"Georgian Pride World Wide"

Extreme Right Mobilization in Georgia, 2014-2018

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Summary

During the past few years, Georgia has witnessed an increased visibility of extreme right groups. On many occasions, these groups managed to bring exclusion-oriented issues to the agenda and at occupying public space, thus restricting opportunities for liberal groups and human rights activists. Even though the recent proliferation of extreme right groups has led to growing concern among political circles and civil society, these groups have not been researched in depth.

To fill in this gap in literature, this thesis aims to understand how extreme right groups in Georgia mobilize. The thesis rests on social movement theory, according to which political opportunities and organizational resources influence the way movements frame their views and take action.

This thesis demonstrates that, overall, extreme right mobilization opportunities in Georgia are limited. Yet, while the legal system of the country restricts extreme right mobilization and the political space only offers narrow opportunities to participate, the public opinion generally supports exclusion-focused policies. The fact that Georgian extreme right groups have limited organizational resources confines their ability to meet this public demand effectively. Yet, they try to capitalize on the insecurities prevalent in the society, adapting their strategies, frames, and actions accordingly.

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1. Introduction

On May 13, 2018, the central streets of Tbilisi, Georgia witnessed an unusual scene: thousands of demonstrators dancing to techno music, thousands of counterdemonstrators gathering around them, and the Special Forces cordoning the area in between (OC Media, 2018). The so-called "Raveolution" was organized to protest violent police raids in Tbilisi's most popular nightclubs with the pretext of fighting drug deals (Pertaia, 2018). The counterdemonstration, in turn, aimed to defend the Georgian society from "drug and LGBT propaganda" (OC Media, 2018). Fearing irreversible violence from extreme right groups, the government asked the demonstrators to disperse, promising to investigate possible rights violations during the club raids (ibid.). Soon after, on May 17, human rights activists refrained from organizing the annual demonstration to mark the International Day against Homophobia and Transphobia (IDAHOT), while nationalist groups marched to celebrate the "Day of Family Purity," established in 2014 by the Orthodox Church in response to the first attempt at an IDAHOT rally (ibid.).

These events are among the many recent occasions in which extreme right groups in Georgia succeeded at bringing certain issues to the agenda and at occupying public space, thus restricting opportunities for liberal groups and human rights activists. In response to this recent emergence of Georgian extreme right groups, this thesis aims to understand how their mobilization occurred in the period of 2014-2018, both online and offline.

The rise of the extreme right in Georgia mirrors that of similar groups across the world. Germany, Italy, and the US are among the many countries in which the mobilization of once-marginalized right-wing extremists has become increasingly visible (Caiani et al., 2012). Yet, research on the extreme right largely focuses on these and other Western European countries, and there is a "poignant lack of information" on the extreme right in other regions (Mudde, 2017, p.260).

Understanding extreme right mobilization in other regions is important because findings from the Western European context cannot be generalized to other countries. There is no single explanation for the rise and success of extreme right movements; despite obvious similarities, movements in different countries use distinct strategies, discourses, and modes of action, due to varying historical experiences (Pelinka, 2013, p.6).

In post-Soviet countries like Georgia, the collapse of the Soviet Union has allowed previously suppressed nationalist aspirations to manifest themselves in the form of radical ethnonationalist movements (Pelinka, 2013, p.6). In these countries, extreme right movements are more radical and more openly antidemocratic, organized mostly in the form of social movements, rather than political parties (Mudde, 2017, pp.260-265).

Extreme right groups, in general, might be small, with limited capability of action, but the biggest threat associated with their mobilization is the gradual radicalization of public opinion and the rise of radical right-wing parties, which lead to more exclusionary politics and shift the entire political spectrum to the right (Caiani et al., 2012). Regardless of these risks, such small, extra-parliamentary groups are rarely subject to research (Mudde, 2017, 265). This points to the need for more research on the level of street politics.

Indeed, the slogan of one of the Georgian extreme right groups, "Georgian Pride World Wide" (an allusion to the "White Pride World Wide" slogan of Stormfront, the largest white supremacist online forum (Jacobs, 2015)), may sound overly ambitious, if not delusional. Yet, the recently increased visibility of extreme right groups has led to growing concern among political circles and civil society. During the past three years, extreme right groups have organized numerous demonstrations, often entailing violence against journalists, immigrants, human rights- or LGBT activists, and liberal political figures. In September 2016, for example, Georgian Power, one of the extreme right groups, vandalized Turkish restaurants and cafes in the center of Tbilisi (EMC, 2016); in 2018, Georgian March, another extreme right group, attacked several journalists after one of them made a joke about Jesus Christ (Kuntchulia, 2018).

Moreover, hate crime statistics in Georgia show a steady increase: in 2016, there were 63 recorded incidents, in 2017, this number increased to 86, and in 2018, it reached 210 (Prosecutor's Office, 2018). Most of these crimes occurred on grounds of gender, sexual orientation, religion, and national identity (Prosecutor's Office, 2018a). In 2018, Vitali Safarov, a human rights activist who organized tolerance camps for teenagers, was killed in a bar; the investigation is still in process, but according to the Prosecutor's Office, Safarov was killed on grounds of ethnic, religious, and racial intolerance (Prosecutor's Office, 2018b).

As in many other countries, political violence has been accompanied by calls for exclusionary policies. Individuals and initiative groups affiliated with the extreme right in Georgia have

prepared a number of exclusionary legislative initiatives, some of which have been submitted to the Parliament by members of the ruling party, Georgian Dream, and a populist radical right party, Alliance of Patriots (Investigative Journalists' Team, 2018; Myth Detector, 2019). Among these were initiatives to remove sexual orientation and gender from the list of prohibited grounds of discrimination, to tighten citizenship laws, to prohibit abortion, to ban nongovernmental organizations, and to prohibit insult of religious feelings (Myth Detector, 2019). While these initiatives were not adopted, others were more successful; for example, after campaigns to define marriage as "a union between a man and a woman," instead of "a voluntary union of legally equal spouses," and calls for the prohibition of privatization of agricultural land to foreign citizens, the new Constitution of Georgia, which entered into force in late 2018, encompasses both provisions (Tabula, 2018a).

Despite growing concern, however, extreme right groups in Georgia have not been researched in depth. Their activities have been covered by news media and discussed in the reports of non-governmental organizations, but scientific research remains scarce. The lack of research and knowledge on extreme right groups in Georgia hinders the state from implementing effective policies against their radicalization and violence (Stephan, 2018, p.15).

To fill in these gaps, this thesis aims at investigating how extreme right groups in Georgia mobilize. The thesis rests on social movement theory, according to which political opportunities and organizational resources influence the way movements frame their views and take action. Accordingly, it answers the following sub-questions:

- How do political opportunities shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia?
- How do organizational resources shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia?
- How does the extreme right in Georgia frame its views?
- How does the extreme right in Georgia translate political opportunities, organizational resources and framing into action?

To answer these questions, the thesis proceeds as follows: Chapter 2 starts with a review of the existing literature, focusing on the gaps this thesis aims to fill. Chapter 3 defines the concept of the extreme right and shows how the social movement theory can help understand extreme right mobilization. To this end, Chapter 3 elaborates on the four main elements of the theoretical

framework – political opportunities, organizational resources, framing, and collective action – in accordance with the above-listed sub-questions. Chapter 4 presents the research design, explaining how methods like social network analysis, frame analysis, and protest event analysis are used to answer the above-listed four sub-questions. Chapter 5 introduces the Georgian context, briefly discussing the recent political history and the onset of extreme right mobilization. This section also introduces extreme right groups in Georgia. Chapters 6-9 include the analysis of the main findings, each answering the above-listed four sub-questions. Finally, Chapter 10 summarizes the analysis, explains its political and theoretical implications, and suggests avenues for further research.

This thesis will demonstrate that, overall, extreme right mobilization opportunities are limited. Yet, while the legal system of Georgia restricts extreme right mobilization, and the political space only offers limited opportunities to participate, the public opinion generally supports exclusion-focused policies. The fact that Georgian extreme right groups have limited organizational resources restricts their ability to meet this public demand effectively. Yet, they try to capitalize on the insecurities prevalent in the society, adapting their strategic frames and actions accordingly.

2. Literature Review

Examining the mobilization of extreme right groups in Georgia, this thesis aims at filling in several gaps in the literature. Firstly, it focuses on the extreme right in Georgia, thereby covering a largely under-researched geographical area in this field. Studies on the extreme right largely focus on Western Europe and the US (see e.g. Mudde, 2000; Connoly, 2010; Carter, 2011; Burack and Snyder-Hall, 2012; Cornelis and van Hiel, 2015). Accordingly, information on the extreme right in other regions is scarce (Mudde, 2017, p.260). Yet, the extreme right in different regions and countries appears more heterogeneous than commonly assumed (Mudde, 2017, p.274). There is no single explanation for the rise and success of such groups; movements in different countries and regions vary, due to diverse historical and political experiences (ibid.).

A few recent studies have examined the Central and Eastern European context. These studies show that extreme right groups in these regions are different from their Western counterparts: they are mostly organized as movements, rather than parties, and they voice anti-democratic, extreme views more openly (Mudde, 2017a). Considering this heterogeneity, some authors have discussed single-country contexts in depth. For example, Kovács (2013) studies the Jobbik Party in Hungary, Ajanovic et al. (2015) examine the Austrian Freedom Party and related organizations in Austria, Shekhovtsov (2013) looks at Ukraine, and Auers and Kasekamp (2013) focus on Estonia and Latvia.

The extreme right in Georgia, however, remains understudied, perhaps due to the fairly recent emergence of such groups. Several nongovernmental organizations and think tanks have published reports and policy papers; for example, a recent report by Transparency International Georgia maps the interrelations among different groups and parties on the extreme right spectrum in Georgia (Transparency International, 2018), whereas a policy paper by the Georgian Institute of Politics overviews the messages of three groups and their support base (Stephan, 2018). A couple of reports also focus on the study of extreme and radical right narratives on Facebook (see e.g. CRRC, 2018a). In addition, several opinion pieces have also covered the rise of the extreme right in Georgia, mostly focusing on the Russian influence on Georgian politics (Wales, 2017; Uberi, 2018; Svanidze, 2018; Kincha, 2018).

In terms of academic research, there are only two works. A recent thesis examines the quest for Europe in the rhetoric of Georgian Power, one of the extreme right groups in Georgia (Kobakhidze, 2017). The other recent study discusses the transnational diffusion of populist rhetoric, focusing on the Georgian March, another major group in the Georgian extreme right family (Gozalishvili, 2017). Therefore, the two available academic works are case studies of single groups, highlighting specific aspects of extreme right rhetoric, while other actors of the larger social movement family, as well as opportunities and resources for mobilization, common frames, and repertoires of collective action remain unexplored. This thesis therefore aims at providing the bigger picture, contextualizing these single-case studies.

In addition to expanding the geographical focus of research on the extreme right, this thesis is also innovative due to its emphasis on extra-parliamentary groups. Until recently, research on far-right politics, including studies on the extreme right, the radical right, and right-wing populism, has largely focused on successful political parties (Mudde, 2000; Wodak, 2015). One explanation of party-centered research is that until 2015, the extra-parliamentary realm was mostly limited to violent extreme right groups; however, many recently emerging organizations entirely concentrate on extra-parliamentary politics (Mudde, 2017, p.30). This is especially true for Eastern European and ex-communist countries, as the nationalist aspirations, strictly suppressed under the Soviet Union, are now channeled into radical and extreme movements (Wodak, 2015a, p.6).

Another reason for the academic focus on successful parties is that these actors are seen as part of mainstream politics, whereas extra-parliamentary groups are considered relatively marginal (Wodak, 2015b, p.29). Yet, previously marginal groups sometimes succeed at bringing specific issues to the political agenda and engaging in mainstream politics, thus shifting the entire political spectrum to the extreme right direction (Wodak, 2015b; Caiani et al., 2012).

The recent growth of extra-parliamentary extreme right politics (Mudde, 2017, p.30) should spark the academic inquiry of such groups. Some (e.g. Meleagrou-Hitchens and Brun, 2013; Busher, 2016) have started exploring this direction, however, they also focus mostly on Western Europe and the US (see also Nagle, 2017).

Finally, in addition to expanding the geographical focus and selecting extra-parliamentary groups, this thesis will also make a theoretical contribution by studying the extreme right in Georgia as a social movement. Social movements are defined as "amalgamations of diverse groups, often with

the same general goal, but with differences in specific agendas, identities, and strategic orientations" (McCammon and Moon, 2015, p.1). As Caiani et al. (2012) note, social movement studies mostly focus on progressive, left-wing movements. Examples abound: Saunders (2007) on environmental movements, Della Porta (2017) on anti-austerity movements, Banks (1981) on feminist movements, Taylor (2016) on the Black Lives Matter movement, etc.

Even though the tools and theoretical developments from social movement studies can be applied to study the yet under-researched aspects of the extreme right, only a few scholars have done so. Examples include Caiani et al. (2012) that examined extreme right groups in Germany, Italy, and the US, and Ravndal (2018) that investigated such groups in Nordic countries. Investigating the Georgian extreme right groups as a social movement, this thesis will follow the general theoretical framework of these studies, which brings us to the next chapter.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Definitions and Conceptual Clarifications

During the May 2018 events, the Georgian media often labeled the counterdemonstrators as "neo-Nazi," "ultranationalist," "conservative," etc., using the labels interchangeably (see Kincha, 2018; Transparency International, 2018; Svanidze, 2018). This lack of clarity among the multiple interrelated concepts used to refer to different actors on the political right spectrum is common not only in the media, but also in social science research. Among the most frequently used labels are "fascist," "Nazi," "rightist," "right-wing," "(ultra)conservative," "(ultra)nationalist," "populist right," "radical right," and "extreme right" (Carter, 2017, p.64). Before presenting the theoretical framework of this thesis, it is therefore necessary to explain my use of the extreme right label, describing what extreme right is, and, perhaps more importantly, what it is not.

Despite the often-used "Nazi" label, the extreme right in Georgia is not limited to fascist or Nazi groups. As Carter (2017, p.61) argues, fascism and neo-fascism (the latter denoting post-WWII adherents of historical fascism) merely represent specific manifestations of the extreme right. Nazi and neo-Nazi groups, in turn, belong to a subcategory of fascist groups with National Socialism as their ideological inspiration (Mudde, 2000, p.12). In other words, while fascist and Nazi movements belong to the general extreme right category, not all extreme right groups can be labeled fascist or Nazi. The extreme right in Georgia does include a group that identifies as fascist (National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity), but other groups do not fall under this category.

While fascism and Nazism represent specific types of the extreme right, labels such as "rightist" "or "right-wing," as well as "conservative," "nationalist," or "populist" are too broad. This thesis focuses on the extra-parliamentary extreme right in Georgia, which consists of four publicly active groups: Georgian Idea, an Orthodox Christian organization advocating theocracy; Georgian March, a violent anti-immigration and anti-LGBT group; Georgian Power, a youth organization with militarist orientation; and National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity, a self-proclaimed fascist group. These extreme groups need to be distinguished from other right-wing actors in Georgian politics, including moderate right-wing parties (e.g. European Georgia), conservative actors (e.g. the Conservative Party), and radical populist parties (e.g. the Alliance of Patriots), as well as from nationalist left-wing organizations (e.g. the Labor Party).

Therefore, the extreme right label includes just one segment of right-wing, conservative, nationalist, or populist groups, but is not limited to Nazi and fascist groups. So what exactly does this label refer to?

According to Cas Mudde, one of the most prominent experts on the extreme and radical right, the existing definitions of right-wing extremism include up to 58 different characteristics (Mudde 1995, pp.206-207, cited in Carter, 2017, p.59). These characteristics can be broadly grouped into two defining features: anti-constitutional and anti-democratic (Carter, 2017, p.59). Anti-constitutionalism refers to the disapproval of the norms, institutions, and procedures characteristic to a democratic constitutional state. It can be expressed in many ways, ranging from militarism and anti-pluralism to the denunciation of liberal or multicultural political systems. Anti-democratic attitude, in turn, implies disapproval of human equality in general and can be channeled into different forms of exclusion, including racism, nationalism, xenophobia, etc.

A related concept is that of "radical" right; indeed, labels "extreme" and "radical" are frequently used interchangeably (Carter, 2017, p.67). However, the term "radical right" is more common in the American context (Eatwell, 2004, p.7). In addition, the extreme right generally tends to be more openly exclusionary than the radical right (Minkenberg 2018, p.5). Since the above-mentioned four Georgian groups with anti-constitutional and anti-democratic sentiments are openly exclusionist and xenophobic, the thesis refers to them as the extreme right.

The section below briefly discusses the evolution of theoretical approaches of research on the extreme right, as well as the development of social movement studies, and explains why the latter offers useful concepts and analytical tools to study the extreme right in Georgia.

3.2. Understanding Extreme Right Mobilization

Early studies on the extreme and radical right, as defined above, focused on psychological analysis. In the 1950s, studies largely stressed the irrational aspect of extreme right mobilization and action (for an overview, see Klandermans and Mayer, 2006, pp.6-7). During the 1960s, however, scholars largely abandoned the focus on psychological analysis and highlighted rational reasons for extreme right mobilization, such as low income or low level of education (Klandermans and Mayer, 2006, p.6). After the 1970s, studies of the extreme right mostly shifted to the so-called "breakdown theories" (Eatwell, 2017, p.540). These theories argued that the "modernization losers," struggling

to adapt to the rapidly changing, globalizing world, would be more prone to extreme right views (Caiani et al., 2012, p.7; Eatwell, 2017, p.540).

While these studies have shed some light on extreme right mobilization, they also leave some questions unanswered and some aspects unexplored. For example, with their focus on societal factors, extreme right studies have overlooked political factors (Caiani et al., 2012, p.9). In addition, studies on the extreme right have largely been limited to parties (Caiani et al., 2012, p.9).

To address these and other shortcomings of the existing research approaches, recent studies have attempted to use social movement theories, originally developed for research on leftist movements, to study extreme right groups. Recall that social movements are unions of diverse groups with a common goal, where each group has particular goals, strategies, and identity. Members of such movements are "ordinary people" that share "culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols" and engage in "contentious politics…in confrontation with elites, authorities, and opponents" (Tarrow, 1998, p.2).

Based on these definitions, the extreme right can, indeed, be seen as a social movement. Therefore, its mobilization can be examined through social movement theory, which focuses on "political opportunities rather than social threats, organizational resources rather than grievances, frames rather than ideology, repertoire rather than violence, networks rather than individual pathologies, and relations rather than structures" (Caiani et al., 2012, p.9).

This thesis draws on the general theoretical framework developed by Caiani et al. (2012), which examines extreme right groups in Germany, Italy, and the US. This framework, summarized in Figure 1, explains mobilization on the basis of political opportunities and organizational resources. These factors influence the way extreme right movements talk and the way they act.
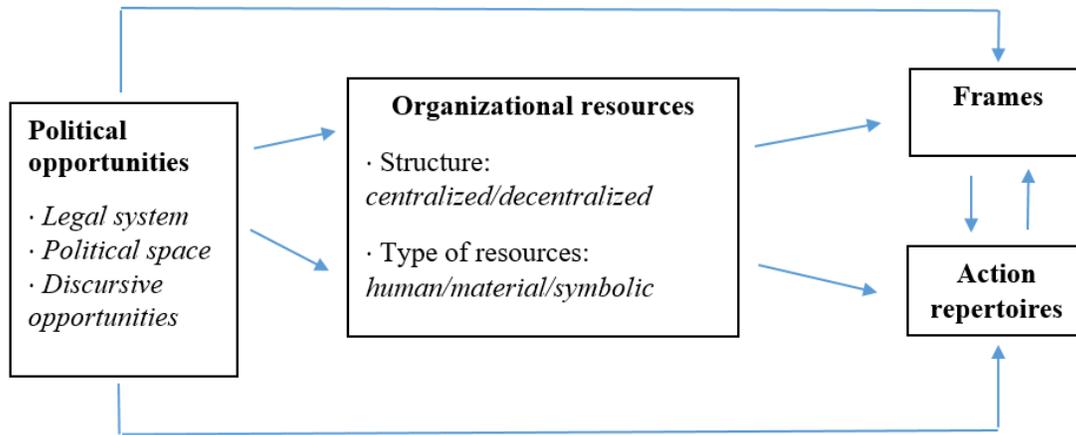
Figure 1: Explanatory model (adapted from Caiani et al., 2012, p.10)

3.2.1. Political Opportunities

The first element of this framework is political opportunity structure. Social movements represent "politics by other means" (Klandermans and Mayer, 2006, p.7). In other words, since social movements demand changes from the state, they engage in normal politics, only through extra-institutional means (Goodwin and Jasper, 2009, p.6). In this regard, their emergence depends on the political opportunities available to them (Goodwin and Jasper, 2009, p.6). Groups might not engage in collective action unless they perceive political opportunities as favorable and accessible to them (Jenkins and Perrow, 2009, p.12).

The scope of political opportunities depends on three factors: the openness of the legal system of a given country, the accessibility of its political space, and discursive opportunities, that is, public opinion. The *openness of the legal space* refers to the extent to which the legislation allows for extreme right mobilization. Stricter laws against exclusionary practices, discrimination, hate crime, etc. hinder mobilization, while relatively lenient legislation or laws emphasizing freedom of speech could make more room for extreme right rhetoric and action (Caiani et al., 2012, pp.37-39).

Political opportunities also depend on the *accessibility of the political space* of a given country, or the extent to which extreme right actors can participate in decision-making. According to Jenkins and Perrow (2009), mobilization can occur when the extreme right is not repressed, when previously unified elites are divided, or when the mainstream political actors legitimize extreme right views (Jenkins and Perrow, 2009, p.12). The discourse of other political subjects, especially, mainstream parties, is important: the more mainstream actors incorporate extreme right views in

their discourse, the narrower the space available for extreme right actors and, accordingly, the more radical their action repertoire (Giugni et al., 2005, p.8). Furthermore, the existence of a strong far right party in the same political system may serve to moderate extreme right actions (Giugni et al., 2005, p.15). This is referred to as the "pressure cooker theory," arguing that strong far right parties might voice the grievances of extreme and radical right actors who might have become violent otherwise (Ravndal, 2018, p.783).

In addition to the legal system and political space, *discursive opportunities* play an important role in defining the opportunity structure. Discursive opportunities stem from prevalent views within a given society (Giugni et al., 2005, p.2). One important source of such opportunities for the extreme right is the ethnocultural conception of nationality (Giugni et al., 2005, p.2). The ethnocultural conception may contribute to legitimizing extreme right views towards immigration, minority rights, etc. In turn, in contexts where nationalism is understood more in terms of citizenship and civic elements, extreme right views might resonate less and have lower legitimacy levels (Giugni et al., 2005, p.2).

Importantly, opportunities have to be seen from the perspective of the extreme right itself; opportunities are only relevant as long as they are perceived as such (Caiani et al., 2012, p.78). Expected levels of public support, self-victimization, sense of injustice, etc. can all influence such perceptions (Caiani et al., 2012, p.78).

To evaluate the political opportunities available for and perceived by the extreme right in Georgia, this thesis will analyze the legal system of the country and its political space, paying attention to the legislative measures against anti-constitutional and anti-democratic ideologies and actions, as well as the level of access of extreme right groups to political institutions and decision-making levels. In addition, it will also assess discursive opportunities for extreme right mobilization, stemming from general public attitudes.

3.2.2. Organizational Resources

The second element of the framework is organizational resources, which includes the level of interconnectedness of a given extreme right network and the human, material, and symbolic resources available to the social movement.

By definition, a social movement includes networked groups that share information, opinions, and feelings, and engage in action (Saunders, 2007, p.14). A social network is created when different social actors establish links with one another (Isa and Himelboim, 2018, p.4). Like other social movements, extreme right groups represent an interlinked network (Caiani et al, 2012, p.54-55). These networked groups share a collective identity, or "shared definitions of a group that derive from members' common interests and solidarity" (Taylor and Whittier, 1992, cited in Klandermans and Mayer, 2006, p.9). Collective identity enables them to engage in collective action, i.e. express protest or act upon their grievances when they consider political opportunities as favorable to them (Jenkins and Perrow, 2009, p.12; Saunders, 2007, p.14). The actual character of collective action largely depends on the scope and structure of these networks (Caiani et al., 2012, p.55).

New forms of communication, especially, social media, have transformed the nature and formation of social network links. Recent studies (Burris et al., 2000; Tateo, 2005) highlight the increasing role of the Internet in this regard. Indeed, as Caiani et al. (2012, p.57) note: "frames, as well as norms and values, are diffused through 'acts of communication,' and the Internet is among the strongest communication tools available today." The Internet is used for information-sharing and propaganda, the attraction of audience and recruitment, avoidance of state control and, importantly, creation of linkages within the network: most webpages of extreme right groups include links to the webpages of other, similar groups (Caiani et al., 2012, p.3). These links represent "ties of affinity, paths of communication, tokens of mutual aid in achieving public recognition, and/or potential avenues of coordination" (Burris et al., 2000, p.55). Links may also form as actors mention or reply to one another (Isa and Himelboim, 2018, p.4).

Certainly, these online networking activities may not reflect the real-life interactions among different groups; however, online networking links can be considered as "empirical indicators of affinity between movement organizations and ideological viewpoints" (Burris et al., 2000, p.17). Indeed, the Internet does offer "an additional channel in order to construct … common identity" (Caiani et al., 2012, p.57). Sharing this common identity and solidarity, in turn, creates a feeling of belonging to a community (Caiani et al., 2012, p.57).

In more centralized and interconnected networks, it is easier to share information and resources, and it is more likely that a strong collective identity will develop (Caiani et al., 2012, p.56).

Conversely, in contexts where extreme right groups are fragmented and characterized by less dense social networks, collective action is less likely (Caiani et al., 2012, p.56).

To evaluate the organizational resources available for the extreme right in Georgia, the thesis will analyse the online network among the four groups, paying attention to the level of centralization and interconnectivity. In addition, the thesis will also study the human, material, and symbolic resources available to extreme right groups. As a result, it will identify the similarities and differences among different groups, as opposed to studying them as a homogeneous actor.

