

# THE DRAGON'S PATH IN GEORGIAN MEDIA: CHINA in the Georgian Information Environment



### **Subject of Study:**

- Chinese Influence in Georgian Media

### **Research Period:**

01.01.2025 – 10.11.2025

### **Research Methodology:**

- Qualitative

### **The main methods:**

- Desk research,  
Content analysis (media monitoring),  
Case study analysis,  
Comparative analysis.

### **Media outlets monitored:**

- TV Pirveli  
BM.ge  
Georgian Public Broadcaster  
Imedi  
POSTV  
Media Union “Obieqtivi”  
Chinesestories.ge  
Sinologia.ge  
SPNews  
Sputnik Georgia  
Media Center “Mtavari”  
Netgazeti  
Tabula  
iFact

## Examples of Propaganda Narratives:

**Irakli Kobakhidze:** \_\_\_\_\_

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“China is currently the only peaceful superpower in world politics that everyone should emulate. That is why we share common values, and why deepening cooperation with China is particularly valuable for us.”

**Mikheil Kavelashvili:** \_\_\_\_\_

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“It is welcome that we, as a sovereign country, have established relations with a strong country with a growing economy, such as China... As you know, China is a country with significant potential. It also has an interest in this corridor. The participation of such a large country in this process is very beneficial.”

**Media Union “Obieqtivi,” Chinese Panorama:** \_\_\_\_\_

“

“China is a modern country... Learning Chinese is easier than learning French... China is the safest country, and Chinese youth are among the most disciplined in the world... Crime rates in China are very low, and young people have every opportunity for self-realization.”

**Media Union “Obieqtivi,” Chinese Panorama:** \_\_\_\_\_

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“China is becoming a partner for developing countries, replacing hegemonic structures, including those represented by the World Bank and other international organizations... Therefore, more China in Georgia will mean more stability — it will bring us greater stability.”

**POSTV:** \_\_\_\_\_

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“Countries around the world openly acknowledge that ties with China mean economic benefits, strategic partnership, and global stability.”

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## Introduction

Recent studies conducted by Civic IDEA provide a solid empirical basis for analyzing the instruments of China’s soft power in the Georgian media space, the forms through which they are disseminated, and the scale of their influence. In the organization’s reports — [“China’s ‘Wolf Warrior’ Politics in the Media Space: The Case of Georgia”](#) and [“The Dragon Dance – Chinese Influence in Georgian Media and Academia”](#) — particular attention was devoted to analyzing media coverage of processes related to China.

Research conducted in 2022–2023 revealed a clear trend:

**Anti-Western and, simultaneously, pro-Chinese narratives intensified in Georgian-language media, in some cases characterized by coordinated editorial strategies.**

These trends manifested in several directions:

Avoidance of portraying China in a negative context;

The construction of China’s image as a “reliable and trustworthy partner;”

● Emphasizing China’s advantages while simultaneously discrediting the West.

The intensification of what the Georgian government described as “declared friendly relations” with China, the increasing frequency of high-level government visits, and the active coverage of these visits by pro-government media significantly strengthened the systematic presence of the theme of cooperation with China in the news agenda. As a result, these trends became even more pronounced during the reporting period (January – November 2025).

## 2025: Visits to the People’s Republic of China

- Parliamentary delegation led by Gia Volski;
- Minister of Internal Affairs Gela Geladze;
- Governor of the National Bank of Georgia Natia Turnava;
- Prime Minister Irakli Kobakhidze, accompanied by government representatives and the Governor of the National Bank;
- Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksandre Khvtisiashvili;
- Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Culture Giorgi Gabunia;
- Minister of Education, Science and Youth Aleksandre Tsuladze;
- State Minister for Reconciliation and Civic Equality Tea Akhvlediani;
- Minister of Education, Science and Youth Givi Mikanadze;
- Mayor of Rustavi Municipality Nino Latsabidze;
- Chairman of “Saqpatenti” Soso Giorgadze.

In 2025, content focused on Georgian–Chinese diplomatic relations, trade and economic cooperation, and the prospects of a “strategic partnership” increased significantly, creating a structurally organized information environment that shapes public perceptions.

At the same time, the country’s process of integration with the European Union has sharply slowed. This is illustrated by the EU Enlargement [Report](#) published on November 4, 2025, which refers to Georgia in the context of a “serious deterioration.”

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“this is the worst report ever prepared for a candidate country.” According to her assessment, Georgia formally remains a candidate country; however, “given the current democratic backsliding, this status exists only on paper and in name.”

**European Commissioner Marta Kos**



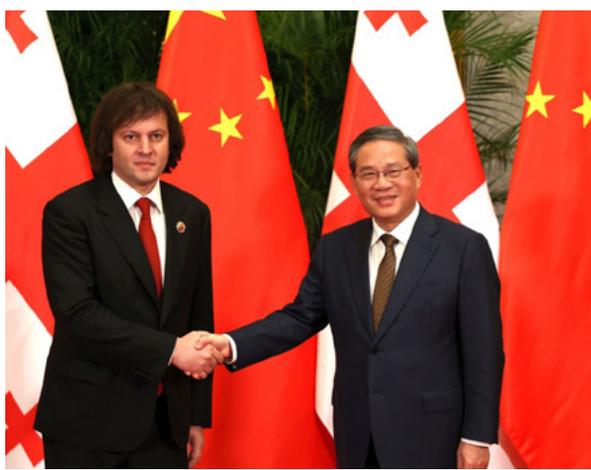
Notably, on the very day the enlargement report was published in Brussels — November 4, 2025 — Prime Minister Kobakhidze was in China together with members of the government. While the European message stated that “Georgia cannot progress on its path toward the European Union at this stage,” the head of government was making statements from Beijing about a “strategic partnership” and “close cooperation” with China, against the backdrop of Communist Party symbolism.



European Commission  
COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT  
Georgia 2025 Report  
*Accompanying the document*

Georgia 2025 Report about Enlargement was published in Brussels by the European comission

4/11/2025



On the same day, Prime Minister Kobakhidze was in China together with members of the government

This situation naturally raised the question of what message the government intended to send either to its own population — approximately 85 percent of whom support joining the European Union — or to its Western partners, who, despite numerous challenges, preserved Georgia’s European perspective by granting the country EU candidate status.

Despite the repressive laws adopted by Georgian Dream, Georgia still maintains a diverse media environment and media pluralism, which distinguishes it within the region. The existence of various media platforms ensures a competitive information market; however, within this diversity a sharp bipolar polarization is evident — pro-government media on the one hand and critical or opposition media on the other.

Studying Georgian media as both an independent information actor and a carrier of narratives originating from global powers is important not only for understanding national dynamics, but also for analyzing regional security, information resilience, and the broader global information architecture.

## Research Findings:

**1.** The analysis of the monitored media outlets showed that in 2025 several broadcasters in the Georgian media landscape received funding from Communist China or entities affiliated with it. Among the funding sources was the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China.

According to data published on the informational-analytical portal of the Communications Regulatory Commission, in the second quarter of 2025 the television company Media Union “Obieqtivi” received 12,500 GEL in revenue from the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China. It is noteworthy that in the category “Funding above 7,000 GEL,” Obieqtivi indicates “[program placement](#)” next to the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China, while the funding source is listed under the category “[sponsorship](#).”



The program “Chinese Panorama,” which is broadcast against the backdrop of the Chinese flag and a territorial map, and includes visually integrated photo and video materials in a dialogue format between the host and invited guests, clearly displays characteristics of propaganda and is entirely aimed at promoting China’s foreign policy agenda, international initiatives, economic projects, and geopolitical ambitions.

**2.** Certain editorial approaches to covering China have emerged in both pro-government and opposition broadcast media.

Previous research indicated that the media had a chaotic and inconsistent approach to covering stories about China. However, after strategic partnership with China became a government priority, the tone of coverage changed noticeably. In pro-government media, positive coverage of China increased significantly and negative coverage has virtually disappeared, while in opposition media the trend has developed in the opposite direction.

**3.** Monitoring of pro-government television channels (Imedi, POSTV, and Media Union “Obieqtivi”) revealed several common trends: on all three channels China is portrayed as a strong, economically developed, peaceful, and strategically important partner for Georgia. Coverage is dominated by a positive context, while critical assessments are marginalized.

