

GEORGIAN INDICATORS OF SEXIST HATE SPEECH



Georgian Indicators of Sexist Hate Speech

Report on Focus Groups

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Introduction

Hate speech is any type of verbal expression that promotes hatred of one or more individuals due to their personal characteristics, or their affiliation with any group. Hate speech is directed at any particular social group, trying to attack a person because of his or her racial, ethnic, religious, gender-based, and other group characteristics. Hate speech seeks to dehumanize a person and accuse the individual, or the unity of people, by expressing anger, hatred, irony, patronage, violence, and hatred¹. It can be considered as a policy of positioning different groups / identities. It is through the use of hate speech that different groups / identities are often reminded of their subordinate status in a particular society. For example, ethnic minorities, women, homosexuals, etc.

One type of hate speech is sexist hate speech, or as it is also known, gender-based hate speech. The report will use the term "sexist hate speech", which has become widespread in Europe and the rest of the world in recent years. Its main targets are women and girls. We find sexist hate speech in all forms of social interaction, offline and online: in schools, in the family, in public, at work, on websites, and on social media. Sexist hate speech is one form of violence against women and girls that intensifies gender inequality² as a social phenomenon. In general, hate speech is directed towards the oppression and exclusion of any identity. Consequently, sexist hate speech is aimed at excluding and oppressing women and girls, trying to hinder their social mobility and moving up the hierarchical ladder.

Sexist hate speech can be found in many forms in both traditional print media and television, as well as on modern social media. The most common forms are: blaming the victim, re-victimizing, "slut-shaming", presenting as a sexual object, posting implicit or explicit sexual photos without consent, offensive comments on public appearance, origin, age, sex, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation. Hate speech manifests itself also in false compliments and patronage over women and girls³. Additionally, in Michael Kimmel's book, "The Gendered Society", we find Nijole Benokraitis' forms of the so-called "subtle sexism": "merciful chivalry", "friendly oppression", "supportive discouragement", "devaluation of work" and "domination expressed by attention" - these behaviors may also be considered as sexist hate speech.

The existence of sexist hate speech is partly determined / repeated by its latent nature, as women who are the objects of sexist hate speech often do not protest or expose such treatment.

Recently, women / girls have become the objects of multiple hate speech: gender, origin, status, and many other social locations can be intersected. This means that women do not become objects of sexist hate just because they are women. It is this multiple hate speech that is the main research question of this study. The study analyzes cases of sexist hate speech on the basis of the identities of a woman and a politician in Georgian social media

¹ B. Netkova, „Gender Based hate Speech or Sexist Hate Speech in North Macedonia“, 2020, pp. 1-2;

² <https://rm.coe.int/1680651592>

³ <https://rm.coe.int/1680651592>

Sexist hate speech against female politicians

Sexist hate speech is especially evident when women / girls become socially active and successful - they become public figures, representatives of show business or politicians. It is at this time that hate speech is used especially actively against them, which is based on their gender identity and sexuality. A female politician is often portrayed in the media as a sexual object, a victim, affiliated / not affiliated with a traditional gender role, her personal life is discussed, her appearance, clothing style, and tone of voice are joked about. All this diminishes the importance and value of expressed opinions or the campaign of the political subject⁴.

In her training material for media researchers "Gender Sensitive Coverage" prepared in 2020, Eka Agdgomelashvili quotes phrases stated by several socially active politicians, which is a clear example of sexist hate speech and assures us that sexist hate speech is used twice as much against women politicians. In the material we find the sexist hate speech of several politicians and public figures. For example, expert Gia Khukhashvili states: "I cannot talk about Vera Kobalia, because she never decided anything and was just the green eyes on the facade." Political scientist Ramaz Sakvarelidze: "[Tamar] Chugoshvili or [Tea] Tsulukiani - the issue is not like that for me. Both are wonderful women. They both have a nice smile, what else can I say?", and the Minister of Justice Tea Tsulukiani - "I know for sure that Ms. Tina makes a lot of groundless statements and at the same time, she is a very beautiful woman. I know that." There is an abundance of such examples in social media about Georgian female politicians. The methodology of the present study defines the indicators of sexist speech used against female politicians.

Research aim, objectives and methodology

There are no cases of sexist hate speech against Georgian women in the form of a described and systematized form. For this reason, the union "Sapari" and the Media Development Foundation, with the support of the United Nations Development Program, decided to carry out media monitoring of 112 Facebook pages and collect quantitative and qualitative primary sociological information on Georgian female politicians regarding sexist hate speech during the pre-election period.

In the beginning, we reviewed the forms of sexist hate speech prevalent in Europe and USA. However, in order to adapt these forms to the Georgian reality and to create the indicators which would be used by the monitors in collecting information during the media monitoring, working type focus groups were planned and conducted. The focus groups comprised female politicians, media and gender experts.