3.2.3. Framing

Political opportunities and organizational resources affect the third element of the framework: framing, or "the symbolic construction of the external reality" (Caiani et al., 2012, p.13). Social movements frame, i.e. attach meaning to the world around them, with the aim of mobilizing support (Benford and Snow, 1998, p.198). As Benford and Snow point out, social movement mobilization requires framing to "move people from the balcony to the barricades" (2000, p.615), so all social movements engage in framing, although specific strategies may differ. As shown in Figure 2, framing includes three elements: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational tasks.
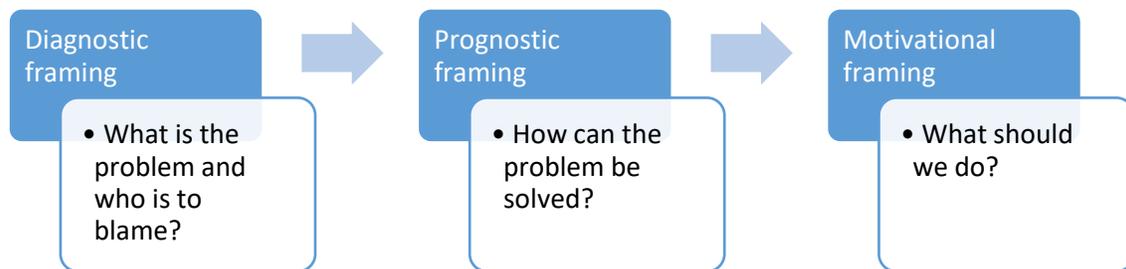

Figure 2: Three framing tasks (based on Benford and Snow, 1998, p.199)

Diagnostic framing implies the interpretation of certain phenomena in a way that makes them subject to collective action (Caiani et al., 2012, p.14). In other words, this process essentially entails the identification of a social problem. During diagnostic framing, social and political issues, such as fear of unemployment, distrust of politicians, anger about inequality, fear of losing social cohesion, etc., are instrumentalized to produce fear (Wodak, 2015a, p.3).

The complexity of issues behind these perceived threats is reduced and simplified by searching for someone to blame. Accordingly, diagnostic framing also entails identification of scapegoats (Wodak, 2015a, p.3). This implies the determination of essentialist categories of the Self and the

Other ("Us" versus "Them"). Thereby, the extreme right rhetoric constructs threat scenarios, in which "They" threaten "Us".

Diagnostic framing prepares grounds for *prognostic framing*, which involves suggesting possible solutions to the identified problems (Benford and Snow, 1998, p.199). Once potential solutions are identified, frames create incentives, or motivation, for collective action (Caiani et al., 2012, p.14). In this process, collective identity is mobilized to ensure that the social problems identified through diagnostic framing are relatable for individual members (ibid.). In addition, a shared sense of solidarity contributes to a collective identity that prioritizes and encourages action (ibid.). Indeed, frames are effective for mobilization only when they are aligned to the opinions of the target audience and, more broadly, to the views widespread in the general public (Ravndal, 2018, p.785). Thus, *motivational framing* involves encouragement to participate in collective action in order to achieve the solution proposed by prognostic framing (Benford and Snow, 1998, p.199).

Social movement studies tend to focus on frames, rather than ideologies, since ideology is a broad, abstract, and fixed concept, whereas frames are more specific and flexible (Caiani et al., 2012, p.12). Since extreme right groups mobilize around specific, not necessarily coherent, grievances and demands, framing is a more appropriate concept to apply. To assess how extreme right groups in Georgia frame their reality, then, this thesis will analyze diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames communicated by the four groups, as well as their definitions of in-groups (the Self, or collective identity) and out-groups (the Others).

3.2.4. Repertoires of Collective Action

Based on the perceived available political opportunities and organizational resources, as well as collective identity and action frames, social movements engage in collective action. Collective action involves "people banding together to act on their shared grievances, hopes and interests" (Tilly, 1976, p.5).

Importantly, collective action does not necessarily imply violence. Specific tactics of action vary in space and time, from one context to another. To understand the mobilization of the extreme right, especially, patterns of radicalization of action, it is useful to see violence as part of a broader range of actions (Caiani et al. 2012, p.17). At any point in time, there is a "repertoire of collective action" (Tilly, 1976, p.22), i.e. certain protest tactics that social movements may use. These tactics may be diverse, from street rallies and blockades to press conferences and (verbal and physical)

violence (Caiani et al., 2012, p.77; Goodwin and Jasper, 2009, p.252). For this purpose, action repertoires need to be analyzed in terms of action type, targets, main issues or demands, and other characteristics (Caiani et al. 2012, p.17), identifying the factors linked to violence.

Repertoires of collective action represent an important concept in social movement studies. In contrast with traditional research on the extreme right, which focuses on electoral participation and political violence, the study of the extreme right as a social movement enables a more comprehensive view of extreme right mobilization (Caiani et al., 2012, p.209). Therefore, to evaluate how opportunities and resources, as well as framing, influence the activities of the Georgian extreme right, this thesis will analyze repertoires of collective action of the four groups, paying attention to patterns of both violent and non-violent activities.

The following chapter explains the research design, or the methods used to apply the theoretical framework to the extreme right in Georgia.

4. Research Design

The main research question of this thesis is how extreme right groups in Georgia mobilize. To understand and help explain mobilization, the thesis answers four sub-questions, each corresponding to the elements of the above-outlined theoretical framework:

1. How do political opportunities shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia?
2. How do organizational resources shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia?
3. How does the extreme right in Georgia frame its views?
4. How does the extreme right in Georgia translate political opportunities, organizational resources and framing into action?

To answer these questions, the thesis combines quantitative and qualitative methods, seeing them as complementary, rather than substitutive. Following the logic of triangulation (Seawright and Collier, 2004, p.310), the thesis combines different sources of data collection (Facebook posts, interviews, secondary sources) and data analysis (frame analysis, social network analysis, and protest event analysis). These multiple data sources and methods aim at a more holistic, nuanced analysis of the extreme right in Georgia as a social movement.

The following four sections present the data sources and methods used to answer each sub-question.

4.1. Analysis of Political Opportunities

4.1.1. Method and Sources

In order to assess how political opportunities shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia, the first part of the analysis chapter discusses the legal system of Georgia, the accessibility of its political space for extreme right groups, and discursive opportunities for extreme right rhetoric. To do so, the analysis relies on both primary and secondary sources.

The overview of the legal system of Georgia includes the analysis of secondary sources, such as the Constitution, the Criminal Code, and anti-discrimination laws. In addition, this analysis includes specific legislative measures against the extreme right, including those against fascist ideology and propaganda.

The assessment of the political space in Georgia also relies on secondary data, such as reports of local and international organizations, country rankings, and research studies. In this regard, the analysis includes the extent to which extreme right groups and actors have access to decision-making levels, as well as the actions and rhetoric of other political parties and organizations, in order to identify potential allies for the extreme right.

As for discursive opportunities, the analysis focuses on public opinion surveys in Georgia, conducted by both local and international organizations. This part of the analysis aims at identifying the prevalent public stances that extreme right framing could align to.

For a more comprehensive understanding of political opportunities, the thesis also relies on primary data – in-depth interviews with political and legal experts, as well as sociologists. In total, I conducted 13 interviews with the representatives of Georgian research institutes, universities, nongovernmental organizations, and the media. Interviews were conducted in Georgia, in January 2019, during a two-week fieldwork period. They were semi-structured and flexible – preliminary questions were refined several times (see the interview guide in Appendix 1), and relevant issues that emerged during the discussion were pursued further.

4.1.2. Limitations

Analysis of political opportunities is associated with certain limitations. Since the analysis incorporates interviews with experts as a significant source of information, there is a certain risk of bias during data selection and collection. First of all, political, legal, and sociology experts can certainly have predisposed opinions; for example, some of the leading political scientists in Georgia have also been part of political institutions or organizations in Georgia and thus, their opinions on these might be biased. In order to minimize the risk of biased analysis, I selected interviewees from a wide range of political, legal, and sociological organizations. In addition, I critically assessed the expertise and experience of potential interviewees and remained critical while examining their responses.

Another limitation relates to the data collection method. I recorded answers in my notes, which may raise issues of human error. To minimize risks of inaccurate analysis, I carefully consolidated these notes immediately after each interview and shared my notes with the interviewees for their approval.

4.2. Analysis of Organizational Resources

4.2.1. Method and Sources

To examine how organizational resources shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia, the second part of the analysis is devoted to social network analysis (SNA) and assessment of human, material, and symbolic resources of the extreme right.

SNA is a combination of methods used to investigate links and patterns of interaction among different actors (Caiani, 2014, p.368). These relational structures are considered "vehicles of meaning, crucial for sharing of values, frames, and identities" (Cinalli, 2006, cited in Caiani, 2014, p.370). Thus, SNA is an important method for social movement research, since it helps investigate how actors within movements relate to one another and so points to the implications of these links in terms of mobilization and collective action (Caiani, 2014, p.372). An advantage of SNA is that it bridges qualitative and quantitative research strategies (Caiani, 2014, p.391).

For SNA, the thesis follows the steps suggested by Caiani and colleagues (2012), with some modifications. In their study of extreme right movements in Germany, Italy, and the US, Caiani et al. focus on written documents published on the webpages of these groups. In contrast with many extreme right groups in these and other countries, extreme right groups in Georgia do not have webpages. Facebook, however, is an important communication medium. Approximately 9 out of 10 regular Internet users in Georgia use social networks, and 79% of them use Facebook at least once a week (CRRC, 2015).

To identify the Facebook pages of active groups in the extreme right milieu in Georgia, I used the Facebook search system. Given that Facebook pages can be created through several easy steps, and also that the search system of the network points to many groups with similar names (in the case of extreme right groups in Georgia, page names usually include adjectives such as "Georgian," "national," etc.), I identified the official pages through closer examination of each search hit, paying attention to the date of creation, the number of followers, the number of posts, etc. I double-checked the list with the assistance of journalists and researchers working in local NGOs.

Each Facebook page was taken as a single actor, i.e. a "node" of the Georgian extreme right online network. Next, I collected data on the links among the actors. To study such links, Caiani et al.

(2012) focus on hyperlinks that direct the reader from one webpage of an extreme right group to another. This choice corresponds to their data source – webpages of extreme right organizations. To translate this method to the case of the extreme right in Georgia, I analyze links in social media. Using public posts of the Facebook pages of extreme right groups, I identified "shares" of posts from one group's Facebook page by another group's Facebook page, as well as mentions, or "tags" of one group's Facebook page by another. To facilitate analysis, maximize consistency, and minimize human error, I used a software program called NVivo.

I then analyzed the resulting data in the SocNetV software, which helped identify the main characteristics of the extreme right network, specifically: density, average distance, average degree, and degree of centralization. Density measures the level of interconnectedness between different clusters of actors (Isa and Himelboim, 2018, p.5). The degree of density is lowest when the actors within the network have zero links among one another, and highest when each actor is related to every other actor (Caiani, 2014, p.382). Average distance refers to the average space from one node to another, while the average degree denotes the average number of links each node has to others. Finally, the average degree of centralization refers to the concentration of links around one node (Caiani, 2014, p.383).

Based on these characteristics, I evaluated the interconnectivity of the extreme right network in Georgia and the internal power dynamics. SNA helps point to the relatively central actors with more access to and control over the flow of information, as well as the relatively marginal actors who have less influence and power. For this purpose, three indicators are especially useful: degree centrality, closeness centrality, and betweenness centrality (Caiani, 2014, p.385). In SNA, degree refers to the number of links each actor, or node, has (Golbeck, 2015, p.226). Nodes with the highest level of degree centrality are those with the largest number of links with others (Golbeck, 2015, p.226). Thus, degree centrality helps measure the relative visibility of each node. As for closeness centrality, it measures how close each actor is to others: nodes with the highest level of closeness centrality are those with better access to information and more control over its flow (Du, n.d.). Finally, nodes with the highest level of betweenness centrality often serve as intermediaries within the network, passing on information to other nodes (Du, n.d.). All in all, actors that score high in these indicators are considered more influential in the network, while those that score low are seen as marginal.

The analysis of the overall network is linked to a discussion on the human, material, and symbolic resources available to the extreme right. To assess human resources, I focused on the estimated number of active members. As for material sources, I examined evidence of financial resources, as well as property, e.g. private offices of extreme right groups, or lack thereof. Finally, to evaluate symbolic resources, I paid attention to the support of extreme right opinions from powerful actors and institutions in Georgia. Like in the analysis of political opportunities, the discussion on organizational resources was supplemented by information obtained via in-depth interviews.

4.2.2. Limitations

This part of the analysis is also associated with certain limitations. The first one relates to the choice of SNA, since this method is often criticized for being "too methodological" (Caiani, 2014, p.390). Indeed, SNA focuses more on the analysis of network structures, but does not necessarily aim at elaborating theories on how particular structures of networks produce particular outcomes (Caiani, 2014, p.390).

Yet, SNA is particularly fruitful for the analysis of the extreme right in Georgia. Since this movement in Georgia is under-researched, SNA is useful, since it offers an in-depth exploration of understudied networks (Caiani, 2014, p.372). It illustrates which actors are central and which ones are peripheral in a given context, and helps characterize the level of overall configuration, i.e. patterns of power relations, potential alliances, and conflicts among different actors of a given network.

Another potential limitation concerns the use of online links. As noted above, the secrecy of extreme right organizations complicates access to them and thus creates hindrances for research. This issue is somewhat mitigated by the analysis of online interactions, i.e. weblinks. It can certainly be argued that virtual interactions may not necessarily reflect real-life, or offline relations. However, since the Internet is an important tool for framing, construction of collective identity, and mobilization, weblinks are a good indicator of shared ideas, objectives, and interests among different social movement actors (Caiani, 2014, p.374). Furthermore, given the active use of the Internet, and specifically, Facebook, by extreme right groups in Georgia, the analysis of their virtual social network definitely contributes to the understanding of these groups.

Finally, as many leftist and liberal activists report some of the Facebook pages that include extremist content as offensive or discriminatory to the administration of the website, certain pages

of extreme right groups have been deleted. For example, Georgian March, one of the most active and visible groups, had to create a new account in 2016, as its previous one had been deleted. This, of course, means that previous posts have been deleted together with these pages. Given this limitation, data collection and analysis included all posts published and publicly available on Facebook as of January-February 2019.

4.3. Frame Analysis

4.3.1. Method and Sources

To examine how extreme right groups in Georgia frame their reality and collective identity, I used frame analysis. This method is particularly useful in studies of social movement mobilization and focuses on the construction and communication of meaning (Lindekilde, 2014, p.196). Frame analysis is similar to another method of textual analysis – discourse analysis – in the emphasis of the role of language in shaping culture and beliefs; however, while discourse analysis aims at revealing the mechanisms of social construction of reality and focuses on the influence of language in itself, frame analysis focuses more on the strategic use of language by certain actors (Lindekilde, 2014, p.215). Since frame analysis helps study the more strategic use of language, it is more suitable for the analysis of extreme right mobilization in Georgia.

Like in social network analysis, Facebook was a useful source for frame analysis as well. I analyzed a total of 8,069 public posts by the official Facebook pages of the four extreme right groups. Out of this total number, Georgian Idea published 5,848 posts, Georgian March published 1,330, Georgian Power published 636, and NSM published 255.

To conduct frame analysis, I took single statements as units of analysis, or the "species of observations" to be studied (Gerring 2007, p.217). Statements include incomplete and complete sentences, or more than one sentence, based on where a particular assertion started and ended. Each statement was then coded according to a codebook (see Appendix 2) that was created simultaneously with data analysis. The three main elements of framing – diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational – were taken as starting points for coding. As data collection and analysis proceeded, I divided these three categories further, distinguishing between different types of problems (social, political, economic) and definitions of the collective identity and the Other. In this process, I excluded posts that I considered irrelevant for the purposes of this thesis. This

included photos of organization members, paintings of nature and Georgian kings, re-uploads of the profile picture, and such.

I modified the framework of Caiani et al. (2012) by supplementing Facebook data with semi-structured, in-depth interviews with extreme right activists. Interviews with social movement activists turn attention to human agency; they help illuminate how the activists see the world and their place in it (Della Porta, 2014b, p.230). For small, secretive organizations, like those in the extreme right milieu, in-depth interviews are especially valuable to shed light on framing and mobilization strategies (Wintrobe 2002, p.23). In media reports and sometimes also in research, extreme right groups are seen as "mysterious, frightening and irrational" (Wintrobe 2002, p.23). The extreme right in Georgia is no exception. Hence, while direct contact with these groups may have been associated with certain trust- and security-related challenges, interviews with group members helped me see more clearly how they construct their reality and collective identities.

In total, I conducted 5 interviews with extreme right activists. These interviews were also conducted in Georgia, during my two-week fieldwork. As in expert interviews, questions were open-ended and less structured than standardized interviews or surveys. Yet, considering Della Porta's suggestion to avoid "under-theorization" (2014b, p.231) I prepared an interview guide (Appendix 3) in advance. To avoid usage of scientific jargon and increase the clarity of questions, I discussed the interview guide with a mock respondent that pointed out ambiguous phrases. These phrases were then taken out or replaced by clearer, more open-ended ones.

Importantly, I did not include interviews published in the media in my analysis. I made this choice because the target audiences of the rare interviews that have been published in the Georgian media are wide, not aimed primarily at supporters or potential sympathizers. By contrast, Facebook posts, even if visible to everyone, are primarily targeted at those who have "liked" a certain Facebook page and are thus following its activities, i.e. a narrower, more strategic audience. Therefore, I assumed that these posts would be more informative in terms of framing, which, as mentioned above, includes a more strategic element than general discourse.

4.3.2. Limitations

These choices are certainly related to several limitations. The first limitation in terms of data collection is the low number of interviews with activists. This was expected since extreme right groups tend to be secretive. Initial contact with potential interviewees was made via direct

Facebook messages to the pages under study. In addition, I directly contacted some of the publicly known activists. In this process, journalists that have had contact with these groups assisted in providing contact information. To address the limitation of low numbers, I tried to select at least one informant from each group, so that the thesis covers the potential diversity of opinions. Georgian Power is the only extreme right group of the four that rejected the interview request. I also managed to interview former members of two groups, believing that they would be more open and willing to share their views.

In addition to data collection, data analysis also implies some limitations. The large volume of Facebook data certainly raises the issues of human error and replicability. Indeed, a common research criterion is that any reader should be able to double-check or redo the study (Lindekilde, 2014, p.213). I took several measures to address this limitation. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, I created a clear and systematic codebook. The codebook included general categories in the beginning and was finalized and systematized as the analysis went on. Secondly, the NVivo software enabled systematized, consistent coding, thus increasing the replicability of this study.

Another limitation in data analysis is the interpretation of interview data. Like with expert interviews, I did not record interviews with activists either and resorted to note-taking instead, so I did not make precise transcriptions. Yet, transcriptions are not always necessary; some scholars suggest that it is important to be "faithful" to the overall meaning of the text, rather than every detail (Della Porta, 2014b, p.251). To minimize human error and incorrect interpretation, I shared my notes with the informants.

The choice to avoid precise transcriptions was made because of several interrelated reasons. Firstly, political views, and especially, extreme right views, are considered as "sensitive private information" by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). Note-taking minimizes the ethical issues associated with processing and disclosure of such private information. Secondly, even though some of the informants even suggested video-recording, others clearly expressed preference against voice-recording too. For trust-building purposes, therefore, I decided to stick to note-taking, rather than any kinds of recording.

One other limitation concerns trust-building between me and the interviewees. To address this, I chose to conduct one-on-one interviews, notwithstanding the risks of conducting interviews with activists who have been publicly and openly violent. This choice was made to avoid any

implication of power imbalance. To ensure my own safety, I followed the advice of my supervisors and met the interviewees in public places, asking my boyfriend to be nearby.

Considering another possible limitation – that my personal political views oppose most, if not all, publicly expressed views of extreme right activists – I refrained from making any judgmental or evaluative comments on the informants' views. I believe that any analysis is inherently an interpretive representation, so that it is rarely, if ever, possible to paint an objective picture. Keeping this in mind, I tried to minimize my voice during the interviews. I tried to be open, to facilitate the discussion by showing respect and giving space to talk, and to listen, without pretending that I agreed. I was aware of my subjective opinions during data collection and analysis and tried to emphasize the interview subject's own interpretations, rather than preconceived notions from the existing literature. Last but not least, trust was also ensured by conducting the interviews in the participants' native language, Georgian.

4.4. Protest Event Analysis

4.4.1. Method and Sources

Finally, to investigate how the extreme right groups in Georgia translate their framing into action, I examined collective action repertoires through the protest event analysis (PEA) method. PEA is considered as a distinct type of content analysis and involves coding and drawing of inference from textual data (Hutter, 2014, p.335). This method allows for quantitative measurement of different characteristics of protest, including "frequency, timing and duration, location, claims, size, forms carriers, and targets" (Caiani et al. 2012, p.33). In social movement studies, PEA has been considered as a particularly useful tool to create systematized databases on protest (Hutter, 2014, p.22). Thus, PEA enables a coherent view of general collective action repertoires.

The most common sources of data for PEA are newspaper articles on protest events (Hutter, 2014, p.335). Caiani et al. (2012) also use newspaper articles in their study. As Hutter (2014, p.349) notes, newspapers are associated with many advantages: they are easy to access, they are issued periodically, they have the ambition to provide correct and credible information, etc. It is important to note here that these advantages are associated more to what Hutter calls "quality newspapers" (2014, p.349).

Adapting this method to the case of the extreme right in Georgia, I started data collection by searching for newspaper articles on the webpages of various media organizations in Georgia. The

list of media sources included 9 media outlets: *Liberali*, *Tabula*, *Rustavi 2*, *Imedi*, *Public Broadcaster*, *Netgazeti*, *On.ge*, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* and *OCMedia*. This list includes print, TV, and online media. Most of these outlets have an openly liberal or progressive agenda, and I selected them because I assumed they would be keen on reporting extreme right-related news, as liberal media often is (Hutter, 2014, p.351). In order to avoid duplication, I compared coverage of protest events in different media outlets and selected the most comprehensive one for each event.

For the purposes of this thesis, all protest events that took place in Georgia during 2014-2018 were analyzed. Even though May 17, 2013 can be considered as the first case when extreme right views were expressed publicly, at a large-scale demonstration in Georgia (Antidze, 2013), only the following year did particular extreme right actors start to appear publicly as more or less formalized groups. Since the thesis focuses on extra-parliamentary groups, events taking place in the parliament were excluded from the analysis. In total, 66 events were identified through newspaper sources and interviews.

The unit of analysis was a single protest event. An event is defined as an action that occurs within a 24-hour period, within a certain city or its particular area, and has the same objectives and largely the same participants (Hutter, 2014, p.348). This includes a wide range of actions, including the following types (Caiani et al., 2012, p.79):

- Conventional events, such as press conferences and lobbying;
- Demonstrative events, such as rallies, festivals, petitions, etc.;
- Confrontational events, such as barricades, cordons, or squatting;
- Violent events, including light (e.g. documented verbal insults and symbolic violence) and heavy (physical assaults and attacks) violence.

The events were coded according to several categories. I started with loosely defined categories, including protest initiator actors, form of protest, targets, etc., and defined and redefined the codes continuously. The codebook (see appendix 4) was thus filled gradually.

4.4.2. Limitations

One of the main limitations of PEA is the selectivity of news reports. The fact that news outlets may emphasize certain events and disregard others, or emphasize certain aspects of an event and

disregard others, implies a certain bias. According to Della Porta and Diani (2006, p.171), protest event coverage follows the "logic of numbers" and the "logic of damage," meaning that events that engage large numbers of participants and are more violent will attract more media attention. To address this limitation, the information missing from the articles was supplemented through interviews with journalists and researchers.

Similarly to frame analysis and SNA, the subjectivity of the researcher's own interpretation also raises the issue of reliability in PEA. The systematized codebook helped address this limitation, outlining all events included in the analysis and codes used to analyze the data. As in the case of frame analysis, NVivo was used to systematize coding and minimize human error, thus increasing replicability of the thesis.

4.5. Ethical Considerations

In all parts of the analysis, I rely on Facebook data and in-depth interviews, which implies the processing of direct or indirect personal data to a certain extent. This may naturally raise ethical questions. For this reason, I followed the guidelines of the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD).

From Facebook, I only processed publicly available posts by the pages of the four extreme right groups, meaning that names, nicknames and any other personal information of group members or other Facebook users were excluded. Downloaded Facebook data are stored on the University of Oslo server and will be deleted after the project is completed in May 2019.

As for interviews, I submitted an application to the NSD, which included details about the interview subjects and planned questions, as well as pre-drafted consent forms to be signed by interviewees. I started data collection only after receiving approval from the NSD (Appendix 5).

Thus far, the thesis has discussed the theoretical framework to study mobilization and the methods used to apply this framework. Moving on, the thesis introduces the Georgian case more closely and proceeds with analyzing the mobilization of the extreme right in Georgia.

5. Background: The Case of Georgia

Before moving on to the analysis of the findings, it is useful to give context to the case. To this end, the following section briefly outlines the relevant facts from the recent political history of Georgia, paying attention to the preconditions and the first steps towards extreme right mobilization. After introducing the general context, this section also introduces the four extreme right groups in Georgia in more detail.

5.1. Recent Political History

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the first president of independent Georgia was Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He advocated nationalist policy and undertook to integrate Abkhazia and South Ossetia (two ethnic autonomies in the Soviet Union) with the rest of Georgia. His rhetoric ranged from nationalism to right-wing radicalism (Interviewee 2, Caucasus Research Resource Center (CRRC)), combined with prejudice against and animosity with national minorities (Russians, Ossetians, Abkhazians, Armenians, etc.) (Nodia, 1995, p.104).

Within a few months, Gamsakhurdia was deposed in a coup, and an outbreak of a civil war, together with conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, followed (Nodia, 1995, p.104). The civil war lasted until 1991, and in 1995, Eduard Shevardnadze was elected as the second president. According to Ghia Nodia, a prominent scholar on Georgian nationalism (1995, p.105):

> As these events unfolded, Georgia found itself plunged into a modern version of Hobbes' state of nature, with no effective state institutions, paramilitary clans-cum-mafias fighting for power, gun-toting brigands collecting their own "taxes" on the roads, and merchants wishing only for more orderly and predictable racketeers.

During Shevardnadze's presidency, Georgia moved towards authoritarianism, and corruption and nepotism became widespread (Fairbanks, 2004, p.100). After the parliamentary elections of 2003, Shevardnadze was accused of electoral fraud, and mass protests followed (Jones, 2012, p.5). The protests led to an overthrow of the President, later labeled as the Rose Revolution (Jones, 2012, p.5). The post-revolution elections brought the United National Movement (UNM), an openly pro-Western, center-right party, to power, and 35-year-old Mikheil Saakashvili was elected as President (Fairbanks and Gugushvili, 2013, p.117).

The UNM succeeded in overcoming petty corruption and laid foundations for an effective democratic state (Fairbanks and Gugushvili, 2013, p.117). It pursued an "aggressively liberal" and "radically pro-European" policy, marked by a number of drastic reforms and a narrative which transformed the "Western-educated" youth into the new elite (Interviewee 8, Ilia State University (ILIAUNI)). Within a few years, however, Saakashvili went towards an authoritarian direction and became "the unchallenged master of Parliament and the courts" (Fairbanks and Gugushvili, 2013, p.117). Soon, the public saw the Western-educated elite as a minority taking over the country and leaving others behind (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI). This was augmented by a strong neoliberal push in the economy, which, even if characterized by the UNM as "shock therapy," was "all shock, no therapy" (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI).

