

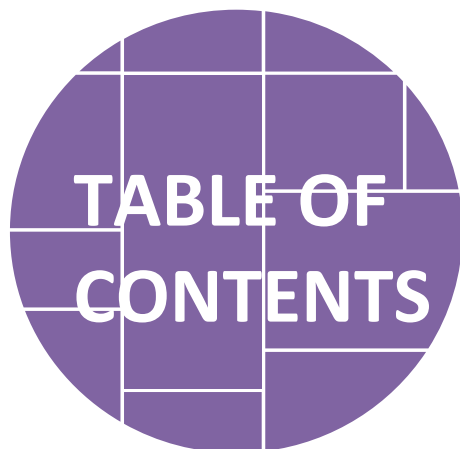
DEMOCRACY RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
2022-2023



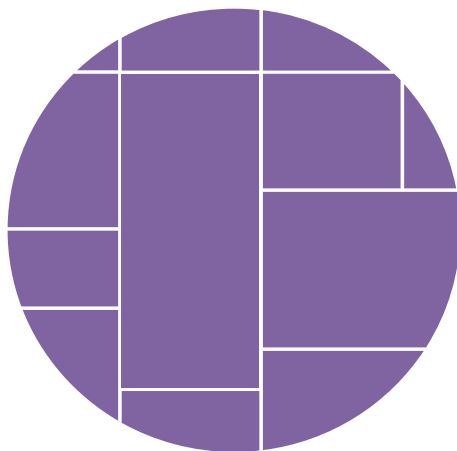
The report was prepared by the Democracy Research Institute (DRI)  
within the framework of the project  
“Anti-Gender Rhetoric of Far-Right Groups”.

The project is supported by the organization  
“Women's Fund in Georgia.”

The positions and views stated in the publication are those of the project  
team and should not be construed as official views of the donor.



Glossary .....	3
Introduction.....	4
Methodology .....	6
1. Femicide in the anti-gender focus of Far-right groups.....	7
2. Homophobic sentiments in the anti-gender rhetoric of Far-right groups.....	11
“Fellow Orthodox Russia” and “Perverted West” .....	14
Homophobic rhetoric against the former Ombudswoman and a candidate for the public defender.....	17
3. Anti-gender messages of Far-right groups .....	18
Key Findings.....	23



## GLOSSARY<sup>1</sup>

**FAR-RIGHT IDEOLOGY** – is an umbrella term for a set of ideologies that resort to racism, xenophobia, misogyny, anti-Semitism and homophobia as preferred tools of operation.

**FAR-RIGHT ACTORS** – social groups that stir up anti-liberal, anti-gender, strongly homophobic, xenophobic and nationalist sentiments in a society. In certain cases they are renowned for their regurgitation of hate speech and for resorting to violence.

**ANTI-LIBERAL DISCOURSE** – the linguistic practice of demonizing liberalism and devaluing liberal values.

**ANTI-FEMINIST DISCOURSE** – a set of activities and attitudes that deliberately discredit women's movements and are directed against feminist views and values.

---

<sup>1</sup> These definitions are not universally agreed and have been developed specifically for the purposes of this monitoring.

## INTRODUCTION

The Democracy Research Institute (DRI) strongly dissociates itself from the sexist and homophobic views cited in the document. However, for this research, we offer them intact.

The strengthening of anti-gender movements in Georgia is a noticeable trend. It is characterized by the normalization of gender-based violent practices, the marginalization of vulnerable groups of women, and push to incite homophobic sentiments. Far-right groups, political leaders and media representatives are active in Georgia. They often use social media and online media platforms to push their misogynistic and sexist propaganda. Their regressive policies against women are focused on calling for maximum restriction of reproductive, encouragement of women's oppression, normalization of femicide, celebration of male dominance in the family and support of patriarchal hierarchy.

In order to identify and analyse the messaging of the sexist, misogynist and hate speech nature coming from far-right groups, in this report the DRI summarizes the monitoring results, carried out from September 2022 to January 2023. During the reporting period, the DRI analysed 225 cases of defamatory content which were directed against female politicians, human rights defenders, sexual minorities and the former Public Defender of Georgia on social networks and in online media.

During the reporting period, we found that in the anti-gender rhetoric of Far-right groups and their leaders, the practice of completely ignoring and denying femicide as an important challenge. This is especially harmful and dangerous for women, as it contributes to the encouragement of crime and the normalization of gender-based violent practices in the society. Against this background, we have also observed a coordinated disinformation media campaign against women's rights activists and gender movements.

Aggressive and discrediting propaganda directed against feminists is often combined with an anti-Western rhetoric. The Far-right leaders are trying to push an image of the “perverted West” in society, trying to argue that Western values are incompatible with Georgian culture. In return, they offer their supporters an alliance with Russia – a fellow Orthodox nation.

The Far-right actors indirectly or directly try to produce their own anti-gender rhetoric in tandem with cultivating pro-Russian sentiments and demonizing the West. For striving towards this aim, they are actively attempting to induce homophobic attitudes in the society.

In Georgia, the anti-feminist sentiments of Far-right groups are also combined against sexEd and teaching about reproductive health in schools. Here, too, the misinformative narrative about the directive being twisted by the “perverted West” is put in motion.

According to the DRI’s observations, the Far-right actors in Georgia are actively positioning themselves as religious-conservatives that exclude women from both political and public life. Far-right leaders base their anti-gender rhetoric on the practice of shaming and degrading women using morally charged indicators. The narratives of “family sanctity” they have elaborated, demands strict obedience from women and requires silent compliance.