**4.** Partnership with China is presented as a pragmatic, rational, and “alternative” foreign policy choice to the West, which serves to justify and reinforce the foreign policy course of the ruling government. China’s reliability and its peace-oriented policies are consistently emphasized. The People’s Republic is portrayed as an “equal” “superpower,” distinct from the West.

The narrative of equality with a “superpower” plays an important role in pro-government media rhetoric. On the one hand, emphasizing equality, reliability, and the strength of the partnership portrays the People’s Republic of China as a friendly state and Georgia as an equal partner of a global power. On the other hand, it creates a contrast between China and the United States, or between China and the European Union, which are often depicted as actors operating from positions of power and dominance and seeking to impose their own agendas.

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“The most rational step that the Georgian government has taken in any century was the decisions made over the past three years. During these three years Georgia withstood serious pressure. The government did not lead the country into war; it established ties and made a strategically stronger China — the East — its strategic partner, with which it has already signed a strategic cooperation agreement, thereby presenting an alternative to the West.”



**Tamar Chiburdanidze**  POS<sup>TV</sup>  
member of Party “Power of People”

**5.** Media discourse clearly portrays the West as a crisis-ridden, unequal, and morally degraded space. Through this discursive framework, a narrative emerges in which the eastern vector is presented as a real — and in some cases desirable — alternative to the Western-Atlantic orientation.

**6.** Opposition broadcasters systematically portray China as an authoritarian power and a partner of Russia and Iran.

TV Pirveli discusses cooperation with China in the context of a deviation from the Western course and potential political and security risks. The channel also covered topics that were less frequently addressed in pro-government media but widely discussed in Western media.

**7.** BM.ge mainly covers China-related topics in a factual and analytical format. The tone is mostly neutral, and in some cases moderately critical.

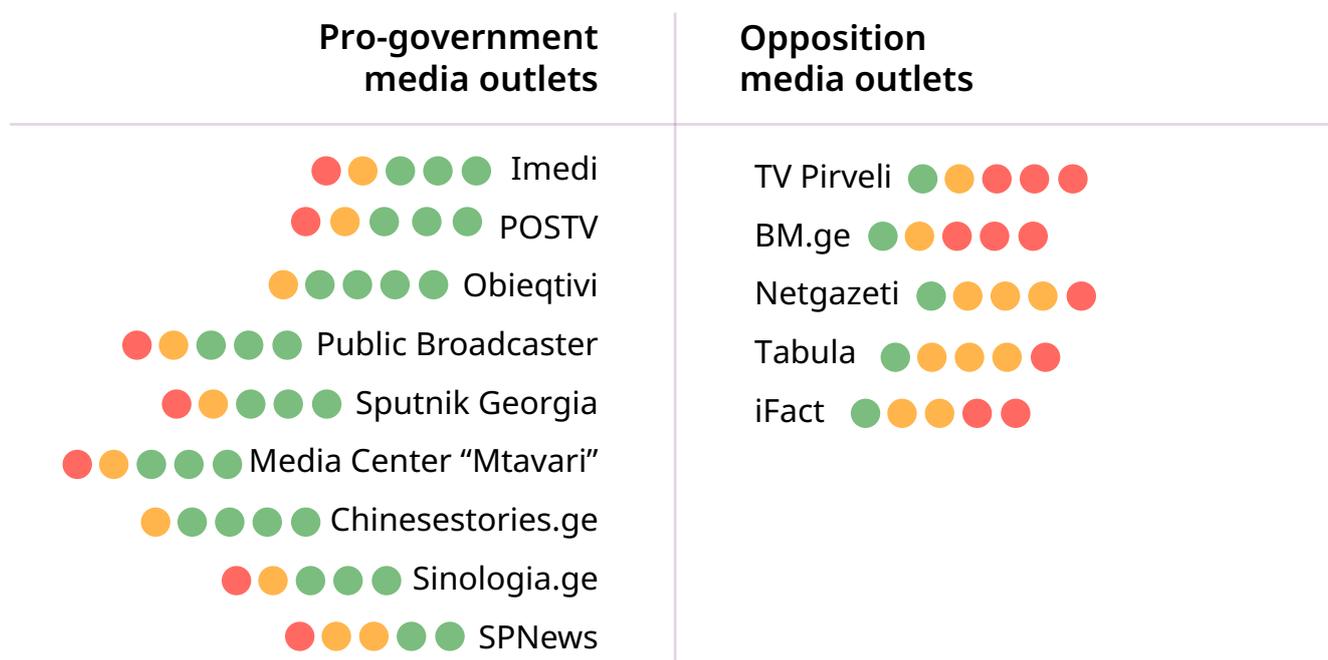
**8.** In the coverage of the Georgian Public Broadcaster, government positions clearly dominate in reporting on China-related issues, while critical assessments appear in a limited and fragmented manner. The broadcaster primarily frames cooperation with China in a positive context — emphasizing economic benefits, investments, and strategic partnership — while geopolitical and security risks receive less attention. The allocation of airtime and editorial emphasis creates a positive information frame that fails to meet the broadcaster’s legal obligation to provide objective, balanced, and comprehensive coverage.

### How do media outlets cover China-related topics?

● Positively

● Negatively

● Neutrally



## Media Monitoring – Television

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Imedi

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On the television channel “Imedi,” China is systematically portrayed as a powerful state, an economic giant, a global superpower, and a strategically important partner for Georgia.

Imedi’s editorial policy, which is oriented toward disseminating pro-government narratives, is directly reflected in the form and content of the channel’s representation of China. Content analysis indicates a distinctly positive — and often openly biased — tone, which appears consistent with the foreign policy priorities of the Georgian Dream government. Compared to previous monitoring conducted by Civic IDEA, materials in which China is portrayed negatively are virtually absent in Imedi’s coverage. During the reporting period, Imedi broadcast hundreds of stories about China, placing the topic in a clearly privileged position within the channel’s agenda — portraying China as a driver of economic development and a main actor within Georgia’s system of international partners.

In positive-content materials, favorable assessments by representatives of Georgian Dream and affiliated experts dominate, presenting Georgia–China cooperation as a historic opportunity. In the same context, statements by Chinese officials are frequently cited to confirm the special significance of bilateral relations. At the same time, in the editorial texts and commentary of Imedi’s hosts and journalists, cooperation is framed as a strategic advancement, a prospect for economic development, and a deepening of international partnerships, which overall reinforces the narrative’s unequivocally positive character.

Even materials presented in a neutral tone often lose elements of neutrality. Short comments from government representatives frequently appear in response to opposition criticism regarding Georgian Dream’s pro-Chinese orientation. In these comments, opposition accusations are either entirely dismissed — “there is no basis for it” — or not addressed at all, which contributes to the marginalization of critical viewpoints.

The channel’s editorial policy clearly demonstrates an attempt to discredit government opponents — opposition parties, representatives of the civil sector, and Western actors — on the grounds that they allegedly “accuse” Georgian Dream of pursuing a pro-Chinese course. In Imedi’s reporting, such accusations are often presented in reverse form, according to which partnership with China is a widely accepted and normalized model of cooperation internationally, including among countries that are members of the United States’ and the European Union’s alliance system. In this way, the channel seeks to demonstrate that the government’s policy is “normal” and pragmatic, while opposition criticism is portrayed as unfounded, harmful, and “radical.”

An example of this is the March 30 report by Imedi’s Week, titled [“Historic Visit”](#), which focused on the visit of the President of the National Bank, Natia Turnava, to China:



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“While radicals are trying to engulf the country in flames and collapse the economy, the state is doing everything possible so that each of us can live better in a peaceful Georgia. It is searching for new markets, developing partnerships, and managing to attract investments on an unprecedented scale... The strategic relationship between the two countries has already entered a new stage in the financial sector. The visit of the President of the National Bank to China can be described as historic in its significance. Natia Turnava has already met with three of China’s four largest banks. We are now talking about the world’s largest economy and about developments unfolding alongside a strategic partnership.”

“Imedi’s Week,” Irakli Chikhladze, March 30, 2025

Similarly, on November 9, [“Imedi’s Week”](#) devoted a ten-minute report to the visit of the Prime Minister and government representatives to China.