The UNM gradually lost public support, and, after a series of massive anti-government demonstrations, the 2012 elections led to a change in government (Fairbanks and Gugushvili, 2013, p.116). The UNM was replaced by the Georgian Dream coalition, led by oligarch Bidzina Ivanishvili (Fairbanks and Gugushvili, 2013, p.116). After the parliamentary election of 2016, the Georgian Dream maintained its power as the ruling party.

5.2. The Onset of Extreme Right Mobilization

Before the change in government in 2012, any activism in Georgia, including that of the extreme right, had been rare. Many characterized UNM's rule as "rule by fear" (Fairbanks and Gugushvili, 2013, p.120). As an expert of the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies (Interviewee 1, GFSIS) notes, this fear stemmed from the activities of the Constitutional Security Department (CSD) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The CSD, established after the Rose Revolution, had tight control over freedom of expression between 2003 and 2012 (Interviewee 1, GFSIS).

Minor instances nevertheless took place. An expert from the Tolerance and Diversity Institute (TDI) argues that the initial hints of extreme right views in Georgia can be found during the rule of UNM, with most expressions associated with the Orthodox Church (Interviewee 5, TDI). One example is the Union of Orthodox Parents, which opposed art that "could be associated with the West, in the broadest sense" (Interviewee 5, TDI). The Union had strong opinions against Harry Potter, the Da Vinci Code, Halloween celebrations, etc., arguing that these were anti-Orthodox,

anti-Georgian, and anti-tradition (Chkheidze, 2011). However, no large-scale demonstrations or clashes occurred.

After 2012, however, the situation changed. The Constitutional Security Department was dismantled, transforming into an independent agency, the State Security Service, through a series of reforms that concluded in 2015 (Tsuladze, 2015). As the control over freedom of expression apparently loosened, the first clash took place in 2013. On May 17, the International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia (IDAHOT), around 50 LGBT activists organized a demonstration and were violently cracked down by protesters mobilized by religious leaders: approximately 20,000 demonstrators marched in a counter-demonstration, and activists barely managed to leave the Rustaveli Avenue safely (Roth and Vartanyan, 2013).

May 17, 2013 is considered by all interviewed experts as the first public demonstration of radical and extreme right views in the history of independent Georgia. Since then, several extreme right organizations appeared publicly and became active. This wider mobilization of the extreme right was, however, preceded by a number of important events.

First, after the 2012 elections, 190 individuals were released from prison with a political prisoner status. Among these individuals was Levan Chachua, a member of the Union of Orthodox Parents, who later became the leader of Georgian Idea, one of the extreme right organizations (Activist 1, Georgian Idea). Among them was also one of the future leaders of the Georgian March, another prominent extreme right organization in Georgia (Activist 1, Georgian Idea).

Second, in 2014, a youth organization called "Free Generation" was formed, with Lado Sadghobelashvili as its leader (Netgazeti, 2014a). According to its leaders, this organization was created to "prevent any provocation" from the UNM, the former incumbent party, before the 2016 parliamentary elections (Netgazeti, 2014a). Throughout 2014-2016, Free Generation was at the center of several incidents with supporters of the UNM, demanding that the UNM leave the political sphere completely (Netgazeti, 2014a). After the 2016 elections, the UNM entered the Parliament as the main opposition force. Soon after, the Free Generation dismantled (Interviewee 1, GFSIS). The leader of the Free Generation did not leave the political sphere, though. In 2017, Sadghobelashvili became one of the leaders of the Georgian March.

5.3. Extreme Right Organizations in Georgia

Before proceeding with the analysis, this section introduces the protagonists of this thesis, the four publicly active organizations that make up the extreme right network in Georgia: Georgian Idea, Georgian March, Georgian Power, and National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity (NSM). The visibility of the network dates back to 2014, although it has been most active during the past two years. In addition to public events, all groups also have an active presence online.

5.3.1. Georgian Idea

Georgian Idea was established in December 2013 as a social movement organization. It mainly united individuals who received a political prisoner status from the newly elected parliament in 2012 and were then released from prison (Activist 1, Georgian Idea). The worldview and aims of Georgian Idea were briefly outlined in the first post of the movement's Facebook page. The post stated that the movement was created in response to the challenges that the Georgian state and its people face: foreign interference and deviation from the Orthodox Christian faith. Accordingly, the movement declared that it would follow the advice of the Patriarch of the Georgian Orthodox Church in fighting for the restoration of monarchy that existed in Georgia before its annexation by the Russian Empire in the 19th century. Monarchy, together with the protection of "century-long Christian traditions"[1] would "support the prosperity of the family, as a cornerstone of the state" and "encourage procreation of the nation." At the same time, the movement declared support for a "balanced" foreign policy, focusing on the need to improve relations with Russia, and for the "liberation of the media from the propagandist pressure of anti-Church, anti-national and LGBT communities."

From the beginning, the movement emphasized its Orthodox Christian orientation. The name of the movement, Georgian Idea, was defined as an idea resting upon "the main commandments of Christ and love for God," as well as the "Orthodox Christian ideals that represent the Georgian national traditions, such as: respect for the elderly, respect for family, care for children, loyalty in marriage, hospitality, morality, honesty, sacrifice for friends, virtue and goodness of women and pride and family leadership of men, forgiveness, and generosity." The movement vowed to fight against "propaganda of sodomy, immorality, and violence, legalization of abortion, violation of

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[1] It is important to note here that the quotes cited in this chapter are taken from the Facebook pages of the respective groups (for more details, see the reference list).

the domination of the Orthodox Christian religion and legalization of casinos". Georgian Idea would aim at consolidating Georgians "sharing the Georgian Idea, mostly the community of Orthodox believers" and supporting "Christian values" on the legislative level. The very first post on Facebook concluded with a quote from the Patriarch, encouraging Georgians to follow God's will for "Great Georgia" and ended with an "amen."

Figure 3: Official logo of Georgian Idea. Georgian Idea, Facebook, 2013

The Orthodox Christian orientation is also evident from the official logo of the Georgian Idea (Figure 3). The movement chose "a shield-like shape" with round marks to symbolize "the holy trinity on the top and the seven sacraments at the bottom, the ten commandments altogether" and initials standing for "Georgian" and "Idea," as well as for "Christ" and "Jesus" (in Georgian language), simultaneously resembling a cross and a sword. The logo also features a slogan: "with belief and love towards an honorable future," which the movement interpreted as "leading the future generation in light of honorable saint ancestors [sic]."

In March 2014, the movement announced its transformation into a social-political movement, with Levan Chachua as its leader. The National Agency of Public Registry lists Georgian Idea as a "political union of citizens" (NAPR, 2018). The organization currently has a central office in the capital and 4 regional offices, as well as a youth wing. In 2016, Georgian Idea participated in the parliamentary elections and got 2,916 votes (CEC, 2016b). Since then, the movement decided to boycott both the municipal elections in 2017 and the presidential elections in 2018. Throughout these years, however, the movement has been active on Facebook and has participated in several demonstrations.

5.3.2. Georgian March

Georgian March was established after the "March of the Georgians" demonstration in July 2017. Its leader, Sandro Bregadze was a Deputy State Minister of Diaspora Issues, who left his position in 2016 (Tabula, 2016). He was also a formerly prominent member of Georgian Idea, leaving the organization in 2016. Like Georgian Idea, Georgian March also included individuals released from prison in 2012 with a political prisoner status. Unlike Georgian Idea, however, Georgian March is not registered at the National Agency of Public Registry.

According to a former member of the group, the Georgian March was formed somewhat spontaneously after the 2017 demonstration, and the name change from the "March of the Georgians" to the "Georgian March" was due to consideration of ethnic minorities in Georgia, who also participated in the march (Activist 3, former member, Georgian March).

Figure 4: Official logo of Georgian March. Georgian March, Facebook, 2017.

The Facebook page of Georgian March does not list its views or aims. According to one of the group's leaders, Georgian March is a social movement, and after reorganization, it is planning to develop into a social-political movement. The group characterizes itself as a "moderately radical" organization with "an ideology similar to European nationalism", drawing parallels to Sebastian Kurtz, Viktor Orban, and Marine le Pen (Activist 2, Georgian March). The nationalist orientation is also evident from the slogan on the movement logo (Figure 4): "For Georgian Identity and Georgia." The logo itself features a flag that represents an artistic reconstruction of the flag of David IV, known as David the Builder, with a unicorn and St. George's cross (Kldiashvili, 2003).

Since its formation, the group had actively been boycotting all elections until 2018, when it announced that its leader, Sandro Bregadze, would run in presidential elections. Later, however, Georgian March decided to boycott these elections as well and declared "reluctant" support to the candidate supported by the ruling party. Like Georgian Idea, Georgian March has also been active on Facebook and has organized several street demonstrations.

5.3.3. Georgian Power

Georgian Power was created in 2015 by a US citizen of Georgian origin and became publicly active in September 2016, after a demonstration on the Day of the Fall of Sokhumi (Netgazeti, 2016a). For Georgia, this day symbolizes the end of the war in Abkhazia in 1993, when Abkhazian forces took control over the breakaway region. The group is more secretive than Georgian Idea and Georgian March, with members hiding their faces during public demonstrations and in photos.

In terms of ideology, the group characterizes its orientation as the "Georgian Alt-Right" and "right-wing nationalism/conservatism." During the first public demonstration, the group mentioned Russian occupation as the main challenge Georgia has been facing in the past decades, in addition

Figure 5: Official logo of Georgian Power. Georgian Power, Facebook, 2017

to "politicians sold for Russian money, hiding behind the image of nationalism." The organization sees a "traditional European state" as a solution, citing "Georgianized" versions of white nationalist slogans, e.g. "Georgian Pride World Wide" (an allusion to the "White Pride World Wide" slogan of Stormfront, as mentioned in the Introduction), and nationalist slogans, e.g. "Georgia for Georgians, and Georgians for Georgia."

These sentiments are echoed in the group's logo, which features an eagle on the foreground of Borgjali, a symbol of eternity, a Georgian variety of the Swastika that is used in many state symbols (The State Council of Heraldry, 2019; Wilson, 1901). One version of the logo (Figure 5) features a quote from Ilia Chavchavadze, one of the most prominent leaders of the Georgian nationalist movement, as well as the Bolnisi Cross, a Georgian national symbol. The banner used in videos produced by Georgian Power (Figure 6) also features crossed out symbols of smoking, drugs, the LGBT community, Russia, and Communism.

Georgian Power has not participated in elections or declared support for any candidate. The group organized several demonstrations in Tbilisi in 2016 but has not

Figure 6: Banner, Georgian Power, Youtube, 2017.

been publicly active since May 2016, when several members were arrested after an anti-immigration demonstration, forcing the leader of the group to go back to the US. However, it remains active online and individuals with Georgian Power t-shirts can be spotted in demonstrations organized by other groups.

5.3.4. National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity

The National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity (NSM) was established in 2016. It has three leaders, one of whom is also the leader of the youth wing of Georgian Idea. Similarly to Georgian Power, the group is quite secretive in terms of membership.

NSM is "a voluntary union of citizens with a right-wing national-socialist ideology" and is registered at the National Agency of Public Registry. It identifies as a fascist organization, noting

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that "Fascism stems from the word *fascio*, which translates to "unity" in Georgian, meaning that "strength is in unity," as the current coat of arms of Georgia says." According to one of the leaders, NSM represents "Georgian Fascism." Since fascist symbols are prohibited in Georgia, the group, like Georgian Power, uses the Borgjali in its logo (Figure 7), together with the Bolnisi cross. The group also has a coat of arms, a copy of the coat of arms of the First Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) and a slogan: "Race, Nation, State," together with a quote from Ilia Chavchavadze:

Figure 7: Official logo of Georgian National Unity. NSM, Facebook, 2018.

"Homeland, Language, Religion." The fascist orientation is also evident from the so-called Nazi salute that group members often use. According to the leader, this salutation was used by "ancient Romans and ancient Georgians" and is also used by "Georgian men in everyday life." The salute caused public outrage when NSM members used it in Tbilisi City Court to greet their leader, arrested due to illegal possession of weapons in September 2018 (Wayne, 2018).

NSM has declared boycott to all elections, stating that it considers illegitimate any political party or leader coming to power after Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the first President of independent Georgia. The group has been active online and has participated in several demonstrations organized by the Georgian March in 2018. Since the arrest of the main leader in 2018, the group has not been publicly active.

Having introduced the political context and the four actors on the Georgian extreme right scene, the following chapters present the findings of this thesis.

6. Analysis of Political Opportunities

How do political opportunities shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia? To answer this question, this chapter starts with a review of relevant Georgian legislation, assessing whether the legal system allows extreme right actors to organize and take action. Second, it discusses the access of extreme right groups to the political space and decision-making, as well as their potential allies. Finally, it examines discursive opportunities, i.e. the general societal attitudes, to examine whether extreme right narratives voice publicly prevalent ideas.

6.1. Legal System

Since extreme right groups oppose the general principle of human equality and the rules and norms of the democratic state, their mobilization in Georgia partly depends on whether the legislation of Georgia protects equality and prevents or fights against discrimination. In addition, mobilization depends on the specific measures the state has adopted against extreme right rhetoric or actions.

The Constitution of Georgia, as well as the general legislative framework of the country, endorses liberal democratic principles, such as liberty, equality, and respect for human rights. For example, Article 11 of the Constitution declares that "all persons are equal before law," regardless of race, colour, language, sex, religion, political and other opinions, national, ethnic and social belonging, etc., and Article 16 protects "freedom of belief, religion and conscience" (Constitution of Georgia, 1995).

In accordance with the principle of equality, Article 142[1] of the Criminal Code of Georgia prohibits racial discrimination and Article 53 (3[1]) considers "commission of a crime on the grounds of race, colour, language, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, religion, political or other beliefs, disability, citizenship, national, ethnic or social origin, material status or rank, place of residence or other discriminatory grounds" as an aggravating circumstance for all crimes included in the Code (Criminal Code of Georgia, 1999).

To solidify its commitment to fighting against discrimination, Georgia adopted a new Law on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (in short, the anti-discrimination law) in 2014. The law bans discrimination based on language, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, etc. The law was one of the preconditions for the Georgia-EU Association Agreement that was signed approximately a month after, in June 2014 (Radio Free Europe, 2014).

The adoption of the anti-discrimination law was fiercely disputed; the main opposition came from the Orthodox Church, which required that sexual orientation be excluded from the list of banned grounds for discrimination and demanded that the Parliament refrain from adopting the law (Radio Free Europe, 2014). The Patriarch of Georgia directly addressed the Parliament, stating that the human rights of Georgian citizens were "already equally protected" and that "based on God's Commandments, a Christian society legitimately considers non-traditional sexual relations as a deadly sin, and the adoption of the anti-discrimination law in its current form – as propaganda of this sin" (Civil Georgia, 2014). The law remains disputed even today, with some members of Parliament, especially from the Alliance of Patriots, arguing that gender and sexual orientation should be removed from the list of banned grounds for discrimination (Tabula, 2019).

In addition to upholding principles of liberty and equality, the legislation of Georgia also prohibits violent, armed, or fascist or communist totalitarian associations and activities. Article 23 of the Constitution prohibits armed formations by political groups, as well as associations that aim to "overthrow or forcibly change the constitutional order of Georgia, infringe on the independence or violate the territorial integrity of the country, or [propagate] war or violence or [incite] national, ethnic, provincial, religious or social strife" (Constitution of Georgia, 1995).

In addition, the Law of Georgia "Charter of Liberty" (2011) bans communist totalitarian and fascist ideology and propaganda. The law focuses more on communist totalitarianism, perhaps due to the fact that Georgia does not have a fascist legacy but was a member of the Soviet Union. Its general aim is to prevent crimes against statehood and protect state security, but it specifies prevention of the incitement of grounds for fascist and communist totalitarian ideologies as one of the principal objectives (Charter of Liberty, 2011). The law envisages prohibition and elimination of communist and fascist symbols, monuments, bar-reliefs, headings, and titles, as well as means of propaganda (Charter of Liberty, 2011).

This brief overview shows that the Georgian legal system offers several restrictions against extreme right rhetoric and actions. It also protects equality and prohibits discrimination, thus limiting opportunities for extreme right mobilization.

6.2. Political Space

Regardless of numerous legal restrictions, however, extreme right mobilization can also be facilitated by access to political institutions and decision-making bodies, as well as potential allies in the political spectrum and their perspectives of collaboration with these actors.

In Georgia, according to Freedom House (2018), the "political life is vibrant," and individuals have the possibility to form assemblies or run for elections without intervention. However, the dominance of the Georgian Dream is considered a problem. This is largely due to the role of Bidzina Ivanishvili, the oligarch who leads the Georgian Dream party. Due to his far-reaching power on Georgian politics, Ivanishvili is considered "a behind-the-scenes puppetmaster" (Lomsadze, 2018) who has been making key political decisions since 2012, not only while serving as a Prime Minister, but also after officially resigning in 2012. Importantly, his involvement became arguably less problematic as he came back to politics as the leader of the Georgian Dream in 2018, with his influence remaining as far-reaching as ever (Freedom House, 2018).

The main challenge to the dominance of the Georgian Dream comes from the UNM, the former ruling party. Since the regime change in 2012, some of the former members of UNM have formed new political parties, Girchi ("pine cone" in Georgian) and European Georgia. Girchi was established in 2016 and has a libertarian ideology, whereas European Georgia, established in 2017, has a center-right orientation (Girchi, 2018; European Georgia, 2018). However, due to their links with UNM in the past, these two parties are often perceived as heirs of the previous government (Activist 1, Georgian Idea; Activist 2, Georgian March). Accordingly, the Georgian political sphere remains polarized, with UNM (together with Girchi and European Georgia) on one end and the Georgian Dream on the other.

Indeed, according to Democracy Reporting International (DRI), Georgia is "one of the most polarised countries in Europe," where "a 'winner-takes-all' political culture has created deep divisions and instability" (DRI, 2018). In 2017, Georgia prohibited formation of party blocks, thus preventing minor actors from cooperating to overcome the 5% electoral threshold (Freedom House, 2018). The only small party to manage to do so was the Alliance of Patriots, a populist right-wing party, established in 2012 with the aim of "adding a third actor" to Georgian politics (Alliance of Patriots, 2018). In the 2016 elections, the Alliance gained slightly more than 5% of

the votes, thus winning several seats in the Parliament, together with the Georgian Dream and the UNM (CEC, 2016a).

Despite the relative success of the Alliance of Patriots, small opposition parties can rarely establish themselves as significant actors in Georgian politics (Freedom House, 2018). This includes extreme right actors too. Indeed, members of extreme right groups have never occupied official positions.

In spite of limited access to political space and decision-making, extreme right groups in Georgia seem to consider their voice at least partly heard. The Georgian Dream coalition, created prior to the 2012 elections, has had an eclectic ideology, not least due to the diversity of coalition member parties (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI). Some politicians in the Georgian Dream are considered as pro-European, and the general political orientation, on the level of high politics, is directed at Georgia's integration with the EU and NATO (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019). In this sense, the policies of the Georgian Dream can be perceived as a continuation of those of UNM. However, the coalition also has members with contrasting views. Some Members of Parliament, for example, agree with the view that liberalism has been forced upon Georgia during the past decade (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI).

The eclectic nature of the Georgian Dream's ideology could lead to a perception that, in contrast with UNM, at least a part of the political elite tacitly sympathizes with parts of extreme right opinions. Even if access to decision-making levels and official positions remains restricted for extreme right actors, the government hardly takes a public stand against them. A clear indication of this is the fact that even though six years have passed since the May 17, 2013 attack on the LGBT rights rally, nobody has been held accountable (EMC and WISG, 2015). Another illustration was May 2018, when the police asked peaceful demonstrators to disband, with the argument that counterdemonstrators, including extreme right groups, might have become aggressive and impossible to control (OC Media, 2018).

According to a researcher of Transparency International Georgia, the ambiguous stance of the ruling party towards extreme right groups is "a message that [these groups] have a certain power over liberal and progressive groups in the society" (Interviewee 4, TI). The implication is that these groups are seen as potential allies; at least, they are not the enemy, with the enemy image being reserved for the UNM (Interviewee 4, TI). Therefore, these groups are naturally less afraid to

express themselves than they would have been a few years ago. As a lecturer at the Ilia State University also argues, extreme right activists know that they will not be punished severely if they are loud, even if they become violent (Interviewee 10, ILIAUNI).

The position of the ruling party regarding the rallies of May 2013 and May 2018 was ambiguous at best; after May 2018, however, when members of extreme right groups were detained for violence, two members of the Georgian Dream were guarantors for their bail (TI, 2018). Despite the arrest itself, this, again, sends a message of support to the extreme right.

In addition to some members of the Georgian Dream, the Alliance of Patriots could be considered as an ally to the extreme right, due to its right-wing radical and populist alignment. Indeed, members of the Alliance of Patriots have been noticed on different rallies organized by the extreme right (PIA, 2018). In interviews with a Tbilisi State University researcher, members of the Georgian March confirmed that they share many opinions with the Alliance of Patriots (Interviewee 3, TSU).

One of the leaders of Georgian Idea also noted that the party has an analogous ideology; however, he added, "we do not cooperate often" (Activist 1, Georgian Idea). Regardless of convergence in certain opinions, the Alliance is often seen as part of the political elite, which represses and excludes extreme right groups from the political process (Interviewee 3, TSU). Even if the Alliance can be perceived as being on the same page, the party itself is seen as a "satellite"[2] opposition party (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI). Moreover, the Alliance of Patriots occupies a certain niche in Georgian politics, and would have no interest in sharing it with Georgian March or similar actors (Interviewee 1, GFSIS).

Thus, even if formal political positions currently remain beyond the reach of extreme right actors, the ambivalent stance of the ruling party, as well as the similarity with the worldview of the Alliance of Patriots, may lead the extreme right to perceive its opinions as legitimate and even supported. At the same time, the fact that extreme right opinions do exist across the political spectrum means that potential allies may be filling in for these groups, rather than serving as their indirect voice.

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[2] In the Georgian context, this term has a peculiar meaning. In the Soviet era, it referred to parties that the totalitarian regime would use in an attempt to conceal the fact that it was a one-party state.

6.3. Discursive Opportunities

In addition to the legal and political environment, extreme right mobilization also depends on discursive opportunities, that is, public attitudes that the extreme right can align its framing to. This includes a wide range of anti-constitutional and anti-democratic sentiments, from the opposition to democratic rules and norms, to the rejection of the basic belief in human equality.

In Georgia, as in many other post-Soviet countries, right-wing nationalist sentiment has been common. As a research fellow of the Georgian Foundation of Strategic and International Studies (GFSIS) explains, within the past 28 years, different groups within Georgia have been framed as scapegoats, depending on the political situation in the country. If in the 1990s, when Zviad Gamsakhurdia was head of state, right-wing discourse focused on ethnic minorities, by mid-1990s, focus shifted to religious minorities. The Georgian Orthodox Church was perceived as the only stable institution in the country, and fears of the ecumenical movement and protestant missionary activities produced an enemy image of religious minorities, mostly Jehovah's witnesses and Muslims in Adjara, a Georgian region neighboring Turkey (Interviewee 1, GFSIS).

After the 2003 Rose Revolution, the UNM government was seen as liberal towards minority groups, including the LGBT community. In the 2000s, the LGBT community first started becoming publicly visible (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI). Unsurprisingly, LGBT persons gradually replaced religious minorities as the enemy image. As LGBT activism gained force, focus shifted again: now people had less problems with the existence of LGBT individuals, but they protested more rights to these groups or their increased visibility, labeling it as "propaganda" (Interviewee 1, GFSIS). As an expert of GFSIS remembers, before Facebook became popular in Georgia, people would actively use *Forum.ge*, an online platform, where users called for a skinhead movement that would voice extreme opinions and mobilize "against promiscuity" (Interviewee 1, GFSIS).

Opinions against the LGBT "propaganda" often came from the Church. After the Rose Revolution, many expected the new liberal government to be more secular, but it further solidified the position of the Church, not least by increasing and institutionalizing state funding (Gvritishvili et al., 2016). Importantly, the Church was behind the first visible demonstration of extreme and radical right opinions on the street in May 2013 (Roth and Vartanyan, 2013). Even though no extreme right groups had mobilized by then, May 17, 2013, was the first instance of extreme right opinions being

expressed this loudly. In response to this incident, the Church declared May 17 as the "Day of Family Purity," and has been celebrating this day every year since (OC Media, 2018).

According to a researcher from the Institute of Social Studies and Analysis (ISSA), regardless of the rapid expansion of liberalism in the past few years, the Georgian society remains ethnocentric and conservative (Interviewee 11). It is widely considered that Georgians are a "model nation," and these beliefs are absolute, he argues, using a widespread Georgian saying that roughly translates as "the best [nation] there is, it's us, the Georgians." Indeed, the Pew Research Center survey data show that 85% of Georgians consider Georgian culture to be "superior to others" (PEW, 2018).

One could argue that the anti-discrimination law was the first time when the society was clearly faced with an obligation to accept different ways of life, especially with regards to sexual orientation. The anti-discrimination law was not the only important legislative change, however. Soon after, the Law on Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence became stricter (Matsne, 2017) and the Draft Law on Sexual Harassment was submitted to the Parliament (Tarkhnishvili, 2018). All of these amendments can be seen as challenging to masculinity and to the dominant ways of life (Interviewee 11, ISSA). So, even if the Constitution and the general legal system support diversity, the society has not really "caught up" with these changes (Interviewee 11, ISSA).

Recent surveys seem to verify this view: in 2018, 54% of Georgians noted that they would not have a homosexual or a person with an LGBT identity as their neighbor, 42% stated that LGBT people's rights are not important to protect, and 95% expressed strong opposition towards same-sex marriage (CRRC, 2018b). These views indicate the existence of a responsive audience to the anti-LGBT rhetoric of the extreme right.

Attitudes towards migrants can be considered as another indicator of diversity acceptance. Among immigrants, Georgians appear to disapprove of Turks and Iranians the most; for example, only 31% of Georgians approve marriage of Georgian women with Turks, and only 25% approve marriage with Iranians (CRRC, 2017). Attitudes towards migrants are also visible from the extent of approval of doing business with foreigners. Only 58% of Georgians approve doing business with Iranians (CRRC, 2018b). In another survey, Muslims in general were mentioned among the least acceptable groups: only 17% of Georgians would approve a Muslim as a family member (PEW, 2018).

It is important to note here that only a few of the respondents state that they have had "direct interaction" with immigrants, which means that attitudes towards immigration are based on secondary – not necessarily accurate – information (CRRC, 2016). Interestingly, one of the reasons behind the negative attitudes towards immigrants or foreigners could be the Aghmashenebeli Avenue in the center of Tbilisi. In 2015, Georgia formed visa-free travel agreements with a number of states, including Saudi Arabia, Iran, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Oman. These agreements entered into force in 2016 (Geoconsul.gov.ge, n.d.). This increased the inflow of tourists and investors (Interviewee 1, GFSIS). Some of the investors opened restaurants, hotels, and other businesses at the Aghmashenebeli Avenue, and some of the tourists became frequent customers of these businesses. Even though, in reality, there are more Georgian restaurants on the Aghmashenebeli Avenue than Turkish or Middle Eastern ones (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI), the visibility of foreign tourists on the avenue could have led to an impression that Georgia was facing increased migration. Notably, the avenue has a symbolic importance for some Georgians. It is named after King David IV the Builder, arguably the most important figure of the Golden Age in Georgian history, marked by victories against Seljuk Turks (Lortkipanidze, 1987). Thus, the increased visibility of foreigners could have fueled the narrative that the Aghmashenebeli Avenue, and Georgia in general, was being "invaded".