In the reporting period, the leaders of the organization “Society for the Protection of Children's Rights” [Guram](#) and [Alexander Palavandishvili](#) and [Ramaz Gagnidze](#), the founder of the public movement “Georgian Mission” were active by their anti-gender rhetoric. The media platform “Alt-Info’s” team was especially active with their anti-gender editorial policy as well.

During the reporting period, our monitoring identified three key areas in the anti-gender discourse of far-right groups, around which online interaction was lively:

1. The **PRACTICE OF DENYING FEMICIDE** - most times, Far-right actors in Georgia do not recognize violent practices based on gender and actively use this denial policy to demoralize women's rights defenders and gender movements. During the reporting period, two horrific acts of violence against women came into the focus of the Far-right groups. In particular, on November 26, 2022, the rape and violence of a nun in the Tskhramukha Monastery nun in Khashuri, and the murder of Lisa Kistauri, a transgender woman living in Belgium, in January 2023. On both occasions, they laid blame at the feet of liberal media and NGOs.
2. **HOMOPHOBIC SPEECH** - in the anti-gender discourse of ultra-right groups in Georgia, the tendency to incite homophobic sentiments in

the society occupies an important place. To achieve this, they often try to discredit their opponents and target liberal media, civil society representatives and members of the arts world the targets of their aggressive rhetoric.

3. **Concurrence of the official positions of the ultra-right groups and the Patriarchate of Georgia** is a key finding of this monitoring. Most times, religiously motivated anti-gender rhetoric celebrates harmful and dangerous misogynistic practices.

## METHODOLOGY

The report is based on the method of content analysis and describes the anti-gender activities, sexist, manipulative media context, anti-feminist trends and discourse of far-right political entities and media platforms from September 2022 to January 2023. The report describes the activities of far-right groups ("Society for the Protection of Children's Rights, "Georgian Mission", "Eri, Raoba, Imedi"), far-right political parties ("Georgian March", "Georgian Idea", "Conservative Movement/Alt-Info") and propaganda campaign containing disinformation and gender-based hate speech has been activated on the official and supporters' pages of their leaders.

During the monitoring, the anti-gender editorial policy of the Far-right media platform "Alt-Info" was also analysed, which fell under our special observation.

DRI carried out a qualitative study of the frequency and area of distribution of the anti-gender, sexist, manipulative and populist narratives of the Far-right groups. This was done using Facebook's analytical tool CrowdTangle. Monitoring results are based on both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative component includes statistical indicators of online interaction around anti-gender categories and sexist messages. As a result of the qualitative review, the main addressees of sexist hate speech and the main content characteristics of anti-gender rhetoric were identified in this study.

As a result of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the information

material collected during the monitoring, we found that 68% of the posts were presented in the textual form (social post/status), video content (including live broadcasts) represented 22% of the data, and photo material represented 10%. The total interaction of the studied posts revealed that media messages with anti-Western content motivated by homophobic sentiments were characterized by the highest intensity. In addition, the coordinated activities of the far-right groups against some TV broadcasters became noticeable, which sometimes, even turned into protests.



## FEMICIDE IN THE ANTI-GENDER FOCUS OF FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

In Georgia, femicide is a serious challenge. Therefore, it occupies an important place in the agenda of gender/feminist movements. During the reporting period, femicide became the centre of special focus of Far-right groups. On many occasions, these groups denied gender-based violence altogether. To demonize women's rights defenders, they pushed a disinformation narrative, as if femicide is a feminist tool against the institution of family.

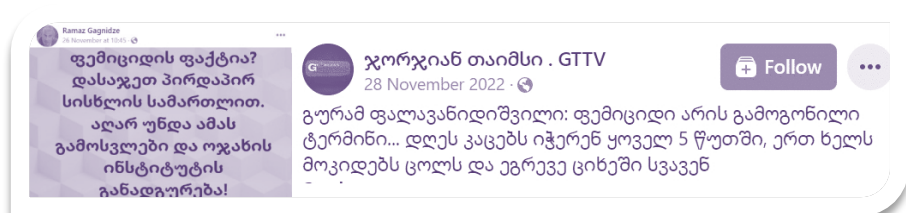
During the reporting period, the horrifying fact of the rape of a nun in the Tskhramukha monastery in Khashuri on November 26, 2022, resonated with the Far-right groups. On November 28, in the [“Tea”](#) show of the “Georgian Times,” the Far-right leader of the “Children's Rights Protection Society” Guram Palavandishvili reviewed in detail the violent practices against women in Georgia and assessed Femicide as a term “invented” by the Feminists.

*“This is an issue that has been blown out of proportions by Feminists to pit men and women against each other. As if men are the abusers. How can we trust human rights defenders that justify abortion?”*

The Facebook post of the founder of “Georgian Mission” Ramaz Gagnidze,



which he published on his own profile page on November 26, was also aimed at discrediting gender movements and noted: *“Is it a definite fact of femicide? Use criminal law to persecute those who did it. No more bla bla and destruction of the family institution is needed for this.”*



**Ramaz Gagnidze (left):** *“Is it a definite fact of femicide? Use criminal law to persecute those who did it. No more bla bla and destruction of the family institution is needed for this.”*

**Georgian Times (right):** *“Guram Palavandishvili: femicide is this artificially invented notion... today, every 5 minutes a man is arrested. The moment he touches his wife, he is momentarily imprisoned.”* **Chachua (right):** *“Georgia who had her nun raped!!”*

The leader of “Georgian Idea” Levan Chachua reacted to the news of rape and violence against a nun in a monastery on the [“Telegram” show](#) on November 28: *“anti-church channels, operational for decades now, have sponsored fake and anti-Church stories, broadcast filthy slander against nuns and clerics, and no one seems to be up to the task to hold these persons accountable for their actions.”* It should be noted that his statement is in full accord with the [official position of the Patriarchate of Georgian Orthodox Church](#), which blamed the liberal media and the non-governmental sector for the violence perpetrated against the nun.