The aim of the research was to promote the creation of knowledge about the phenomenon of hate speech against female politicians.

The research objectives were:

- To Identify spaces where sexist hate speech is used against Georgian female politicians;
- Based on European indicators of sexist hate speech, to identify the forms and indicators tailored to the Georgian reality.

With these objectives in mind, respondents answered specific questions, which are attached as a discussion plan to the focus group report in the appendix⁵.

⁴ Presentation by Eka Agdgomelashvili, Tbilisi 2020.

⁵ Appendix 1 – discussion plan

The focus group was selected as a method of collecting information on Georgian indicators of sexist hate speech.⁶ Since sexist hate speech, especially against female politicians, is a specific issue, focused discussion among the focus group members would enable the gather of in-depth information.

A total of three focus groups were held - with female politicians, gender and media experts. The sample of participants was purposive; the snowball sampling method was also used. Although due to the small size of the country, the female politicians, media and gender experts who participated in focus groups knew each other and it was impossible to create the so-called "fellow-traveler effect". Also, there was a risk that due to the social desirability and the sensitivity of the issue the respondents would not talk about the research issue, though it did not happen. The focus groups lasted at least an hour and 30 minutes, during which the respondents spoke openly and in depth about the Georgian forms and indicators of sexist hate speech. After the focus groups were completed, transcripts were prepared and the collected qualitative information was analyzed using the narrative analysis method. Below is the analysis of the information gathered during the focus groups. Initially, the opinions of female politicians, media and gender experts are presented. Thereafter, a summary is given and a table of specific indicators is drawn.

Georgian indicators of sexist hate speech

Theoretical concepts were developed from the respondents' narratives, which were eventually transformed into specific indicators of sexist hate speech. The analysis of the respondents' narrative revealed that sexist hate speech towards Georgian female politicians is used in almost all social spaces, both in the original forms of media - newspapers, magazines, television, as well as in new types of social media - using Facebook, not to mention direct social interactions, meetings between the parties, or parliamentary sessions. In agreement with the female political respondents, phenomenon was called the **all-encompassing sexist hate speech** against female politicians. There is no social space where this speech is not used against Georgian female politicians.

„It can be found practically everywhere, everywhere. Especially in social networks where women are bullied, for example, mainly for their looks, family members ... ”⁷

Below are Georgian forms of sexist hate speech based on the narratives of Georgian female politicians and media / gender experts. First the indicators corresponding to the European indicators in the introduction (slut-shaming, spreading of photos with sexual content, body shaming (tone of voice, emotional speech), ageism, **positive sexism – false compliments, supportive discouragement, jokes, ridicule, gossip**) are presented, followed by the indicators specific only to Georgian context (**indicating the lack of experience and adherence to principles, hate variations on the heteronormative family, gender role of women, reprimand for family and motherhood, hate of a female politician with "masculine" behavior, supplement to a man, sold for money, oppression of female politicians defending the rights of minorities, being a bad Georgian**).

⁶ The study is not quantitatively or theoretically representative

⁷ Original speaking style of respondents preserved in the report

Indicators corresponding to the European indicators

Slut-shaming

As a result of discussion with the respondents, a category was created: "Slut-shaming". Slut shaming is divided into two subcategories - "someone's woman" and the spreading of photos containing sexual content; "Someone's woman" is again divided into two sub-parts - one type of woman who is not competent and brought by a man on the basis of acquaintance, and another type of woman who may be competent, but "is a slut" and is a lover (mistress) of one of the male politicians.

"In his speech he said that women should be selected on a more meritocratic basis. Until now, unfortunately, this was not the case. For example, it depended on who met whom on the plane, and from there her career and coming to politics were decided, by that he meant me".

In the Georgian social space, the social construct "**Mikheil Saakashvili's (Misha's)s women**" has emerged, which is a classic example of sexist hate speech, in particular "slut shaming".

"Mikheil Saakashvili's women and so we are called all the time, it has become a stereotype".

It was agreed with female politicians that connecting a woman to a male politician in any context is an example of sexist hate speech.

"For example, when you talk about Shalva Tadumadze's connection with Bidzina Ivanishvili, there is a different insinuation, not like linking a man with another in terms of personal life; but when you link a woman with a man, there is a completely different type of insinuation, which distinguishes it as gender-based".

Along with the construct "Misha's Women", there is also the "Misha's daughter (sister) -in-law" phenomenon. The more odious a male politician, the more female politicians are insulted using his name. It is fashionable and trendy and the goal is destruction of these women. The reference to a female politician with this type of nickname is considered sexist hate speech. Some male politicians have been constructed by the society (hyperbolized) in such a way that afterwards, due to his "seeming qualities" (macho, sex machine), female members of his party are "adorned" with hate speech examples.

„It often happens, his women, his daughter-in-law. I am now, for example, Misha's daughter-in-law - I am often referred to as such, but in reality I am not.