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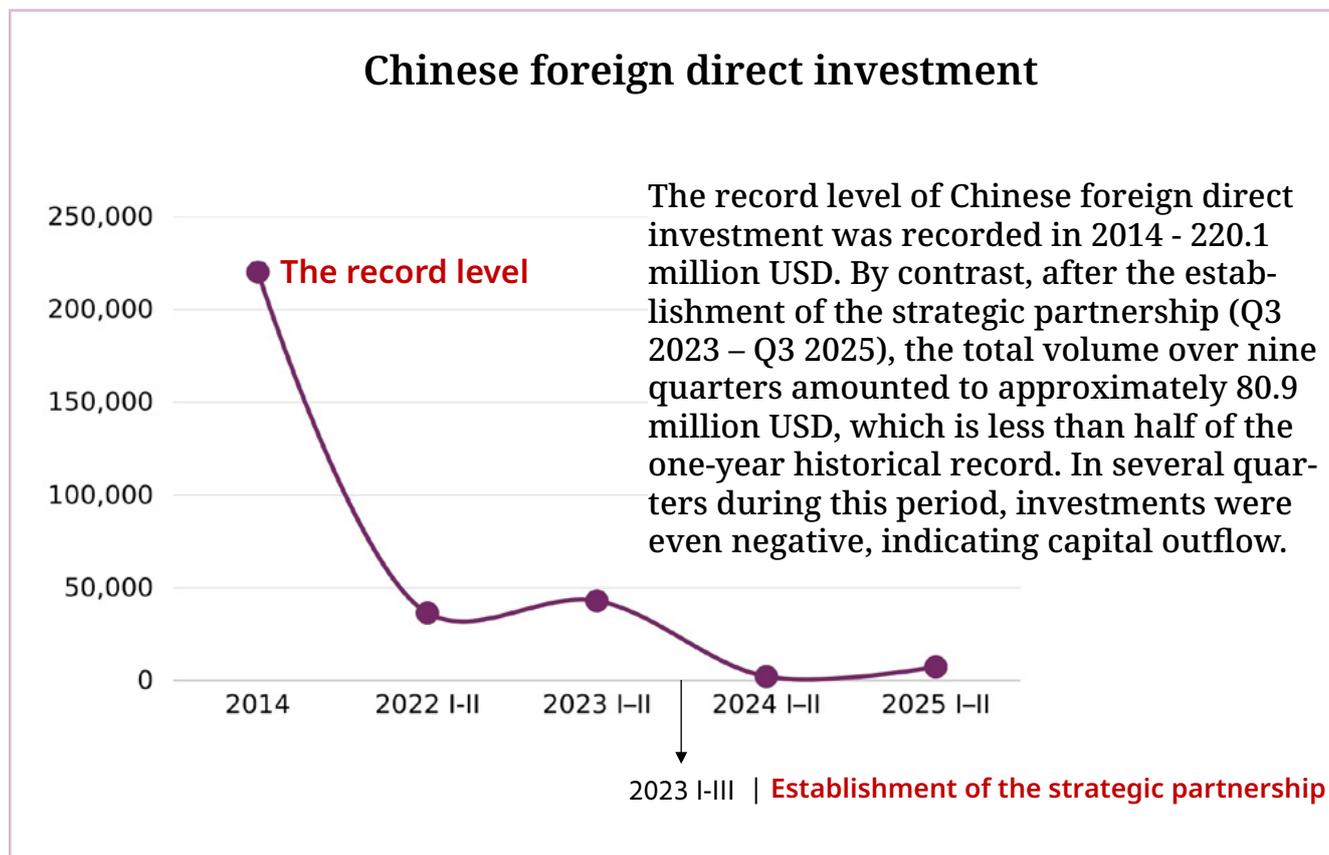
“A new stage of strategic partnership — the Prime Minister’s visit to China concluded with tangible results... Cooperation is deepening significantly in the areas of trade and economic relations, tourism, and technology. The Prime Minister stated that Georgia–China relations are based on the principles of respect and equality and are developing steadily. In the first half of 2025, compared with the same period last year, Chinese investments in Georgia increased by 229 percent.”

**MANIPULATIVE**

**NOT CONFIRMED BY OFFICIAL STATISTICS!**

“The strategic partnership between the two countries is only two years old, yet tangible results have already been achieved in several areas... Between January and August 2025, the number of containers transported from and to China through Georgia via the Middle Corridor increased by 70.6 percent compared to the previous year. Investments are also increasing at a record pace...”

Journalist Sandro Gamsakhurdia



China’s role as a country determining global stability became even more pronounced on Imedi in its coverage of the Russia–Ukraine war. The channel’s editorial policy regularly conveyed the message that **Ukraine was a weak and passive participant in the negotiation process, while China was portrayed as the main mediator, whose efforts were often hindered by misguided Western policies and approaches. In this context, Imedi presented China as a potential center capable of successfully concluding the peace process, allegedly obstructed by fears of its growing influence.**

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“It has already become clear that China will step in as the main negotiator in resolving the war in Ukraine... Will the negotiating table shift into the orbit of official Beijing? Donald Trump said directly that during a phone call he told President Xi Jinping that he should be the one to resolve this issue.”

“Chronicle of the Day”, Nata Makhviladze, January 22, 2025

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“China is managing this conflict very effectively, as well as the influx of showmen surrounding it, such as European leaders — especially Zelenskyy himself... We should place our hopes in China for the future, because China operates at a very high diplomatic level and acts with great sophistication.”

“[Chronicle of the Day](#),” Bidzina Giorgobiani, May 15, 2025



The editorial line of POSTV largely mirrors the approach of the television channel Imedi — both broadcasters are strongly pro-government and pro-China. Their narrative systematically served to legitimize and reinforce the government’s foreign policy course. However, POSTV’s coverage was characterized by a more aggressive, radical, and often polemical tone, and in some cases even used coarse language. In the channel’s programs, sharply discrediting terms were frequently used when referring to the West, such as “porno-liberal Europe,” the “degraded” or “corrupt West,” from which Georgia must supposedly free itself. This rhetoric gave the discourse a clearly emotional and confrontational character.\

At the same time, POSTV’s coverage of China’s global role consistently reinforced three main narratives:

- the positioning of Xi Jinping and China as a new center of global power;
- the delegitimization of the West, particularly the European Union, and criticism of the United States;
- the promotion of narratives about the influence of the “Deep State.”

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“The porno-liberal West has completely collapsed, and we can see it... Germany is in recession; nobody even knows where Merz has been bathing, given the statements he makes; Macron’s approval rating is 15 percent, and they are facing economic collapse; as for Britain, it is not even worth discussing — it has become ‘Londonistan,’ London is no longer London... This porno-liberal democracy in the world had to end, and it has ended... And here they are still running around with EU flags. Running around with the flag of this collapsed union that has no future anymore...”

“The Big Broadcast,” [Goga Khaindrava](#), September 5, 2025

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“China is the only peaceful superpower in the modern world, as confirmed by the history of recent decades. Here they are trying to demonize it, labeling China with all sorts of epithets and attempting to portray it as some kind of rogue state. But if we talk about conclusions based on facts, since 1979 no superpower with such vast resources has been involved in a single war.”

“The Big Broadcast,” [Irakli Kobakhidze](#), November 21, 2025

The channel deliberately attempted to construct a narrative according to which leadership in the West is in a “deep crisis,” while China represents a model of “strong, effective, and harmonious governance.”

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“Donald Trump writes that the President of China was sitting in front of him and six Chinese officials were sitting beside him. I asked one of them something and he did not respond; I asked the one with the status of Vice President — will you answer me? Silence... and President Xi Jinping said that he would answer all the questions himself. How I wish my cabinet members would behave the same way — sitting upright and even a little intimidated. I have never seen anything like it...”

Program “[Samni & Co](#)”, Shalva Ramishvili, November 5, 2025

While presenters and journalists in pro-government media attempted to portray China’s governance model as a positive and stable alternative, authoritative Western publications described a very different picture. For example, the New York Times article [“Why Does Xi Keep Purging Loyalists? Look to Stalin and Mao for the Answer”](#) analyzes the fundamental differences in informational transparency between the United States and China. The article emphasizes that Xi Jinping strictly controls the dissemination of sensitive information, including the removal of former political figures, which creates a scarcity of official explanations and an informational vacuum.

