

GOVERNMENT PUBLIC RELATIONS IN THE NATION-BUILDING OF GEORGIA

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Mass Communication in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication.

Chapel Hill  
2008

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## **ABSTRACT**

**MAIA MATESHVILI: Government Public Relations in the Nation-Building of Georgia**

(Under the direction of Elizabeth Dougall, Lucila Vargas, John Reid)

On May 10, 2005, President Mikheil Saakashvili delivered a public speech to commemorate President George W. Bush's historic visit to the country of Georgia. President Bush's visit was an indication of the U.S.'s support of pro-Western, democratic nation-building processes initiated by Saakashvili's administration following the Rose Revolution in 2003. Within the framework of this thesis, textual analysis of President Saakashvili's welcoming address is conducted to uncover the embedded ideology and to identify the frames developed in the speech. Subsequently, local and international print media coverage is examined through qualitative content analysis to determine how news media covered the speech. The goal of this study is to suggest how the Georgian government can facilitate the country's democratization by using government public relations as a strategic planning tool, and by integrating public relations approaches into the communication component of the nation-building.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude and express profound appreciation to the members of my thesis committee for their continuous guidance and support. Their insight and constructive feedback was crucial to the progress of this work.

In addition, I would like to thank my family and friends for their unwavering confidence and encouragement.

Finally, I want to dedicate this work to my daughters, Tina and Anna.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

On May 10, 2005, Georgia's President Mikheil Saakashvili delivered a public speech to commemorate President George W. Bush's historic visit to the country of Georgia. Made in the wake of the so-called Rose Revolution, which culminated in a peaceful overthrow of the government in November of 2003, the speech represented a critical moment in the history of the developing Georgian democracy. The speech symbolized the discourse between the government of Georgia and its people, as well as the discourse between the Georgian people and the United States, personified by President Bush. The event was well-choreographed, with international media and the crowd managed, and the dignitaries seated in the assigned places. In the context of this critical national event, this study explores the role played by public relations within the framework of democratic nation-building processes in the post-Rose Revolution Georgia.

President Bush was the first American president to set his foot on Georgian soil. His visit was an indication of the U.S.'s support of pro-Western, democratic nation-building processes initiated by Saakashvili's administration following the Rose Revolution which took place in Georgia in 2003. In addition to the 150,000 people attending, the event attracted attention globally. As the centerpiece of President Bush's visit, the speech completed the visit and served as a catalyst for local and international news coverage.

Both textual and content analyses were employed in this study in order to: (1) explore if the text of the President Saakashvili's welcoming address was employed as a nation-building tool during President George W. Bush's visit to Georgia; (2) find out what frames were used in the speech by conducting a qualitative textual analysis of the speech using ideological criticism; and (3) determine if, and how both Georgian and international media used the key messages encoded in the speech by conducting a qualitative content analysis of the resulting international print media coverage.

Two objectives underpin this study: (1) to provide insights on how the government of an emerging democracy uses public relations to communicate with its internal and external target audiences, by zeroing in on presidential speeches as a public relations tool; and (2) to make recommendations on how public relations can facilitate the political transition in emerging democracies such as Georgia.

First, Georgia's history is briefly recounted for context. The importance and impact of the Rose Revolution and the significance of President Bush's first visit to Tbilisi is then discussed. The literature review comprises an exploration of the notion of nation-building, including its application to post-Rose Revolution Georgia. The practice of public relations in post-communist countries of Eastern Europe, including emerging democracies such as Georgia is then described, and the place of the public relations in nation-building process is elaborated. The focus of this thesis is on presidential speeches as a communication tool applied within government public relations. Finally, the media system in general, and Georgian media in particular, is provided to contextualize this examination of an important nation-building event.