Forms of party-based sexist hate speech were revealed in the group of experts. for example, **slut shaming**, is more likely to refer to Nationalist female politicians because of Misha, while the female representatives of Georgian Dream are often referred to as **brainless, ugly, crude** women because of their connection to Bidzina Ivanishvili. It was distributed as if the Nationalist women are "sluts" and "neurotics", and female representatives of Georgian Dream - "fat", "ugly", "brainless", "not cool" - starting with Salome Zurabishvili, ending with Guguli Maghradze. Nino Tsilosani is the only exception from the Georgian Dream, who meets the standard of slut shaming, sexual object hate speech. As for the other parties, the Republicans are being bullied mainly because of the protection of the rights of minorities using this particular, homophobic language, and the Alliance of Patriots, and in particular Irma Inashvili - because of "being masculine".

„There are clichés towards women members of the National Movement and the Georgian Dream, as they are often referred to. Usually Georgian Dream members are referred to as crude, provincial, while the National Movement, and its leader, who at the time was such a sexualized political figure, Misha was such and such, myths about his masculine abilities".

Indicator: Reference to a female politician as a male politician's property in any form – referring to female politicians as “prostitutes” (“someone's woman”, “someone’s relative”, “someone’s friend”), because of a male politician.

In addition to the facts listed above, slut-shaming is explicitly associated with feminine image and representation.

Spreading photos with sexual content

One of the subcategories of slut shaming is the **spreading of photos with sexual content**. This indicator is most easily detected and is gender-based.

„For example, I have been depicted in obscene photos several times, the photo was obscene, it was photo-shopped and the comments very bawdy, that I thought my husband should not have seen it and somehow I managed.”

Indicator: Spreading of photos or videos with any kind of sexual content without the consent of a female politician.

Body Shaming (visual representation)

It was revealed that in the Georgian context, clothing, representation and discussion of sexuality in general are examples of sexist hate speech. A female politician’s attire, hair and eye color can become the basis of hate speech.

“For example, why are you wearing such clothes, why do you have colored eyes, why does Tina have blonde hair for example, things like that. That's how she wears it and then this is told and then it goes on and on and turns into sexist something, so to speak, that you become a woman or, in all directions, an object of hate”.

Dress code is an interesting issue. Female politicians point out that they may become victims of sexist hate speech because of their emphasis on feminine clothing, or wearing make-up, and they may be slut shamed, especially if the women are young.

“We’ve had conversations about whether a female politician should wear feminine clothing, or rather, should she wear a red lipstick, or wear long earrings, or have her hair loose”

„In one of the profile pictures that we wanted as a banner, I myself was stereotyped, I was wearing a dress, a colorful dress, nothing special, but I received remarks such as why do you want this dress, it is a bit feminine and I thought to myself, is it really better to wear a shirt and a jacket?”

This particular indicator is gender-based because jokes about men's appearance does not hurt them in the political arena, unlike women. Men's fashionable attire makes them "cool", while women become the objects of sexist hate speech and they are being slut shamed by ridiculing their attire.

We remember examples, when a man dresses in a way that deviates from standards, he is considered by the society as a cool, free, modern type. That is to say, a man understands fashion ... and a woman who deviates from these standards, towards her, at least that's my perception, there is a discourse towards her behavior, that is, is she decent or not, modern or not ?!”

It is also interesting to note that young or typically beautiful women, if they are not female politicians, instead of slut shaming, or false compliments, become objects of body shaming sexist hate speech.

„In terms of body shaming, I think it is not only 'beautiful by standard'. We've had examples when instead of stressing on the female politician's non-state policy, they say that she is ugly, small, big, breast of this size, butt of that size, etc. In my opinion, it is in two directions, positive – when it goes towards the beauty by standard, and deviating from that standard”.

To summarize, hate based on body and sexuality manifests itself in the use of slut shaming, false compliments, and body shaming. Female politicians fitting in the myth of standard beauty are referred to as “sluts”, and adorned with false compliments beyond the work context, while female politicians deviating from standard beauty are called ugly and fat.

Indicator: Mentioning a female body / sexuality, in positive, negative, age-based, having explicitly feminine attire, being beautiful or in any form.

Tone of voice

Female politicians' tone of voice is the continuation of body shaming, which is often used as a basis for sexist hate speech against them - "squeaks", "quacks".

"One important issue where I feel a serious difference and which is problematic for me among others is the tone of voice. And especially ... that is, a feminine voice, now I do not have a deep voice and I have to work on such topics, someone is dead or killed ... When the emotion intensifies, the voice becomes even more high-pitched and I have noticed oppression about this. The voice of women like me becomes even more uncomfortable to listen to, and then come the comments: this squeaky voice, etc.”.

In agreement with the group of experts, a construct of **body shaming**, specifically, **voice tone shaming** sexist hate speech was created.