The media discusses internal power struggles and the possible opposition of some members of the “loyalist” elite. The authors draw a historical parallel with Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin, whose regimes used **periodic “purges” of the elite as a mechanism for consolidating power**. The article cites historian Stephen Kotkin, who argues that **one of the paradoxes of the communist system is that it eventually destroys even its own “loyalists.”** In this context, the increase in repression in China is presented as a manifestation of internal instability within the governing system and of a “Stalinist logic” — a tool that allows the leader to tighten control over the elite and consolidate power.



The television channel “Obieqtivi’s” program series “Chinese Panorama” is the clearest illustration of the outlet’s ideological line through its strongly positive tone toward China. The program is funded by the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China. This fact is confirmed by [data](#) published on the informational-analytical portal of the Communications Regulatory Commission.

The program’s content is fully oriented toward promoting China’s foreign policy agenda, international initiatives, economic projects, and geopolitical ambitions, while also disseminating propaganda narratives. The topics of the broadcasts focus on building a positive image of partnership with China, emphasizing the importance of deepening strategic ties, highlighting the significance of Georgia–China political cooperation, and promoting growing collaboration among youth and students.

The format of “Chinese Panorama,” using classic soft-power methods, aligns with practices China uses in various regions to gain political and societal sympathy. The broadcasts also frequently displayed a tendency to present an alternative path for Georgia to its Euro-Atlantic choice.

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“China does not divide countries into large and small states, and a clear example of this was Irakli Kobakhidze’s visit to China — how respectfully and ceremoniously he was received. China respects all its friendly states... Therefore, more China in Georgia will mean more stability; it will bring a great deal of stability... Today China is becoming the leading force of globalization in the world.”

“Despite China’s military, political, and economic strength, the idea of peace serves as a guiding principle of China’s foreign policy and is one of the driving forces behind its foreign and security policy.”

“Chinese Panorama,” [Badri Nachkebia](#), January 10, 2025

In “Chinese Panorama,” China is consistently portrayed as a global leader actively involved in international politics, regional conflicts, and the global economy. The broadcasts discussed China’s strategic initiatives such as the so-called Middle Corridor, the “One Belt, One Road” initiative, and more broadly China’s role as a peacekeeper and mediator in various conflicts and regions.

For example, in the June 10 program, TSU doctoral candidate [Tornike Chivadze](#) and host Badri Nachkebia discussed the existence of “negative myths” about China, particularly in the context of China’s activity on the African continent. According to Nachkebia, widespread accusations about “uncivilized expansion” and China’s alleged exploitation of African resources are myths that do not correspond to reality.

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“China enters Africa and builds schools, roads, and infrastructure, and helps implement various social projects. China operates in regions where Western corporations do not go. Such positive activity by China remains behind the scenes and the public does not know about it — they only know the myths that are being spread.”

“Chinese Panorama,” [Badri Nachkebia](#), June 10, 2025

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“China–Africa relations are largely driven by economic rationality: a growing economy needs resources, and Africa is a resource-rich region, so the economic rationale is significant... We should not allow our judgment to be clouded by believing myths from only one direction... China is changing the world.”

“Chinese Panorama,” [Tornike Chivadze](#), June 10, 2025

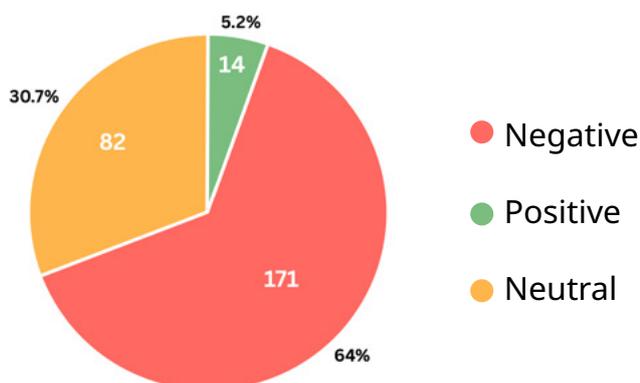
The broadcasts also paid particular attention to President Xi Jinping’s leadership style and his influence on shaping China’s domestic and foreign policy. He was portrayed as a leader possessing strategic and consolidated authority whose vision determines the country’s long-term development trajectory. His role in economic modernization, geopolitical strengthening, and positioning China as a global power was particularly emphasized, placing his political figure at the center of the entire discourse.

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“President Xi Jinping’s plan ‘One Belt, One Road’ envisions the peaceful co-existence of world cultures, dialogue between cultures, without any pressure or annexation — without the aggressive globalization that seeks to Westernize and Americanize the world and reshape it in a Western mold. China offers a different alternative. Its arrival here will bring order to the situation. A number of sensitive issues — including the issue of Abkhazia and challenges in the South Caucasus — could be peacefully resolved with the involvement of such a state.”

“Chinese Panorama,” [Temur Pachulia](#), March 7, 2025

During the monitoring period, TV Pirveli’s reports clearly reflected an editorial policy that portrayed China, together with Russia and Iran, as part of a unified authoritarian bloc.



Critical coverage was mainly concentrated in two directions:

- discussion of the Georgian government’s foreign policy course as an indication of distancing from Western integration;
- the possible political, economic, and security risks of deepening cooperation with China.

Coverage of official visits and Georgia–China bilateral relations on the channel was largely structured around creating a contrast between the government’s positive messaging and the critical assessments of opposition figures and experts.

In reporting on international politics, TV Pirveli most often portrayed China alongside Russia and Iran as an authoritarian partner. The reports frequently cited critical statements from Western politicians, particularly speeches by members of the U.S. Congress.

The context surrounding Xi Jinping was predominantly negative, with particular emphasis on his partnership with Putin, participation in military parades in Moscow, and his portrayal as one of the leaders of an “authoritarian bloc.”

The channel’s clearly negative thematic focus included:

- the possible involvement of a Chinese company in the [Anaklia port](#) project;
- coverage of the [MEGOBARI](#) Act;
- the issue of the Georgian government purchasing [surveillance cameras](#) from a Chinese company sanctioned by the United States.

The channel prepared multiple [reports](#) on this issue. Within the same topic, TV Pirveli also extensively covered research by non-governmental organizations, including giving particular attention to reports and [statements](#) by Civic IDEA. One such statement was covered in a separate report titled: “Georgian Dream Purchased Chinese Cameras Worth 485,877 GEL in Two Months to Identify Protest Participants.”

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“Simultaneous cooperation with both the United States and China will not work. Civil society is clearly stating that the oligarchic regime must now make a key choice: whether it chooses the West, democracy, and development, or communist China, whose real objective, once it enters the economy, will be political interference in the country. Practice consistently shows NGOs that economic leverage in China’s hands often becomes an additional tool for political action. Accordingly, the same risk now exists in Georgia.”

“Pirvelebi,” [Lika Jankarashvili](#), April 3, 2025

A comparative analysis of media coverage shows that TV Pirveli was the channel covering topics that pro-government television stations avoided and that were widely present in Western media. One example is the issue of the widespread use of Chinese-made surveillance cameras, which the channel covered in a similar way to leading Western outlets. For example, the New York Times article [“Can We See Our Future in Chinese Cameras?”](#) describes the widespread surveillance camera systems in China and argues that they are used not only to prevent crime but also to monitor individuals considered undesirable by the regime.

“TV Pirveli” constructed a narrative regarding China according to which:

- China represents a strategic, political, and democratic security challenge;
- the Georgian government’s consistent cooperation with China signals a weakening of the Western course;
- China is Russia’s global partner and part of a shared “authoritarian axis;”
- China’s participation in economic and infrastructure projects carries the risk of the country losing strategic control.

BMG, as a media outlet focused on business and economics, actively covered China's economic, political, and technological activities. Its materials were largely based on factual and statistical information.

When analyzing the strategic partnership with China, BMG presented a different perspective: its analytical pieces combined both positive and critical assessments, offering the audience a more layered picture.