In Chapter III, the research questions are presented and the research methods used in this study are discussed. The appendices provided at the end of this paper include the transcript of the speech, a photo collage of the venue of the speech, a checklist for a successful nation-building process, textual analysis chart, data summary table, coding sheet, codebook and other relevant documents. A qualitative content analysis of the articles is conducted to identify frames that emerge from the speech. In Chapter IV, the findings of the study are discussed. Chapter V consists of discussion of the findings and their explanation. Limitations of the study are listed and directions for future research are suggested. At the end, in Chapter VI, conclusions are explored, including recommendations on how to improve the efficiency of public relations within the context of the nation-building in emerging democracies by delivering government's messages more effectively to the internal and external target publics.

This thesis contributes to the field of mass communication by providing new information about nation-building in Georgia and the place of public relations, including speechwriting, in this process. Finally, this thesis argues in favor of adopting public relations approaches to nation-building in Georgia by making recommendations on how to improve the communication component of government public relations.

### Georgia

To better understand the setting of this study, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of Georgia as a country. Burton and Drake (2004) describe Georgia as “the California of the Soviet Union, renowned for its high living standards, favorable climate, and thriving wine and film industries” (p. 121). Later nicknamed the “Russian Riviera” and the

“richest jewel in the Soviet crown” (Nasmyth, 2006, 6-7) for its scenic beauty and vivacious culture, Georgia was originally known as the ancient land of the Golden Fleece, explored by Jason and the Argonauts (Nasmyth, 2006; Russell, 1998). It is also the site of Dmanisi, one of the oldest human habitations in Eurasia, dating back 7 million years based on the results of 1991 paleoanthropological excavations (“Dmanisi,” Encyclopedia Britannica Online, 2008).

According to the Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, Georgia is located between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea in the eastern part of Europe. It shares borders with Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Turkey. The July 2007 census showed that the country’s population has exceeded 4.6 million. The capital city, Tbilisi, is a cultural and business center of the country (Central Intelligence Agency).

The U.S. Department of State’s Country Profile indicates that Georgia was one of the first former Soviet republics to reclaim its annexed sovereignty after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. Four years later, in the midst of the turbulent events following a painful separation from Russia, Eduard Shevardnadze – a prominent politician and a former minister of foreign affairs of USSR – became the president of Georgia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, Georgia became an independent republic.

### The Rose Revolution

The controversy over falsified parliamentary elections on Nov. 2, 2003, in Georgia precipitated a public outrage, which ultimately led to the bloodless transfer of political power known as the Rose Revolution (Richards, 2005). Events rapidly escalated and within a month, a full-fledged revolution occurred on Nov. 23, 2003, in Tbilisi. The coup d’état was dubbed the Rose Revolution because its participants were carrying and distributing red long-

stemmed roses as their only weapons (Antelava, 2004). The Georgian people, led by Mikheil Saakashvili, a 36-year-old, U.S.-educated lawyer, demanded that then-President Shevardnadze step down. Saakashvili spearheaded the massive non-violent national movement against Shevardnadze. Shortly after the Revolution, in January of 2003, Saakashvili received 96 percent of the votes in presidential elections and became Georgia's fourth president (Wheatley, 2005). The Revolution caused an overwhelming national awakening by boosting morale of the Georgian people, reviving their patriotism, and giving them the hope for a better future. The creation of nation-building paraphernalia, such as the new state flag, anthem, and seal, were the first physical manifestations of the fresh start for Georgia.

The Rose Revolution was a major democratic milestone in the post-Soviet space. It set a precedent of national unity that led to peaceful regime change and a considerable shift towards democracy. According to Nodia and Scholtbach (2006), the revolution "demonstrated the commitment of the Georgian people to the values of democracy and their intolerance toward blatant infringements on their political rights" (p. 20). The revolution also triggered a short-lived but immensely important chain of similar events in other countries. President Bush, in his address to the citizens of Slovakia on Feb. 24, 2005, said: "In recent times, we have witnessed landmark events in the history of liberty: A Rose Revolution in Georgia, an Orange Revolution in Ukraine, and now, a Purple Revolution in Iraq" (President Addresses and Thanks Citizens of Slovakia, para. 9).