“Yes, it is exactly so, before you say the term, remove this squeaky woman, I also remember that term. Actually not only about the voice, now I will not name politicians who try not to apply red lipstick, because they seemingly look sexier, or for example, wear light makeup, they try not to wear their hair loose otherwise they can be considered as not serious and they want to look more official and composed”.

Indicator: Any kind of joke/remark on the tone of voice of a female politician in social network.

Emotional speech

The extension of the tone of voice is an emotional manner of speaking, which is why often female politicians become victims of hate.

"For example, when a woman states her position on something emotionally, she is perceived as an aggressive woman, while a man is not aggressive and it is OK ... he spoke from the heart, oh, how heartily he spoke and when it's a woman ... she is so aggressive, she will be like that at home as well, I have encountered these cases”.

Indicator: Any kind of joke about the manner of a female politician's speech in social network.

Ageism

As respondents agree, the sexist hate speech is often directed at women politicians on the basis of age. A female politician becomes the object of hate due to old age, who instead of playing with her grandchildren and raising them, stays and works in the public space.

"Now it has been very often towards me, a woman over sixty. . . what is she doing in politics, sit down, woman, take care of your grandchildren at home and so on. And I do not remember such a comment about any man, that you are 60 or 70, what do you want in politics and go away."

Along with the elderly, the object of oppression is a young female politician. However, unlike the elderly, who are considered as bad grandmothers, the young politicians are accused of coming into politics by personal contacts and they didn't deserve to be in politics.

"There is another type of bullying against young women, which immediately links their emergence in the political arena to accidental acquaintances, meaning connections that are not related to their meritocratic reality."

Reference to the young is intertwined with slut shaming and reference to the elderly – to body shaming and manipulations related to family ("bad grandmother, bad mother"). Ageism, as one of the main tools of sexist hate speech was revealed also in the group of media and gender experts.

"I remember, referring to Tsulukiani as Saakashvili's ugly," it was said directly a while ago, also about our Minister Tikaradze, Gia Nodia referred to her as a little girl, yes, this ageism, and Guguli as a big girl, somehow similarly, it is very. . . as if someone hits you in the head..."

Indicator: Referring to a female politician's age in any form (young, old).

Positive sexism – false compliments

From the narrative of the respondents, we may conclude that if someone writes a compliment, to a female politician publicly in social network, while a business discussion, political debate, or any political activity is taking place, it is considered sexist hate speech.

"We have heard this many times, they have also re-shared things about me, for example, go to the modeling agency. I am not at that age at all, I came out of that age, how old I am now, but they have written it on Facebook "

"There was a speech by Amashukeli, where he was swearing at everyone, and suddenly he mentioned me that I was the queen of Colchis and so on. Amashukeli has no idea, and he probably thinks that he said a compliment and he can't imagine what an awkward situation he put me in."

The focus group discussion revealed that by emphasizing the beauty of female politicians, male politicians are able to overshadow and devalue women's success and professional achievements. By using this method they try to drive women out of the professional field and divert people's attention to women's physical characteristics only. This occurrence undoubtedly represents the sexist hate speech.

"Emphasis on looks mainly serves to ignore someone as a professional. They do not talk about her achievement, or, say, evaluate her success / failure, but they evaluate her appearance, for example, and this is one of the methods to somehow withdraw her from this professional field, to shift attention to other characteristics".

Along with the emphasis on beauty, there is an emphasis on ugliness that has been explicitly seen as an expression of hate speech.

"By the way, Misha was the first to use this term towards Tsulukiani - an ugly woman, and then he liked it so much that he always repeats it about Tsulukiani, if you observe, you'll see. It is possible that the debate would have shifted to another level, their controversy would have turned into a political discourse, but Misha does not do that, he leaves her there, that she is an ugly woman".

The focus groups revealed that women become victims of sexist hate speech at every incident related to their visual side.

"First, I would say of course that this is not about visual, and it doesn't matter how the woman looks, if a woman looks masculine, the emphasis is on that, if she looks feminine, why does she have long hair like Rapunzel, like that. That is, no matter what a woman looks like, attacks on her looks are very common, so first, I would definitely highlight the visual aspect".

The false compliment was revealed as an example of sexist hate speech in the narratives of women politicians as well as media and gender experts. In their opinion, with this type of hate speech, the perpetrators manage to remove women from the space of the mind, rationality and connect them only with the body, which is perceived as an irrational phenomenon in Georgian and Western culture in general. If a female politician is only a body, then she is irrational and should not be in politics, which is a rational activity.

"She has beautiful eyes and is beautiful, but they belittle, say, what she is saying. For example, I remember there were such things about Nino Tsilosani. From a professional point of view, from her work, we can say that I can criticize her wrong statement, but right there, there is an emphasis that she is a beautiful woman, but she is stupid, a fool, a chicken, and there have been things like that."