The outlet devoted significant attention to covering official visits by Georgian Dream representatives, memoranda, and cooperation programs, where audiences were mostly presented with official statements and positions in a positive tone. In these materials, emphasis was placed on the prospects of partnership and the opportunities for deepening cooperation. However, a different editorial tone emerged when covering issues related to Georgia–China economic cooperation, particularly regarding the Anaklia port project. In this context, the outlet critically covered the participation of the Chinese consortium, highlighting geopolitical challenges, tensions with Western partners, and possible financial and political risks. One example is the program “[Full stop with Telara Gelantia.](#)” The outlet also reported on the critical statement made by the U.S. Ambassador to Georgia, [Robin Dunnigan](#), regarding the participation of a Chinese consortium in the Anaklia port project:

**“The majority owner of CCC, the company with which the Georgian government signed a contract [for the Anaklia port project], is the Chinese Communist Party. Today, the Chinese Communist Party is the number one financier of the Russian army. So, the question is: why would you deepen economic ties with the party that finances your occupier?”**

BMG also covered negatively the issue of the Georgian government purchasing Chinese surveillance cameras. The discussion focused on data security, possible monitoring risks, and the potential dangers associated with the use of such technologies. The outlet extensively covered Civic IDEA's statement and report on this issue, titled “[Georgian Dream Uses Chinese Cameras to Monitor Protest Participants.](#)”

The term “Communist China” was frequently used in the materials, reflecting the outlet's critical stance toward China's political and ideological system.

Overall, BMG presented a multi-layered and largely balanced picture of China's role and influence. The platform published official and positive materials, neutral reporting, and critical analytical content, offering audiences a comprehensive view of both the economic and political challenges surrounding the strategic partnership.



The media monitoring and analysis of the Georgian Public Broadcaster is particularly important for our study because its editorial policy is defined by a special legal framework. According to the Law on Broadcasting ([Article 16](#)), the content obligations of the Public Broadcaster explicitly state that the broadcaster must **“ensure the promotion of the main directions of Georgia’s foreign policy, including integration into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union.”**

At the same time, as a media outlet funded from the state budget, it is required to provide objective, balanced, and comprehensive information, presenting different viewpoints and serving the public interest.

Compared to previous years, the number of materials related to China has increased on the Georgian Public Broadcaster. This rise coincides with the Georgian government’s deepening of its strategic partnership with China and the growing number of official visits. This circumstance suggests that the increase in coverage is not driven solely by informational interest and is directly connected to the country’s reorientation in foreign policy.

In the broadcaster’s coverage, the positions of the ruling team dominated both quantitatively and in terms of content. Critical assessments were presented in a limited and fragmented manner, with short airtime and often in a context that reduced their significance. The distribution of airtime and editorial framing created an informational environment that **did not ensure a balanced presentation of the issue.**

The broadcaster frequently relied on information from Chinese official institutions and state media, including [Xinhua News Agency](#), which operates as the official news agency of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government. This practice reinforced the legitimacy of China’s official positions.

Relations with China were mainly presented through the lens of economic benefits, increased trade turnover, infrastructure projects, and investment opportunities. Security, geopolitical, or financial risks — including those related to the memorandum signed by the National Bank — were practically not discussed, which placed the discourse in a one-sided positive framework.

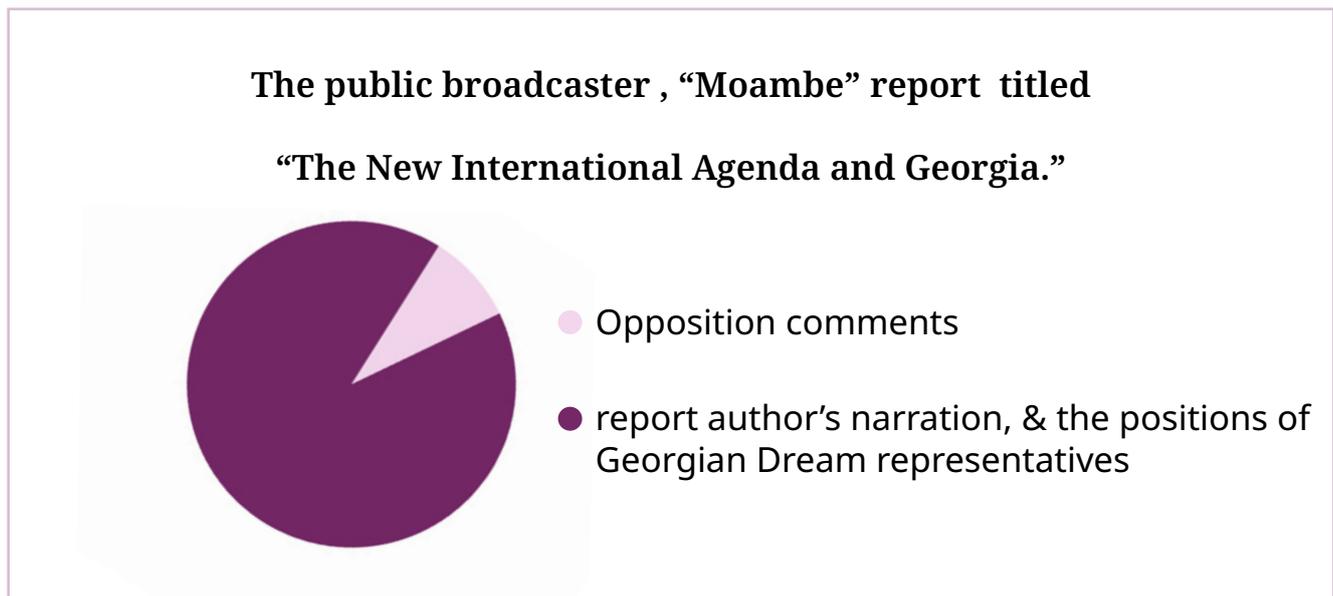
Education and cultural topics were covered in an unequivocally positive tone and largely ignored possible aspects of China’s soft power influence. The expansion of Chinese language teaching in public schools, recognition of diplomas, and cultural events were presented as indicators of development, international cooperation, and openness, without critical or skeptical perspectives.

In the international context, China was often portrayed as a force supporting dialogue and stability and participating in the formation of a multipolar world order. China–Russia partnership was presented within a framework of strategic resilience and resistance to external pressure.

Overall, the coverage often failed to ensure a multi-dimensional, balanced, and impartial presentation of the issue, which is a legal obligation of the Public Broadcaster. Government positions and statements were usually conveyed without in-depth analysis or alternative assessments, resulting in a more positive and less critical informational picture of cooperation with China.

The Public Broadcaster’s editorial approach toward Georgia–China relations is clearly illustrated in the January 22, 21:00 news program “Moambe” report titled [“The New International Agenda and Georgia.”](#)

**The narrative and time distribution of the report clearly demonstrate editorial priorities: in a nearly ten-minute segment, opposition comments were allocated only 50 seconds, while the remaining time was devoted to the presenter’s and the report author’s narration, as well as the positions of Georgian Dream representatives.**



The editorial narrative suggested that the balance of power in global politics is changing and that cooperation with China is important and does not create problems for relations with the West. In the report, the government’s position was presented broadly and with argumentation, while critical assessments were limited both in time and substance. The editorial emphasis largely aligned with Georgian Dream’s foreign policy vision and left little space for the full presentation of alternative perspectives, indicating unbalanced coverage of the issue by the Public Broadcaster.

**Editorial narration:** “At his inauguration, Donald Trump invited Chinese President Xi Jinping as one of the first world leaders... The 47th President of the United States also said that he spoke with Xi Jinping by phone and that the two leaders would do everything possible to make the world more peaceful. In recent months, Brussels has also been actively discussing the deepening of relations with official Beijing... Meanwhile, opponents criticize the Georgian Dream government precisely because of its close partnership with China...”

The critical position in the report was presented by representatives of the Georgian opposition and U.S. Congressman Joe Wilson. Through both visual and narrative framing, Congressman Wilson and the opposition were placed in the same context. The main narrative suggested that Congressman Wilson’s statements did not represent the official position of the United States, since U.S. policy toward China is more pragmatic. In the concluding part of the report, the journalist described converging interests as a determining factor in international relations, supported by examples from Armenia and Hungary.

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“Close relations between Armenia and Iran did not prevent the signing of a strategic relations document between the United States and Armenia. Meanwhile, the Biden administration suspended a similar partnership with Georgia, citing the country’s alleged drift toward the Russian orbit. Interestingly, during one visit Hungary’s foreign minister openly said that Hungary had already experienced what Georgia is going through now and that this situation occasionally resurfaces there. However, criticism remained criticism, and after winning the presidential election, Donald Trump invited one of the first guests to his Florida residence — his old friend Orbán — reminding everyone once again in which part of the world he places his partnership bets.”