For the U.S., the Rose Revolution symbolized an important step toward the spread of democracy in the Newly Independent States (NIS). It was welcomed and openly supported by the Bush administration. Even before the Rose Revolution, the U.S. has been supporting

Georgia by spending over \$154 million on democracy assistance projects (Anable, 2006). Jonathan Wheatley (2005) noted that Saakashvili's opponents even referred to the Rose Revolution as a "US-inspired coup" (p. 189). He suggested that the U.S. had facilitated a change in government, given Georgia's "strategic importance and its role as a transit route for natural resources" (Wheatley, 2005, p. 189). Wheatley (2005) also drew attention to the active role played by the National Democratic Institute, an American organization that trained members of a youth movement, "Kmara!," in techniques of civil disobedience. "Kmara!" activists unified the young population and engaged them in the street protests during Revolution. Russia, on the other hand, saw the group as a danger causing it to lose its influence over Georgia and considered it to be a warning sign that could lead to similar outbursts in other countries that presently make up the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

After the Rose Revolution, the first official visit of the U.S. delegation, headed by President Bush, was arguably the most anticipated event in Georgia. Both the Georgian media and Saakashvili promoted the visit as a "tribute to the newly strengthened U.S.-Georgian relationship" (Corso, 2005, para. 1). When President Bush came to Georgia in 2005, he was greeted with an outpouring of affection as his visit prompted an extraordinary turnout and excitement in the local people ("An enthusiastic welcome in former Soviet republic," 2005, paras. 1 and 5). The next section gives additional information about the visit and explains its importance.

## President Bush's Visit

President Bush was the first American President to visit Georgia. His visit signified the support of the American people toward the newly elected Georgian government and its efforts to make Georgia a more democratic nation. The visit lasted two days, May 9 and 10, 2005. A comprehensive website, “[www.georgiawelcomesusa.com](http://www.georgiawelcomesusa.com),” was created solely for this visit. Among other things, this website also provided a detailed agenda of the visit, which included the greeting of the president's airplane, Air Force One, by a Georgian delegation, a visit to the old part of town called “Abanotubani” for traditional cultural entertainment, an honors arrival ceremony, private meetings with the government officials, a press conference, a discussion with civil society representatives, and a meeting with a Chair of the Parliament (see Appendix B). The climax of the visit was a public address by the two presidents at the Freedom Square.

The city of Tbilisi underwent major renovations in preparation for the visit. Facades of the buildings were repainted, security was enhanced, and an elaborate performance featuring polyphonic songs and folk dances was staged in honor of President Bush and First Lady Laura Bush. International media tracked the U.S. president's every move (Kupatadze, 2005).

A crowd of between 150,000 and 250,000 assembled to see the two presidents speak (Kupatadze, 2005). The group included common citizens and city-dwellers, as well as out-of-towners, expatriates, foreign and local media, prominent politicians, and cultural elite who came to witness these historic speeches.

I attended as a volunteer assigned to work with the international media to witness this historic event. I was immensely impressed with the number of people who showed up to see

the two presidents and hear them deliver their speeches. The grandeur of the venue was also remarkable. The Freedom Square was decorated with Georgian and American flags in all forms and shapes (see Appendix C). A special stage was constructed for the speakers, security gates were set up at all entrances, and choirs performed national anthems. The entire atmosphere was breathtaking. The crowd roared when the two presidents and the first ladies appeared on the stage. President Saakashvili delivered his speech in Georgian followed by a consecutive translation (see Appendix D). Afterwards, President Bush spoke.