An interesting concept has been created by gender experts - modern sexism, which implies a set of covert false compliments that, through irony, still diminishes female politicians and obstructs their activities.

Indicator: Any kind of compliment that goes beyond work and is directed at the visual aspect and representation of a female politician.

Supportive discouragement

Discouraging a female politician publicly in social network, saying that such good girls, should not be in politics, is supportive discouragement and is one of the forms of sexist hate speech.

"Personally, I've been told during a live broadcast 'What a nice girl you are and what do you want that you so much... Go home, make a good a dinner, I've been told that, directly, during a live broadcast'".

Indicator: Telling a female politician in any form, that they don't belong in politics.

Ridicule, jokes, gossip

Ridicule, jokes, any kind of gossip hurt female politicians more than male politicians. Consequently, media information with such content is considered sexist hate speech.

"As many as you want, with that kind of photos of me, especially after that cigarette law, Facebook was full of such photos..."

"The photos of me and Khatuna are mostly with red lipstick and the devil (laughs)".

"Pictures and made-up stories that Guguli Maghradze said that wife and husband should be together only on Tuesdays and that for example Guguli Maghradze's nephew brought some news from Gldani, when I have no nephew at all. That I had a car accident and hit a woman, while I don't know how to drive a car, I don't know, such fake things may be towards men as well but there is a more fertile soil in case of women and women suffer more by that".

Indicator: Any kind of gossip, inaccurate information and jokes directed at female politicians in the run-up to the election.

Indicators characteristic specific only to Georgian context

Indicating the lack of experience and adherence to principles

Based on the respondents' narrative, there may be social constructs in the Georgian political discourse - "experience" and "principle", which have gender. These two constructs are used with a positive connotation only towards male politicians. If these concepts apply to female politicians, they are used as an example of sexist hate speech. Women politicians' experience and adherence to principles are often publicly disliked.

"Recently, I had a case when one of the politicians said so directly on the social network that I was inexperienced and had no principles. Now, if I were a man, he definitely would not say inexperienced and unprincipled"

In addition to the negative connotation, the use of social constructs of experience and adherence to principles in a "positive" form was also considered by the respondents as sexist hate speech. A focus group of media experts recalled how Akaki Asatiani was surprised by the "experience" and "adherence to principles" of Guguli Maghradze and the women representatives of the party she founded in the 1990s.

Indicator: Linking a female politician to experience and adherence to principles in any form (praise, rebuke, dislike).

Hate variations on the heteronormative family

The second Georgian indicator was that if a female politician works on issues that, at first glance, do not fit within the frames of the expectations of a patriarchal, heteronormative family, or the role of a woman in general, such politicians are often addressed, commented on, and asked where their husband, father or son is. Compared to the first two, the latter is less often but still asked for.

"For example, when someone doesn't like my comments (about homosexuals) or when I am protecting the interests of a sensitive group – the first question that comes up: doesn't she have a husband? It is also written in the comments; it is also discussed on air. So, if you are a woman, they will definitely ask about your husband / father. Children not that often, because the child may not have such a dominant position over the woman in the family, even the son."

One example of hate speech is bringing a female politician's husband or father into a discourse, and the other is that hate speech is often directed at having a husband in general as a social phenomenon. If a woman politician does not have a husband, she becomes a victim of hate speech because of that. The basis for this type of hate speech is the assumption that an unmarried female politician is not fully "normal", there is something wrong with her.

"If you do not have a husband, I have not had a husband for a long time. If you do not have a husband, this is considered as a minus and by the way, my friends did the google search on me, how I would come up in search, because we needed it for a Facebook campaign and most often the search is about, who is my husband for example, that's what they were interested in. If you do not have a husband, you are not a complete female politician."

"It is the most Georgian stereotype; how could her husband not look after her?"

It is also common to feel sorry for the husband as a person who is perceived as "deprived" of his manhood by this active woman.

You hear “poor husband” very often, if a woman politician is active, oh I feel so sorry for your husband”

Indicator: Mentioning the husband, father and sons in any way when talking about the activities of a female politician, especially if husbands are referred to as pity and incapable.

Gender role of women

The study found female politicians are subjected to sexist hate speech if they do not show knowledge about the gender role of women in society: housework, cooking, cuisine, motherhood, etc.

“The public is interested whether you are competent in the kitchen as well, which has nothing to do with it, - you may be a very good housewife and a bad legislator, but for me it is about gender. For example, whether a man is handy at home or not, this is also a gender stereotype with us, but no one asks this about a male politician, whether he can nail the shelf”.

The focus group data analysis showed that maybe a male politician is mocked in social media for being a good “tamada” (toastmaster) and that he also recites poems well. He is ridiculed and humiliated, but all this may even help him to score political points.

“Yes, now I will not go into details but I was told about someone that he is a heavy drinker and this is a huge plus in the society, that he is a cool man”.