“Moambe,” journalist [Salome Kokiashvili](#), January 22, 2025

For comparison, issues that practically did not appear within the scope of the Georgian Public Broadcaster’s coverage during the same period were actively discussed by the British public broadcaster. Analysis of BBC coverage shows that the British public broadcaster addressed the issue from multiple perspectives and in accordance with objective journalistic standards.

Among other topics, BBC coverage critically examined President Xi Jinping’s:

- governance;
- attempts to form an alternative world order together with authoritarian partners;
- relationship with Vladimir Putin.

At the same time, developments within China were also actively covered.

BBC [reporting](#) clearly highlighted the political image of President Xi Jinping as a leader who persecutes dissidents not only within the country but also beyond its borders. The outlet covered cases of surveillance, pressure, and repressive practices aimed at silencing critics of the regime.

During the monitoring period, the BBC's editorial approach to the People's Republic of China was diverse. For example, significant attention was devoted to issues related to [Tibet](#), restrictions on the rights of monks, and control over monasteries. There was also extensive discussion about developments surrounding [Taiwan](#), potential threats, and the possibility of the use of force. Analysts discussed possible scenarios and mechanisms of a Chinese attack, invasion simulations, large-scale disinformation campaigns, and other related issues.

Such topics did not appear within the scope of coverage by the Georgian Public Broadcaster, which indicates a lack of critical and in-depth reporting on important issues present in the international agenda and reflects the influence of Georgia's domestic political agenda on editorial priorities.

## Online Media

Monitoring of online media during the reporting period shows that, compared to previous years, the amount of content in pro-government outlets highlighting China's economic and political role in global processes has increased. This trend indicates the growing influence of China in the informational agenda and the strategic importance of its positioning.

At the same time, compared to previous years, there has been a sharp increase in news related to Georgian–Chinese diplomatic relations, trade and economic cooperation, and prospects for partnership. As a result, the volume of informational materials aimed at raising public awareness about China has grown. This trend points to the strengthened positioning of China within the informational agenda of pro-government media.



spnews.ge

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The pro-government multimedia informational and analytical portal spnews.ge, which appeared for the first time in Civic IDEA's report, represents one of the media platforms that promotes a positive image of China. The outlet clearly follows pro-government narratives while simultaneously acting as an active channel for communicating Chinese interests.

The platform devoted particular attention to coverage of Georgian–Chinese relations and regularly published materials about political, economic, and business meetings between the two countries, as well as official visits and various forums. The platform’s content contributes to strengthening positive perceptions of relations with China in the public sphere and presenting this topic as a priority. For example, the article [“China is the Most Rational and Stable Partner for Georgia.”](#)

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“Beijing does not share the concept ‘Georgia = EU/NATO,’ but it respects Tbilisi’s choice.”

“While Washington mostly hosts ‘performative’ events, Tbilisi and Beijing speak to each other as proper business partners should... China is what we call ‘long-term money’ for us — not grants through ‘one-time programs,’ but 25–30 year infrastructure loans... China provides room for maneuver, an alternative path for our country’s development...”

People’s Power, Davit Kartvelishvili, November 11, 2025

SPNews chronologically constructs a record of official China–Georgia meetings, documenting these events and providing readers with a reference for the future.

In relation to China, the outlet frequently used terms such as:

- “Stable partner;”
- “Reliable economic partner;”
- “Friendly relations.”

In the “World” section, the outlet frequently published materials in which China and its leader Xi Jinping were portrayed as a strong state and a stable figure representing a peace-oriented policy. For example, article headlines such as [“We Are Not Afraid of a Trade War Against Selfish Trump — Beijing”](#) and [“Chinese Media: China’s Foreign Minister Told Kaja Kallas That Beijing Cannot Allow Russia to Be Defeated in the War in Ukraine”](#) reflect the outlet’s informational policy.



Sputnik Georgia

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The Kremlin-linked media outlet Sputnik Georgia is one of the most active propaganda platforms operating in Georgia, systematically developing Russian informational influence. However, monitoring shows that alongside spreading Russian narratives, the outlet also functions as an important channel for promoting China strategically.

Sputnik Georgia consistently presents China to its audience as a positive, progressive force necessary for transforming the global political order, allegedly offering an alternative to what it portrays as the West’s “weak and unstable” model. At the same time, criticism and discrediting of the West regularly accompanies the strengthening of China’s image as an “influential, stable, and respectable partner.” The outlet actively uses manipulative analytical articles, videographics, and editorial commentary that together form part of a unified informational construction built around the idea that the global **geopolitical center is shifting, with China and Russia emerging as leading actors in this process.**

It is noteworthy that Sputnik frequently concludes the majority of its articles about China with an identical additional section titled “Georgia and China.” In this subsection, the outlet systematically presents the chronology of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries, constantly reminding readers of the strategic importance of the partnership.

Another illustrative example is the article and videographic published by Sputnik titled “**Will Chinese Investments Hinder the ‘Reset’ of Georgia–U.S. Relations?**” which included both text and videographic content. The article emphasized that the United States is exerting political pressure and may demand certain concessions from Georgia in the future, while Tbilisi is “looking eastward” and cannot compromise its sovereignty.

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### **“China vs. America: Who Will Control the Anaklia Port?”**

The Georgian government has declared its readiness to reset relations with the United States, but will Tbilisi be able to reconcile with Washington after awarding the Anaklia port megaproject to rival China? The project is intended to turn Georgia into a transport hub. The United States had viewed the project as a counterweight to Russian and Chinese trade influence. However, the Anaklia Development Consortium failed to secure Western financing and lost its construction rights in 2020. The government was forced to involve Beijing in order to move the megaproject forward. It remains unclear how the United States will react to the possible strengthening of Chinese influence. Tbilisi may not be a space of vital importance for Washington, but losing Georgia as its main strategic partner in the South Caucasus would be undesirable. Therefore, Trump may demand certain concessions from Tbilisi in exchange for a ‘reset’ in relations — for example, restoring Georgia’s status as a ‘friend’ through the Anaklia port project. Washington has not yet made a final decision. Meanwhile, Georgia is actively looking eastward. The question remains: is Tbilisi ready to sacrifice its own interests and sovereignty in favor of ‘friendship’ with Washington?”

Videographic text, April 16, 2025

An analytical article by Alexander Khrolenko titled “[The Russia–Iran–China Exercise ‘Maritime Security Belt – 2025’](#)” is an example of how Sputnik uses propagandistic framing when covering regional military exercises. At the center of the narrative is the legitimization of military cooperation between Russia, China, and Iran and its portrayal as a mechanism for “strengthening regional security.”

On Sputnik, an important component of economic cooperation with China was banking-financial relations. Articles widely reviewed the role of China’s financial system in Georgia’s financial infrastructure. For example: “[The National Bank Is Not Looking for an Alternative to SWIFT: The Regulator Responds to Critics.](#)”

Despite the fact that China is represented in Georgia by one of the smallest banking sectors and its banking investment resources remain minimal, Sputnik created a narrative in which China appears not only as a trade partner but also as a growing financial partner strengthening its position in Georgia’s banking system.



This media outlet portrays China in a positive and often idealized narrative, where culture, nature, technology, and progress are presented as central themes. Materials produced by the platform’s founder Eka Gulua under the section “Stories About China” form the core of the outlet’s content and create a highly positive image of China in both tone and depth, which significantly distinguishes the platform from other Georgian media outlets. Texts, reports, and photo materials about China go far beyond the boundaries of traditional journalism and resemble promotional content dedicated to China.

The outlet frequently relies on official Chinese sources and state media materials, creating an information flow in which data and commentary are presented in a positive context and emphasize Chinese narratives. As a result, Mediacenter Mtavari creates a kind of “positive informational island” where China is almost entirely portrayed as a symbol of peace, development, friendship, and progress.

The platform’s main objective is to highlight China’s strength, stable development, and cultural significance. An example is the article “Modern China.”

During the reporting period, the media platform consistently portrayed China’s global political role as that of a rising international power and presented President Xi Jinping as a strong, principled, and predictable leader. The outlet actively covered Xi Jinping’s tour of Southeast Asia in the article “President Xi Jinping Begins His Tour.”

“Mtavari” almost never covers sharply negative political or economic news related to China.



## Sinologia

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Study of the platform “Sinologia” showed that it does not represent a coordinated pro-China platform, but a group centered around an individual interested in China and like-minded contributors who periodically share analytical materials about the country. Alongside manipulative articles containing political analysis, the platform also publishes materials written in a popular academic style.