The perceptions of increased immigration produced fear, not least due to the so-called refugee crisis in Europe, which was widely covered by the Georgian media. According to a professor at the Ilia State University, global migration should not have been a relevant issue in Georgia, since those coming to Georgia are mostly tourists, rather than asylum seekers (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI). However, the refugee crisis proved relevant in terms of framing. "The narrative goes like this: we are part of Europe, and since Europe is experiencing the inflow of refugees, we are also facing a threat" (Interviewee 8, ILIAUNI). So even if the refugee crisis was irrelevant in the objective sense, it still proved relevant subjectively, since extreme right groups built on this perception to strengthen their anti-immigration rhetoric.

The existence of similar narratives in Europe and the US gave the anti-immigration rhetoric a more natural character: "it became an illustration of the natural evolution of conservative opinions in Georgia" (Interviewee 9, OC Media). Furthermore, this narrative offered a big advantage in the Georgian context: extreme right groups, and, in general, more conservative actors are often labeled

as pro-Russian (e,g. one news outlet referred to the Georgian March's demonstration as "the Russian March of Georgians" (Gvarishvili, 2017)). Due to Georgia's past experience (Soviet Union membership and several wars with Russia), anyone with this label is deemed insupportable. The fact that anti-immigration narratives are also common in European countries therefore serves as a hindrance from being labeled as "pro-Russian," giving the extreme right the chance to align with the "Europeans."

However, discursive opportunities for the extreme right are not limited to the public reluctance to accept the LGBT community or immigrants. A recent PEW survey (2018) reveals the majority of Georgians, 89% of whom identify as Orthodox Christian, hold conservative opinions. For example, even though abortion is legal in Georgia, the majority (84%) considers that it should be illegal. Conservative opinions are also apparent in terms of conceptions of national identity, citizenship, and trust towards different institutions. For 81% of Georgians, Christianity is an important element of national identity. More than 80% also consider that in order to be a good citizen, one must follow traditions. A considerable portion of the population (52%) also considers that the church and the state should not be separate, and that the government should uphold religious values.

Such views make the Georgian society a fertile ground for extreme right framing, which, as mentioned above, tends to capitalize on legitimate fears and mobilize against specific scapegoats. Furthermore, Georgians generally lack trust towards state institutions and the media, sources that could counter such narratives. Importantly, the most trusted institution in the country (84%) is the Georgian Orthodox Church (IRI, 2018). By contrast, trust levels are low towards state authorities, such as the police (50%), the President (43%), the Prime Minister (34%), the Parliament (34%), as well as courts (25%) and political parties (25%). Interestingly, the level of trust towards the executive government increased from 31% to 49% in 2012 (when the Georgian Dream came to power), but decreased to 26% by 2017 (CRRC, 2018d). Belief in democracy also fell from 68% in 2012 to 52% in 2017 (CRRC, 2018d). The level of trust is also low towards NGOs (23%) and the media (19%) (CRRC, 2017). 60% of Georgians consider that TV stations often disseminate misinformation (CRRC, 2018c). Given these attitudes, targeted extreme right framing is not a particularly difficult task.

6.4. Political Opportunities: A Summary

As this chapter shows, the legal system in Georgia largely corresponds to that of liberal democratic states, with laws promoting liberty and equality and restricting fascist/communist totalitarian discourse or actions and prohibiting discrimination. Nevertheless, liberal policies face challenges from the society, the Orthodox Church, and certain political groups.

Perhaps due to the polarization of the political landscape, extreme right groups have limited access to the political space and decision-making. Yet, many political officials, especially, members of the Parliament, sympathize with some of extreme right views. This is important, given the significant discursive opportunities – conservative and exclusionary public attitudes that point to the demand for those who would voice such opinions publicly.

Yet, the fact that some political figures share similar opinions also means that extra-parliamentary extreme right groups are not unique in their rhetoric. In other words, they are not the only ones who respond to the demands of the "silent majority." Thus, having political allies does not automatically translate into political opportunities to extreme right groups.

This means that, overall, the political opportunity structure does allow for extreme right mobilization, although to a moderate extent. The availability of opportunities in terms of public opinion and, to a lesser extent, the political space, helps explain why the extreme right has appeared publicly within the past few years. Yet, the fact that the movement has not developed into a powerful political actor cannot only be due to the moderate extent of available political opportunities. For a more comprehensive look, we need to look at the second element of the framework: organizational resources.

7. Analysis of Organizational Resources

How do organizational resources shape extreme right mobilization in Georgia? To answer this sub-question, the chapter first examines the online social network of the extreme right. Second, it discusses the human, material, and symbolic resources for mobilization.

7.1. The Online Network of the Georgian Extreme Right

The online extreme right network in Georgia includes 4 organizations that have 14 links in total with each other (including "shares" of posts from one group's Facebook page by another group's page, as well as mentions, or "tags" of one group's Facebook page by another). The average characteristics of the network, derived through social network analysis (SNA) in the SocNetV software, are summarized in Figure 7.

Extreme Right in Georgia	
Number of organizations	4
Overall density	0.5
Average distance	1.6
Average degree	0.25
Degree of centralization	0.2

Figure 7: Extreme right network characteristics

SNA indicates that overall network density is 0.5, meaning that extreme right groups in Georgia are not highly interconnected and only 50% of possible links in the network actually exist. Average distance in the network is 1.6, indicating that, on average, each actor in this network is two nodes (organizations) away from another. Hence, communication usually occurs through long paths. The average degree of the network is 0.25, meaning that each extreme right group has, on average, approximately 0.25 links with others. Finally, network degree centralization is rather low (0.2), which implies that there are certain hindrances in communication - perhaps due to ideological divergence or different focus points in discourse. These overall characteristics imply that the Georgian extreme right is a fragmented network.

In this network, we can identify central and marginal actors, which is useful in assessing the internal power dynamics. Recall from Chapter 4 that SNA helps point to the relatively central actors with more access to and control over information flow, as well as the relatively marginal actors with less influence and power, on the basis of three especially useful indicators: degree centrality, closeness centrality, and betweenness centrality. SocNetV software helps visualize these indicators as separate graphs, with more central actors closer to the center and marginal ones towards the edges.
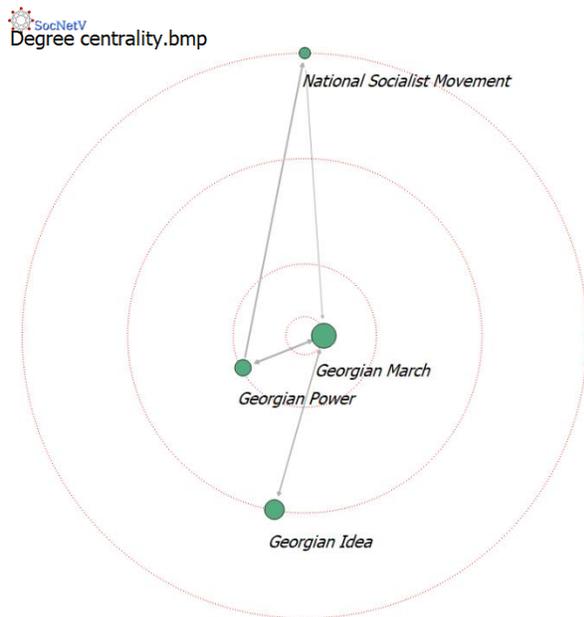
Figure 8. Degree Centrality

SNA shows that Georgian March has the highest degree centrality (6), meaning that it has the most connections with other groups. This includes both mentions of Georgian March by other organizations or mentions of others by Georgian March. A high degree of centrality suggests that Georgian March has the most power and is the most active extreme right group, followed by Georgian Power (5) and Georgian Idea (3). In contrast, the NSM has the lowest degree of centrality (1), suggesting its limited power and visibility within the extreme right network.

Figure 8 offers a graphical illustration of degree centrality, with Georgian March, closely followed by Georgian Power, located in the center of the network, and Georgian Idea and NSM located at the margins.

Georgian March also ranks highest (0.8) in terms of closeness centrality, another important indicator in SNA. A high degree of closeness centrality implies that the flow of information would be fastest through Georgian March to other groups. This suggests that Georgian March might have better access to information at other nodes (i.e. actors) or more direct influence on them. Other groups, by contrast, seem to have less access to or influence on the flow of information. Georgian Idea and Georgian Power have equal levels of closeness centrality (0.5), whereas NSM has the lowest level (0.3), meaning that NSM is

Figure 9. Closeness Centrality

more remote and has less access to information or lower levels of influence. Figure 9 illustrates closeness centrality levels in the Georgian extreme right network, with Georgian March in the center, NSM at the margins, and Georgian Power and Georgian Idea somewhere in between.
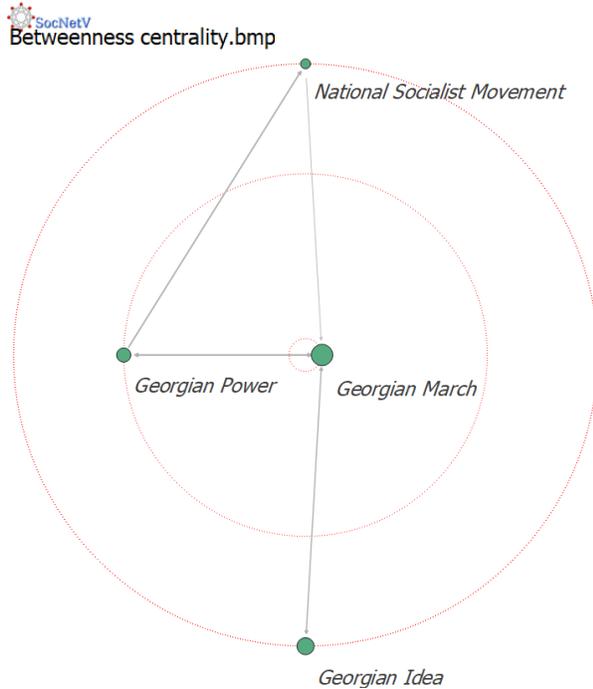
Figure 10. Betweenness Centrality

The differential position of extreme right groups within the network is most noticeable in terms of betweenness centrality, the third important indicator of SNA that measures the amount of influence that a particular group has over information flow within the network. Georgian March has the highest level of betweenness centrality (5), meaning that it often serves as an intermediary within the network. By contrast, Georgian Idea and NSM have a zero score, suggesting that they do not have any influence on the information flow. Georgian Power appears as an actor with a low level of influence (the level of betweenness is 2). Figure 10 illustrates the level of betweenness centrality of each group, showing Georgian March in the center, followed by Georgian Power, and NSM and Georgian Idea at remote margins.

Based on these indicators, SNA suggests that Georgian March is the most powerful actor in the extreme right network, even if the network itself is decentralized and loose. Georgian March appears more connected with other groups and seems to have better access to information, as well as larger influence over information flow within the network. By contrast, NSM seems to have the least power. This suggests that those with a more extreme, openly fascist worldview hold a more marginal position in the network, as opposed to those with less extreme, more populist (Georgian March) or Orthodox Christian (Georgian Idea) orientation.

7.2. Human, material and symbolic resources

The power dynamics among the four organizations could be related to the organizational resources, including human, material, and symbolic ones. Out of the four groups, Georgian Idea seems to have the largest human resource base. According to one of its leaders, the organization has 3,000 active members (Activist 1, Georgian Idea). As an expert from TDI argues, this number is probably

not far from the actual membership base, considering the strong affiliations of Georgian Idea with the Georgian Orthodox Church and its parish (Interviewee 5, TDI).

As for Georgian March, interviews with experts and former members suggest that it has around 20-30 active members, even though one of the interviewed leaders claimed there were more than 3,000 individuals, "with the youth wing being the strongest" (Activist 2, Georgian March). In contrast, one of the former members mentioned in an interview that almost all young members had left the organization together with him in mid-2018 (Activist 3, former member, Georgian March).

Georgian Power and NSM have a smaller membership base, with both having up to 20 active members. Importantly, the leaders of both groups are out of the picture: the leader of Georgian Power, a US citizen, has left the country due to fears of a potential arrest, whereas the leader of NSM has been arrested for illegal possession of weapons. However, both groups remain active online, as demonstrated below, in the frame analysis chapter. The fact that both Georgian Power and NSM are more active online than offline could also be due to their limited financial resources. According to experts, Georgian Power and NSM have "a stance that is further [more extreme] from the other two and closer to each others' opinions" (Interviewee 5, TDI) and they hardly have any material resources.

By contrast, Georgian Idea and Georgian March can mobilize large numbers of demonstrators relatively quickly, despite a seemingly small membership base. As one of the experts notes, Georgian March is "seen as something alien, not inherent to the Georgian public or born from the grassroots" (Interviewee 9, OC Media), but since it is able to organize large crowds at almost a moment's notice, other groups sometimes choose to cooperate and attend events organized by the March for the common cause. Among all groups, Georgian Idea cooperates with Georgian March most often, as protest event analysis will show.

These two organizations seem to have considerable material resources (Interviewee 9, OC Media; Interviewee 1, GFSIS). A researcher from TI claims, both Georgian March and Georgian Idea seem to have links with persons affiliated with Russia-based NGOs, such as the Primakov Foundation, which was established by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Interviewee 4, TI). Yet, evidence of such links is by no means conclusive, and remains limited to one study of TI (2018). Therefore, the assumption that the Georgian extreme right is funded by or has direct links with Russia remains questionable at best and superficial at worst.

Even if the source of material resources is debatable, their existence is definitely not. Aside from the ability to organize rallies swiftly, which implies at least some levels of financial capability, both Georgian Idea and Georgian March have their own offices in the center of Tbilisi.

In addition to financial resources, Georgian Idea and Georgian March are affiliated with several media outlets known for hateful rhetoric, most notably, Asaval-Dasavali, a newspaper infamous for homophobic, xenophobic and ethnonationalist content (Mediameter, 2018). Georgian Idea even has its own TV Channel, Kartuli Azri (which translates as The Georgian Opinion). Georgian Power and NSM, in turn, mostly rely on Facebook for communication (Interviewee 2, CRRC).

In terms of symbolic resources, most experts underline the role of the Orthodox Church. Indeed, the Church has never denounced violence coming from these groups; quite the opposite, in May 2018, the Church stated that aggressive reactions had been provoked by liberal groups (Patriarchate, 2018). The fact that the Orthodox Church is an important symbolic resource is reflected in the power dynamics of the extreme right network: those who often use Christianity as the basis for their narratives (Georgian Idea and Georgian March) are more powerful than those who do not resort to religion as often (Georgian Power and NSM).

Yet, the stance of the Church is significant for the overall extreme right movement, given the fact that the Patriarchate is the most trusted institution in the country and the Patriarch enjoys higher levels of trust than any politician. The hesitation of the Church to condemn violent actions "is an important message [to extreme right groups], meaning that they do have support, they do have power" (Interviewee 4, TI).

7.3. Organizational Resources: A Summary

As this chapter shows, the (online) network of the extreme right in Georgia is fragmented and decentralized. Georgian March appears as the most powerful actor, while NSM seems to have the least connections with or influence on other groups. A review of human, material and symbolic resources reveals that, overall, the extreme right in Georgia has limited resources, even if Georgian Idea and Georgian March have a considerably larger resource base than NSM and Georgian Power. These internal differences seem to be related to ideology – the more extreme a group's ideology is, the more marginal it is in the network. In contrast, the more a group aligns with the Georgian Orthodox Church, an important symbolic resource, the more central and powerful it is in the network.

As most experts note, all groups have a rather fluid membership base, to the extent that sometimes it is hard to link a certain person with any particular group. For example, the leader of NSM, together with some members, was part of the Georgian March for some time; the March even considered these youngsters as "the youth wing of the Georgian March" (Interviewee 3, TSU). However, soon after, their views separated. As a former NSM member notes, NSM's leader "lost touch with the reality and went crazy" (Activist 5, former member, NSM), joining the violent demonstrations organized by the March.

This fluidity and disorganization could be due to the relative novelty of the extreme right phenomenon in Georgia. Since all groups have emerged fairly recently, there seems to be an ongoing battle for influences. To distinguish themselves from other groups and occupy specific niches in the political space, some groups use Orthodox Christianity, while others turn to fascism.

The analysis of organizational resources helps understand why the Georgian extreme right movement has not (yet) established itself as an influential actor. As we saw in chapter 6, political opportunities for mobilization are moderate, and to use them effectively, the extreme right movement would need adequate resources. The fact that resources are limited naturally means that the capacity of the extreme right to gain power and influence is also limited. How does the extreme right use its (limited) opportunities and resources? To answer this question, the following two chapters analyze extreme right framing and repertoires of collective action.

8. Frame Analysis

8.1. Framing of the Four Extreme Right Groups

How does the extreme right in Georgia frame its views? Based on data from Facebook posts, this chapter discusses diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing by the four extreme right groups, paying attention to the social, political, and economic issues they emphasize and the way they define the Self (collective identity, or the in-group) and the Other (the out-group).[34] These findings are then discussed in more detail and supplemented by interview findings.

8.1.1. Georgian Idea

In total, I coded 2,717 statements by Georgian Idea. A large majority (2,344 statements, or 86% of coded statements) represented diagnostic framing. Among statements with diagnostic framing, Georgian Idea defined the Others (37% of coded statements) and the collective identity (33%), and identified problems (26%). Prognostic framing was present in only in 285 statements (10%), and motivation was present in 88 (3%).

Diagnostic framing
Problems

Among identified problems, Georgian Idea pays most attention to social issues, or problems related to society, followed by political and economic issues. Among significant social issues, Georgian Idea mentions the visibility of LGBT persons and LGBT identity in general, most frequently. Interestingly, lesbians and bisexuals are never mentioned; most statements relate to either homosexuality or transgender identity. Homosexuality is referred to as "sodomy" or "pederasty" – in Georgian, the former has a more biblical connotation, while the latter is used as a pejorative slang. It is seen as "a sin more terrible than infidelity, which is certainly unlawful, but is at least natural, whereas sodomy is not only wrong, but also a sin against nature." Transgender identity is seen as "perversion," and transgender individuals are considered to be "pretending" that they are "real" men or women. Both homosexuality and transgender identity are seen as "pathologies that can ruin a country and destroy its people." Accordingly, those who support more rights for LGBT individuals or their visibility are also seen as sinful. Even charity is unacceptable when it helps

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[3] Due to the large volume of data, this Chapter required the most rigorous work, and accordingly, this part of the analysis is more extensive than others.

[4] It is important to note here that the quotes cited in this chapter, apart from quotes of activists or experts, are taken from the Facebook pages of the respective groups (for more details, see the reference list).

transgender persons; when the Government donated land to the Center for Transgender Women, Georgian Idea argued that "when people die from hunger and freeze in the winter cold, charity to transgender women is unacceptable."

Another important social issue, according to Georgian Idea, is any criticism towards the Orthodox Church, because "calls for criticism of the Church are anti-statehood." If something warrants criticism, the movement argues, it should be discussed discretely inside the Church. Criticism of the Church is seen as a product of modernism, which "often hides behind kind motives" and is "the enemy of Christianity." Criticism from the civil society is considered improper, whereas criticism from "people in religious attire," meaning the clergy, is considered dangerous. As for those who "are ambitious enough" to criticize the Patriarch personally, "they should, according to the law of the kings, be killed on spot."

Georgian Idea also points to the issues of immigration, drug use, visibility of religious minorities, and immigration to Europe (Figure 12[5]). Regarding migration to Georgia, posts often share rumors of new villages being built by Arabs, Indians, Turks, etc., with comments such as "alarming news!" Quoting the Patriarch, Georgian Idea considers that "Georgia is an attractive country, whether we want this or not. We certainly cannot prohibit people from coming here, but visitors should know their place, and the hosts should now theirs."
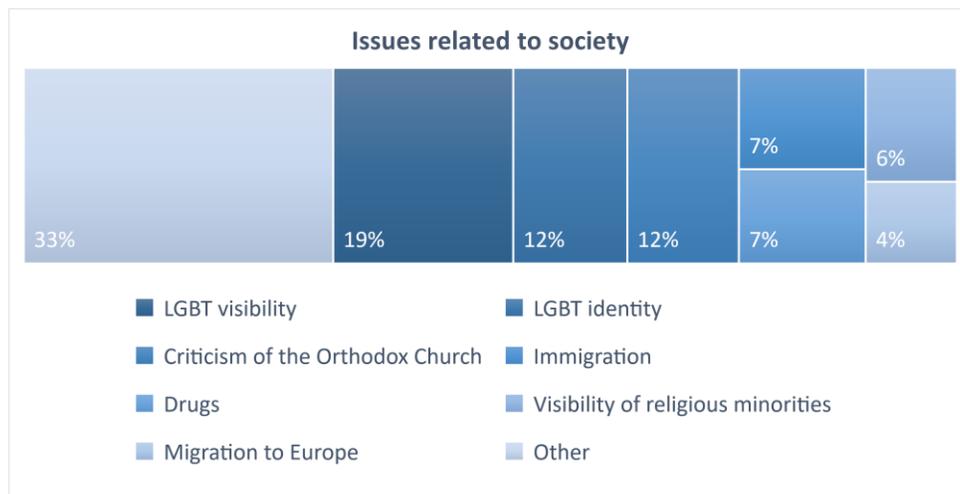
Figure 12: Social Problems - Georgian Idea (N=368)

Following the so-called refugee crisis, Georgian Idea also condemns immigration to Europe. Most posts contain unverified information from obscure webpages about migrants allegedly using

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[5] In all tables in chapter 8, the Other category includes a variety of issues that have been mentioned very few times.

Orthodox icons to make fire in the winter, "inhumane treatment" of Europeans by "African migrants," or ritualized gang rapes of European women by "migrants from the Middle East," as "their men stand idly by, yelling, calling the police, instead of defending the women."

Comments on drug use often have videos of intoxicated people attached, with captions such as: "it is easy to govern sodomites, drug addicts, prostitutes, drunkards, and, in general, a society submissive to passion." Statements on the rights of religious minorities, in turn, condemn state financing of any organization except the Georgian Orthodox Church, as well as any plans to build non-Orthodox religious buildings, e.g. mosques.

Issues related to politics

32% | 30% | 21% | 4% | 2%
6% | 5%

- New legislation
- Foreign interference
- Political elites not responding to people's needs
- Worsening relations with Russia
- Repression
- Democratization
- Other
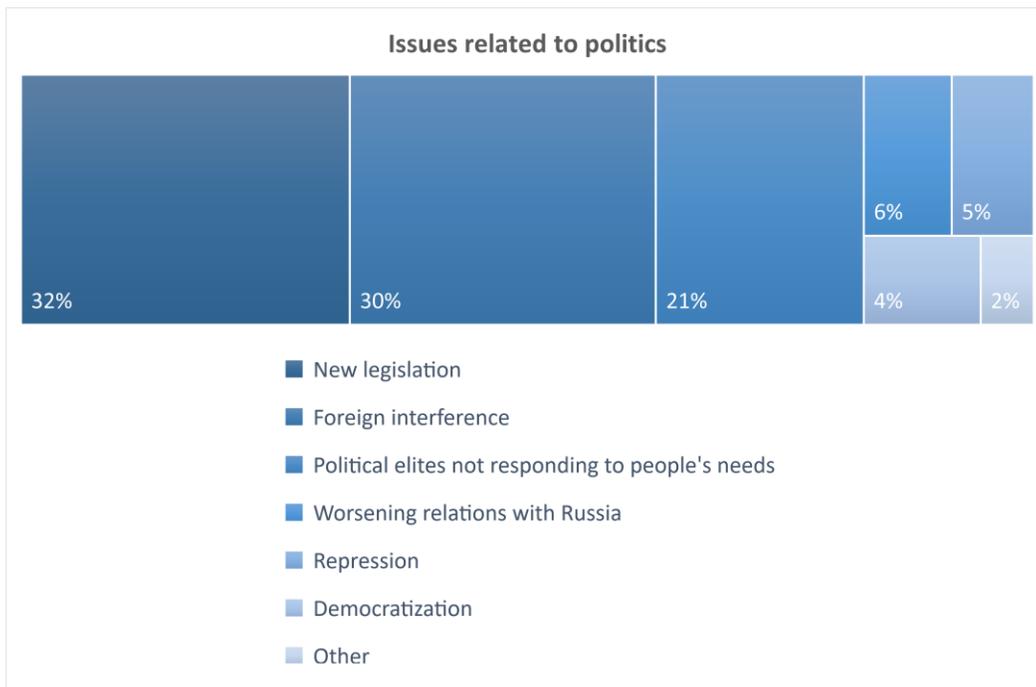
Figure 13: Political problems - Georgian Idea (N=268)

Relatively less frequently than social problems, Georgian Idea also makes statements on political issues (Figure 13). The two most frequently mentioned problems are legislative changes and foreign interference in Georgian politics. Among problematic legislation, Georgian Idea emphasizes the EU-Georgia Association Agreement (AA), the Law on the Prohibition of All Forms of Discrimination (so-called Anti-discrimination law), and the Law on Domestic Violence. The AA is seen as the cause of Russia's decision to end free trade with Georgia, as well as the "migration shock" which Georgian Idea inevitably expects due to visa liberalization under the AA.

As for the anti-discrimination law, Georgian Idea often quotes the Patriarch, who calls the law "a huge sin." Another religious leader is quoted: "when a person sins, the sinner is punished directly,

but when a state adopts a law, then each citizen has to suffer the consequences, since God punishes the whole nation." The law is seen as the first step towards the normalization of gay marriage, and as such, "illustrates the battle between good and evil, followers of God and those of Satan."

Finally, regarding the amendments that made the law on domestic violence stricter, Georgian Idea argues that the "sole purpose of this law is to take underage kids away from their parents" and shares a video depicting social workers of Barnevernet, the Norwegian Child Welfare Services, allegedly taking away two children from parents "accused of radical Christianity."

The second most important political problem, according to Georgian Idea, is foreign interference in Georgian politics. Here, the movement mostly emphasizes the influence of Turkey, but also mentions George Soros, the EU and the US. Turkey is often accused of attempting "islamization" of Georgia's border regions. George Soros is considered the mastermind behind the Rose Revolution in 2003, all liberal policies implemented in Georgia, and all liberal activist groups. According to Georgian Idea, "our country became the first polygon [sic] where billionaire George Soros, with the help of his emissaries, conducted his first experiment and then implemented such "color revolutions" in many countries, leading to blood, destruction, and misery to the peoples of these countries." Soros is seen as a "dark power" with "numerous marionettes" in the Georgian political elite and civil society. Similar logic applies to the EU and the US, both forcing Georgian politicians to follow their will: "The government has Europe nested in its soul like a snake, keeping the population under a hidden genocide regime."

