Rustaveli Avenue to the Embassy of Germany in March. The protest rally was accompanied by patrol police officers; the motive for the protest was to raise the issue of the admission of refugees from Syria and Iraq due to the Syrian civil war.

Goals and Objectives: Spreading nationalist messages. Their main slogan is "Georgia for Georgians". They are distinguished by anti-Turkish sentiments. At the same time, they condemn fascism and expressly distance themselves from this ideology.

Main Strategy: Organise action-demonstrations with xenophobic content. Use the online platform to disseminate nationalist messages.

98 March of Neo-Nazis in Tbilisi – with the Symbolism of "White Nationalism", Voice of America, 2016, available at <https://cutt.ly/ztr82bs>

3.1. NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS IN THE FAR-RIGHT DISCOURSE

Within the framework of the research, two nationalist characteristics of far-right discourse were revealed: 1) ethnocentric - ultranationalist elements are noticeable. True citizenship is defined in ethnocentric terms; 2) Extremist-fundamentalist - in this case, nationalism is united with issues such as antiliberalism and anti-pluralism. Ethno-nationalism is the ultimate right-wing discourse.

It is also important to put Christian values first. In this regard, the following Facebook pages are especially active: Turkey Is an Occupier, Silent Georgia and Kardhu. The influence of historical authorities is also noticeable in the far-right discourse. Often the nationalist background is followed by anti-Turkish sentiments and Turkey is presented as the historical enemy of Georgia, whose main goal is to occupy Ajara.



website
SCREENSHOT



Facebook pages Society for the Protection of Children's Rights and Georgian Idea try to appeal to the ideas of saving national and Christian values while spreading homophobic and xenophobic rhetoric. The motive for the protection of Georgian traditions and Orthodoxy often follows the rhetoric of far-right leaders such as Guram Palavandishvili, the Chairman of the Society for the Protection of Children's Rights, and Davit Lortkipanidze, leader of the Youth Centre Zneoba.

Nationalist narratives are actively replicated on the Facebook page of the public political movement Georgian Idea. Attempts by them to portray conservative groups as an alternative third force for the country were noticeable. In addition, there was an appeal to Christian values and the close connection of religion with the history of Georgia.⁹⁹ Orthodoxy is represented by Gega Khvedelidze, a member of the Georgian Idea group, as a basis for national-state ideology.¹⁰⁰

99 Georgian Idea, 30 December 2019, "On the Constitutional Monarchy", available at <http://bit.do/foUoB>.

100 Georgian Idea, 30 December 2019, "Orthodoxy as the Basis of National-State Ideology", available at <http://bit.do/foUuh>.

3.2. ANTILIBERAL SENTIMENTS IN THE FAR-RIGHT DISCOURSE

The far-right groups under observation are openly opposed to liberalism. Often their aggression is directed against groups or organisations that are carriers of liberal values. The discourse on the Facebook pages of Alt-Club, Liberalizmi? Shen Meispe, Zneoba and Geo Pepe is often antiliberal. Their main source of information is the website <https://alt-info.com>. For these pages, liberalism is equated with hostility to Orthodox values and Georgian traditions. In addition, these pages are distinguished by homophobic and xenophobic messaging.

Antiliberal rhetoric is also evident on the Facebook pages of far-right leaders and activists. In this regard, the following are especially active: the founder of the news agency Alt-Info – Konstantine Morgoshia – and civil activist Beka Vardosanidze. Their far-right discourse includes the support of conservative far-right world leaders such as the Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán and the President of the United States of America, Donald Trump. The politics of the nationalist governments of Poland, Italy, Austria and Hungary is considered to be the greatest achievement of the conservative forces and regarded as a positive event.