Shota Martinenko, the leader of the “Conservative Movement/Alt-Info,” acted in similar fashion: reacting to the story with identical messages, he [accused the media for the criminal situation](#) in the country: *“The unheard-of brutality that we witnessed today is a logical result of the media and political environment aimed at the de-Christianization and perversion of society. There, young and old listen and watch shows aimed at the normalization and acceptance of radical Feminism, Transgenderism, Homosexuality, Pedophilia, bigotry, and perversion 24/7.”*



**Shota Martinenko (left):** *“The unheard-of brutality and act that defies humanity which we witnessed today is a logical result of the media and political environment aimed at the de-Christianization and perversion of our society and which is a mandatory condition and content of liberal ideological agenda. This unheard-of bestiality that took place today, or of which we learned in previous days, is because the young and the engage in perversity. It is a logical response of Dechristianization and perversion which is coming from media and political circles.”*

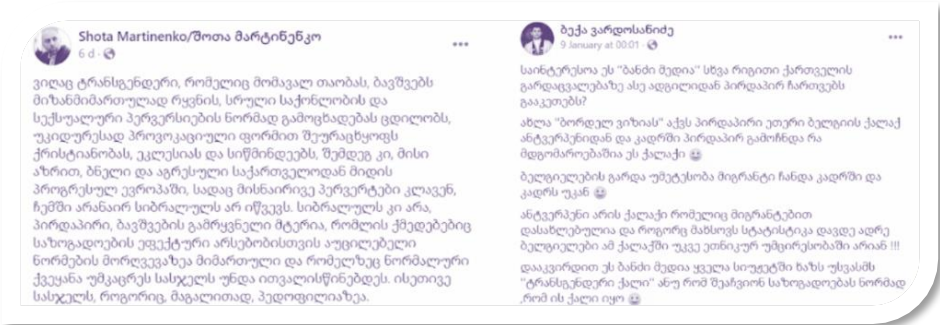
**Levan Chachua (right):** *“Georgia who had her nun raped!!”*

The [murder of a transgender woman Lisa Kistauri](#) in Belgium in January 2023 caused an equally resonant response from Far-right groups in Georgia. On January 13, the leader of the “Conservative Movement/Alt-Info” Shota Martinenko, reacting to this appalling fact with a transphobic and misogynistic Facebook post, noted that the death of a transgender moved him a bit. Martinenko also accused the deceased of “perverting children and insulting the Church.”

*“Someone, who perverts children are an enemy, whose actions are aimed at breaking the norms necessary for the effective societal life. And for which a normal country should consider the same punishment as, for example, pedophilia.”*

A transphobic statement was also made by the Far-right blogger Beka Vardosanidze, who accused the media of bias and noted in a Facebook post published on January 9, 2023: *“This lacklustre media representatives*

*emphasize the “transgender woman” in every story, to force us to get used to the notions that [the deceased] was a woman.”*



**Shota Martinenko (left):** “Someone, some transgender who perverts children purposefully, who is trying to declare that being a cow and having sexual perversions is a norm, uses extremely provocative forms to insult Christianity, Church and sanctities, and then leaves “backward” and “aggressive” Georgia for “progressive” Europe and is being murdered by like-minded perverts. The death of a transgender moves me a bit. Someone, who perverts children are an enemy, whose actions are aimed at breaking the norms necessary for the effective societal life. And for which a normal country should consider the same punishment as, for example, pedophilia.”

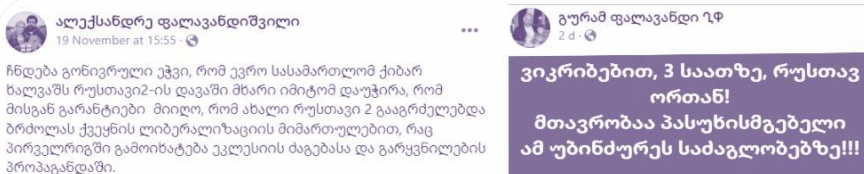
**Beka Vardosanidze (right):** “This “lacklustre media” would ever broadcast live if any other ordinary Georgian had died? Now, this brothel-vision TV station has live broadcast from Antwerp and we can all see how the City has fallen :D apart from some Belgians, most people shown on the front and back of the camera seem to be migrants :D Antwerp is a migrant-dominated city and if I remember it correctly (which I have posted previously), Belgians are an ethnic minority in the City!!! Look at this idiot media: in their every coverage, they emphasize “transgender woman” in every story, to force us to get used to the notions that {the deceased} was a woman.”

## HOMOPHOBIC SENTIMENTS IN THE ANTI-GENDER RHETORIC OF FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

The anti-gender rhetoric of Far-right groups in Georgia is accompanied by the tendency to incite homophobic sentiments. Most times, the Far-right leaders accuse many media outlets and the civil sector of “propaganda of perversion” and “perversion of the nation.”