This behavior encourages hate speech against women. If a woman drinks, or smokes, she will be belittled and bullied.

“If you say about a woman, that she drinks a lot, they will smash and destroy her – how can it be that a woman drinks?”

“I think that for example if a woman is caught grilling and eating shish-kebab (mtsvadaoba), since there is no expectation that generally women grill and eat shish-kebabs, this will damage her more, because they will say –see, this is what she did for the sake of the elections, and it will be regarded as populism.”

Construct of the gender role of women was also manifested in the group of experts.

“The recent ones, what I remember is what Mamuka Khazaradze said ... she may bake a good khachapuri, but she has no idea about the infrastructure.”

Indicator: Any attempt to refer to a female politician as a housewife, cook, or having behaviors positively reinforced for men.

Reprimand for family and motherhood

As respondents state, praising female politicians for being mothers to many children is a fairly common practice in world politics as well, but ultimately, it is still used to disparage female politicians. This construct is transformed into hate speech and again used to oppress women. Oppression manifests itself immediately if a female politician has only one child. This behavior is related to the behavior of blaming the victim. She is a woman, a politician, and at the same time, she does not have many children. What has she been doing so far?

“For example, I have been discriminated for having one child - why do you have one child, why did you not get married again, I hear it constantly, and I hear it from relatives that if you have one child, there is something wrong. Therefore, emphasizing such a thing, especially in the social space, is very bad”.

Oppressing female politicians using family, especially children is also noteworthy. If children do not behave well, everything is blamed on female politicians.

“A child learns poorly, it is a woman's fault, everything is a woman's fault.”

The mentioned fact creates a social construct: **"How couldn't you raise an ideal child"**.

"So, your child has to be perfect so that you can somehow defend him/her, the child of a female politician... with me it's ok ... There were some attempts against my child, but everyone realized that it doesn't make sense, s/he is so perfect in his/her work“.

Indicator: Mentioning a female politician's children, or her children's behavior in any form, especially when she either has no children at all, or has only one child, or her child has deviant behavior.

Hate of female politicians with “masculine” behavior

Male politicians can swear, smoke marijuana in public, while women are not allowed to do so and because of this they become victims of hate speech. This event belongs to the series "A male politician is forgiven for everything".

"Japaridze makes such a comment on Facebook, something like running down from Mtatsminda, to get out, everyone now understands what this phrase means and the whole of Georgia is amazed that he can do that. Sorry, that he has the guts (a specific body part) to do it, we women cannot do it. In other words, I know what my expectations are from the society and I cannot arm people with this methodology, actually there is practically no methodology for women in Georgia, that you can oppose this and enter into an equal fight. "

If it is discovered that a male politician has a lover, he is declared a hero, a macho and a real man, and in the case of a woman, it means the end of her career, she automatically becomes a victim of sexist hate speech.

“Some things we even talked about in secret, for example, in the case of a man, it turned out that he was cheating on his wife and had a lover. It will be publicly reprimanded, but in reality this man loses nothing in private conversations. "Oh, good for you, how did you do that?“

If a man has had four wives, he is still taken seriously because of this, however, it is unthinkable for a female politician to have experienced 4 marriages.

“One of our MPs, who had a fourth wife or something, and when I heard that he had a third wife, I was surprised, I said, a third wife ... and you know how men are, grin of approval and a laugh. Now I told him that if a woman told you she had three husbands, how would you react, and don't start talking about gender equality“

In the run-up to the election, if any male gender role is attributed to female politicians, this will also be considered sexist hate speech. For example, "shih-kebab parties (mtsvadaoba)", drinking, lovers, or the fact that she had many husbands.

In the group of politicians, as well as in the group of media and gender experts, a category emerged – **hate of doing every masculine thing**. In the group of experts it was also revealed that Georgian female politicians are not forgiven non-femininity and they are bullied and “turned into men”.

"In the case of Elene, I also have it here, for example, Amashukeli's quote is about Elene:" By the way, I thought for a long time that Elene Khoshtaria was a young boy, but in the end she turned out to be a girl, which I am still not completely sure about. She will not stop until they kick her in the balls."

Nino Burjanadze, example of “Tootsie”

„Something like this has happened, Burjanadze was one of them, for example, one of Burjanadze ... I do not know, I do not think they use it anymore, it existed in its time ... When Burjanadze and Democrats united, when Zurab Jvania was alive, Tootsie and Shrek got united – that was their name, that's what they called them“.

Sexist hate speech is used against women because of their "masculine" appearance.

"It is very common, they say about Tina Khidasheli, also about Nino Burjanadze, that her face is like a man and things like that. So I can't say that it happens only when a woman looks feminine. I would say that in both cases, if they want to vent hatred, so to speak, they will do it in both cases."