During the monitoring period, the platform published a relatively small amount of content, which may be considered a more passive level of activity compared to previous years. However, the published materials were thematically diverse. They included both historical and cultural topics as well as contemporary foreign policy analysis. The main narrative combined two directions:

An academic and multifaceted presentation of Chinese civilization, including historical and cultural topics, translations, anthologies, and modern interpretations of classical texts. Examples include:

- [“Examples of Tang Dynasty Poetry”](#)
- [“Fu Hao – The First Female General in Chinese History”](#)
- [“The Transformation of Traditional Beijing Residential Architecture in the Context of Historical Processes”](#)

Critical and realist analysis of international politics, offering readers alternative interpretations to Western discourse and presenting China as a stable, long-term geopolitical actor. Examples include:

- [“The ‘Reverse Kissinger’ Strategy: Long-Term Calculation or a Naive Attempt to Present Wishful Thinking as Reality?”](#)
- [“General Overview of the Foreign Policy of the People’s Republic of China.”](#)



## MyChineseStories

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On MyChineseStories and its Facebook page, informational posts are frequently published about [language](#) study and educational programs in China. For example: [“Zhejiang International Studies University Announces Student Admissions”](#) and [“Scholarships at Tonghua University.”](#) There was also an active campaign promoting the book [“Foundations of Sinology.”](#) The book offers an overview of Chinese history, economy, philosophy, society, culture, art, language, political system, religious beliefs, and the history of Sinology.

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 **Sinemedia** [sinomedia.ge](https://sinomedia.ge)

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On the platform [sinomedia.ge](https://sinomedia.ge), which according to Civic IDEA’s previous research actively spread pro-China content, only one article was published in 2025: [“Conference Dedicated to the 80th Anniversary of Victory in World War II at Tbilisi State University,”](#) which covered the speech of Chinese Ambassador Zhou Qian at TSU and the screening of the documentary film “China and the Second World War.”

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 **Netgazeti**

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Netgazeti mostly covered China-related issues in a neutral, fact-based news format, adhering to journalistic ethics consistent with international standards. The platform did not avoid critical discussion either, especially in materials where China’s geopolitical actions appeared to conflict with Georgia’s interests or raised questions regarding the country’s internal political processes. For example: [“Georgian Dream Blocks the U.S. While Giving Infrastructure Access to the Chinese Communist Party – Wilson.”](#)

The outlet also paid attention to trends related to China’s use of soft power, particularly through cultural events and direct engagement in youth programs. In the article [“Chinese Embassy Representatives Met Students at a State-Organized Youth Camp,”](#) the author described the meeting as a specific instrument of cultural diplomacy — an attempt to promote Chinese state policy among young people through discussions about culture and traditions. At the same time, Netgazeti did not limit itself to factual description and raised critical questions: why were only representatives of the Chinese embassy invited to speak with the youth, and not diplomats from other partner countries? Notably, at the end of the article the outlet referenced its own 2024 material, which noted that [China does not support Georgia’s demand for the return of internally displaced persons to Abkhazia.](#)

In 2025, the number of materials about China published on the platform de-

creased compared to previous years. Most of the available information was based on reports from international media outlets and reflected China's participation in global processes.

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## **BATUMELEBI** Batumelebi

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(functions on a unified media platform with Netgazeti)

During the monitoring period, Batumelebi covered China-related topics in a somewhat broader volume than Netgazeti.

The content focus of materials published on the platform often included critical or negative assessments. For example: [“He Plans to Lock Himself In and Lock the Country as Well’ – Ivanishvili’s Assets Moved from Offshore to Georgia.”](#)

Batumelebi systematically covered issues related to China's influence in Georgia, particularly in the context of economic dominance, interests related to the Anaklia port project, and the country's foreign policy course and strategic positioning. It is noteworthy that both Batumelebi and Netgazeti actively covered critical reports and statements by non-governmental organizations. The media frequently relied on research and findings published by Civic IDEA. For example: [“The Chinese Are Not Yet Willing to Spend Money — Which Does Not Suit Ivanishvili – Interview” \(02/10/25\).](#)

Batumelebi also systematically wrote about the strengthening of China's economic and geopolitical interests in Georgia. In the article [“What Was Changed in the Anaklia Port Project – 3.4 Million to Be Spent on Consultations,”](#) the outlet discussed in detail both the development of the Anaklia port project and the role of the Chinese company involved, as well as Georgian Dream's policy on the matter. Alongside factual data, the article highlighted significant risks associated with the leading company of the Chinese consortium, China Communications Construction Company Limited (CCCC), including discussion of the company's sanctions status.

Publications on the platform included both neutral and analytical assessments of China's geopolitical role as well as sharply critical commentary emphasizing political, economic, and security risks that Georgia could face in the process of deepening cooperation with China.

Monitoring results show that the outlet more frequently approached China critically and placed it within the same geopolitical vector as Russia and other authoritarian regimes. For example: [“ISW Indicates the Existence of a Bloc Between Russia, Iran, North Korea, and the People’s Republic of China Aimed at Defeating the United States and Its Allies Worldwide.”](#)



## “Tabula”

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The outlet’s editorial policy was clearly focused on China’s international policy, global security challenges, and shifts in the balance of power. Most of the 401 analyzed materials were neutral or negative in tone. Coverage frequently relied on analytical sources from Western media outlets, resulting in a tone that was largely neutral or critical.

Particular attention was given to issues such as the U.S.–China tariff confrontation, the strategic partnership between China and Russia, and China’s role in transforming the international system. The outlet mostly portrayed China within the context of global security threats, authoritarian alliances, and opposition to the West, particularly in relation to cooperation with Russia and Iran. For example, an article published based on Reuters: [“Russia and China Will Continue to Support Each Other in the Fight Against Sanctions.”](#) Another example: [“Wilson: Georgian Dream Loves Terrorist Iran and the Chinese Communist Party and Hates the United States.”](#)

Compared to other Georgian media outlets, Tabula intensively covered the Taiwan issue and emphasized military risks, regional tensions, and China’s aggressive policy in the Indo-Pacific region. For example: “Challenges to Defending Taiwan Are Increasing – U.S. Admiral in the Indo-Pacific Region.”

Editorial approaches included a clearly pro-Western line, critical assessments of authoritarian states, and emphasis on risks in relations with China that could contradict Georgia’s foreign policy course.

Positive news about Georgia–China cooperation occasionally appeared as well, though such coverage was usually based on statements from state institutions and comments by Georgian Dream representatives. In Tabula’s narrative, China’s role in Georgia is mainly associated with political and security challenges, which aligns with the platform’s overall editorial line.



## “iFact”

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The investigative journalism organization iFact was the only media platform during the monitoring period to publish an in-depth investigative report related to China. The research titled [“Georgia–China Strategic Partnership – Trap or Benefit?”](#) analyzes in detail the nature of Georgia–China relations, their development dynamics, and potential risks.

The research explains that despite officially declared strategic cooperation and impressive political and economic promises, a significant portion of Chinese in-

infrastructure and investment projects implemented in Georgia remain questionable. The main reason identified is China's caution toward Georgian Dream's policies and its consideration of high risks, meaning that Beijing avoids large-scale, long-term financial commitments in Georgia.

The research highlights several key challenges:

- Debt management risks;
- Projects that do not comply with European standards;
- The strengthening of China's political influence;
- Complications in relations with Western partners.

The issue of the Chinese-Singaporean consortium in the Anaklia project was also addressed in video content published on the platform's YouTube page: [“What Should We Know About the Anaklia Port? – ‘Here Is the Context’ – Episode #1” \(31/01/25\)](#). The video critically assessed the participation of the Chinese-Singaporean consortium in the Anaklia project.

## Western Press & Pro-Government Georgian Media

A comparative analysis of international and Georgian media representations revealed significant discursive differences that shape the tone, content, and thematic framing of assessments of China and its leader, Xi Jinping.

Coverage by major Western outlets — BBC, Reuters, The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Le Monde — collectively presents a critical, analytical, and multifaceted picture in which China is viewed as an authoritarian state characterized by:

- strict centralization of power;
- tightening internal control;
- systemic human rights violations;
- persecution of ethnic minorities;
- comprehensive surveillance of media and digital space;
- growing strategic assertiveness in international politics.