Among other important problems, Georgian Idea mentions worsened relations with Russia, democratization, and repression by the government. Because of radical Euro-Atlantic orientation, Georgian Idea argues, Georgia has strained its relations with Russia, thereby "saying goodbye" to Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Democratization is seen as irreconcilable with "Georgian values," and its outcome, democracy, is referred to as "demoncracy." Georgian Idea also argues that it is repressed, "prosecuted because of traditional, national-spiritual consciousness."

Economic problems (Figure 14) are mentioned very rarely. These rare statements relate to the privatization of Georgian land to non-citizens, referred to by a Georgian word that translates as "foreign tribesmen." Quoting the Patriarch, Georgian Idea argues that "nobody has the right to sell Georgian land." Around 0.4% of total coded statements of Georgian Idea mention poverty; however, these statements are personalized, often telling a story of a family in need, rather than referring to the general problem.

Issues related to economy

70% 18% 12%

- Privatization of land
- Poverty
- Influence of microfinancial institutions
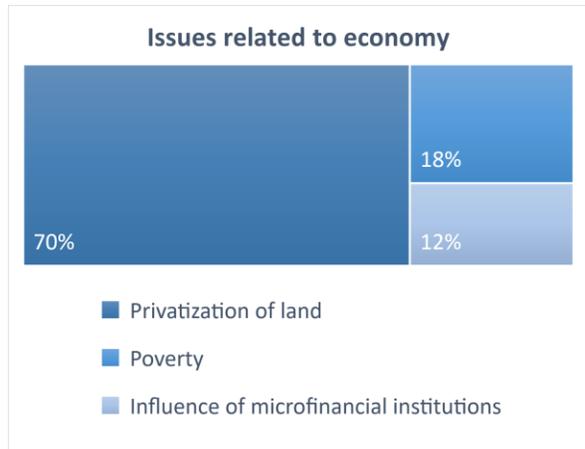
Figure 14: Economic problems - Georgian Idea (N=74)

The Self and the Other

Georgian Idea also devotes attention to the definition of Self and Other, emphasizing the latter (43% of diagnostic framing). The out-group is diverse (Figure 15). Liberals are mentioned most often, closely followed by LGBT rights activists and the LGBT community. The main political targets are the United National Movement (UNM), the former ruling party, the Government, the Republican Party, Political Movement Girchi, and the Public Defender. All of these actors are mentioned due to their support for liberal policies.

The Other

Other	29%
Public Defender	0.2%
Girchi	0.4%
Soros	0.5%
Immigrants	1.1%
Non-Orthodox Christians	4%
NATO	4%
Republican Party	4%
EU	5%
Turkey	7%
Political elite	8%
UNM	8%
LGBT individuals	9%
LGBT rights activists	9%
Liberals	12%

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35%
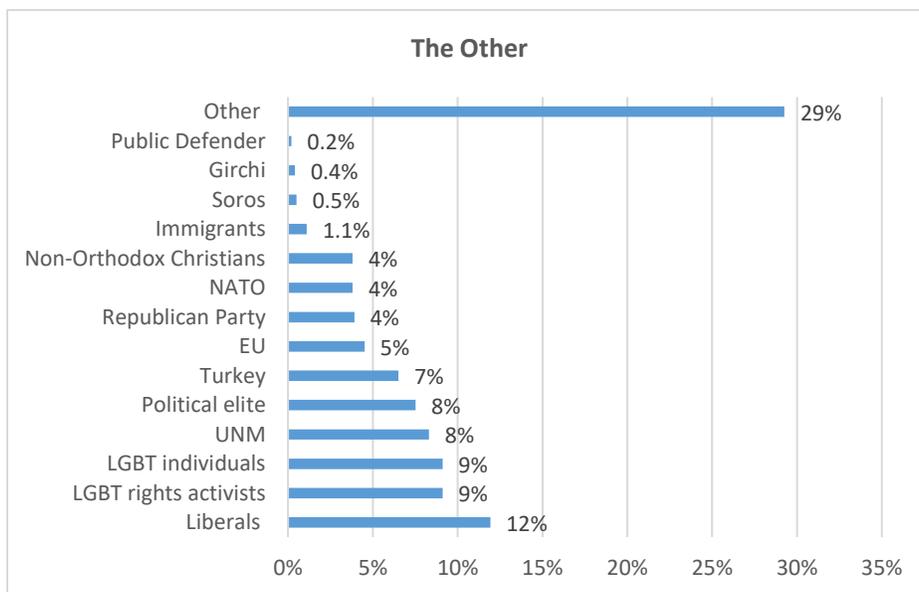
Figure 15: Defining the out-group - Georgian Idea (N=998)

While criticizing liberals and liberalism, Georgian Idea mostly resorts to sermons of religious leaders. Some of the most frequently re-posted opinions throughout 2013-2018 are those of Archimandrite Raphael Karelin. He considers liberalism a "distinctively demonic freedom," an "invisible enemy" of Orthodox Christianity. Liberalism, he argues, is "a spirit of some kind, something that intoxicates land and water, transforms cities into swamps; you cannot hide from it, it can find you on tops of mountains and depths of water. This spirit of perversion is called liberalism in the modern language." As for liberals, he notes, "there is no beast more ruthless than a liberal."

As for specific enemies outside of Georgia, Georgian Idea mentions Turkey most often; the EU, NATO and George Soros are also frequent targets. Turkey is seen as a state operating under the ideology of "panturkism." Panturkism is defined as a "national-chauvinist ideology that aims at consolidation of all Turk people culturally and politically within a single state or confederation, spreading from the Balkans to Crimea and from East Siberia to Western China." Thus, Georgian Idea argues, Adjara, the South-West region of Georgia neighboring Turkey, is experiencing "Turkization." Turkey is also accused of backing the "prostitutization [sic] of Georgian women."

Since Georgian Idea advocates neutrality in foreign policy and good neighborly relations with Russia, the EU, NATO and George Soros are seen as the Other from "the West." In the fight between Russia on one hand and the EU and NATO on the other, it is argued, Georgia becomes an "object of manipulation." Georgia's historical aspiration towards Euro-Atlantic structures, Georgian Idea argues, is a myth, a liberal conspiracy. Therefore, proximity with these organizations is seen as unnecessary, if not outright evil: "Intellectual slavery to the West should end. Of course, this will only become possible when we overcome Western ways of thinking."

Although mentioned less frequently than other out-groups, believers of religions other than Orthodox Christianity, especially Catholics, are also seen as the Other. They are seen as "Christians who have no idea what Christianity is." Catholicism is referred to as "Papism," which "Orthodox Christians should run from, as they would run from a snake." Citing a Serbian religious leader, Georgian Idea notes that "there are three biggest disgraces known to mankind: that of Adam, that of Judas, and Papism."

Unsurprisingly, 63% of statements on collective identity refer to the in-group as Orthodox Georgians (Figure 16). Often, the movement refers to itself as "the community of Orthodox believers" and addresses the audience as "sisters and brothers in Christ." It also identifies as the voice of the Georgian people or the Georgian nation that "has a special, extraordinary mission," defined as "the immaculate preservation and spreading of Orthodox Christianity before the Second Coming of Jesus Christ." The members of Georgian Idea are considered defenders of family values, children, and traditions. In a post shared numerous times, the movement refers to itself as "the only means of saving the country from the crisis."
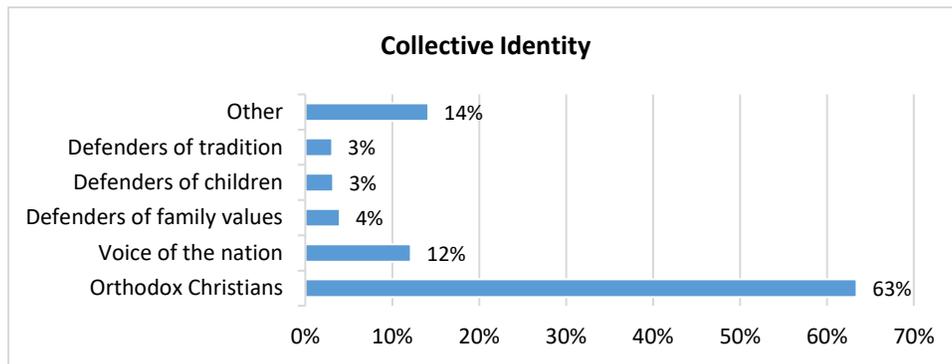
Figure 16: Defining the in-group - Georgian Idea (N=905)

Prognostic and Motivational Framing

In contrast with diagnostic framing, prognostic (Figure 17) and motivational (Figure 18) framing was only coded in 10% and 3% of the statements, respectively. For Georgian Idea, the only real solution of Georgia's problems is the restoration of monarchy and establishment of theocratic rule. To strengthen this argument, Georgian Idea shares the same quotes from the Patriarch and different religious leaders time and again. According to the Patriarch, "in the conditions of globalization, a
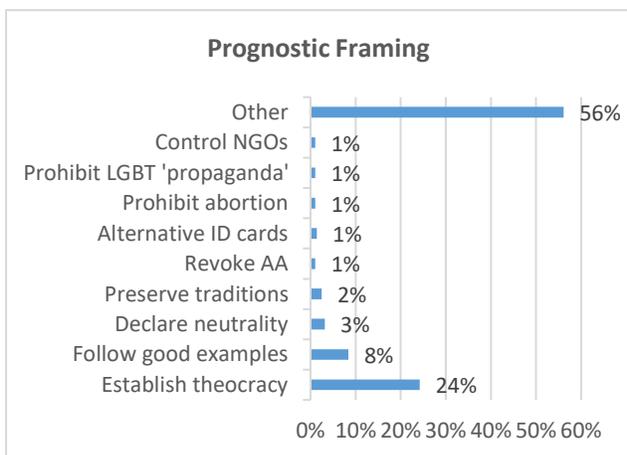
Figure 17: Prognostic framing - Georgian Idea (N=285)
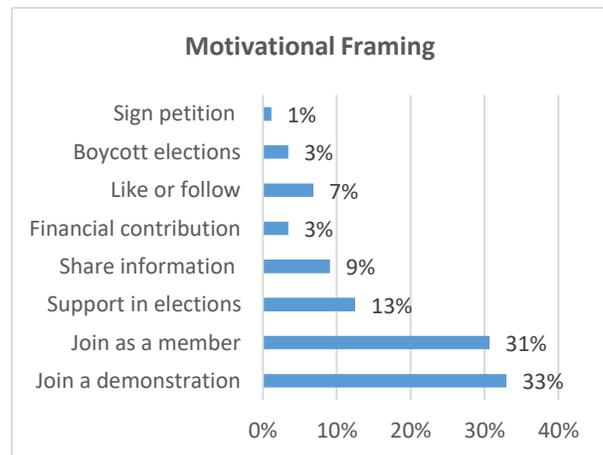
Figure 18: Motivational framing - Georgian Idea (N=88)

king will be the guarantor of national identity and self-sustenance." The main responsibilities of the monarch, Georgian Idea argues, would be "care towards and support of the Orthodox Church, cultural heritage, purity and popularization of language, national science, education, and culture." Quoting another religious leader, the movement states that "it is better to have a bad king, than a good president."

In terms of prognostic framing, Georgian Idea has shared examples of nationalist policies and statements, noting that Georgia should follow these examples. For instance, commenting on the decision of Ilham Aliyev to reconsider Azerbaijan's aspiration towards Europe, Georgian Idea states that Georgia should "wake up" like its neighbor.

In less than 0.003% of total coded statements, Georgian Idea also voices several initiatives, like the declaration of the neutrality of Georgia, revocation of the EU-Georgia Association Agreement, prohibition of abortion, permission of alternative (non-biometric) ID cards, prohibition of "LGBT propaganda" and control of NGOs.

As for motivational framing, Georgian Idea calls for participation in demonstrations, as well as membership in the movement. In some cases, Georgian Idea asks followers to share information, like or follow its Facebook page, boycott elections, and sign a petition.

8.1.2. Georgian March

In total, I coded 1553 statements by Georgian March. Similarly to Georgian Idea, the majority of statements (85%) included diagnostic framing. Among statements with diagnostic framing, Georgian March defined the Others (37% of coded statements), identified problems (26%) and defined the collective identity (8%). Prognostic and motivational framing was coded in 10% and 4% of statements, respectively.

Diagnostic framing

Problems

Problems identified by Georgian March usually relate to the society, followed by politics and economy. Georgian March considers that misinformation by the Georgian media is the most important social issue (Figure 19). Statements about media, usually accompanied by multiple exclamation points, stress that "the Soviet dictatorship has been replaced by sodomic-liberastic

Issues related to society

Media spreading misinformation 19% | Migration to Europe 16% | LGBT visibility 15% | Immigration 14% | Drugs 11% | LGBT identity 4% | Degradation of values 6% | Insult of religious feelings 3% | Terrorism 3% | Demographical problems 3% | Religious minorities 2% | Prostitution 2% | Abortion

Legend:
- Media spreading misinformation
- Migration to Europe
- LGBT visibility
- Immigration
- Drugs
- LGBT identity
- Degradation of values
- Insult of religious feelings
- Terrorism
- Demographical problems
- Religious minorities
- Prostitution
- Abortion

Figure 19: Social problems - Georgian March (N=394)

dictatorship."[6] According to Georgian March, the Georgian media represents "LGBT dictatorship" and forces upon people its views that "pederasty [sic] is good, drug use is good, prostitution is good, everything foreign is good, valor is bad, nationalism is bad, Orthodoxy is bad, honesty is bad." Accordingly, Georgian March argues that TV programs and hosts, "raised in Soros' barrows [sic]" are the biggest danger to the Georgian nation, since they have the "dirtiest mission of the degradation and extinction of the nation."

Almost as important as media manipulation is immigration in Europe. Georgian March argues that immigrants "lead to the clash of civilizations." Some statements, again with multiple exclamation points, accompany videos with multicultural faces: "This is not Pakistan, this is England!!!" or "This is happening in France!!!" Most statements specifically target the immigration of Muslims, with the argument that "the coming of Muslims should be seen as an invasion, not as immigration."

Immigration to Georgia is also considered a problem, although it is mentioned less often. Georgian March claims that "immigration from Africa and Asia has increased by 400%," and that "Tbilisi is full of Nigerians," forcing Georgians to "become guests in [their] own country!!!" Similarly to Georgian Idea, Georgian March also shares unverified information about "5 Arabs raping one

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[6] The latter word, "liberast" is a combination of "liberal" and "pederast," and is used frequently as a pejorative slang that links liberals with the LGBT community.

Georgian girl," "2 Africans beating up Georgian boys," and similar stories, mostly focusing on rape, assault, terrorism, sale of drugs, or forced prostitution by Muslim immigrants.

Among other significant social problems are LGBT visibility or rights, drug use, LGBT identity, degradation of values, insult of religious feelings, terrorism and demographic issues. Like Georgian Idea, Georgian March denounces "open, violent LGBT propaganda." Georgian March condemns civil society organizations, journalists, politicians, etc., who express any support towards LGBT equality or visibility, with multiple exclamatory comments, e.g. "take these LGBT hands off our children!!!" or "They have invaded TV, NGOs, art, even the Government and education, and now they are trying to invade Georgian sports!!!"

Similarly to Georgian Idea, Georgian March argues that the country "is on the verge of a drug catastrophe" and the youth is "walking around befuddled." Similarly catastrophic, Georgian March argues, is "the extreme insult of religious feelings, the biggest treasure that our ancestors died for, bringing our country to today with a centuries-old culture, while many other states disappeared from the world map."

In addition, Georgia is seen as being "on the verge of a demographic catastrophe." Citing a Georgian astrologist, Mikheil Tsagareli, Georgian March fears that "after 30-40 years, Georgians will become a minority in Georgia, the Parliament will be Muslim, and the Prime Minister will also be Muslim."
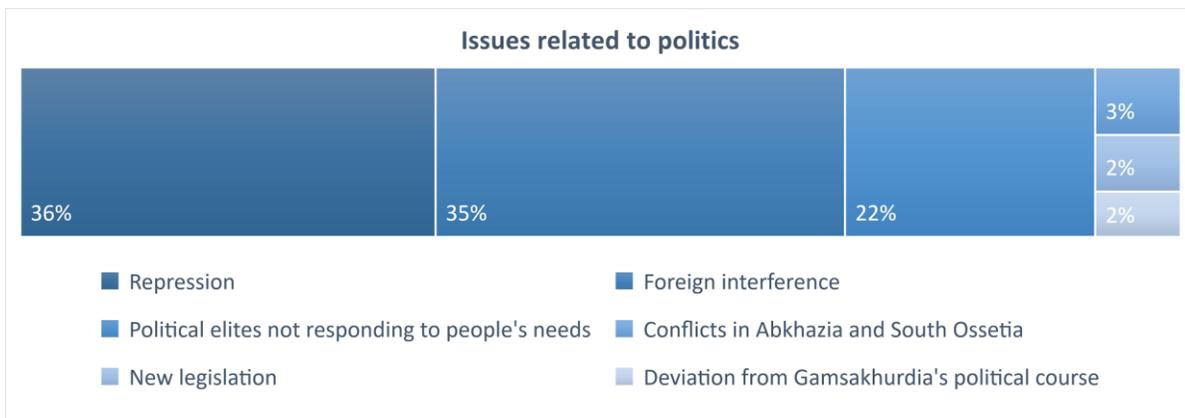
Figure 20: Political problems - Georgian March (N=204)

Among political problems, Georgian March focuses on repression (Figure 20). Most statements with this frame (Figure 21) relate to arrests of organization members, whom the March sees as "political prisoners" arrested for "protecting Georgia and Christianity." Some statements claim that the office of Georgian March is "unlawfully spied on." In addition to the state, Georgian March

Figure 21: "I serve liberasts!"Georgian March, Facebook, 2017

argues that it is repressed by Facebook, since the accounts of members are allegedly blocked as "Sorosists and liberals" report them.

Equally important, according to Georgian March, is foreign interference in Georgian politics. George Soros is mentioned most frequently as an unwanted influence. Liberal activists or officials with liberal views are seen as "agents" or "puppies" of Soros, and Georgian March argues that a person who has not worked for the Open Society Foundation has no changes of career advancement in Georgia.

As for foreign countries, the alleged interference of Turkey is mentioned most often. Turkish influence is apparent, the March argues, since the City Hall of Batumi refuses to erect a statue of David the Builder: "Turkey does not want a statue of the king that massacred their ancestors so close to their border and the chinovniks[7] in Batumi are servants of Turkey!!!"

Less frequently, Georgian March also mentions unacceptable policies or statements by the Government among political problems, followed by the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the anti-discrimination law, and the law on sexual harassment.

Economic problems are mentioned very rarely (Figure 22). The few statements related to economic issues, like in the case of Georgian Idea, relate to the privatization of land to foreign citizens "to our historical enemies," poverty, and lack of regulation on commercial banks, referred to as "money mongers who surprise the world with their greed."
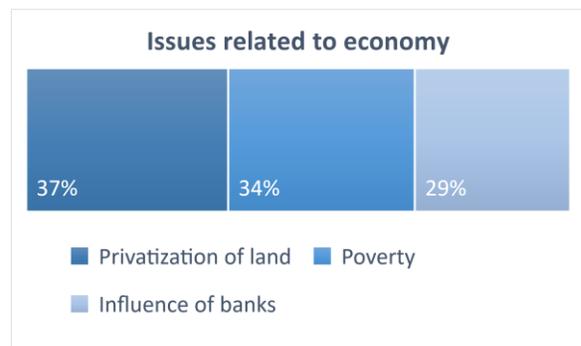
Figure 22: Economic problems - Georgian March (N=35)

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[7] It is interesting to note here that "chinovniks" is a label that originally meant bureaucrat officials in Tsarist Russia, but has been used in Georgian to refer to political elites in a demeaning sense.

In contrast with Georgian Idea, Georgian March's diagnostic framing is more concerned with the definition of the Other (Figure 23), it defines the Self relatively rarely. The most frequently mentioned out-group includes immigrants, a category loosely applied to include tourists or foreign citizens in general. As in the case of Georgian Idea, the word "foreign tribesmen" is often used to refer to immigrants. When discussing immigrants, Georgian March often mentions the Aghmashenebeli Avenue in Georgia, arguing that it has become an "Arab Street" and that in every bar or club owned by Arabs, "terrorist and extremist ideology is preached, and young people are degraded and zombified, and Georgians are not let in, to avoid spread of information." Georgian March explains this by the "intolerant mindset that immigrants share."

The Other

Category	Percentage
Other	0.7%
The US	0.2%
Europe	0.5%
Russia	0.5%
Constitutional Court	0.5%
Girchi	1.1%
Feminists	1.1%
President	1.4%
Turkey	3.0%
NGOs	3.0%
Public Defender	3.5%
EU	4.2%
UNM	4.2%
Muslims	6.2%
Political elite	6.7%
LGBT individuals	8.6%
LGBT activists	8.6%
Liberals	10.4%
George Soros	10.5%
Media	11.1%
Immigrants	foreigners	12.7%
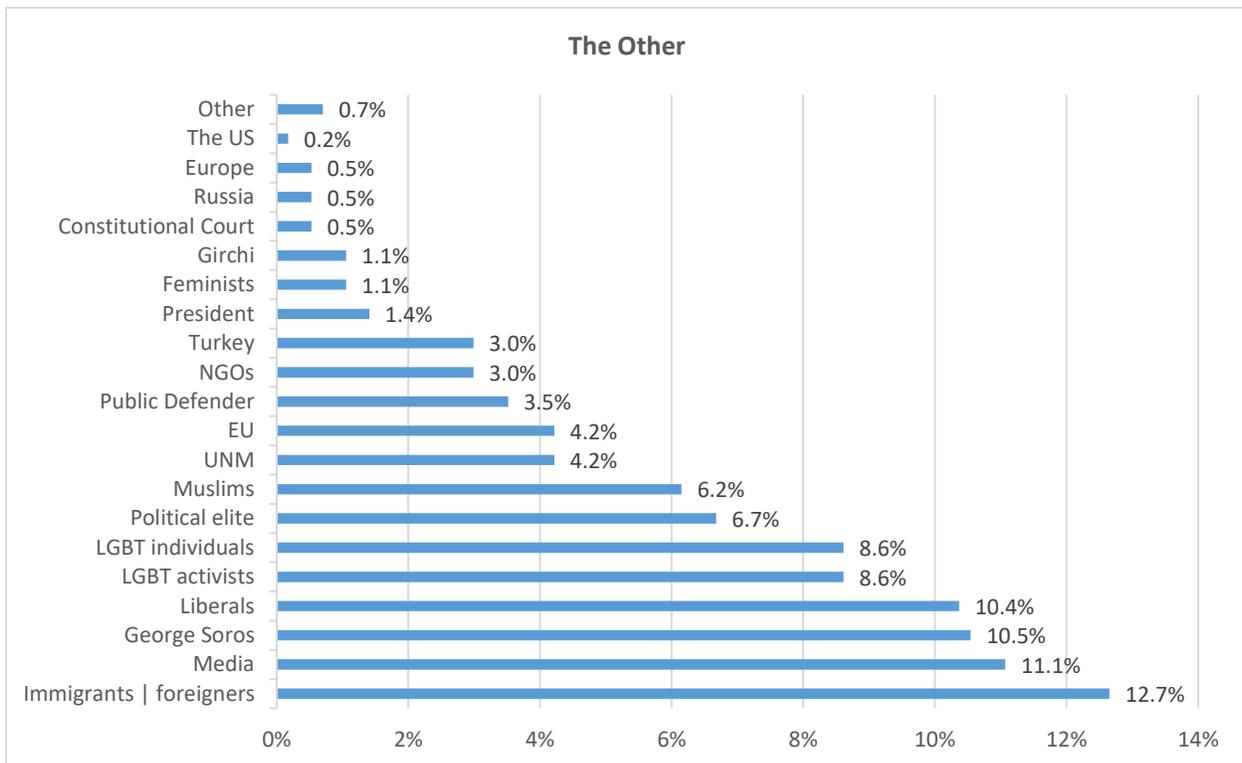
Figure 23: Defining the out-group - Georgian March (N=569)

Since the March considers misinformation by the media as the most important social problem, it also sees the media as the Other. When referring to Georgian media, Georgian March puts the word "Georgian" in quotation marks, as if to question their actual "Georgianness." One of the

largest TV stations in Georgia, Rustavi 2, perceived as a supporter of UNM and the former government, is referred to as "TsRustavi 2."[8]

George Soros, liberals in general, and LGBT activists or supporters specifically, are also often mentioned as enemies. Liberals are often mentioned together with Soros, as "Sorosists," and are referred to as "liberasts" and "kliberals."[9]

Like Georgian Idea, Georgian March often criticizes the UNM and the previous government, noting that the "United National Movement had nothing in common with nationalism!" Similarly, Georgian March also defines the Public Defender as the enemy, stressing her links with Soros. Among other enemies are the EU, NGOs, then-President Giorgi Margvelashvili (accused of being an "anti-Georgian Sorosist"), feminists (referred to as abortion-supporters), Girchi (referred to as a "sect"), and the Constitutional Court (accused of "betrayal of the nation").
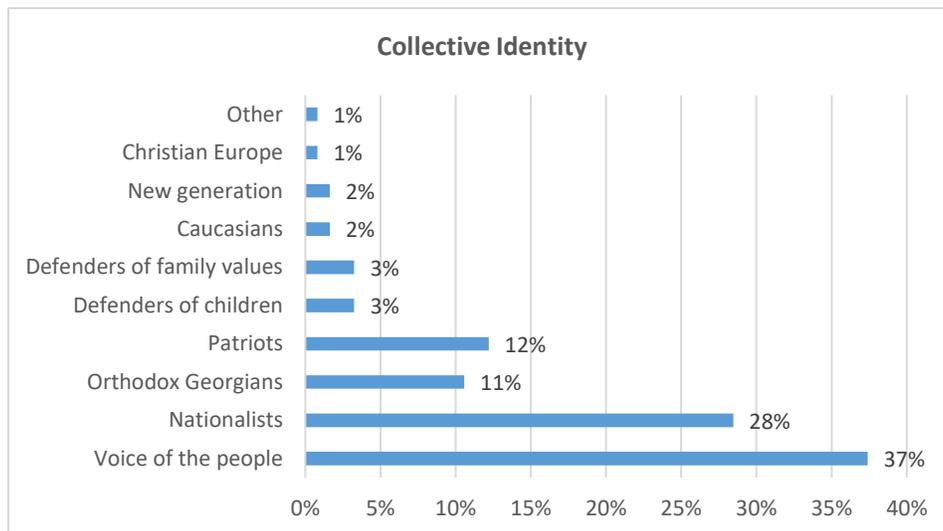
Figure 24: Defining the in-group - Georgian March (N=123)

Figure 24 visualizes the collective identity frames. When defining the in-group, Georgian March often speaks on behalf of Georgian people or nation, with statements like "Georgian people will never allow this!" In terms of ideology, the March identifies as a nationalist movement, a proud participant in the "worldwide rise of nationalism" and, quoting Donald Trump, urges people to use the word "nationalist" without hesitation. Other frames used to identify the in-group include Orthodox Georgians, patriots, defenders of children and family values, Caucasians, the new

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[8] This is a wordplay: "tsru" means "false" in Georgian.
[9] The first two letters alluding vulgarly to male genitals in Georgian slang, combined with "liberals."

generation, and Christian Europe. One of the most often re-shared statements reads: "it will either be us, the Orthodox, the Georgians, the nationalists, that win, or them, Satan's servants, liberast-Sorosists."