During the reporting period, the leaders of “Georgian Idea,” “Society for Protection of Children's Rights” and “Conservative Movement/Alt-Info” conducted an aggressive campaign against “Rustavi 2” TV station with homophobic bias. They were enraged by the TV show “Prime House,” which they demanded to be shut down because of homophobic motives. According to the Far-right leaders, the broadcaster “Rustavi 2” was openly “propagandizing depravity” and promoting “perversion of the nation.”

Demanding the shutdown of the show, the Far-right forces also held a protest rally near the “Rustavi 2” offices. The leaders of “Children's Rights Protection Society” Guram and Aleksandre Palavandishvili and the Chair of “Georgian Idea” Levan Chachua tried to mobilize supporters through social networks. The show “Prime House” was evaluated by “Alt-Info” as “perverted propaganda” of liberal ideology, which is directed against national values.



**Aleksandre Palavandishvili (left):** “It is suspected that the European Court gave Rustavi 2 to Khibar Khalvashi because he guaranteed them that Rustavi 2 would continue to fight to liberalize Georgia, which in the first place means to attack the Church and to promote perversion.”

**Guram Palavandishvili (right):** *"We are gathering at 3 pm, in front of Rustavi 2! The Government is guilty for this filthiness!!!"*

During the reporting period, the Georgian Public Broadcaster (GPB) also became the target of the homophobic rhetoric of the Far-right forces. In particular, the dissatisfaction of representatives of *"Alt-Info"* and *"Children's Rights Protection Society"* was caused by the script of the series *"Beyond Love"* aired by the GPB. There, a love story of two girls is depicted.

Giorgi Kardava and Shota Martinenko, leaders of the *"Conservative Movement/Alt-Info"* party, reacted to the series. On the January 11 [Alt-Info's show - Alt-Analytics](#), they stated that *"Public Broadcasting is getting a gay propaganda series with public funding, and it's all imposed by the West."*

Guram Palavandishvili, the leader of *"Society for the Protection of Children's Rights,"* came out with a request to close the GPB for airing of these TV series. He accused GPB of *"propaganda of homosexuality"* and published a post on his Facebook page on January 2 with a violent appeal: *"Shut down the First channel that promotes homosexuality in its filthy series. Just like with Zviad [Gamsakhurdia], we must break-in the doors now as well."*

Aleksandre Palavandishvili, the second leader of the *"Children's Rights Protection Society,"* also referred to the GPB as a sponsor of *"LGBT perversity"* and in a Facebook post published on January 9, noted: *"The LGBT propagandists belong to prison, along all those who support the dissemination of this sin - legislators, officials, ministers, journalists, journalists, activists, diplomats... in short, everyone who contributes to the distribution of this stinky garbage."*



ალექსანდრე ფალავანდიშვილი

9 January at 23:58 · 🌐

რა თქმა უნდა, რომ ციხე ეკუთვნით ლგბტ პროპაგანდისტებს და ამ ცოდვის გავრცელების ყველა ხელშემწყობს - კანონმდებელს, ჩინოვნიკს, მინისტრს, ჟურნალისტს, ენჯელომნიკს, აქტივისტს, დიპლომატს... მოკლედ ყველას ვინც ამ სიმყრალის გავრცელებას ხელს უწყობს.



გურამ ფალავანდი ჯგ

2 d · 🌐

დაიხუროს 1 არხი,  
რომელიც თავის ბინძურ  
სერიალში  
მამათმავლობის  
პროპაგანდას ეწევა.  
როგორც ზვიადის დროს,  
ანლაც ისე უნდა  
შეიზაროთ კარები!!

**Aleksandre Palavandishvili (left):** *“The LGBT propagandists belong to prison, along all those who support the dissemination of this sin - legislators, officials, ministers, journalists, journalists, activists, diplomats... in short, everyone who contributes to the distribution of this stinky garbage.”*

**Guram Palavandishvili (right):** *“Shut down the First channel that promotes homosexuality in its filthy series. Just like with Zviad [Gamsakhurdia], we must break-in the doors now as well.”*

The anti-gender rhetoric of the founder of the “Georgian Mission” Ramaz Gagnidze and the leader of the “Georgian March” Sandro Bregadze also served their inflammatory homophobic purpose by stirring up sentiments in the society. Ramaz Gagnidze referred to the government as an LGBT supporter for granting of honorary citizen status to Demna Gvasalia, the creative director of Balenciaga fashion house by the Mayor of Tbilisi. On October 4, 2022, he published a sexist and homophobic Facebook post: *“Dear Kotsi [supporters of the GD], if you approve of gay behaviour, I wonder which of your ministers or an MP you want to marry off their boy to other boys or would like your daughters to marry a girl?”*

Sandro Bregadze, the leader of the “Georgian March,” expressed his displeasure with the activities of Oleksi Arestovich, the adviser to the head of the administration of the President of Ukraine, against the background of homophobic sentiments. *“In 1991, [Tengiz] Kitovani carried out a military coup. In 2022, Arestovich is already planning a military coup in Georgia. Perhaps the only difference is that Kitovani was a robber, Arestovich – is a “hen.”*<sup>2</sup>

 **Ramaz Gagnidze**  
4 October at 00:29 · 🌐

**ქოცებო გეებს რომ  
უწონებთ საქციელს,  
მაინტერესებს რომელ  
მინისტრს ან დეპუტატს  
გინდათ ბიჭი  
გაგიტოვოდეთ ან გოგომ  
ცოლი მოიყვანოს?**