This media discourse pays particular attention to issues such as:

- party “purge” campaigns in China;
- pressure on the private sector and the forced correction of its outcomes;

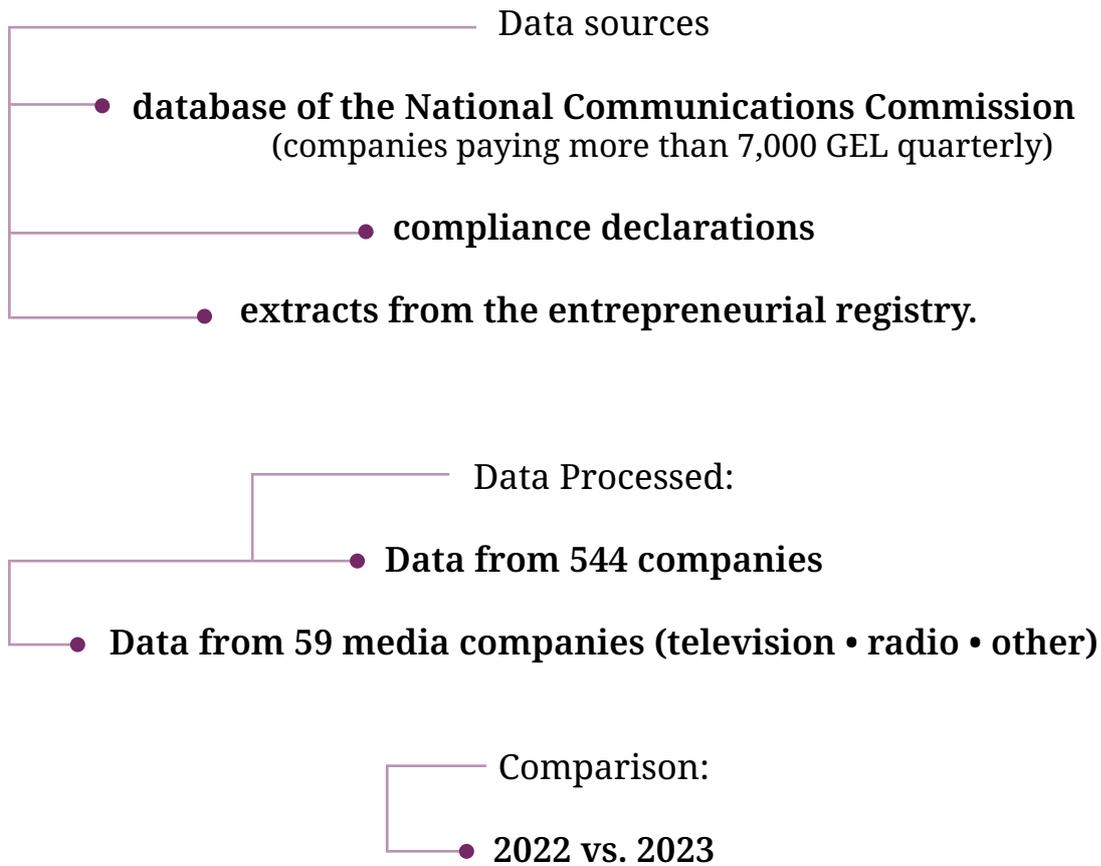
- critical assessments of economic indicators;
- tariff disputes with the United States;
- military tensions surrounding Taiwan;
- political and economic support for Russia;
- strategic disagreements with the European Union.

Within this context, Xi Jinping is portrayed as an authoritarian leader whose long-term strategy is based on consolidating power, strengthening internal control, and expanding geopolitical influence.

Against this background, pro-government Georgian media presents a markedly different narrative. Monitoring shows that pro-government outlets largely exclude critical or negative coverage and consistently portray China and Xi Jinping only through a positive image of partnership and “superpower” status. During the research period, no critical materials addressed internal repression in China, economic problems, or geopolitical tensions. Moreover, pro-government media clearly demonstrated a contrasting strategy: while criticism of China was almost entirely ignored, negative narratives about the West and specific Western leaders were widely promoted.

While pro-government Georgian television channels and news agencies actively promoted Georgian Dream’s narrative that “China is the only superpower of the past decades and an exemplary partner for the world,” the authoritative publication *The New York Times* wrote that “Xi Jinping, the most powerful Chinese leader in decades, has waged a far-reaching crackdown on civil society and tightened control on information.”

# Funding Sources



The analysis showed that among the owners of media outlets, two media companies were associated with the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China and one with a business company.



Chinese Medicine Center is listed under the same name in the client registry. Verification through the National Agency of Public Registry revealed that Chinese Medicine Center LLC – Beijing was established on December 1, 2022, in Tbilisi (1 Vladimir Lobzhanidze Street) by David Tshughuriani. Armenian citizen David Tshughuriani (AV0483515) is the sole director of the company. This LLC has placed various types of advertising and media placements on local television channels.

It should be noted that the Communications Commission’s website publishes information only about materials funded above 7,000 GEL. As a result, public access to information about lower-value advertising and financial transactions is limited. In such cases, the existence of such materials becomes known only through a special marking used by the media, while the specific financial volume remains unknown. One example is an [article](#) distributed by the news agency “Interpressnews” and funded by the Chinese Ambassador to Georgia, Zhou Qian. It is particularly noteworthy that during the same period, similar articles were published by Chinese embassies in [Azerbaijan](#) and [Armenia](#).



**Georgia:**

“China’s Ambassador to Georgia: China Is Developing a Plan That Will Bring Stability to an Unstable World.”

**Azerbaijan:**

China Has Developed the 15th Five-Year Plan as Part of a New Campaign to Advance Modernization.”



**Armenia:**

Sharing Development Opportunities and Building a Beautiful Future Together.”

## Research Methodology

The research relies on qualitative methodology. The study uses desk research, content analysis (media monitoring), case study approaches, and comparative analysis techniques.

The desk research includes both a compilation analysis of studies previously conducted by Civic IDEA in this area and an analysis of additional recent sources and documents.

For the analysis of media content, the monitoring period covered eleven months — from January 1, 2025, to November 10, 2025.

In selecting media outlets for analysis, we considered the polarization of Georgia's media system and focused on the highest-rated television channels. We relied on data from [TMI](#) and TVMR, as well as public opinion research reports produced by international non-governmental [organizations](#).

Our monitoring scope included both pro-government and opposition media outlets. Among opposition media we analyzed TV Pirveli and BM.ge, while among pro-government channels we monitored Imedi and POSTV. The media association Obieqtivi was included due to its specific pro-China program.

We also conducted media monitoring and analysis of the Georgian Public Broadcaster, which is particularly significant for this research because, according to the Law on Broadcasting, the content obligations of the Public Broadcaster ([Article 16](#)) explicitly state that the broadcaster must ensure the promotion of Georgia's main foreign policy priorities, including integration into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union.

In addition, online media outlets were analyzed. In this case as well, observation targets were selected based on typological diversity.

For quantitative media monitoring, we used measurable indicators and numerical metrics that could be counted and analyzed. Based on the analysis of the selected empirical material, the tone of coverage was also assessed — whether the subject was presented in a positive, neutral, or negative context. The collected media materials were categorized thematically to determine which China-related topics received the most attention in the media.

Within the qualitative methodology framework, we also applied a comparative approach in two directions. The first involved comparing the data obtained in this research with the findings of previous studies conducted by Civic IDEA. This approach allowed us to observe changes at the level of trends, identify shifts in narrative dynamics, and assess how the representation of China and its political influence in the media has evolved over time.

The comparative approach was also used during the analysis of the media system in the course of desk research. Specifically, the focus of the systemic analysis was the Georgian media market. Based on the analysis of data from the National Communications Commission, we identified companies connected to China or Chinese ownership that act as advertisers in the Georgian media market. We also updated information on the ownership of broadcasting companies and compared it with previous data.

Additionally, the comparative analysis method was used when examining foreign media. At this stage, the objective was to identify differences in how China and its leader Xi Jinping are represented in Georgian media compared to Western media. For this purpose, several authoritative international outlets were analyzed: *BBC News*, *Reuters*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Le Monde*. Content analysis of materials published in these outlets made it possible to compare the narrative tendencies of the Georgian informational environment with the global media discourse, providing the study with greater depth and enabling a comparative evaluation of discourse structure and thematic emphasis.