These far-right groups use the term “liberast” to refer to liberals in general. The term is also found in the video addresses of the far-right leader Levan Vasadze, which is actively published on the Facebook page of The World Family Congress. Sexist and anti-feminist messages have also surfaced in the antiliberal discourse of the far-right Facebook pages. Women's rights activists have been victims of cynicism and discrediting. The online narrative of the far-right groups depicts two types of women; one is a liberal, human rights activist who is equated with depravity and ugliness, while the other category is the traditional, conservative type of a woman. The Facebook page Geo Pepe published a photo description on 19 October 2019, which assesses the characteristics of a liberal girl and a traditional girl from the far-right point of view.

The far-right rhetoric was marked by express anti-feminist and sexist messages in October. Iliia Jishkariani – a City Hall member – was accused by Tamta Todadze – an employee of Georgian Dream – of sexual harassment and attempted rape. She was later given a victim's status by investigative authorities. In response, a campaign to discredit Tamta Todadze was launched in social media, in which the far-right Facebook pages Anti-Paradox, Kardhu, Geo Pepe and Georgian Page were actively involved. These pages spread several messages with different content, the main purpose of which was to protect the City Hall member and consequently, to discredit Tamta Todadze.

101 International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED), 20 November 2019- “Divisive Narratives on Facebook During the 2018 Elections”, available at <http://bit.do/fpL8j>.



website
SCREENSHOT

"პროგრესული" ლიბერალი

ცხოვრებაზე გამოხატებული არასრულფასოვნების კომპლექსის გადაფარვას თმების მძღნერის ფერად შეღებვით ცდილობს

მამამისი უბნის ლოთია, დედა კი ბოზი

სექსუალურ ფანტაზიებში "ტოქსიკურ" მასკულიზმზე ოცნებობს

არასოდეს არ ეყოლება საკუთარი ოჯახი

ვეწერიული დაბადებების მთელი ბუკეტის პატრონია

ცუდად გამოიყურება, აწუხებს ჭარბი წონა

სექსუალურად დაუცმაყოფილებულია, რადგან ფემიდურ-ქალაჩუნა, ლიბერალ გეი-პიქუნა წრეში ტრიალებს

ფურუ ფემინისტია

მუდმივი იმედგაცრუების და წარუმატებელი პირადი ცხოვრების შედეგად 49 კატასთან და 17 მაწანწალა მალთან ერთად ცხოვრობს

გულის სიღრმეში შურს ტრადიციული გოგონასი

საგარაუდოთ ფესტივალზე ნარკოტიკული/ალკოჰოლური ინტოქსიკაციით გარდაიცვლება

თუ ფესტივალზე გადარჩება, იგივე მიზეზით, მოგვიანებით სახლში გარდაიცვლება. ხოლო გარდაცვალებიდან მე-3 დღეს მის 49 კატას და 17 მაწანწალა მალს მომივდებათ და მას შეჰამუნ...

ტრადიციული გოგონა

ცხოვრების თითოეული მომენტით ტკბება, ძალიან ბედნიერია

არ ეშინია მომავლის

წესიერი, მშორმული ოჯახიდანაა

არ აწუხებს ფემინისტური კაცთმომბუღე კომპლექსები, პირიქით მოუთმენლად ელოდა ყოველ საღამოს, რათა საკუთარ დაღლილ ქმარს გემრიელი საჭმელები დაახვედროს

ჩვეულებრივ, კლასიკურ ტანსაცმელს ატარებს, არ უყვარს ჭრელი მაკიაჟი

ყოველ კვირას, ოჯახთან ერთად ეკლესიაში დადის

საკუთარ ქმართან ერთად იცხოვრებს უდარდელად 100 წელს, და ორივე ერთ დღეში გარდაიცვლება

მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ 5 ბიჭის და 1 გოგონას დედაა, მაინც მშვენივრად გამოიყურება

მართო ერთი მამაკაცი უყვარს, რომლისგანაც ნ ბავშვი ჰყავს

"მამიზმს" დადებით მოვლენად თვლის, საკუთარ ხუთივე ვაჟკაცს იგივეს უწერგავს

ძალიან ჰყვიანი და ერუდირებულია თუმცა თვლის რომ შვილების გაზრდა ბევრად უფრო მნიშვნელოვანია, ვიდრე ფემინისტების მიერ თავს მოხვეული "კარიერისტობა".