 **Sandro Breg**  
21 October · 🌐

არესტოვიჩი + კიტოვანი = გადატრიალებას !!  
1991 წელს კიტოვანმა მოაწვინა სამხედრო გადატრიალება !!  
2022 წელს უკვე არესტოვიჩი გეგმავს საქართველოში სამხედრო  
გადატრიალებას !!  
გამოდის რომ არესტოვიჩი თანამედროვე კიტოვანია !?  
ალბათ ერთადერთი განსხვავებაა-კიტოვანი ყაჩაღი იყო,  
არესტოვიჩი “ქათამი” !!  
არესტოვიჩის ვურჩევდი - ჯერ იმპიამ გაერკვიოს - რომელია მისი  
ქვეყანა .ვისი აგენტია და შემდეგ იფიქროს გადატრიალებაზე !!

<sup>2</sup> translator’s note: derogatory homophobic term

**Ramaz Gagnidze (left):** *“Dear Kotsi [supporters of the Georgian Dream], since you approve of this gay behaviour, I wonder which of your ministers or an MP you want to marry off their boy to another boy, or would like your daughters to marry a girl?”*

**Sandro Bregadze (right):** *“Arestovich + Kitovani = Coup!! In 1991, [Tengiz] Kitovani carried out a military coup. In 2022, Arestovich is already planning a military coup in Georgia. Looks like he is modern Kitovani!? Perhaps the only difference is that Kitovani was a robber, Arestovich—is a “hen.” I would advise him—to self-identify—whose spy is he and only then engage in organizing coup here!!”*

## **“FELLOW ORTHODOX RUSSIA” AND “PERVERTED WEST”**

During the reporting period actors Tornike Gogrichiani and Kakha Kintsurashvili were also targeted by the aggressive rhetoric of Far-right groups for sharing a gay kiss in a scene of a play. Alexander Palavandishvili, the leader of the “Society for the Protection of Children's Rights”, reacted to the scene of their kiss in the play “Demons” on December 13, 2022 in the program “Alternative Vision” of “Alt-Info” and said that: *“I, as a father, have no greater enemy than those who want to pervert my children. If the people got angry, if those two actor boys came out and started making out in a filthy manner, of course, that theatre should be completely destroyed.”*

Shota Martinenko, the leader of the “Conservative Movement/Alt-Info” party, also spoke of the “gay” scene as “gay propaganda” imposed by the West. In a Facebook post published on December 11, 2022 he drew a parallel between the anti-Russian rhetoric of the actor Kakha Kintsurashvili and the role played by him: *“Well, this supposedly conservative, but gay actor, Kintsurashvili, I remember, he used to tell ultra-patriotic stories, where he argued that supporting the warm relations with Russia is a shame. Someone now explain this to me: what you are now doing is a shame, you big bigot of a man.”*





Shota Martinenko/შოთა მარტინენკო

11 December 2022 · 🌐

ეს ალბათ იმ - "სპექტაკლში რა მოზად, ძმაო", "ხელოვნებაში მოსულა" - ტიპის გეი-ევროპული, პროგრესული ლოგიკიდან არის, რომელიც ჩვენ, "ზნელ" ქართველებს არ გვესმის...

ისე ეს ვითომ გაკონსერვატორებული იმედის გეი-მსახიობი, კინწურაშვილი, მახვოს, რაღაც ურეა-პატრიოტულ სიუჟეტებსაც აკეთებდა, სადაც ამტკიცებდა, რუსეთთან ურთიერთობების დალაგების მხარდაჭერა სირცხვილიაო. ზოდა ამას აუხსენით ვინმემ, სირცხვილი ის არის, ამხელა კაცი გოთვერანი რომ ზარ (უფრო ზისტად გასაგები ფორმით არ დავწერ, რაც არის, საიტის ლიბერალურმა ალგორითმმა რომ არ დამბლოკოს.



მე როგორც მამას არ მყავს იმაზე დიდი მტერი, ვიდრე ჩემი შვილების გარყვნის მოსურნე დაგვიმატეთ Telegram-ზე.

**Shota Martinenko (left):** *"This is apparently "a so what moment." "In art, it's OK!" But this guy has gay-European, progressive logic which we, "backward" Georgians do not understand... Well, this supposedly conservative, but gay actor, Kintsurashvili, I remember, he used to tell ultra-patriotic stories, where he argued that supporting the warm relations with Russia is a shame. Someone now explain this to me: what you are now doing is a shame, you big bigot of a man (I would have chosen stronger words but allow me to remain less clear so that the liberal algorithm of this site does not block me)."*

**Aleksandre Palavandishvili (right):** *"I, as a father, have no greater enemy than those who want to pervert my children. If the people got angry, if those two actor boys came out and started making out in a filthy manner, of course, that theatre should be completely destroyed... add us on Telegram..."*