This event was highly publicized by the government and the media through billboards, fliers, and TV and print advertisements. From the public relations planning perspective, this final event, the speeches, was the high point of the visit. A special task force, comprised of presidential communications personnel, media relations experts, and consultants, led by senior government advisor Daniel Kunin, was assembled by the government to plan and organize this visit (Kunin, 2005). Kunin is, in fact, an independent contractor, whose foreign policy consulting and speechwriting services to the Georgian government were funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (TUCKToday, 2006). Ruler and Vercic (2004) wrote that public relations in Europe are rarely practiced openly, due to societal, economic and other reasons. Similarly, the public relations efforts in relation to President Bush's visit to Georgia were kept behind the scenes and were not explicitly discussed. Yet, it is reasonable to suggest that an event of such magnitude was carefully orchestrated and must have required input from the public relations experts. Just as the term "nation-building" is rarely used by the Georgian government to describe the processes that take place in the country, the role played by the public relations role in the nation-building initiatives is not openly discussed either.



According to Giorgi Kupatadze's (2005) article published in the online magazine *Kvali*, Bush's entire visit to Georgia lasted 19 hours. Kupatadze (2005) estimated that the government spent an equivalent of \$220,000 on preparations. This visit was important for Georgia as a demonstration of the Bush administration's support for Georgia's new government. President Bush's presence put Georgia at the center of the world's attention and scrutiny and gave the emerging democracy an opportunity to flaunt its famous hospitality and parade its culture, arts, architecture and cuisine. Finally, this event set the stage for President Saakashvili to let the world know more about his country's past, present, and future.

The preceding discussion presented Georgia's background, explained the causes and significance of the 2003 Rose Revolution, and provided the details of President Bush's official visit in 2005. Now, the relevant bodies of nation-building and public relations literature will be explored.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter provides an overview of nation-building literature and the works of scholars who argue that public relations can, and should be, an integral part of the communication component of nation-building (Lawniczak, 2004; Taylor, 2000; Taylor & Kent, 2006). Due to the lack of scholarly or trade information about public relations practiced in Georgia *per se*, scholarship relating to current Eastern European public relations is reviewed. The specific case of Georgia is then explored from a nation-building and public relations perspective. Afterward, the place of public relations in nation-building is discussed, and the concept of presidential speeches as a government public relations tool is examined. Finally, the literature review assesses the place of media in general, and Georgian media in particular, in nation-building.

The concept of nation-building is an appropriate lens to explore the emerging Georgian democracy. Public relations can play a crucial role in this process (Lawniczak, 2004; Taylor, 2000; Taylor & Kent 2006; Wang, 2006), as the new government communicates pro-democratic changes to its people and to the world community through the media. Cutlip, et. al. (1994) discuss the role of government public relations as the mediator of a dialogue between the government and the citizenry that is “necessary to make democracy

work” (p. 472). Taylor and Kent (2006) and Lawniczak (2004) suggest specific theoretical approaches, discussed later in the chapter, that provide a framework for nation-building.

### Nation-Building

Nation-building was originally a label for a process that the so-called third world countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa went through after de-colonization from by Western countries (Ali, 1988, Deutsch & Foltz, 1963). In the 1990s the term was also applied to countries, Georgia among others, which regained independence after the Soviet Union’s dissolution (Gaither, 2006). With time, the meaning of nation-building changed. It began to denote a country’s intrinsic changes towards modernization. Ali (1988) looked at nation-building through the eyes of the inhabitants of the underdeveloped countries. He wrote that the term connotes a movement that “tends to unite people who speak the same language, live in the same territory, and are prepared to give loyalty to a single government” (Ali, 1988, p. 2).

The meaning of nation-building has since shifted. Most present-day scholars associate nation-building with the use of military power by a more-developed country to reinforce democratization in a less-developed country. The U.S. is the No. 1 power in contemporary nation-building. The U.S.’s involvement is most often cited in relation to Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and, most recently, Iraq (see Dobbins, et. al, 2005; Somit & Peterson, 2005; Watson, 2004).