ეყოლება ბევრი შვილიშვილი და შვილითაშვილი

Observed pages: Zneoba and Society for the Protection of Children's Rights are actively campaigning against abortion. In this case, the struggle against liberalism entails religious content, according to which abortion is considered a terrible religious sin. Posts with religious motifs were posted on Facebook on 20-21 December 2019, wherein we read the call to ban abortion in Georgia by law.



website
SCREENSHOT

აბორტი არ აზათილებს შენს ორსულობას - შენ საკუთარი შვილის მკვლეელი დედა ხდები!

აბორტი ბავშვების მკვლელობაა!

ეს არის 12 კვირის ბავშვი. საქართველოს კანონმდებლობით, ნებისმიერ დედას, რომელსაც სურს საკუთარი შვილის მოვლა, შეუძლია გააკეთოს ეს დაორსულებიდან 12 კვირის განმავლობაში.

აი, სწორედ ასეთ ჩვილს დაანაწევრებენ და ნაწილ-ნაწილ გამოიტანენ დედის საშოდან, მისთვის ყველაზე მშობლიური და დაცული ადგილიდან.

102 Facebook page Zneoba, 21 December 2019, available at <http://bit.do/foWhw>
 103 Facebook page Zneoba, 21 December 2019, available at <http://bit.do/foWrg>



3.3. HOMOPHOBIC AND XENOPHOBIC ATTITUDES IN FAR-RIGHT DISCOURSE

Repetition of homophobic and transphobic narratives is a characteristic element of Georgian far-right rhetoric. The repetition of hate speech against sexual orientation becomes most noticeable in the context of May 17, a day on which the International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia is celebrated, on the one hand, and the Day of Family Purity and Parents is celebrated on the other hand. Far-right groups openly protest LGBT issues.

Noteworthy is the fact that homophobic and transphobic rhetoric is associated with antiliberal and anti-Western discourse. According to them, the propaganda of the LGBT community means normalising homosexuality through the Soros Foundation, which in their view undermines Georgian national values. The current discourse has been further exacerbated since the so-called "March of Honour" was announced by the LGBT community. Accordingly, in June, the groups under observation began actively campaigning against the LGBT community. The following Facebook pages were especially active: Kardhu, Geo Pepe and Georgian Page.

The deliberate discrediting of the LGBT community, which had begun since 20 June, with the so-called Gavrilov's Night rallies, continued in the last week of June in 2019. The far-right groups have been actively and purposefully campaigning against the LGBT community and were accusing them of organising the ongoing rallies. Tbilisi Pride and the protest rallies, started after the so-called Gavrilov's Night, were discredited on the Facebook pages of the leaders of the far-right groups. Levan Vasadze, Konstantine Morgoshia, Dimitri Lortkipanidze and Levan Chachua actively called on their followers to stop all attempts to organise Tbilisi Pride and the members of the National Movement and the LGBT community activists were labelled as the organisers of the so-called Gavrilov's Night.

 website
SCREENSHOT



18-25 ივნისის დაგეგმილ
"გეი-აღლუმს" ვერ ჩაატარებენ!

ამას ერთი არ დაუშვებს!!!

რატომ!?!.... რატომ?!.... რატომ!?!....

1. რატომ წაართვით ბავშვებს ცისარტყელა?
2. რატომ შეურაცხყოფ ჩემთვის სანუკვარს?
3. რატომ გინდა, რომ მეც შენსავით ავად ვიყო?
4. რატომ მილანძღავ ტრადიციებს?
5. რატომ მიფრიალებ ცხვირწინ ბინძურ საცვლებს?
6. რატომ მიყიდე სული სატანას?
7. რატომ გეზიზღება ყველა ჯანმრთელი?

ყოველივე ამის შემდეგ ჰომოფობი მე ვარ თუ შენ?