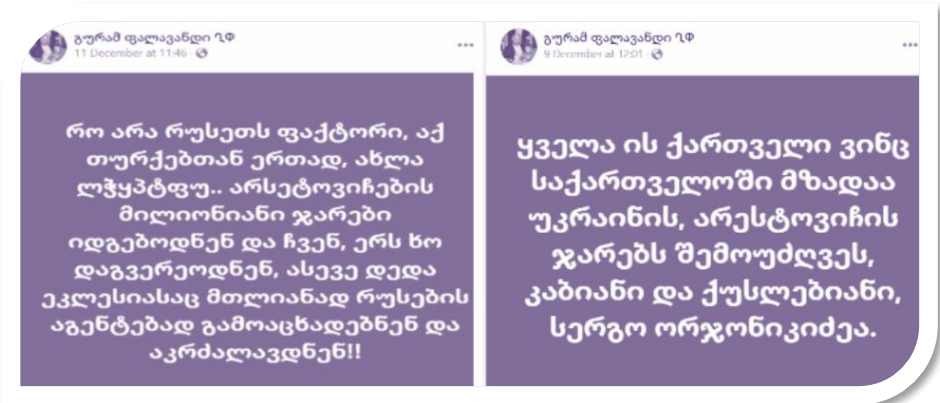
In the anti-gender discourse of Far-right groups, discrediting opponents with homophobic motives is a well-established practice. During the reporting period, the leaders of the "Conservative Movement/Alt-Info" party resorted to discrediting the liberal West with homophobic narratives: that the Europe is engulfed in "propaganda of perversity," against the background of which they tried to push their pro-Russian sentiments to the society.

On November 28, the leader of the "Conservative Movement/Alt-Info" Shota Martinenko stated in the "Alt-Info" program "Alt Analytica": *"For the liberals, it's okay to be a whore, it's okay to be a faggot, it's okay for a transgender to walk on the street in women's clothes. That someone (Gvasalia), is a respected Guru and an honorary citizen... and now you are*



*telling me that talking with Russia is a problem?”*

Guram Palavandishvili, the leader of the “Society for the Protection of Children's Rights,” also pushed the narrative of common faith with Russia and the “perverted “West” among his supporters: *“If Russia was not a factor, here together with the Turks, this LGBTTFU\*kards...and Arestovich’s of this World, with their million-strong armies would be stationed here and we, the Nation, would be surrounded. The Mother Church would be declared Russian spy and banned!!”* In addition, he referred to the supporters of Ukraine in homophobic and sexist terms and noted that: *“all those Georgians in Georgia who are ready to lead the armies of Ukraine, Arestovich, in female dresses and heels, are Sergo Orjonikidze’s continuations today.”*



**Guram Palavandishvili (left):** *“If Russia was not a factor, here together with the Turks, this LGBTTFU\*kards...and Arestovich’s of this World, with their million-strong armies would be stationed here and we, the Nation, would be surrounded. The Mother Church would be declared Russian spy and banned!!”*

**Guram Palavandishvili (right):** *“all those Georgians in Georgia who are ready to lead the armies of Ukraine, Arestovich, in female dresses and heels, are Sergo Orjonikidze’s extensions.”*

## HOMOPHOBIC RHETORIC AGAINST THE FORMER OMBUDSWOMAN AND A CANDIDATE FOR THE PUBLIC DEFENDER

During the reporting period, electing the Public Defender of Georgia was in the centre of special attention of Far-right groups. In particular, aggressive, discrediting, hateful anti-gender messages against the former Ombudswoman Nino Lomjaria, as well as against one candidate running for the position of the Public Defender - Ana Abashidze - were pushed. It is significant that Nino Lomjaria has repeatedly been the target of the disinformation campaign by Far-right groups. She was accused of “promoting amorality”, [supporting pedophilia](#) and [being an agent of the West](#).

Inciting homophobic sentiments in society is an important strategic tool of the “Alt-Info’s” team. On September 5, 2022, Zura Makharadze, the former Chair of the “Conservative Movement/Alt-Info” party and currently the media manager of Alt-Info, said in the [“Alternative Vision” talk show](#): *“I have not seen an ordinary person (unless there is, for example, an LGBTQ or whatever abbreviation they belong to.. if one is not a member of such a group or a three-man sect... the Public Defender does not protect you otherwise, especially if you are an ordinary Georgian.”* This narrative, according to which the Public Defender is indifferent to the problems of citizens and is limited only to protecting the rights of LGBTQ persons, was also promoted by another “Alt-Info” host - [Tatia Gabrichidze](#).

By appealing to the protection of the rights of LGBTQ persons in a negative light, the Far-right groups also tried to discredit the PDO runner-up, Ana Abashidze:

- On October 26, 2022, Mariam Kublashvili, the host of “Alt-Info” show [Comment of the Day](#), reacted to the candidacy of Ana Abashidze with a sexist and a homophobic statement. She called the candidate as acting with the “LGBT” agenda and being a “zombified person”. In the same talk-show, a sexist statement was also made: *“This is Ana Abashidze - I don't know what to say, is she a lady or a gentleman.”*

- Deacon Spiridon Tskifurishvili, the guest of the program “Commentary of the Day”, [referred to Ana Abashidze](#) as a “defender of LGBT political activists,” an “enemy of the Orthodox Church” and a “Georgian hater.”
- [Dimitri Lortkipanidze](#), the head of the Primakov Georgian-Russian Public Centre, claimed in the “Alternative Vision” talk-show of Alt-Info” on October 18, 2022 that *“Ana Abashidze does not recognize the wishes of the majority and she considers the dictatorship of minorities a democracy.”*
- [Irakli Martinenko](#), the leader of the “Conservative Movement/Alt-Info” party, went even further regarding Ana Abashidze and called her “a candidate of the Western powers” and a “gay activist.”