Indicator: Any form of "turning into men" of female politicians (drinks, smokes, has lovers, is married for the fourth time, is masculine, is "Tootsie").

„Supplement to a man”

A group of experts revealed that one type of sexist hate speech is to see a female politician as a man's supplement.

„A female politician is referred to as a man's supplement, and again and again they are rejected to be seen as subjects. For example, when Sandra Roelofs was running in Zugdidi, they did not even talk to her directly, they talked to Saakashvili. She was standing right in front them, and they were addressing her husband. She was not perceived as a figure at all. Zviad mentioned Burjanadze, that this flour girl (pkvilovna) was constantly after him; by the way, Tako Charkviani, is often reminded of her father, that she is her father's daughter. This father, husband, this belonging is often important. This is also for belittling and depriving of subjectivity.”

Joking about the "marriage" of female politicians is an example of sexist hate speech in the Georgian space, which falls into the category of variations on the heteronormative family.

"I remembered one thing in terms of humor, of course: when Bush was president, in the night show there was a joke that what Davit Gamkrelidze and Bush have in common? It is that Bush could not get Condoleezza Rice to get married and Gamkrelidze could not get Pikria Chikradze to get married (laughs). That is, they were laughing about it”.

This is where the topic of the so-called patronage is manifested, that a woman did not come into politics on her own, but because of her husband's interests. This was the case with Tina Bokuchava and now with the Georgian Dream's Rustavi majoritarian candidate.

"By the way, this issue of patronage arises not only when, say, a man next to a female politician, i.e. father or husband, is a famous person, but also when a woman is just entering politics. For example, Nino Latsabidze, who is a new figure, a majoritarian of the Georgian Dream, she was immediately linked to her husband, that she was coming to politics, because I do not know, to help her husband make millions. They immediately try to link them ... ”

Manipulation of the family topic is considered sexist hate speech in all cases.

"When Bidzina Ivanishvili was the first to present his candidates, he characterized all the female politicians he was presenting, as a good housewife and talked about their families, or was saying that she is unmarried and now you will see, she will get lucky. I remember presenting Ani Mirotadze. I remember presenting Eliso Chapidze. He was mostly emphasizing that”.

Indicator: when talking about the work of a female politician, any attempt to refer to her husband or father as her patron.

“Being sold for money”

This phenomenon may be related to male politicians as well, but since men in the patriarchal society are considered to be "breadwinners", they are forgiven for any way to earn money. The "sold for money" construct hurts female politicians more. Therefore, this particular occurrence was considered by respondents as one of the forms of sexist hate speech.

"Tabula shares my shared link and writes that we are slaves and I am a slave because I sold myself, say, to Mikheil Saakashvili. Even journalists from a rival party must understand how much this can hurt a particular woman, as a female and create a wave of disgust towards her”.

This fact is also related to slut shaming, because the woman "sold for money" is associated with a commercial sex worker (prostitute) in Christian patriarchal societies. No one has such associations with

a man sold for money. Therefore, referring to a female politician with similar sentences is sexist hate speech.

Indicator: Reference to a woman as being sold for money in any context.

Oppression of women protecting the interests of minorities

The data analysis showed that a separate phenomenon, a separate hate speech, was the reference to female politicians who defend the rights of minorities or express empathy for them. Such women are attacked using sexuality (as if they are lesbians), or by banal Christian clichés that a woman is the devil and the heaven of debauchery.

"Of course, Khatuna Samnidze is also here and Khatuna Samnidze and I are a lesbian couple, because we can protect LGBTQ people and a lot is written about it on social networks, etc. And let's say a satanic smile, red-lipstick women. "

Sometimes female politicians' children, husbands and parents are publicly attacked, which can be considered as an extreme form of sexist hate speech.

"For example, Givi Sikharulidze appeared on the air and exactly because I was defending a group of sexual minorities, he said that her children must be like that (laughs) and then suddenly he thought and said – no, what wrong have the children done. Then he went on to my husband - you, husband, what kind of husband are you? Show yourself to me, what kind of a man are you, to have such a horrible wife. In the same broadcast he went after my father as well, saying things like you are the daughter of such a wonderful man, etc."

Indicator: Any negative, homophobic comments about female politicians for defending the rights of minorities, especially, attacking their families and children.

„Being a bad Georgian“

An interesting construct was revealed in the group of gender experts - "a bad Georgian". it is referred to a female politician if she does not speak Georgian well or does not appear to be a "patriot." Similar constructs are used in relation to male politicians as well, but this may be more damaging to female politicians.

"In many cases, the emphasis was not on physical appearances, it was more often that she did not know Georgian sufficiently. More often it was like – what kind of Georgian is she? She cannot speak properly, has spent most of her life in France and does not know Georgian."

Indicator: in the run-up to the election, any form of dislike of a female politician's "nationalism."