The aggression of the far-right groups is often directed against migrants. The main direction of the far-right rhetoric is expressly anti-immigrant and xenophobic. In this regard, the tension with Azerbaijan in May over Davit Gareji complex is to be mentioned. It significantly strengthened the xenophobic narratives in the far-right discourse. The far-right groups have published various maps and inaccurate information about the capture of the territory by Azerbaijani people. The xenophobic discourse was followed by threatening and insulting words against the Azerbaijani people. In addition, representatives of the far-right under our monitoring used to call on the people to mobilise and take action to protect Davit Gareji, falsely claiming that it was sold by the Georgian government to Azerbaijan. The Facebook page Kardhu shared the calls for demonstrations in the Davit Gareji area. The main slogan of the rallies was, “David Gareji is our Jerusalem”.



website
SCREENSHOT



აზერბაიჯანული ფეისბუქ გვერდების მიერ გავრცელებული რუკა

The production of anti-immigration discourse is often based on the generalisation of criminal acts committed by foreigners in individual cases. In this way, the far-right forces endeavour to stir up xenophobic attitudes in Georgia. Facebook pages Kardhu and Geo Pepe are especially active in this regard. In far-right rhetoric, the issue of land protection as the most important value is noticeable. The page Kardhu responded and shared several times an interview of the leader of the organisation “Nation and State”, Zviad Tomaradze “On the mass influx of Asian migrants.” It should be noted that Zviad Tomaradze is the author of a legislative initiative to ban issuing residence permits to foreigners in Georgia, as well as to ban the activities of non-governmental organisations funded by foreign countries.



website
SCREENSHOT



ინტერნეტში გავრცელდა დეზინფორმაცია, რომ იანვრიდან, ახალი კანონის ძალით, სასოფლო-სამეურნეო მიწა უცხოელებზე კვლავ იყიდება!
“მინდა განვაცხადო, რომ ქართველი ხალხის დიდი ბრძოლის შედეგად კონსტიტუციაში ჩაიწერა, რომ უცხო ქვეყნის მოქალაქე ვერ იქნება სასოფლო-სამეურნეო მიწის მესაკუთრე! კონსტიტუცია ქვეყნის უმაღლესი კანონია! შესაბამისად გავრცელებული ინფორმაცია არის მცდარი!”
ზვიად ტომარაძე



4. BASIC FINDINGS OF THE MEDIA MONITORING

- The online media providers that were monitored may have the following objectives: 1) to provoke anti-Western sentiments in the population of Georgia and, consequently, discredit Western institutions; 2) to support the Kremlin's policies and disseminate pro-Russian messages; and 3) to introduce irrational fears and hatred in the society by spreading false information and conspiracy theories;
- There are network connections between different far-right groups operating in Georgia, and these pages are closely interrelated in the process of developing an action plan or strategy;
- In the rhetoric of the far-right groups, there is an attempt to demonise the United States and spread antiliberal messages;
- The current far-right discourse in social and online media was characterised, on the one hand, by ethno-nationalism and on the other hand, by distinctly pro-Russian messages;
- Far-right groups in online media often use fake surveys and unverified information;
- Anti-immigration campaigns and xenophobic attitudes were noticeable in Georgian far-right discourse.
- The demonisation of local NGOs and international organisations is noticeable; George Soros is even seen as the main legitimiser of depravity;
- The most frequent targets of aggression by far-right groups are feminists, migrants, the LGBT community, Muslims and liberals;
- There is a noticeable tendency of far-right groups mobilising their supporters for protests using social media. It is also noteworthy that information is widely spread and rallies are planned and organised through Facebook; and
- There is a noticeable trend in online media to invite respondents such as politicians and leaders who create the far-right agenda in Georgia.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Government agencies need to develop an effective action plan against misinformation and hate speech, which is being carried out by the far-right groups through social media and media in general;
- In terms of informing the public, it is important to conduct an online and media campaign against the extremist far-right discourse that is based on misinformation or unverified facts; and
- Various research organisations should become more active and conduct media monitoring to study the characteristics of the far-right discourse to continuously provide the population with information on the root causes on which extremist groups thrive.