## ANTI-GENDER MESSAGES OF FAR-RIGHT GROUPS

In the anti-gender rhetoric of far-right groups, the issue of sexual education in schools occupies an outsized importance. Most times, the Far-right leaders try to directly connect this issue with anti-Western messages and spread a disinformation narrative in society. They present sexEd as an imposed directive of the West. In the October 17 program of “Alt-Info”, [the host of the “Comment of the Day”](#) program Mariam Kublashvili together with Alexander Palavandishvili, reviewed Georgia's efforts in Euro-Atlantic structures, during which she brought up the issue of teaching sex education in schools as an indicator of Western pressure on Georgia. The show's host stated that “gender theory and politics are deeply rooted in schools, and we [Alt-Info] will cover in detail what children are exposed to there.” Aleksandre Palavandishvili referred to those people who accept sexual education in schools as “sick” and said that *“these sick people say that children of the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade should be told how to protect themselves from sexual abusers.”* In the show, Aleksandre Palavandishvili accused the liberal media of supporting and normalizing pedophilia.

In the anti-gender rhetoric of Far-right groups, the issues of “family purity”

and the prohibition of abortion also occupy an important place. Shaming women with moral indicators are openly based on patriarchal hierarchy and contradicts the principles of gender equality and democratic values. Guram and Aleksandre Palavandishvili simply stand out for their special activism in this regard. They argue what the ideal length of the female dress should be and what submissive characters are key for measuring “women’s honesty.”

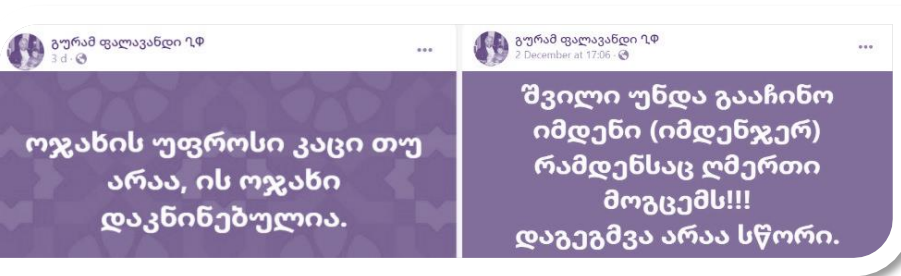


**Aleksandre Palavandishvili (left):** “You say the dress is too long. I say a respectable woman should wear full body robes.”

**Guram Palavandishvili (right):** “We must prepare our virgin girls to follow the rules of chastity as early as kindergarten!!”

The narrative of “sanctity of the family” adopted by Far-right groups is at odds with family planning ideas. On December 2, 2022, Guram Palavandishvili, the leader of the “Children’s Rights Protection Society,” published a Facebook post where he noted: *“One should have as many children as the God will give!!! Planning is wrong.”*

Guram Palavandishvili also supports the patriarchal hierarchy in the family and supports the dominance of men. His Facebook post on October 23, 2022, reads: *“If there is no male head of the family, the family is in decline.”*



**Guram Palavandishvili (left):** *“If there is no male head of the family, the family is in decline.”*

**Guram Palavandishvili (right):** *“One should have as many children as the God will give!!! Planning is wrong.”*

The anti-gender rhetoric of the Far-right actors devote significant energy both to the demonization of Feminism and the discrediting of opposition women politicians and human rights defenders. During the reporting period, the Far-right used sexist slurs against the opposition politician Elene Khoshtaria, which served to discredit her activities. The leader of the “Georgian March,” Sandro Bregadze, called Elene Khoshtaria a “filthy mannish woman” and said that the major financier of her political activities is the internationally wanted Davit Kezerashvili and the Kremlin. Sandro Bregadze also reacted to the fact of the public meeting held on November 5, 2022 by the chairs of “Strategy-Aghmashenebeli,” “Droa,” and “Girchi-More Freedom” with the representatives of various social groups and characterized Elene Khoshtaria in derogatory terms.



**Sandro Bregadze (left):** *“The piece of S\*it of Georgian politics–Ljaka Khoshteria<sup>3</sup>, shorty-dwarf-man Vashadze and pine-cone-man-Japaridze have declared that the crème-de-la-crem of the Georgian Society!! !!*

*It got me wondering. I took a look at the hall (and saw the traitors of the Country, demented or youthful perverts, the enemies of the Orthodoxy and*

<sup>3</sup> Translator’s note: Khoshteria is word-play on her last name Khoshtaria– Khoshteria sounds in Georgian as “shteri” or “isn’t she stupid” or just “stupid”

*the Church, drug lords) and I became convinced—those vomits and creams gathered there need to be evicted from governing circles—and that's all is needed—to totally genetically clean the Nation!! !! !!*

*It is this genetic garbage which is the biggest impeding factor that stops Georgia's development in its tracks!! !! !!”*

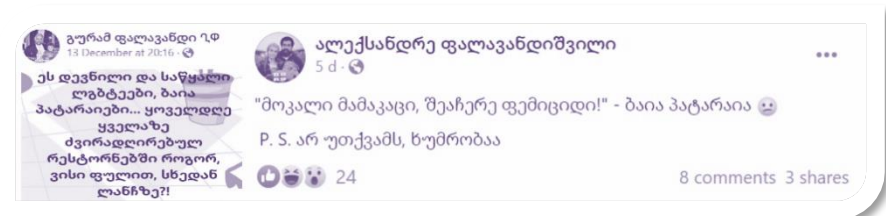
**Sandro Bregadze (right):** *“The Khoshteria’s family, under every criteria, fall under international sanctions!!*

*Today, Hellen Khoshtaria openly confessed that she receives money—funding from the person who raped prisoners, stole from budget, who is internationally wanted criminal - Davit Kezerashvili, while only a month ago, she also confessed that her family is a beneficiary of a monthly stipend from the Russian Government!!*

*This filthy mannish woman has 2 sources of financing—wanted Kezerashvili and Kremlin!!”*

Far-right leaders are aggressively trying to discredit women's movements and Feminism in general. In October 2022, against the background of increased femicide statistics in Georgia and the attention drawn to this issue by women's rights activists, the Far-right actors tried to impose moral responsibility for these on the Feminist movement itself. In a post published by Aleksandre Palavandishvili on October 21, 2022, he has that “the principal enemy of women is the feminist, aka “LGBT” movement.”