Summary

Based on the narrative analysis of primary sociological information collected through focus groups consisting of female politicians, media, and gender experts, Georgian forms of sexist hate speech were created. Some of these forms matched the European indicators listed in the introduction (**slut-shaming, spreading photos containing sexual content, body shaming (tone of voice, emotional speech), ageism, positive sexism, false compliments, supportive discouragement, ridicule, jokes, gossip**). Some of them proved to be typical only of the Georgian space (**indicating the lack of experience and adherence to principles, hate variations on the heteronormative family, reprimands for family and motherhood, hate of a female politician with "masculine" behavior, "supplement to a man", "sold for money", oppression of female politicians who defend the rights of minorities, "being a bad Georgian"**). Along with the indicators, their corresponding subcategories (some forms do not have a subcategory) and matching indicators were separated. In total, 18 forms of sexist hate speech were created:

1. **Slut-shaming;**
2. **Spreading photos with sexual content;**
3. **Body shaming;**
4. **Tone of voice;**
5. **Emotional speech;**
6. **Ageism;**
7. **Positive sexism – false compliments;**
8. **Supportive discouragement;**
9. **Ridicule, jokes, gossip;**
10. **Indicating the lack of experience and adherence to principles;**
11. **Hate variations on the heteronormative family;**
12. **Gender role of women;**
13. **Reprimand for family and motherhood;**
14. **Hate of women with "masculine behavior";**
15. **"Supplement to a man";**
16. **„Sold for money“;**
17. **Oppression of women defending the rights of minorities;**
18. **„Being a bad Georgian“;**

Table of hate speech forms, subcategories and indicators

#	Forms of sexist hate speech	Sub categories	Indicators
Forms and indicators of hate speech corresponding to European ones			
1	Slut-shaming	Somebody's woman (brought through personal contacts, lover); Misha's women;	Reference to a female politician as male politician's property in any form – because of any male politician referring to women as a "prostitutes" ("someone's woman", "someone's relative", "someone's friend").
2	Spreading photos containing sexual content	No subcategory	Spreading photos or videos of any kind of sexual content without the consent of the female politician.
3	Body shaming	Emphasizing beauty; Emphasizing ugliness;	Mentioning a female body / sexuality, in positive, negative, age-based, having explicitly feminine attire, being beautiful or in any other form.
4	Tone of voice	No subcategory	Any kind of joke about the tone of voice of a female politician in social network.
5	Emotional speech	No subcategory	Any kind of joke about the manner of talking of a female politician in social network.
6	Ageism	Elderly (Go home to you grandchildren) Young (brought through nepotism, you	Mentioning a female politician's age in any form (young, old)
7	Positive sexism/false compliments	Emphasizing beauty Modern sexism (ironical mocking, masked with political correctness, "go home" "what do you want in politics")	Mentioning a female body / sexuality, in positive, negative, age-based, having explicitly feminine attire, being beautiful or in any other form. Any kind of compliment that goes beyond work and refers to the visual and representation of a female politician.
8	Supportive discouragement	No subcategory	Telling a female politician in any form to leave politics – go away, what do you want here, etc.
9	Ridicule, jokes, gossip	No subcategory	Any kind of gossip, unverified information and jokes that are directed at women politicians before the elections.

Forms and indicators of hate speech characteristic only to Georgia

1	Indicating the lack of experience and adherence to principles	No subcategory	Linking a female politician with experience and adherence to principals in any form (praise, rebuke, dislike).
2	hate variations on the heteronormative family	„Where is your husband/father?!“; „Do you have a husband at all?!“; „Couldn't your husband take care of you“;	Mentioning the husband, father and sons in any way when talking about the activities of a female politician, especially if husbands are referred to as poor and incapable.
3	Gender role of women	Housework (cuisine); motherhood and childbearing; Party woman	Any attempt to refer to a female politician, as a housewife, culinary specialist, or exhibiting behaviors positively reinforced for men.
4	Reprimand for family and motherhood	How couldn't you raise an ideal child	Mentioning a female politician's childbearing, or her children's behavior in any form, especially when she either has no children at all, or has only one child, or her child has deviant behavior.
5	Hate of women with "masculine" behavior	Swearing; smoking marijuana, lovers, polygamy, a guy, "Tootsie", masculine appearance	Any form of "turning into men" of female politicians (drinks, smokes, has lovers, is married for the fourth time, is a man, is "Tootsie").
6	„Supplement to a man“	No subcategory	Any attempt to refer to a female politician's husband and father as patrons when talking about the activities of a female politician.
7	“Being sold for money”	No subcategory	Mentioning a woman as sold for money in any context.
8	Oppression of women defending the rights of sexual or ethnic minorities	No subcategory	Any negative, homophobic comments about a female politician for defending the rights of minorities, especially attacking their families and children.
9	„Being a bad Georgian“	No subcategory	Any form of dislike of a female politician's "nationalism" before the election.

Total number of indicators - 18

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