Prognostic and motivational framing

Prognostic frames are rare, found in only 10% of total coded statements. Most frequently shared statements include calls for following good examples, mostly Donald Trump's decisions or statements in the US and those of Viktor Orban in Hungary. Georgian March shares the general view of Georgian Idea regarding the need for tougher drug policy, restricted immigration, prohibition of land privatization to non-citizens, and control over NGOs, if not their outright ban. Georgian March has also proposed the addition of ethnicity in personal identity cards, requesting a referendum on the issue, and more regulations for banks.

Motivational frames are even fewer, found in only 4% of coded statements (Figure 27). Most often, motivation relates to joining a rally or sharing information on Facebook. Less often, Georgian March urges supporters to join the organization, stop watching Georgian TV, support them in elections (albeit the March never actually participated in elections), and contribute financially. Figures 25 and 26 visualize prognostic and motivational framing by Georgian March.

Prognostic Framing

Category	Percentage
Other	77%
Regulate banks	1%
Nationality in ID cards	1%
Control NGOs	2%
Prohibit land privatization	2%
Restrict immigration	2%
Tougher drug policy	2%
Follow good examples	12%
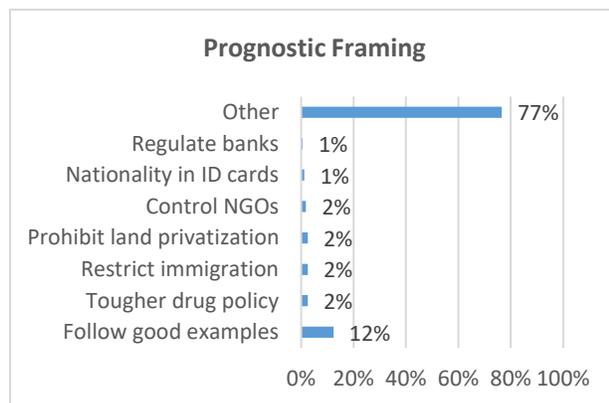
Figure 25: Prognostic framing - Georgian March (N=162)

Motivational Framing

Category	Percentage
Financial contribution	2%
Support in elections	2%
Stop watching Georgian TV	5%
Join as a member	14%
Share information	42%
Join a demonstration	36%
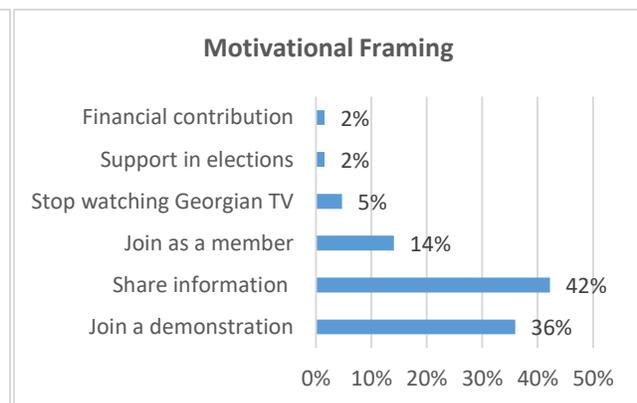
Figure 26: Motivational framing - Georgian March (N=64)

8.1.3. Georgian Power

In total, I coded 745 statements by Georgian Power. Here, almost all (93%) of the coded statements constituted diagnostic framing. Among statements with diagnostic framing, Georgian Power defined the Others (46% of coded statements) and the collective identity (31%), and identified problems (16%). Prognostic and motivational framing was coded in 5% and 2% of statements, respectively.

Problems

When discussing problems, Georgian Power focuses mostly on social issues (Figure 27), followed by political and economic issues. Similarly to Georgian March, Georgian Power mentions misinformation or fake news by the media most frequently as a social problem: "Georgian media only shows you paunchy Gruzins[10] and prostitute liberals." Georgian Power argues that Georgian media disseminates more fake news than "even" CNN or BBC.

Issues related to society

- Media spreading misinformation
- Immigration
- LGBT identity
- Abortion
- Migration to Europe
- LGBT visibility
- Visibility of religious minorities
- Degradation of values
- Disrespect to the military
- Prostitution

18% 11% 11%
4%
3%
24% 16% 8% 4% 1%
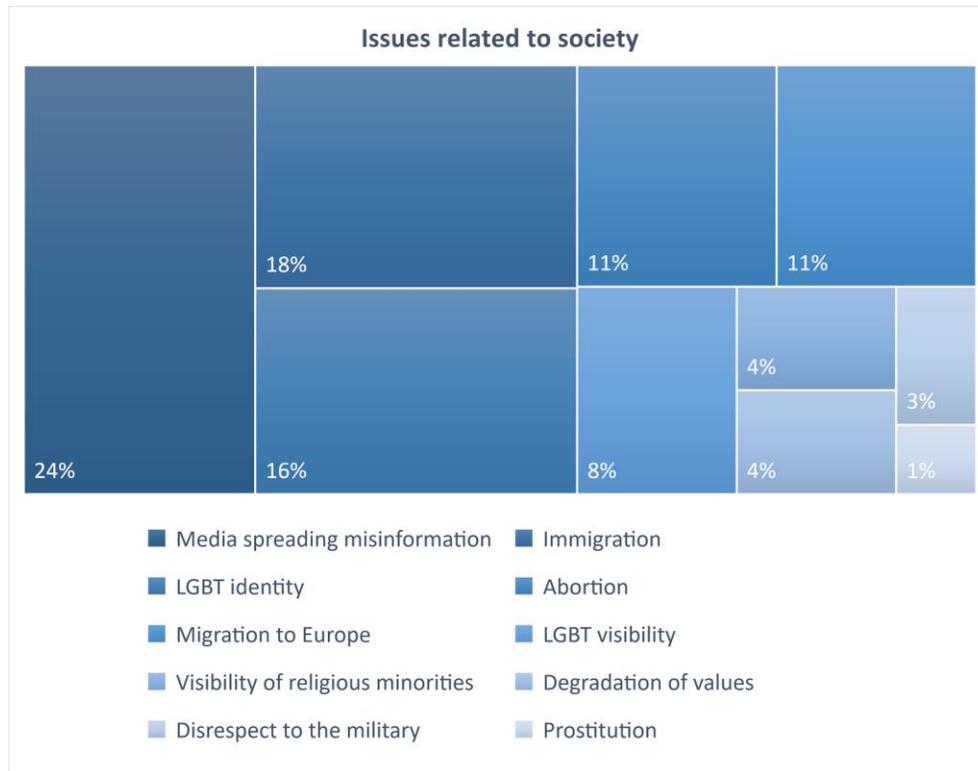
Figure 27: Social problems - Georgian Power (N=74)

The second recurrent frame is immigration. Georgian Power considers Georgia a "country that everyone can enter, like a public toilet," often using hashtags "#onenegroineveryfamily." Georgian Power often praises Georgia ironically for accepting refugees or letting migrants in, reminding the audience that the country has many internally displaced persons from Abkhazia and South Ossetia: "Georgia accepted a homosexual Arab refugee from Egypt. At the same time, a blue-eyed grandma, kicked out of Abkhazia and thrown in somewhere, cannot afford medicine." With the same ironic tone, Georgian Power notes: "May Allah provide bashes of our Turkish brothers on

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[10] "Gruzin" is a Russian word for "Georgian man" and is used pejoratively in Georgian slang to refer to backward-looking, regressive men

Aghmashenebeli [Avenue], if they ask you bread – feed them, give them wine to drink, and if they ask for your wives, don't refuse that either. The main thing is that you are not called a racist." In addition, Georgian Power repeats time and again that Georgia "already has diversity," pointing to people from its different regions.

Another recurrent problem is LGBT identity, and in the case of Georgian Power, almost all posts coded under this frame relate to transgender individuals. Georgian Power argues that "a man in a dress can never be a woman" and we can refuse to believe "the blabber of a person sick with gender dysphoria." Like Georgian Idea and Georgian March, Georgian Power is also concerned by immigration in Europe, often sharing information about cases of alleged rape and violence.

Similarly to other organizations, Georgian Power also sees LGBT visibility (again focusing on transgenders) as a problem, together with the visibility of religious minorities, prostitution, and degradation of values. Interestingly, Georgian Power also mentions disrespect of Georgian military service as a social problem: "In America, each citizen looks at army men with respect and love…when was the last time you thanked an army man? We respect those that are sick or prostitutes more than them."

Issues related to politics

| 42% | 20% | 18% | 16% | 4% |

■ Repression
■ Political elites not responding to people's needs
■ Foreign interference
■ Conflicts in Abkhazi and South Ossetia
■ Deviation from Gamsakhurdia's political course
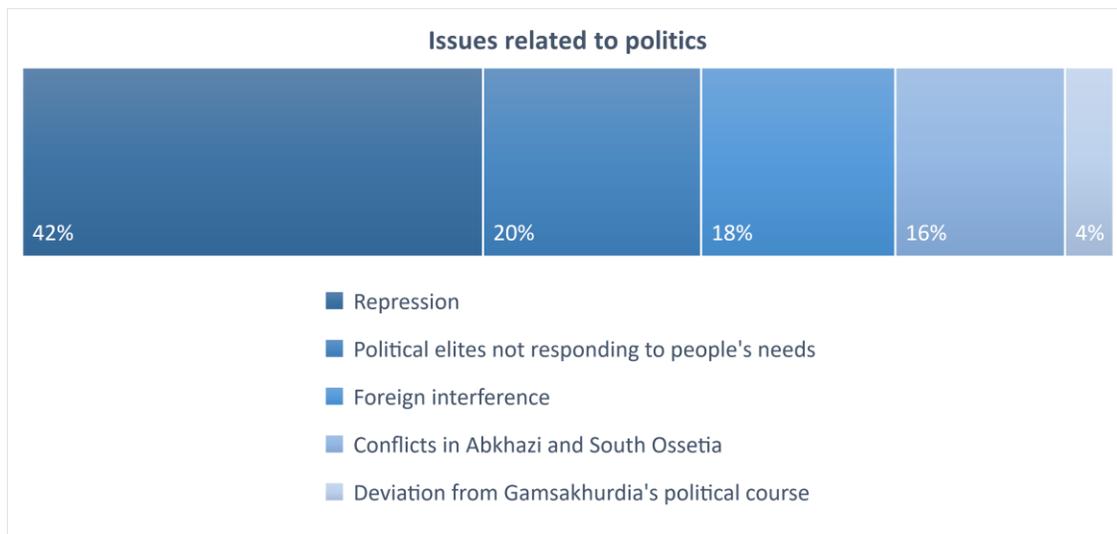
Figure 28: Political problems - Georgian Power (N=45)

Among political problems (Figure 28), the most frequent frame is repression. According to Georgian Power, "people are sacked from work because of their nationalist opinions." If a few years ago, supporting LGBT individuals was "unthinkable," now a "15-year-old is going to be sentenced to 3 years in prison, just because of violence towards an LGBT activist." Georgian Power argues that repression occurs online too: "our page has been deleted... But this is a sign that

we're doing something correctly. And while you continue watching "The Friends of My Wife" [TV series on Rustavi 2], we will give red pills to your kids and we will spread our "dark" fascist ideology." The red pill is a reference to the Matrix movie, contrasting the "painful truth of reality (red pill) and the blissful ignorance of illusion (blue pill)" (Steinicke, 2016, p.152). Often, posts are accompanied with a hashtag #counterculture, implying that mentioned opinions are contrary to the mainstream.

Georgian Power also considers the political elites acting against people's will a significant political problem. Similarly to Georgian Idea, Georgian Power also sees Zviad Gamsakhurdia as an example of a good leader, and condemns every other party that came to power afterwards, calling them "leftist liberals," "pro-Russians," and "winnable patriots, or cuckservatives [sic]."

Foreign interference in Georgian politics is also condemned. Like in the case of Georgian Idea and Georgian March, Turkey is the main enemy: "In Khulo,[11] girls and boys aged 12-16 are sent to Muslim boarding schools (financed by Turkey), studying Arabic, Turkish, memorizing Quran day and night…Poor parents cannot see them, and week by week, month by month, these kids are indoctrinated in the microworld of a Muslim boarding school, cut off from the external world. Do we hate these kids? No."

Economic problems are mentioned in two statements only. Georgian Power notes that while the Government is busy with unnecessary tasks, prices on groceries keep increasing.

The Self and the Other

Most of the coded statements by Georgian Power that include diagnostic framing are concerned with defining the Other (49%). The most frequently mentioned out-group is liberals, followed by feminists and immigrants (Figure 29). Liberals, Georgian Power argues, are descendants of Communists that "require complete ethnical suicide [sic] from Georgians, and everyone who opposes this suicide is declared an aggressive Gruzin and is excluded from public debates."

The Other

Other	3%
Communists	3%
Turkey	4%
Non-whites	4%
LGBT activists	4%
Russia	6%
Leftists	6%
Muslims	7%
Media	7%
LGBT community	11%
Immigrants	12%
Feminists	12%
Liberals	20%
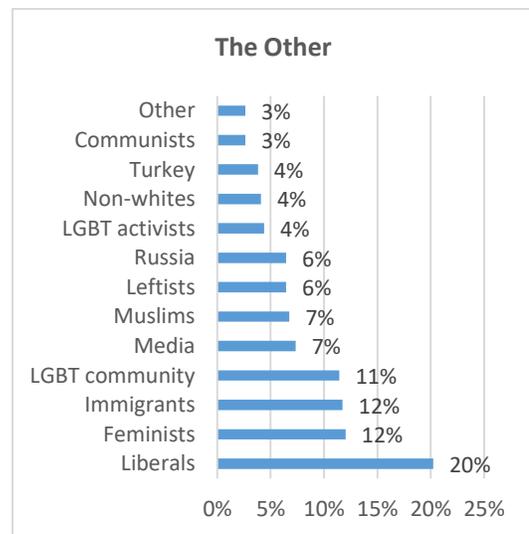
Figure 29: Defining the out-group - Georgian Power (N=341)

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[11] A village in Adjara, a Georgian region neighboring Turkey.

Figure 30: Cartoon, Georgian Power, Facebook, 2018

As for feminists, "at the end of the day, they still like dominant, masculine, dark[12] boys." This attitude is also echoed in jokes and memes[13] (Figure 30).

Like Georgian Idea and Georgian March, Georgian Power often refers to immigrants or even tourists as "foreign tribesmen" and, responding to arguments against generalization of a certain trait or behavior to any group, notes: "they will say that not all of them are like that, that some individuals have a good heart. You know what? My dog has a good heart too!"

Other recurrent out-groups are Muslims and leftists. Again through memes and jokes, Georgian Power associates Muslims with backwardness, terrorism, and violence against women. To illustrate: "if you like Nike's new hijabs, you will also like Nike's new stones that you can use when a woman takes off her hijab." Leftists, in turn, are defined as "immoral people" that "justify the murder of innocent children."
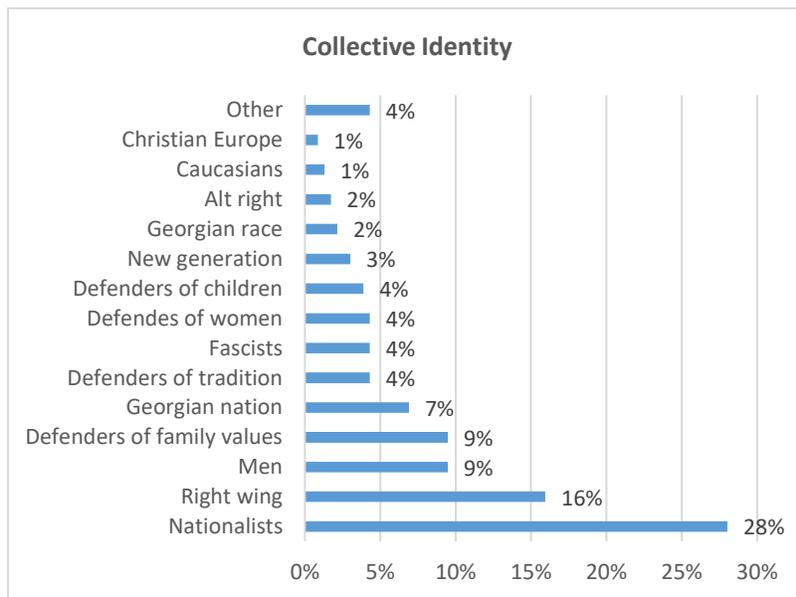
Figure 31: Defining the in-group - Georgian Power (N=232)

Unlike Georgian Idea or Georgian March, Georgian Power is openly racist, arguing that "not all races are created equal." The group claims that Australian "aboriginals" have a mean IQ of 64,

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[12] In Georgian slang, the Georgian word for "light" is synonymous to "enlightened" or "progressive," whereas the word for "dark" is synonymous with "ignorant" or "backward-thinking."

[13] For the lack of a better definition, a meme refers to "an image, video, piece of text, etc., typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users, often with slight variations" (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.)

whereas Africans have an IQ of 73 and "whites" have an IQ of 100, and therefore, "every human is a human, every race can exist, but every nation has the right to preserve its identity."

As for collective identity, Georgian Power mostly refers to itself as nationalist, followed closely by right wing (Figure 31). Unlike other groups, Georgian Power often addresses men, giving advice on physical training and on finding a "good nationalist girl." Collective identity includes defenders of family values, tradition, women, and children. Georgian Power also considers itself "fascist," "alt-right" and, more generally, a part of "the Georgian race."

Prognostic and motivational framing

Most of the statements coded under prognostic framing include information about nationalist, conservative or right-wing policies and statements by other state leaders, encouraging Georgia to follow these examples (Figure 32). Georgian Power mostly focuses on Donald Trump, praising his decisions to support the so-called pro-life movement against abortion and his hesitancy in terms of LGBT rights.

Prognostic Framing

Category	Value
Edit Antidiscrimination law	3%
Prohibit land privatization	3%
Stricter drug policy	3%
Prohibit quotas	3%
Prohibit abortion	6%
Militarization	6%
Cooperation of right wing	8%
Preserve traditions	8%
Physical fitness	11%
Restrict immigration	17%
Follow good examples	33%
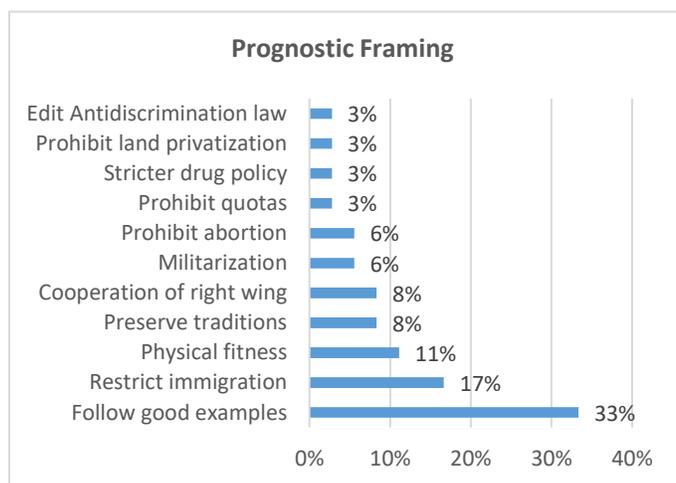
Figure 32: Prognostic framing - Georgian Power (N=36)

Pro-Trump frames are also common in memes (e.g. Figure 33).

Georgian Power also considers that Georgia should restrict immigration from Asia, Africa, and "third world countries, generally." The group demands tougher citizenship laws and larger barriers for refugees. Less often, it calls for the prohibition of abortion and land privatization to foreigners.

Figure 33: pro-Trump banner, Georgian Power, Facebook, 2018

In contrast with Georgian Idea or Georgian March, Georgian Power stresses the need for "supporting healthy lifestyle" among young people. More specifically, the group advocates the militarization of Georgia, starting from special programs to "create the culture of guns and shooting" and increased defense budget, justifying this as the main basis for sovereignty. According to Georgian Power, the Russian Empire occupied Georgia and "substituted guns with [drinking] horns," and since then, "degraded "Gruzins" think that drinking from a horn equals manhood." The group calls for "more arms and patriotism, less drinking horns!" In addition, Georgian Power encourages followers to "go outside, train, read, and revolt." As many other issues, militarism is also expressed visually (Figure 34).

Figure 34: "Militaristic New Year," Georgian Power, Facebook, 2018

Georgian Power motivates its audience to "spread the dark fascist ideology" among young people and children. To this end, Georgian Power calls for "self-education on the basic right-wing, nationalist and conservative arguments," rather than "quotes from the Bible."
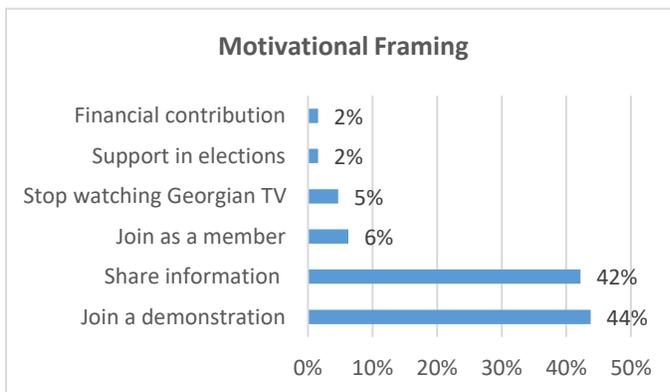
Figure 35: Motivational framing - Georgian Power (N=15)

Motivational framing (Figure 35) also involves calls for boycotting the TV. Georgian Power encourages supporters to seek alternative information sources. One day, Georgian Power argues, "an aware, principled, angry heterosexual Georgian conservative will be fed up by feminist women with hairy armpits and SJW Gvaramia."[14] The sooner this happens, the better, and if people stop watching TV, "Georgian media companies will soon go out of business."

8.1.4. National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity

In total, I coded 368 statements by NSM. Similarly to other groups, the majority of these statements (86%) included diagnostic framing, while prognostic and motivational framing were coded in 9%

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[14] Nika Gvaramia is the head of Rustavi 2; as for SJW, this label is given in English and explained in brackets as "social justice warrior."

and 5% of statements, respectively. Among statements with diagnostic framing, NSM defined the Others (40% of coded statements) and the collective identity (21%), and identified problems (25%).

Diagnostic framing

Problems

In contrast to other groups, NSM focuses on political problems, followed by social and economic issues. A large majority of identified political problems relates to repression. This is due to the arrest of the group leader, Giorgi Tchelize. NSM argues that the "repressive machine of the state" has "a political hostage in order to impede the national view, religion, tradition and statehood."

Like other groups, NSM also opposes foreign interference in Georgian politics. However, in this case, the focus is on Russia, more than half of statements on foreign interference mention unwanted Russian influence on Georgia. For example, in the 2018 presidential elections, NSM argued that both candidates served Russian interests. NSM also shared a list of Russian companies that own large properties in Georgia, using this as a proof that both the government and the opposition are "servants" of Russia. According to NSM, this "makes people hate the West" and soon, "the sun will rise from the North." Less often, George Soros and Turkey are indicated among unwanted examples of foreign interference.

Among other political problems, NSM mentions the deviation from the nationalist policies of Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Any government after Gamsakhurdia, NSM argues, is a "continuation of illegality" and a deviation from his principles. As for the conflicts, they are referred to as "the biggest pain that the nation has endured." Figure 36 visualizes the political problems identified by NSM.

Issues related to politics

59%   13%   4%   4%   4%

■ Repression
■ Foreign interference
■ Political elites not responding to people's needs
■ Deviation from Gamsakhurdia's political course

Figure 36: Political problems – NSM (N=58)

Among social problems (Figure 37), NSM, like Georgian March and Georgian Power, emphasizes misinformation by the media, referred to as "the factory of lies and pile of garbage." Commenting on Donald Trump's criticism of US media, NSM writes: "ah, you should see the Georgian garbage media, Mr. Donald!" NSM argues that Georgian media engages into "anti-state propaganda in the name of Europe and the US, which creates and supports increased pro-Russian orientation in the society, and when we finally realize this, it might be too late!"

Another frequently mentioned problem is "the degradation of values" in general. As an example, NSM mentions a new school subject, "Me and the Society," accusing it of "mental destruction and degradation of future generations" due to "the venom of leftist-liberalism and cultural Marxism." Occasionally, NSM also refers to immigration, drugs, insult of religious feelings, and demographic problems. Under "demographic problems," NSM means the low birth rate in Georgia.

As in the case of other groups, economic problems are mentioned very rarely (1% of total coded statements of NSM). Again, the privatization of land to foreign citizens ("foreign tribesmen") and poverty are the only economic issues pointed out.
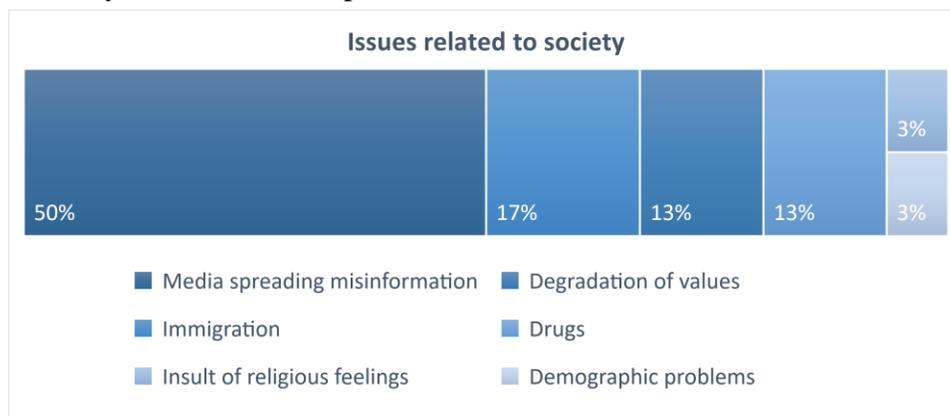
Figure 37: Social problems – NSM (N=30)

The Self and the Other

Diagnostic framing by NSM is mostly aimed at the definition of out-groups (46%). Similarly to other organizations, here too, liberals are the most frequently mentioned enemies (Figure 38), referred to often as "the dirt of the nation," supporting "total dictatorship against different opinions." Liberals are used synonymously with "antifas"[15] who aim at "the creation of a

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[15] Alluding to Antifa, a militant anti-fascist organization in the US and elsewhere.

multiracial space, destruction of states, transformation of vertical hierarchies into horizontal ones, that is, utopian individualism, which is why we should love animals and hate antifa!"