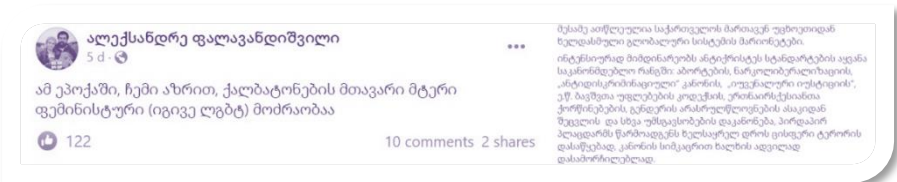
Another leader of the “Children's Rights Protection Society” Guram Palavandishvili's cynical and aggressive rhetoric targeted women's rights defender Baia Pataraiia as well. In a Facebook post published on December 13, Palavandishvili writes: *“These beleaguered LGBTs, these Baia Patarayas of this World... every day they can be found in luxury restaurants. How could they afford these posh lunches?!”*



**Guram Palavandishvili (left):** *“These beleaguered LGBTs, these Baia Patarayas of this World...every day they can be found in luxury restaurants. How could they afford these posh lunches?”*

**Aleksandre Palavandishvili (right):** *“Kill a man, stop the femicide!” – Baia Pataraiia. P.S. She didn’t say it. I’m joking.”*

The principal messages of the anti-gender rhetoric of the Far-right groups were summarized in the Facebook post published on December 12, 2022 by the Far-right leader and the head of “Georgian Idea” Levan Chachua. He assessed such fundamental rights as “gay terror,” such as gender equality, anti-discriminatory legislation, protection of children's rights and declared that *“anti-Christ’s standards are being intensively adopted into the regulations: abortions, drug liberalization, the “anti-discrimination” law, the so-called Legislation of the Code of Children’s Rights, same-sex marriages, gender reassignment for minors and other immoralities. This is how gay terror begins to easily subjugate people with tough laws.”*



**Aleksandre Palavandishvili (left):** *“In this epoch, I think, the biggest enemy for the ladies is the Feminist (which is the same, as LGBT) movement.”*

**Levan Chachua (right):** *“It’s now been a third decade that Georgia is ruled by Western-appointed globalist patsies. The Antichrist’s standards are being intensively adopted into the regulations: abortions, drug liberalization, the “anti-discrimination” law, the so-called Legislation of the Code of Children’s Rights, same-sex marriages, gender reassignment for minors and other immoralities. This is how gay terror begins to easily subjugate people with tough laws.”*

## KEY FINDINGS

- In Georgia, anti-feminist sentiments and anti-gender rhetoric occupy an important place in the daily agenda of far-right groups and their leaders. This trend is characterized by the normalization of gender-based violence, the marginalization of vulnerable groups of women, and incitement of homophobia.
- In Georgia, in the anti-gender rhetoric of Far-right groups, there is a noticeable tendency to deny the violent practices carried out based on gender, which actually aims to demonize women's human rights defenders.
- Far-right actors in Georgia actively position themselves with religious-conservative attitudes. These attitudes exclude women from political and public life.
- An alarming trend has emerged: the convergence of the official positions of the Far-right groups and the leadership of the Georgian Orthodox Church. Religiously motivated anti-gender rhetoric is harmful and dangerous for women.
- In Georgia, the anti-gender rhetoric of the Far-right groups is taking place against the background of pushing anti-Western and pro-Russian sentiments. Here, the West is portrayed as a “pervert propaganda machine,” and as a counterweight, “Fellow Orthodox Russia” is equated with the protection of Georgian values.
- The Far-right groups portray sex, reproductive health and human rights education as “psychological terror” against children and in this regard are relentlessly demonizing feminists and discredit the liberal media.
- The Far-right actors in Georgia aggressively discredit women with such moral categories as dress style, obedience, abortion and faith.
- Because of the anti-gender rhetoric of the Far-right groups throughout online media, the following have been identified as important threats: legitimization of violent practices and aggressive agendas; normalizing misogyny and violence against women; inciting homophobic sentiments in society.
- The anti-gender discourse of the Far-right groups represents a significant threat to the work of women's rights-focused organizations.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

- In terms of public awareness, it is important to conduct an online and media campaign against the extremist Far-right speech, as it pushes misinformation and unverified facts.
- It is important to develop a unified action strategy and action plan against the circulation of disinformation and hate speech produced by far-right groups through social networks and media.
- It is important to support research organizations and conduct media monitoring to study the characteristics of Far-right discourse and the main reasons that nurture extremist groups.
- In their strategic action agenda, women's rights organizations should continually expose the violent practices normalized by Far-right groups in Georgia as an important societal challenge.