However, some scholars (Ali, 1988; Deutsch & Foltz, 1963; Payne, 2005.) argue that forceful nation-building following a military occupation is ineffective, contending instead that countries must develop from within. To date, there is no cohesive definition of nation-building. For instance, Dobbins, et. al. (2005) suggest: “Nation-building can be viewed in

terms of its inputs—which, broadly speaking, are manpower, money, and time, and its desired outputs—which are peace, economic growth and democratization” (p. xxi). In contrast, Payne (2005) suggests that: “The meaning of success involves more than holding an election and setting up a government. Nation-building implies building, that is, constructing a lasting edifice” (p. 1). Huntington (1969), who wrote extensively about nation-building, defined that concept as the process of building political institutions in a newly formed state.

While most scholars argue that nation-building involves modernization, they also deliberate to what extent it is synonymous with democratization. Somit and Peterson (2005) provided an operational definition of “democratic nation-building” as “a process by which outside countries endeavor to create democracy in formerly undemocratic societies or to maintain democracy in those countries currently democratic, but, for some reason, under threat of losing democracy” (p. 37). Somit and Peterson (2005) rely on the Freedom House rankings of the former USSR countries, and note that despite international efforts to nurture the more liberal political systems and strengthen its economy, “there is little indication that democratic nation-building has taken root in the ruins of the Soviet empire” (p. 74). One explanation to this phenomenon is that, according to Fukuyama (2004), “nation-building is a difficult, long-term enterprise with high costs in manpower, lives, and resources” (p. 5). Thus, more time is needed to evaluate the ultimate success or failure of nation-building in any given country. Ignatieff (2002) also warned against rushing this process to achieve quick, yet superficial, results. He called it nation-building “lite” (Ignatieff, 2002, p. 29).

A number of scholars focused on two issues related to nation-building: state-building vs. nation-building, and the relation between national identity and nation-building (Fukuyama, 2004; Islam, 1988; Somit and Peterson, 2005). Islam (1988) made a distinction

between state-building and nation-building. He stated that the former is more structural and signifies “the increase in the regulative and extractive abilities of the political system” (Islam, 1988, p. 64), while the latter is a more cultural and attitudinal shift that signifies “subjective change in the ultimate object of individual identification” (p. 64).

An important connection can be made between nation-building and “imagined communities,” a term coined by Benedict Anderson in 1991. Anderson (1991) wrote extensively about nationalism and the development of a national consciousness, or national unity. He made a distinction between a nation as “an imagined political community” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6) that shares a mental image of their unity, and a physical group of people who belong to the same nation, live on the same territory, but do not or cannot interact face-to-face. Therefore, it can be argued, nation-building can be implemented by imagined communities of people who view themselves as affiliates of the same nation.

Surprisingly, the formal definition of nation-building is missing from a number of famous sources such as The American Heritage Dictionary, Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, the Political Handbook of the World, and Encyclopedia Britannica. Only in the online version of the Oxford English Dictionary (2007) may one find this entry: “nation-building: *n.* and *adj.*; (*a*) *n.* the creation of a new nation, esp. a newly independent nation; the encouragement of social or cultural cohesion within a nation.”

Not only is nation-building difficult to define, but it is also hard to evaluate in terms of success or failure due to the lack of unified measurement criteria. As many scholars agree, nation-building is a time-consuming and complicated process. Scholars tackled the challenge (see Appendix H) by developing a specific “hierarchy of nation-building tasks” (Dobbins, et. al., 2007, p. xxiii). Others have opted for a more general approach in which “nation-state

building can be considered successful once a recovering country is again stable, has rejoined the international community, and has met the criteria for being a sovereign nation-state” (Jennings, 2005, p. 412). The general consensus is that it is hard to pinpoint when nation can be considered “built,” and that the success of the nation-building should be evaluated over a long period of time. Yet, the assessment of the ultimate success or failure of the nation-building in any given country is considered to be a subjective process that varies from one evaluator to another. Meanwhile, the guidelines for successful implementation of nation-building, such as those provided in Appendix H, are used to track the progress of democratic processes and evaluate the overall course of action in emerging democracies like Georgia.