The Other

Category	Value
Other	14%
EU	2%
Russia	3%
George Soros	3%
Girchi	4%
Immigrants | foreigners	5%
UNM	6%
Leftists	9%
Communists	12%
Media	12%
Constitutional Court	14%
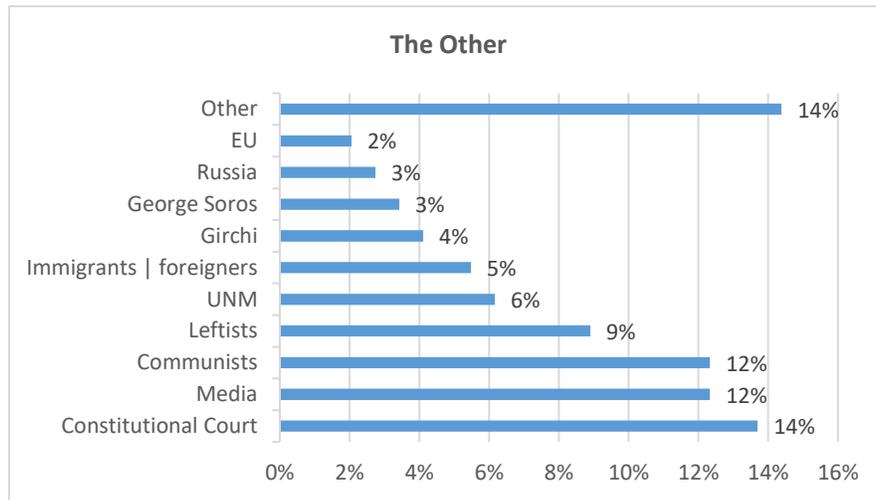
Figure 38: Defining the out-group – NSM (N=146)

NSM also provides a "dictionary" of sorts, with a series of concepts defined "the liberal way" versus "the fascist way." For example, if liberals define xenophobia as discrimination of people due to ethnic belonging, fascists define it as "adequate attitude to foreigners that disrespect your nation, people, culture and laws;" if liberals define LGBT as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, fascists define it as "meat for canon, used to deplete enemy bullets during a war situation;" if liberals define themselves as people who strive for liberty, fascists define them as "people you can build into a wall to increase its robustness;" and if liberals define fascists as people who fight against leftists, fascists define themselves as "people who try to consolidate a nation around a common idea and tradition."

Collective Identity

Category	Value
Other	11%
Defenders of family values	3%
Georgian race	9%
Right wing	10%
Nationalists	11%
Voice of the people	14%
Fascists	42%
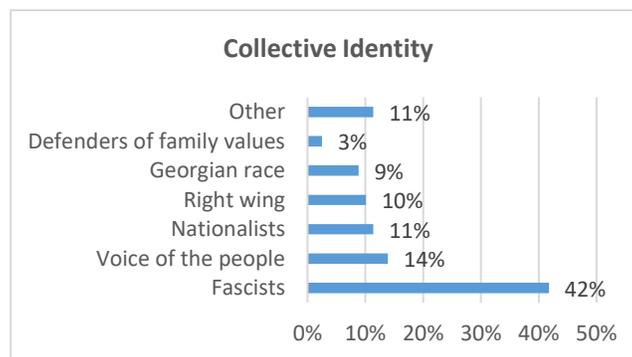
Figure 39: Defining the in-group – NSM (N=79)

Among other out-groups, NSM names the Constitutional Court (for its "anti-state" decision to allow sale of land to non-citizens), the media, communists, and leftists. These latter enemies, NSM

argues, "use democracy as a channel to enable a flow of the venom of bolshevism and liberalism into certain countries, until it fully degrades their intellect and kills any motivation for resistance." In the current world affairs, NSM argues, the EU has become the "enemy of the white race." The UNM is referred to as a party that "has no more connection to nationalism than we have to quantum physics" and Girchi is referred to as a "dumb libertarian" group.

In contrast with other groups, the most frequently used frame for collective identity (Figure 39) is fascists (42% of coded statements on collective identity). Like Georgian Power, NSM often uses memes to illustrate its opinions (Figure 40).

One of the main tenants of fascist ideology, according to NSM, is "the all-encompassing and totalitarian immersion into its doctrine, which incorporates not only political organizations and political tendencies, but also the will, opinion, and feeling of the nation as a whole." NSM urges its followers to "become fascist, bring pain to liberals!" Other frequent frames of collective identity are: the voice of the Georgian people, nationalists, the right-wing, and defenders of family values.

Figure 40: "Better to be Far Right thatn Far Wrong," NSM, Facebook, 2018

Addressing its audience, NSM uses the collective identity of the Georgian nation, or those "whose hears beat in a Georgian way" or Georgian race, defined as "the symbol of racial sophistication, purity, and crystalline nature." NSM often quotes alleged excerpts from schoolbooks from Mussolini era in Italy that "taught Italians that Georgians are the ideal prototypes of the white race. First and foremost, its men, muscular, but lean, dark-haired, beautiful, with rare physical power that reminds us of mythological creatures, rather than people living in modern times."

Prognostic and motivational framing

Prognostic framing (Figure 41) is quite rare (9% of coded statements). In most cases, NSM shares examples of Israel, "the only remaining fascist state in the world," as well as Austria and Hungary, calling for Georgia to "wake up!" Like Georgian Power, NSM also gives personal advice to its followers, focusing on the need for physical fitness: "a Georgian male should devote at least one day per week to athletic and combat training." NSM shares (blurred) photos of members training in the forest for "fascist Sundays." However, the group considers physical fitness as "excessively

rough and savage" unless it is accompanied by "science and thinking."

In terms of motivation, NSM mostly calls for supporters to share information on Facebook, followed by encouragement to join demonstrations or stop watching Georgian TV (Figure 42).

Prognostic Framing	
Prohibit land privatization	3%
Restrict immigration	3%
Neutrality	6%
Preserve traditions	6%
Physical fitness	9%
Follow good examples	16%
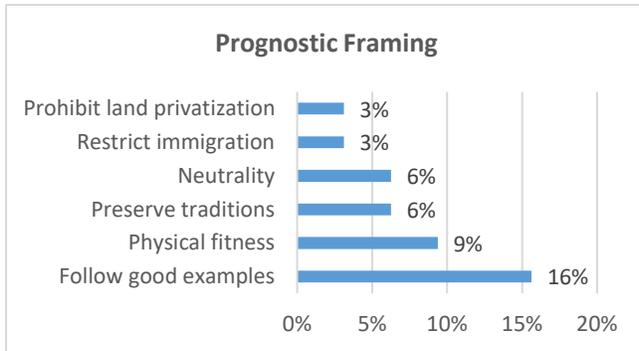
Figure 41: Prognostic framing – NSM (N=32)

Motivational Framing	
Stop watching Georgian TV	5%
Join a demonstration	40%
Share information	55%
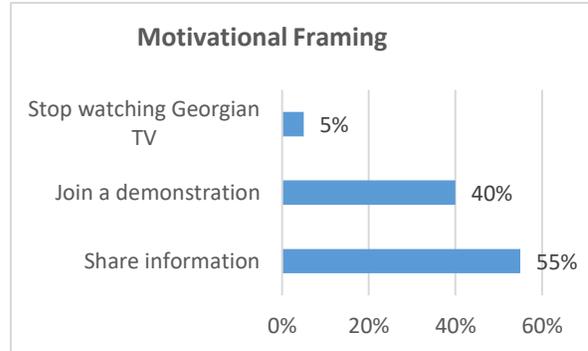
Figure 42: Motivational framing – NSM (N=20)

8.2. Frame Analysis: Discussion

8.2.1. Frame Alignment

The frame analysis indicates that the Georgian extreme right capitalizes on widespread public attitudes. This process, referred to as "frame alignment" (Caiani et al., 2012, p.21) is clear from the way these groups define social, political and economic problems, as well as in-groups and out-groups.

One of the most emphasized social problems, for example, is misinformation by the media. Georgian Power and NSM discuss the general problem of fake news, while Georgian March and Georgian Idea respond to specific cases. For example, when Giorgi Gabunia, one of the hosts of Rustavi 2, made a joke about Virgin Mary, the two groups organized several rallies, at the same time complaining on Facebook about the "anti-Georgian" and "anti-Orthodox" narratives of the media. Regardless of these diverse approaches, the anti-media narrative would resonate well with the Georgian audience, given the low level of trust towards the media.

Another common issue is immigration. Most statements relate to immigration from Asia or Africa, with a focus on those assumed to be Muslim. All four groups mention the Aghmashenebeli Avenue, on which several Turkish, Persian, and Indian restaurants are located. They often use historical references or metaphors, alluding to invasions of Georgian kingdoms by Persian or Ottoman empires. The anti-immigration, anti-foreigner, anti-Muslim narrative would also resonate well with the Georgian audience, given the lack of acceptance towards Turks, Iranians, and

Muslims in general.

Remarkably, when discussing immigrants as enemies, all four groups often mention the Georgian word for "foreign tribesmen." When asked to define foreign tribesmen, an NSM member clarified: "foreign tribes include every non-Georgian that interferes in the national agenda and tries to establish themselves at the expense of Georgians" (Activist 4, NSM). According to another member of NSM, this is due to "tribalism," an ideology that sees a nation as a tribe "united around a single idea." Therefore, he adds, tribalism implies "opposition to mixed marriages and preservation of racial purity," which is why it opposes immigration (Activist 5, former member, NSM).

Moreover, the fact that immigration is presented as a shared problem for Georgia and Europe feeds into the perception of Georgian superiority, which the majority believes in. Among different frames of collective identity are the Georgian nation (sometimes the "Georgian race"), Caucasians, and Christian Europeans; NSM even goes as far as arguing that the Georgian nation gave birth to the European civilization: "the so-called 'Europeans' gorged down raw meat, when we had statehood, so they have to learn from us what it means to be European!" Therefore, the narrative that "Christian Europe" is as attacked by violent, "uncivilized" Muslim migrants reinforces the image of Georgians as a "model nation," probably the "purest" part of Christian Europe, as opposed to the migrant or foreigner Others.

All groups highlight LGBT identity, rights, or visibility as an important problem. Here, too, each group has a slightly different approach. Georgian Idea, for example, focuses on homosexuality (sometimes also transgender identity) as something unnatural, and therefore, sinful. Georgian Idea quotes the Overton Window theory, or rather, its interpretation by Russian tabloids, to explain the gradual acceptance of homosexuality. It argues that previously unspeakable phenomena can slowly become acceptable, as long as scientists, the media, and state institutions normalize them. Acceptability leads to popularity and, eventually, legalization. According to Georgian Idea, homosexuality has been normalized in Georgia exactly this way, and "we are going towards legalization of child euthanasia, pedophilia, and incest."

Georgian March has a less complicated view: "they can do whatever they want in their homes, just don't come out in the streets!" As in the case of misinformation by the media, Georgian March follows up on individual cases more than it discusses general ideological stances. Statements

against "LGBT propaganda" mostly target Guram Kashia, then vice-captain of Georgia's national football team. Playing for Dutch Eredivisie club Vitesse, Kashia wore a rainbow armband in support for LGBT equality and later received UEFA's first #EqualGame award, leading to numerous protests from the Georgian March. The March refers to him pejoratively as "Guranda Kashia."[16]

In contrast, Georgian Power mostly opposes transgender identity and activism, arguing that this "terrifying development" is "merely a symptom of a larger disease, feminism." According to Georgian Power, the third wave of feminism has transformed women into "political beings that are too occupied with education and work to raise future generations," and has "created generations of feminine men and unhappy women." This "spiritual degradation" then became physical, and "transgenderism became an extreme expression of feminist tendencies that stripe women of femininity and transform them into man-like creatures."

Regardless of this diversity of opinions, however, all groups voice homo-, bi-, and transphobic views. This anti-LGBT sentiment is aligned with widespread public opinions.

Frame alignment is also clear in statements about political problems. Given the low level of trust towards political actors, institutions, and democracy in general, statements criticizing the political elite, different parties, and liberal democracy would also resonate well with the audience.

Liberals, in general, are mentioned most often as enemies. For Georgian Idea, liberalism is ungodly and goes against the Orthodox Church, whereas for others, it is seen as a form of dictatorship, destroying traditional values and unwilling to accept different opinions. Several times, the label "leftist" is used together with "liberal," pointing to similarities between liberals and the left wing, and their shared connection with Communism. Georgian Idea considers liberalism as merely an heir of Communism: "it is enough to just replace the word "Communism" with "Liberalism" and every citation, slogan, poster that was so ubiquitous in the Soviet Union in the 20th century, accurately matches these new "progressists."" The group even sees this similarity in symbols, comparing the red communist neckties with Guram Kashia's rainbow armband.

The media, feminists, NGOs, and liberally minded politicians are discussed under the same narrative. One of the leaders of Georgian March agrees: "The main thing is that dictatorship has been present in Georgia since the Soviet era. The communists would repress dissidents, right?

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[16] This is a wordplay: Guranda is a Georgian female name that sounds similar to Guram.

Similar press existed in the period of Shevardnadze, as well as Saakashvili. Now we have a liberal dictatorship" (Activist 2, Georgian March).

Georgian Idea and Georgian March also mention the Republican Party, a former member of the Georgian Dream coalition that is known in Georgia for its liberal stance and Girchi, a libertarian offspring of the UNM. Girchi is criticized due to its drastic initiatives, from drug legalization to creation of a new "religion"[17] (BBC, 2017), as well as the legalization of prostitution. The two public defenders that Georgia had within 2013-2018 are also criticized due to their fight for minority rights.

The critique of liberalism as something against traditions plays into the ethnocentric and conservative attitudes widespread in the Georgian society. As we saw above, many Georgians see the commitment to traditions as one of the central definers of a good citizen, so naturally, something that opposes traditions would be unwanted. In this regard, it is also important that all four groups define themselves as defenders of family values (with family defined as several generations living together), children, women, and traditions. Such framing of collective identity also seems aligned to conservative public opinions.

Frame analysis also shows that the four extreme right groups are more keen on identifying problems and defining the in-groups and out-groups than on offering solutions. Indeed, prognostic and motivational framing are much less frequent than diagnostic framing. Nevertheless, in the rare statements about solutions or motivation, all groups again try to align their framing to public opinion.

Views on the general political system of the country slightly differ, although all organizations agree that democracy is not as good as it sounds, with Georgian Idea going as far as referring to it as "demoncracy" and claiming its links with Satanism. Instead, Georgian Idea advocates monarchy and theocracy[18] in Georgia. Georgian Power and NSM, in turn, support the militarization of the country, calling for state support of military training. NSM also calls for a strong leader, sharing quotes on "misunderstandings" about Hitler. These sentiments against liberal democracy or

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[17] To circumvent the mandatory military service of Georgia that priests, regardless of their faith, are exempt from, young men in Georgia can register as priests of the Church of Biblical Freedom that Girchi created in 2017.
[18] Georgian Idea uses these two words interchangeably.

democracy in general are also aligned to the increasing skepticism towards democracy among Georgians.

The extreme right also responds to the public demand for exclusionary policies. All four groups share information on exclusion-oriented statements or policies in other countries. Most often cited examples include those from the US (after Trump's election), Hungary, Austria, and Israel. They also advocate the restriction of immigration, the prohibition of abortion, and the ban of land privatization to foreign citizens. Some of them pursue individual initiatives, e.g. Georgian Idea calls for the Ministry of Justice to allow non-biometric ID cards, claiming that biometric ones include "satanic chips," while Georgian March requests that ethnicity be included in ID cards, and Georgian Power argues against the institutionalization of gender- and other quotas.

8.2.2. Internal Diversity

Another significant finding from the frame analysis is the internal diversity of the extreme right network. Regardless of shared anti-constitutional and anti-democratic sentiments and similar positions on many issues, the four groups have different political styles and communication techniques. These differences leave the impression that in the ongoing battle for influences within the network, each group tries to distinguish itself from the others.

Georgian Idea associates itself with the Georgian Orthodox Church. Its framing is usually based on quotes from the sermons of the Patriarch and other religious leaders. It also often posts images of Orthodox icons. While commenting on problems, Georgian Idea frames them as "sins," and while criticizing specific individuals or groups, it condemns their "anti-Orthodox" beliefs and actions. The collective identity of the group is defined as Orthodox Christian Georgians. Such framing seems strategic, considering the symbolic resources the Church provides.

As for Georgian March, it also shares the Orthodox Christian frame, albeit more rarely. More often, Georgian March identifies as the "voice of the Georgian people" against the "political elites," which points to a more populist approach. The strategy of Georgian March seems more oriented at attracting attention. Indeed, its posts are often accompanied by multiple exclamation points, as if to sensationalize its points and create a sense of urgency. It usually appears in response to specific events, with a personalized criticism of politicians, journalists, activists, etc. Notably, Georgian March often shares posts of specific persons with extreme right opinions, and rarely posts independent statements.

While Georgian Idea identifies as Orthodox Christian and Georgian March combines Orthodox Christianity with populism, NSM defines itself as fascist. According to a former NSM member, the group is also "ultra-rightist," with a focus on "anti-communism" and "racial purity." Georgian Power sometimes adopts the fascist label as well, whereas Georgian Idea and Georgian March strictly reject it. As one of the leaders of Georgian March mentioned during an interview, "fascism, together with communism, is an ideology of hate, something that preaches racial discrimination…almost an illness, I would say" (Activist 2, Georgian March). A former member of the group said that Nazism was among the reasons he left the organization: "I do see myself as a nationalist, but not as a Nazi. There is a huge difference. Some people in the March do have Nazi tendencies, and I do not agree with that" (Activist 3, former member, Georgian March).

Georgian Power and NSM differ from the other two groups in their communication style as well. They both often use jokes and memes in their posts. According to a former NSM member, this is largely due to the generally younger membership base and audience, as compared to Georgian March and Georgian Idea, in which the average age of members is above 50 (Activist 5, former member, NSM; Activist 3, former member, Georgian March). Another important difference is that while Georgian Idea and Georgian March often post photos of members and leaders, Georgian Power and NSM are more secretive, posting photos rarely and, even then, covering the faces of group members.

Differences in terms of communication style are also apparent from language use. If Georgian Idea uses old-fashioned, prayer-like language, Georgian March relies on insulting neologisms ("liberast," "TsRustavi 2," Sorosist-pederast," etc.). Georgian Power, by contrast, often uses American slang, as if borrowing the style from platforms such as Stormfront; examples include SJW (Social Justice Warrior), "cuckservatives," etc. The reason could be that one of the administrators of Georgian Power's Facebook page, the group's leader, is a US citizen and currently resides in the US.

Ideas about Georgia's foreign policy follow a similar pattern. The four groups do agree on some issues, e.g. they all accuse Turkey of "Turkization" and "Islamization" of Georgia's Adjara region, and they all share a discontent with the influence of George Soros on Georgian politics. Similarly unanimous are the opinions on the United States and the EU. After Donald Trump's election, the influence of the US is no longer seen as a problem. As for the EU, Georgian Idea refers to it as the

"modern-day Babylon," while NSM calls it "the Blue Soviet Union." All groups consider Georgia's Association Agreement with the EU as an important problem. This is also apparent from their opposition to the post-AA legislative changes, especially those on the prohibition of discrimination, domestic violence, and sexual harassment.

Yet, there are certain differences. For example, Georgian Idea actively opposes NATO and any attempts to integrate Georgia with the organization. This was mentioned during an interview with one of the leaders of Georgian Idea, who noted that "there is no need for NATO or the EU, since Georgia should be a neutral party, acting as an objective arbiter in international conflicts" (Activist 1). In contrast with the other three actors, Georgian Idea also considers worsened political relations with Russia as an important problem. Other groups do not seem to share these concerns. For NSM, the most often mentioned enemy is Russia. When asked about foreign interference, an NSM member mentioned "Russian occupation" as the most pressing issue (Activist 5, former member, NSM).

In an attempt to distinguish themselves, some of the groups try to take ownership of particular issues. For example, Georgian Power, which has a militaristic orientation and aspires towards the militarization of Georgia, often mentions disrespect of Georgian military as a problem. Another example is Georgian Idea, which considers criticism of the Georgian Orthodox Church or the Patriarch among the main social problems, while no other groups share this concern. Unlike other groups, Georgian Idea also condemned every case when state representatives congratulated religious minorities on their holidays.

These internal differences show how each group tries to capitalize on widespread public attitudes in the attempt to gain more influence within the network. Yet, as SNA showed above, the more extreme a group's ideology is, the more marginal it becomes. In contrast, those who try to align to more mainstream views in the society seem to be more central within the network.

So far, we have established that the extreme right has moderate opportunities and limited resources for mobilization, and we have seen how the movement tries to use framing to get its points across. To see how these elements of mobilization materialize, we now look into the repertoires of extreme right collective action.

9. Protest Event Analysis

9.1. Protest Events 2014-2018

How does the extreme right in Georgia translate political opportunities, organizational resources and framing into action? To answer this question, this chapter discusses the main characteristics of protest events that took place in Georgia between 2014 and 2018 and involved extreme right groups.

In the period of 2014-2018, 66 protest events were recorded. More than half of these events (55%) were demonstrative, including mostly street protests, but also several online petitions. Violent events were also somewhat frequent (30%). These events can be divided into light violence, meaning symbolic and verbal acts, and heavy violence, meaning physically violent acts. Light violence took place in 17% of events, and heavy violence was present in 14%. Often, the two occurred together. Conventional events, such as press conferences and briefings, as well as confrontational events, such as blockades or occupations, were quite rare (20% and 6%, respectively). Figure 43 visualizes the types of protest events in 2014-2018.
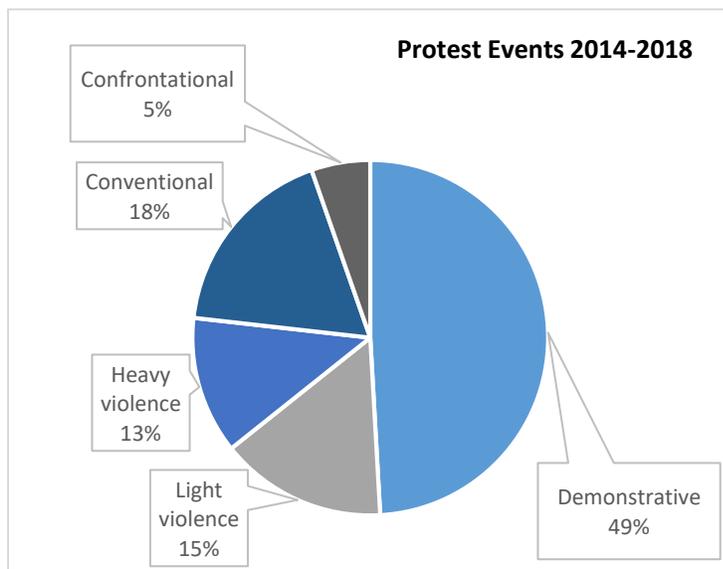
Figure 43. Protest Event Analysis (N=66)

In terms of participation, 45% of protest events involve up to 50 participants, 18% involve 50-100 participants, and 21% involve several hundred participants. Most events with several hundred participants are organized by the Georgian March. Relatively rarely (8%), protest events include several thousand participants; these events are organized by the Orthodox Church and joined by extreme right groups.

In terms of event aims and targets (Figure 44), most events (24%) relate to LGBT issues. These events are also among the largest, with participants ranging from several hundred to more than 1000. Almost always, protest is directed at people or organizations that support LGBT rights. A good example is the protest against Guram Kashia, who was also one of the frequent targets of diagnostic framing. These events were largely organized by the Georgian March.

This category also includes demonstrations against movie screenings and festivals, for example in 2014, Georgian Idea protested the screening of a movie about homosexuals in Georgia, together with the representatives of the Georgian Orthodox Church (Tabula Television, 2014).
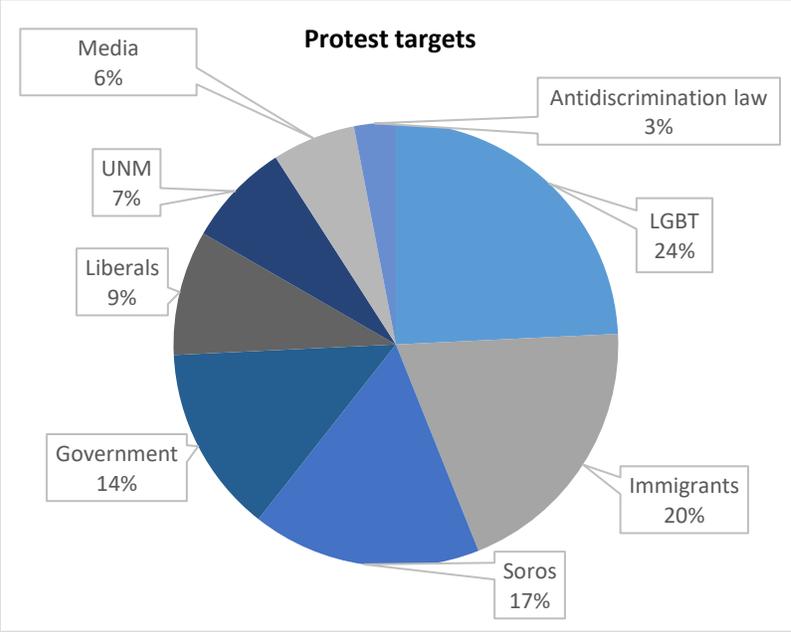
Figure 44: Protest event targets, 2014-2018

In protest events that specifically target persons with LGBT identity, rather than their supporters or activists, the main protagonist usually is Georgian Idea, together with the Orthodox Church. As in the case of framing, here too, protest is against the "sin of sodomy." The largest demonstrations in this category are organized annually, on May 17, the Day of Family Purity. Since 2013, the Day of Family Purity has become more and more festive, with celebrations in more than 5 locations, mass weddings, and concerts (Morrison, 2018).

Another frequent topic is immigration (20%), with Turkish and Middle Eastern immigrants as main targets. Protest against immigration usually involves several hundred participants. The first anti-immigrant demonstration was organized by Georgian Power in 2016 and involved heavy violence. Soon after, Georgian Power organized another demonstration, this time targeting not only immigration, but also the acceptance of refugees by Georgia. The largest demonstration in this category was the so-called March of Georgians on July 14, 2017, which led to the formation

of Georgian March. Several months later, Georgian March announced the creation of special vigilante groups "to reveal illegal actions by immigrants" (Liberali, 2018).

17% of protest events are directed at George Soros and his "interference" in Georgian Politics. These events are typically organized by Georgian March and Georgian Idea and are mostly demonstrative and conventional, although there have also been cases of light and heavy violence. Violence has been most common in events organized by Georgian March. Georgian Idea, in turn, usually resorts to conventional actions, e.g. petition to ban OSF, a petition to support Donald Trump and Viktor Orban in their "fight against Soros," and a personal letter to Viktor Orban.