Nation-building literature does not extensively mention Georgia. Most published analyses of Georgia’s political developments were written before Rose Revolution (Rosen, 1999; Russell, 1991; Suny, 1994). They primarily describe Georgia as an attractive tourist destination and marvel at its rich history, beautiful nature, delicious cuisine, and vibrant culture. Those scholarly works about Georgian political landscape that had been published after the revolution focus on sociopolitical implications of the revolution (Cornell, 2007; Katz, 2006), statehood and security issues (Coppieteres & Legvold, 2005), or cultural and historic development (Goltz, 2006; Nasmyth, 2006). Still, the examination of Georgia’s nation-building remains insignificant compared to the attention received by other former Soviet Union countries, such as Russia, Ukraine, or the Baltic states. The next section reviews the nation-building literature and applies it to the current state of Georgia.

## Nation-Building in the Post-Rose Revolution Georgia

Numerous studies have examined nation-building processes worldwide (See Appendix E). Somit and Peterson (2005) have written extensively about Afghanistan, while Dobbins, et. al. (2005) concentrated on Iraq. They formulated checklists for successful nation-building and evaluated its effectiveness in these two countries. Yet, relatively little has been written about Georgia's continuous nation-building efforts under Saakashvili's administration following the Rose Revolution. Areshidze (2007) and Wheatley (2005) are among few scholars who studied recent democratic changes and emerging of nation-building in Georgia. Yet, even they don't explicitly mention the term "nation-building" with regard to Georgia.

Following the Rose Revolution, Georgia embarked on its journey to build a new nation. As Watson (2004) put it, "nation-building enables a country to choose its own path" (p. 18). Ronald Grigor Suny (2006), who has written extensively about Georgia, declared that "today, Georgians are once again reconstructing their sense of themselves and their nation" (para. 10). After the new path materialized following the Rose Revolution, an extensive process of democratic nation-building was launched across Georgia by Saakashvili's administration. The new government made major shifts toward democracy in the past few years since Georgia became a Newly Independent State (NIS). Korobkov (2003) wrote that Georgia is among the "relatively more democratically advanced NIS, where the Communist power structure was at least partially replaced by the alternative ones" (p. 19). Nonetheless, other scholars, including famous nation-building researcher Fareed Zakaria (2004), disagree and still categorize Georgia as an illiberal democracy. Wheatley (2005) wrote that many post-Revolution reforms are "haphazard" (p. 209) and declared that at times the new

government “exhibited strong illiberal and authoritarian tendencies, even though it stated that the aim was to build a modern and liberal society” (p. 209).

Nodia and Scholtbach (2006), on the other hand, take a more-optimistic approach and positively evaluate the nation-building undertakings of the new government. They point out three characteristics of democratic nation-building that have been successfully achieved in the post-Rose Revolution Georgia. First is the preservation of the territorial integrity by ousting Aslan Abashidze and his dictatorship regime from the Adjara region. Second is the crackdown on corruption and organized crime in public agencies. The fight against corruption started with the establishment of the Reform and Development Fund to increase the salaries of state employees, followed by implementation of structural and institutional reforms to reveal, denounce, and punish high-ranking state officials and civil servants who engaged in extortion. Third is a dramatic improvement in the public infrastructure achieved by repairing roads, repainting the facades of the buildings in major towns across the nation, revamping summer and winter resorts, and reintroducing free medical emergency services.

Scholars who write about nation-building underscore the significance of the local language. Smith, et. al. (1998) stated that Georgian language is “an important component of Georgian nationalism” (p. 168) and dedicated an entire chapter to the connection of language to nation-building. In public relations field, Tampere (2004), too, wrote about repeated attempts of the Communist government to suppress local Estonian language and replace it with Russian. The same can be said for Georgia. While the official language spoken in the country is Georgian, there are also over a dozen languages in use within its borders (See Appendix F). Incidentally, Sanikidze and Walker (2004) note that since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the



slogan of the Georgian national movement and resistance against invaders has been “Language, Homeland, Faith:” the three things worth dying for.