Relatively rarely, demonstrations target the government (14%), liberals (9%), UNM (8%), the media (6%), and the anti-discrimination law (3%). Anti-government demonstrations, organized by Georgian March and NSM, typically request the release of extreme right activists from prison. Liberals have been targets of some of the largest demonstrations, most notably, in May 2018, when counterdemonstrations to the Bassiani activists turned violent. Several events also target the UNM, even though the party has not been in power since 2012.

Protest against the media targets Rustavi 2, and usually involves Georgian March, in cooperation with some members of Georgian Idea. These demonstrations usually involve violence. In one case, Georgian March members threw chickens at the building of Rustavi 2 (On.ge, 2017), and in another, several journalists were beaten (Reginfo, 2018).

Demonstrations against the anti-discrimination law are mostly organized by Georgian Idea, together with the Orthodox Church, and demand removal of sexual orientation and gender identity from the list of prohibited grounds for discrimination.

9.2. Protest Event Analysis: Discussion

These findings point to the notable dynamic of protest within the 5-year period. More specifically, in 2014, which marks the onset of extreme right mobilization in Georgia, there are only two recorded protest events, both organized by Georgian Idea and the Orthodox Church. 2015 is somewhat similar, with only six recorded events. During these years, protest events usually target LGBT "propaganda."

In 2016, however, a new actor, Georgian Power, enters the extreme right scene. This coincides with several changes in protest dynamics. On one hand, violence appears among protest event repertoires, and on the other, there are new subjects of protest: immigration and use of drugs.

These changes correspond with the political developments in and beyond Georgia. It is important to remember here that 2016 is the year in which the visa-free travel agreements with a number of Asian and Middle Eastern countries entered into force (see Chapter 6). This increased the inflow of tourists, especially, their visibility on the Aghmashenebeli Avenue. At the same time, the so-called refugee crisis that became an important topic of discussion in Europe was also widely covered in the Georgian media. All of these circumstances give context to the protest events that target immigrants or refugees.

2016 is also the year in which the White Noise Movement, a local NGO, started advocating for more liberal drug policy in Georgia (Gogua, 2016). More specifically, WNM started campaigning for the decriminalization of possession of cannabis in small amounts for personal use. To this end, the WNM organized several massive demonstrations, involving thousands of people (Gogua, 2016). In response, extreme right activists emphasized harmful effects of drug use, instead of engaging in the discussion on decriminalization. According to a former member of the March, he left the organization since he was the only one supporting decriminalization, even if he agreed with the group's idea that complete legalization of drugs is unacceptable (Activist 3, former member, Georgian March).

By the end of 2016, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Sandro Bregadze had already left his Deputy State Minister position, and Lado Sadghobelashvili had also dismantled the Free Generation Movement. In 2017, the extreme right scene in Georgia changes, with two new actors – Georgian March and NSM – and the following increase in the number of protest events (29 recorded events). Violence becomes more common, as new protest issues become prevalent. Targets of violence include immigrants or foreigners and liberally minded individuals. The latter includes politicians, NGOs (especially, the Open Society Foundation of George Soros), supporters of the LGBT community or LGBT activists, and journalists. Following the elections in the US, Hungary, and other countries, the Georgian extreme right also rallies in support of different nationalist leaders.

In 2018, the number of protest events remains high (23 recorded events), with almost half of these events including light violence, heavy violence, or both. Targets of violence, again, are the Others: immigrants, NGOs, LGBT rights activists or supporters, journalists, etc.

The dynamics of protest events show that over time, the extreme right movement in Georgia has become larger and more diverse, with new actors and new protest issues appearing along the way. Protest events are usually responsive, following specific instances of phenomena that are framed as problematic by the extreme right, e.g. the visibility of the LGBT community. In addition, many events are organized as counterdemonstrations against liberally minded groups. Among good examples are the counterdemonstration to the anti-Orban rally in Tbilisi or the counterdemonstration against peaceful anti-government protests in May 2018. Interestingly also, over time, violence becomes more and more common among protest repertoires, and violent events target those who have been framed as the Others.

Issues highlighted through protest events largely correspond to those emphasized online. Extreme right groups have publicly rallied against most of the social and political problems mentioned in the frame analysis section, including misinformation by the media, LGBT issues, immigration, repression of extreme right activists or ideas, and foreign interference in Georgian politics. Economic issues have been emphasized as rarely in real life as on Facebook – during only 7 of the 66 events – with all of the events protesting privatization of land to foreign citizens.

Similarly to frame analysis, PEA also shows that during public appearances, political and communication style of Georgian extreme right groups corresponds to their online activity. As frame analysis showed, all groups share a certain nostalgia towards the first President, Zviad
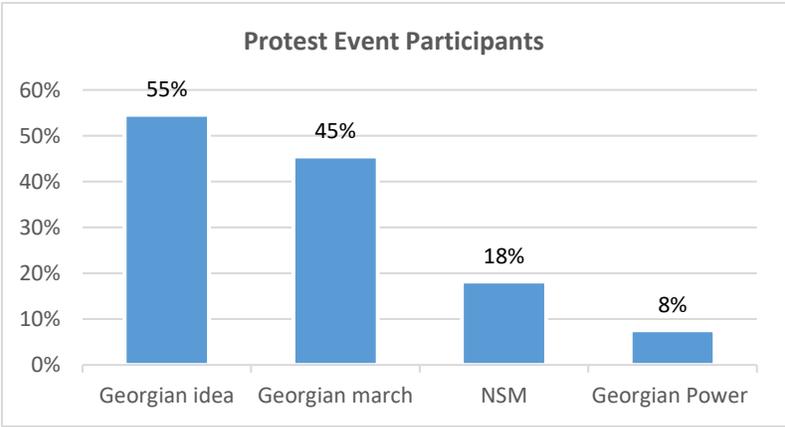
Figure 45: Protest event participant organizations, 2014-2018

Gamsakhuridia; accordingly, when appearing in public, they often use the old flag of Georgia, associated with the first post-Soviet government. Similarly, liberals are mentioned as enemies, or the Other, during protest events too, as frequently as in online frames. The issues highlighted in diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames become subject to protest events.

In addition, like framing, PEA also points to the internal diversity and power dynamics among the extreme right groups. Most protest events involve the two more powerful groups, Georgian Idea and Georgian March, who act together in several cases (Figure 45). Georgian Idea has taken part in 55% of all events, although has organized only half of the events it participated in. More frequently, Georgian Idea joins demonstrations organized by the Georgian Orthodox Church, pointing to the use of resources, most notably, human resources (the clergy and the believers) and symbolic resources (affiliation with the trustworthy and authoritative Orthodox Church). Importantly, however, the fact that Georgian Idea was the only organization on the Georgian extreme right scene from 2013 to 2016 also explains its participation in more events. Other groups did not exist or had not been public in this period: Georgian Power appeared publicly in 2016, and Georgian March and NSM joined in 2017.

In line with its online framing, Georgian Idea always appears in public with icons and crosses. In addition, Georgian Idea, which is the only extreme right group to define Catholic Christians as the Other, is also the only group to organize demonstrations against Catholics. To illustrate, Georgian Idea protested the visit of the Pope to Georgia, calling the Vatican a "spiritual aggressor" (Netgazeti, 2016b). Interestingly, however, even though most of Georgian Idea's statements containing prognostic framing focused on the need to reinstate monarchy and establish theocracy in Georgia, there have been no protest events with this request.

PEA shows that Georgian March is the most active and prominent extreme right group. The group which, by the end of 2018, had been active for a little more than a year, has participated in 45% of protest events, mostly as a sole actor. This corresponds to the central position of the group in the extreme right, as demonstrated in SNA (Chapter 7).

Like Georgian Idea, Georgian March also translates its political and communication styles from online framing into action. Georgian March also uses Christian symbols at times, although as rarely as it uses Orthodox Christian collective identity frames on Facebook. More often, the group manages to attract attention by being loud. If on Facebook, the group personally attacks particular

targets, often with offensive neologisms, offline too, it often resorts to violence and provocative acts. After criticizing journalist Giorgi Gabunia as the representation of media-related problems or football player Guram Kashia as a representation of LGBT "propaganda," Georgian March attacked Giorgi Gabunia personally (On.ge, 2017), and intruded into a football match in which Kashia was participating (Kachkachishvili, 2017).

Similarly to its communication style on Facebook, marked by numerous exclamation points, Georgian March is loud offline too. On two occasions, Georgian March vowed to start or started a hunger strike, only to stop the next day (Tabula, 2018b). Similarly, despite making threatening announcements about creating special vigilante groups against immigrants and sending a letter to the Ministry of Internal Affairs about them, such groups have not appeared (Liberali, 2018). Furthermore, while other groups engage in various types of protest events, Georgian March is behind nearly all violent events, including both heavy and light violence.

Like in the case of online framing, offline activities of Georgian Power and NSM are somewhat different from those of Georgian Idea and Georgian March. Georgian Power has participated in only 8% of protest events. Apart from one rally, organized by the Orthodox Christian Church and joined by all extreme right groups, Georgian Power has always acted alone. Corresponding to its secretive nature, Georgian Power members have only appeared in public in masks, careful not to show faces. In addition, Georgian Power has never resorted to conventional activities; instead, it mostly engages in demonstrative events and heavy violence.

In turn, NSM has participated in 18% of protest events; half of these events occurred in cooperation with Georgian March and Georgian Idea. In the remaining half, NSM acted alone, largely to express support to its arrested leader. Since NSM identifies as a fascist group, its members usually use the Nazi salute in public.

The main conclusions of PEA correspond to those of frame analysis. Indeed, the internal diversity among the four groups is also apparent in their public activities. Here, too, each group tries to capitalize on widespread public attitudes to obtain more power and influence, but those with less extreme and more mainstream framing are more active offline. In contrast, those with more extreme views are more marginal.

10. Conclusion

This thesis aimed at investigating how extreme right groups in Georgia mobilize. More specifically, it discussed how political opportunities and organizational resources shape mobilization, how extreme right groups frame their views, and how they translate opportunities, resources, and framing into collective action. Researching the extreme right in Georgia as a social movement, the thesis used a variety of research methods, including social network analysis, frame analysis, and protest event analysis.

In terms of political opportunities, the thesis showed that while the legal system remains closed, the political space is comparatively more accessible, and discursive opportunities are relatively high. Indeed, the Georgian legal system provides a number of restraints against extreme right mobilization. In contrast, discursive opportunities are high, since, as public opinion surveys indicate, Georgians are largely conservative and ethnocentric, with homophobic, anti-abortion, anti-immigrant opinions and consistently low levels of trust in all political institutions, NGOs, and the media. This points to the public demand for exclusionary politics.

Extreme right groups are not the only political actors trying to meet this demand, however. Some representatives of the ruling party, the Georgian Dream, sympathize with some extreme right views, or, at least, do not condemn them explicitly, while the Alliance of Patriots, another party that is represented in the Parliament, openly shares such opinions. This means that extreme right actors' voices are heard to a certain extent. Yet, this also means that they are not unique in their framing, and are not the only ones who try to align to the demands of the silent majority. Thus, political allies do not guarantee political opportunities, even though societal demand is significant.

To what extent is this demand met? The thesis showed that overall, the Georgian extreme right network is small, with actors lacking resources for further mobilization. In the fragmented network, Georgian March occupies a central position, while NSM is the most marginal. This implies that ideological differences affect power dynamics: actors with less extreme, less specific ideology have more power, while those with extreme, fascist rhetoric seem to have the least power. Human, material, and symbolic resources also play a role: Georgian March and Georgian Idea seem to have considerably larger resources, as compared to Georgian Power or NSM, and accordingly, the former two are more active publicly than the latter two. All in all, however, the

Georgian extreme right network seems to lack the resources to meet the societal demand for exclusion-oriented policies.

How do available political opportunities and organizational resources translate into online and offline mobilization? Frame analysis and SNA showed that extreme right groups try to capitalize on the insecurities prevalent in the society, adapting their strategies, frames, and actions accordingly. Emphasized problems are aligned with the public opinion, stressing misinformation in the media, immigration in both Georgia and Europe, LGBT visibility, foreign interference in internal affairs (mostly by George Soros and Turkey), and repression of extreme right opinions and activists.

Similarly aligned with the public opinion are protest events, which usually target immigrants, LGBT persons, and George Soros, as well as liberals in general, the political elite, and the media. In certain cases, the extreme right acts together with the Orthodox Church and the Alliance of Patriots. Cooperation with the Church implies more symbolic resources, given the consistently high level of trust in the Church and the Patriarch, whereas cooperation with the Alliance of Patriots implies more political opportunities to influence political agenda and decision-making.

Public actions of the extreme right correspond to their online activities; here, too, actors with more significant symbolic resources, i.e. more flexible ideology and affiliations with the Orthodox Church, are more active in public, while those with more extreme ideas and fewer resources remain marginal and appear more rarely. What these groups have in common, though, is that they try to build on the available discursive opportunities and symbolic resources; each group seems to be looking for ways to distinguish itself from other extreme- and radical right actors and thus meet the societal demand. The ongoing battle for influence may be due to the relative novelty of this social movement in the Georgian context.

The findings of this thesis have a number of political and theoretical implications. They show that overall, the existing extreme right actors lack the capacity and resources to utilize available political and discursive opportunities to the fullest. Yet, if public attitudes remain unchanged and political institutions, NGOs, and the media maintain considerably lower levels of public trust than the Orthodox Church, there is no safeguard to guarantee that another actor, perhaps with more resources and charisma, does not emerge to use available opportunities fully and thus intensify extreme right mobilization.

Despite the rather limited power of existing extreme right groups, in the longer term, their biggest threat lies in more radicalization of public opinion and more success of radical right parties. This could indeed lead to more exclusionary policies. Some signs of these developments have already appeared. Indeed, extreme right groups and individuals affiliated with them have voiced a number of illiberal policy initiatives, some of which have been successful, to the point of being added to the new Constitution (Tabula, 2018a).

In addition, given the increasing usage of the Internet and, especially, social networks, in Georgia, there is a risk of extreme right groups' ideas about spreading fascist ideology materializing in the long term. A recent study shows that there are more than 70 active ultra-rightist and nationalist pages on Facebook (CRRC, 2018d). Closed Facebook groups and more secretive online forums or chats are harder to research and even harder, if not impossible, to control. Extreme right ideas may be expressed in jokes or memes, but they should be taken seriously, considering their long-term potential.

To avoid a further right-wing shift of the political spectrum and further radicalization of public opinions, therefore, it is necessary to address the discursive and political opportunities available for the extreme right. To this end, political actors, and especially, the incumbent party, should explicitly condemn violence, hate speech, and hate crimes, and take an unambiguous stance against right-wing extremism.

This thesis also demonstrated that the Georgian extreme right groups are diverse in terms of both ideology and action, and regardless of common views or links with each other, they should not be discussed under the same umbrella, as "Neo-Nazis" or fascists. As this thesis shows, simplistic and generalized conclusions on phenomena as complex as the extreme right might exaggerate the actual mobilization capacity and overlook distinctions among different actors, thus producing erroneous assumptions regarding mobilization. A more comprehensive look at the individual actors helps overcome the panic that often surrounds discussions on the extreme right.

Considering this internal diversity, extreme right groups should also not be reduced to mere tools of Russian propaganda. Journalists and human rights activists in Georgia tend to mention Russia as the driving factor of extreme right mobilization. Certainly, the narratives of the extreme right in Georgia could be harmful to the strategic interests of the country. Moreover, Russia may be supporting such narratives globally and may indirectly benefit from the internal clashes in Georgia

too. Yet, overlooking public demand for exclusionary politics and actors who would voice these demands publicly and presenting Russia as the sole reason behind extreme right mobilization oversimplifies the context and entails dangers of sensationalization and crude assumptions. The argument that there are direct links between Russia and Georgian extreme right groups needs more research and evidence.

As for theoretical implications, this thesis demonstrated that the social movement theory can offer a nuanced and insightful approach to understand extreme right mobilization. Indeed, demand for the radical right wing largely exists in most societies, so to understand mobilization and success of such groups, it is important to pay attention to the supply side instead (Mudde, 2010). A closer look at political opportunities and organizational resources enables a more comprehensive understanding of the supply side of extreme right mobilization, helping to analyze extreme right framing and collective action. In addition, in cases similar to Georgia, with a small number of extreme right actors, interviews proved to be a helpful addition to the original framework. Interviews with activists, including former members of extreme right groups, provide valuable inside information and also help overcome the panic that often comes with the visibility of the extreme right. Interviews with experts, in turn, help understand the context in under-researched areas.

The thesis demonstrated that the framework that had been tested in Western European and US contexts proved to apply to the Georgian case as well. Thus, future research could explore other countries in Eastern and Central Europe and elsewhere through this framework. Another potential pathway of future research could take a more comparative approach, identifying transnational similarities and differences among extreme right groups. Last but not least, future research could build on the findings of this thesis to investigate Russian influences on the extreme right in Georgia.

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Figure 4: Georgian March. (2017). *Official logo of Georgian March*. Facebook. Viewed
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Figure 5: Georgian Power. (2017). *Official logo of Georgian Power*. Facebook. Viewed February
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Figure 6: Georgian Power. (2017). *Banner*. Youtube. Viewed February 20, 2019.

Figure 7: National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity. (2018). *Official logo of
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Figure 21: Georgian March. (2017). *I serve liberasts!* Facebook. Viewed February 20, 2019.

Figure 30: Georgian Power. (2018). *Cartoon.* Facebook. Viewed March 2, 2019.

Figure 33: Georgian Power. (2018). *Pro-Trump banner*. Facebook. Viewed March 2, 2019.

Figure 34: Georgian Power. (2018). *Militaristic New Year*, Facebook. Viewed March 2, 2019.

Figure 40: National Socialist Movement – Georgian National Unity. (2018). *Better to be Far
Right than Far Wrong*. Facebook. Viewed March 2, 2019.

Appendix 1: Guide for Expert Interviews

1. Tell me about your work/research/article

2. My selection of extra-parliamentary extreme right groups/organizations: Georgian March, Georgian Idea, Georgian Power, National Socialist Movement. Would you add/remove any actors? Why?

3. Extreme right groups in Georgia have mobilized exceptionally in the past few years. Could you name any political, economic or social factors that can be considered as preconditions for extreme right mobilization?

   Examples: 2012 regime change, 2013 cohabitation with a UNM president, 2014 Association agreement, 2016-2017 refugee crisis

4. OPTIONAL QUESTIONS (for journalists mostly):

   a. Which protest events organized by the extreme right would you consider most important during the past few years?

   b. What were the main characteristics of these events, in terms of size, objectives, audience, and violent/nonviolent means?

5. Moving on to how mobilization took place:

   - how would you characterize the political opportunities available to these groups?

   - To what extent do they have access to political space and decision-making?

   - Do they have ally parties that voice their opinions?

6. Another factor of mobilization is organizational resources. How would you evaluate the human/material/symbolic resources available to these groups?

7. Finally, framing is another important factor in mobilization. To what extent do you consider that framing of extreme right groups resonates with the target audience (frame resonance)?

Appendix 2: Codebook for Facebook Posts

Code	Description	# of References
1. Diagnostic framing	What is the problem? Who is to blame? Who are we?	4950
1.1. Collective identity	Framing the US, the in-group, creating collective identity	1339
1.1.1. General		189
Caucasians		6
Christian Europe		8
Men		23
Nationalists		128
Orthodox countries		24
1.1.2. In Georgia		1148
Georgian Alt-right		4
Defenders of children		43
Defenders of family values		66
Defenders of the Georgian people		35
Defenders of tradition		30
Defenders of women		14
Fascists	Includes national socialists	43
Georgian race		12
New generation		22
Orthodox Georgians		589
Patriots		61
national	„ეროვნული"	34
Right wing		45
Voice of the Georgian nation		184
Georgian people or Georgian nation		114
1.2. Problems	Framing political/social/economic issues	1557
1.2.1. Economic problems		114
Influence of banks and microfinancial institutions		19
Poverty		28
Privatization of land to foreign citizens		67
1.2.2. Political problems		575
Conflicts in Abkhazia or South Ossetia		20
Democracy		11
Deviation from Gamsakhurdia's principles		10
Foreign interference		173
EU influence	EU influence in Georgian politics	10
Russian influence	Russian influence in Georgian politics	18

Soros' influence	George Soros' influence in Georgian politics	77
Turkish influence	Turkish influence in Georgian politics	60
US influence	US influence in Georgian politics	8
Government or political elite		112
New legislation	Stricter laws on domestic violence, sexual harassment, discrimination, etc., enforced after the EU-Georgia Association Agreement.	92
Antidiscrimination law		63
Domestic violence law		5
EUAA	EU-Georgia Association Agreement	21
Sexual harassment law		3
Repression	Repression of extreme right opinions or activists, e.g. Facebook account suspension, arrest, etc.	142
Worsening relations with Russia		15
1.2.3. Social problems		866
Abortion		28
Attacks on the Georgian Orthodox Church	Criticism also perceived as an "attack"	46
Casinos		1
Degradation of Georgian values	E.g. "we have degraded" "we have lost our core values"	44
Demographic problems	Mostly low birth rate	17
Disrespect of the military		2
Drugs		85
Globalization		8
Immigration		100
Insult of religious feelings		26
Kazantip festival	Framed as a festival of promiscuity	9
LGBT identity		79
LGBT visibility or protection of rights	Anyone openly supporting LGBT persons or calling for their protection	138
Media spreading misinformation		124
Migration to Europe		87
Modernism		12
Prostitution		14
Religious minorities gaining influence	Includes building of religious buildings, state funding, celebration of national holidays, etc.	33
Terrorism		13
1.3. The Other	Defining the out-group, the Others.	2054
1.3.1. External	The Other seen as foreign actors	540
Armenia		6
Canada		1
EU		74

Europe		24
George Soros		99
Muslims		85
NATO		41
Non-whites		14
Russia		43
The West		28
Turkey		95
UN		8
USA		22
1.3.2. Internal	The Other inside the country	1514
Communism or communists		50
Constitutional Court		10
Feminists		54
Foreign-educated Georgians		8
Girchi		23
Government or political elite		137
Immigrants or foreigners		153
Leftists		43
LGBT community		181
LGBT rights activists		158
Liberals		268
Media		128
NGOs		44
Non-Orthodox Christians		38
President		21
Public Defender		32
Republican Party		39
UNM or European Georgia		127
2. Motivational framing		193
2.1. Offline	What should be done in real life	132
Boycott elections		3
Financial contribution		5
Join a demonstration		68
Join the organization as a member		38
Stop watching Georgian TV		6
Support candidates in elections		12
2.2. Online	What should be done online	60
Like or follow		8
Share information		51
Sign a petition		1
3. Prognostic framing	How do we solve the problem?	514
Alternative ID cards		4
Civil disobedience		2
Control NGOs		4
Cooperation among right-wing groups		3
Develop agriculture		2
Follow good examples	Follow the examples of nationalist governments or leaders around the world	61

Militarization		2
Ethnicity in ID cards		2
Neutrality	Neutrality in terms of foreign policy, avoidance of integration into NATO, EU, etc., as well as prohibition of foreign interference of, e.g. George Soros.	11
New elections		0
Physical fitness		7
Preserve traditions		12
Prohibit abortion		4
Prohibit gender quotas		1
Prohibit land privatization		8
Prohibit LGBT propaganda		1
Regulate banks		1
Restrict immigration		11
Revoke antidiscrimination law		1
Revoke the AA	Revoke the EU-Georgia Association Agreement	3
Rewrite Georgian history		2
Theocracy		69
Tougher drug policy		5

Appendix 3: Guide for Activist Interviews

1. Tell me about your organization \ how was your organization established?

2. Approximately how many members are there in your group?

3. What are the main ideas related to politics, economics and society that your group members share?

4. What are the most pressing political, economic and social problems in Georgia today?

5. What/who is the reason behind these problems?

    e.g. Media, elites, migrants, LGBT, feminists, Soros, NGOs, Russia, Turkey, USA, EU

6. What should be done to solve these problems? Who should do it? Why?

7. Does your group have the ability to take any of these actions? Why or why not? To what extent do you have access to political decision-making?

8. To what extent do other political groups share your opinions?

9. Is there any political party or organization in Georgia that has ideas similar to yours (opinions on Georgian March, Georgian Power, National Socialist Movement, Georgian Idea, Nationalist Legion)?

10. To what extent do you cooperate with other parties and/or groups?

    a. If you do, could you describe your cooperation (e.g. plan protests, joint press conferences, joint statements)?

    b. Would you cooperate with a group you do not completely agree with for a shared purpose?

Appendix 4: Codebook for Protest Events

Event	Date	Location	Organizer(s)	Aim	Target	Participants	Protest Event Type
Short description	Date of the event 2014-2018	- Tbilisi - Batumi - online	Extreme right group(s) named as organizers: - Georgian Idea - Georgian March - Georgian Power - NSM	List of requests	Persons/ organizations that the protest was directed at: - LGBT persons/ supporters - immigrants - Soros - Government - Liberals - UNM - Drug policy - Media - anti-discrimination law - Constitutional Court - Girchi - European Georgia	Number of participants: <20 20-50 50-100 100-500 500-1000 >1000	- Conventional - Demonstrative - Confrontational - Light violence - Heavy violence

Appendix 5: Assessment of the NSD

NSD NORSK SENTER FOR FORSKNINGSDATA

NSD's assessment

Project title

Extreme Right Groups in Georgia

Reference number

140871

Registered

05.10.2018 av Tamta Gelashvili - tamtag@student.sv.uio.no

Data controller (institution responsible for the project)

Universitetet i Oslo / Det samfunnsvitenskapelige fakultet / Institutt for statsvitenskap

Project leader (academic employee/supervisor or PhD candidate)

Helge Blakkisrud, hb@nupi.no, tlf: 22994015

Type of project

Student project, Master's thesis

Contact information, student

Tamta Gelashvili, tamtag@student.sv.uio.no, tlf: 48685237

Project period

01.01.2019 - 23.05.2019

Status

14.12.2018 - Assessed

Assessment (1)

14.12.2018 - Assessed

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, presupposing that it is carried out in accordance with the information given in the Notification Form and attachments dated 14.12.2018, as well as dialogue with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to begin.

NOTIFY CHANGES
If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify

NSD. This is done by updating the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION
The project will be processing special categories of personal data about political opinions, and general categories of personal data, until 23.05.2019.

LEGAL BASIS
The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn.

The legal basis for processing special categories of personal data (sample 1) is explicit consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a), cf. art. 9.2 a), cf. the Personal Data Act § 10, cf. §
9 (2).

The legal basis for processing general categories of personal data is consent given by the data subject, cf. the
General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a).

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA
NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the
General Data Protection Regulation regarding:
- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
- storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS
Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data.

NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects about the processing of their personal will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.

We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT
NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the project!
Contact person at NSD: Eva J B Payne
Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)