While the significance of the communication component within the nation-building literature is addressed by development communication, discussed in the next section, there is a little examination of the place of public relations in this process. Before finding a place for public relations in the nation-building process, we must first look at the big picture and examine how mass communication is employed in nation-building.

### The Place of Communication in Nation-Building

Originally, it was believed that people in developing countries, primarily in the Southern part of the American continent and in Africa, couldn't develop, in other words, they could not become modernized on their own but rather had to be guided through this process by more developed countries (Thussu, 2006). According to Thussu (2006), modernization theory suggested that communication was a vehicle to facilitate country's economic, cultural and national identity development. Development was synonymous with modernization, urbanization, and an increase in the standard of living, and the mass media were seen as a vehicle to spread the message dictated by the Western countries (Thussu, 2006). Hence, communication aimed at the developing countries had to flow from the top down and had to be government-controlled. Development communication originated in the 1960s and 1970s, when Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm examined the relationship between modernization theory and mass communication. Development journalism, at the time, was striving to go beyond reporting the news and focus more on the wider context of the story (Lerner 1958; Schramm, 1964, as cited in Thussu, 2006) . Development journalism also paid attention to

diversifying the content of the news reported from developing countries. Lerner and Schramm's research showed that the attitudes toward the developing world were changing and so was communication in such areas, which became more participatory and bottom-up.

Later, dependency theory emerged (Thussu, 2006), which proposed that the true aim of development communication was to facilitate the preservation of the gap between developing and developed countries. Herbert Schiller was a prominent figure in this area. He claimed that the underlying goal of the free flow of information was in fact neocolonialism, where the rich were getting richer while the poor were kept poor (Schiller, 1996, as cited in Thussu, 2006).

Melkote and Steeves (2001) examine numerous models used by the mass media in the third world, specifically in India and Mexico, to communicate with audiences. Yet, the role of communication from the public relations perspective, within a context of the nation-building are not as closely examined. Most communication studies examine the communication process primarily from the mass media side through critical discourse analysis. These studies rarely examine the public relations approach which also uses communication tools to pitch stories about the government efforts to the media. Although public relations is at times erroneously considered to be synonymous with publicity, in reality, media relations is only one aspect of public relations. Public relations encompasses a much wider range of functions in order to "establish and maintain mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics" (Cutlip, et. al., 1994, p. 6).

Taylor and Kent (2006) emphasize the importance of public relations to the successful implementation of the nation-building objectives and state: "communication as a tool for nation building must be understood as that which creates and maintains

relationships” (p. 357). Taylor and Kent (2006) stress the importance of development communication and give three theoretical approaches that provide a framework for nation-building coorientation, dialogic, and civil society theories. All three approaches concentrate on forming and maintaining long-lasting relationships and facilitating constructive dialogues with key publics. Coorientation theory advocates achieving intersubjectivity through tolerance and acceptance of dissenting opinions. Dialogic theory is similar to coorientation theory, but is primarily focused on individual, as opposed to group relations. The civil society approach concentrates on establishing a dialogue between civil society groups and the government.

Most nation-building studies promote open communication between the government and the people and address the need for a democracy to have free media function without restriction (Deutsch & Foltz, 1963; Somit & Peterson, 2005). Yet, scholars rarely address public relations as a component of their research. To address this, I will now discuss how public relations has been employed in the post-communist countries of the Eastern Europe. Analysis of the public relations practices of countries in this part of the world also applies to Georgia, due to geopolitical, historic, and cultural affinity of the neighboring countries. Having an overview of how public relations originated and developed in Eastern Europe, and namely in Georgia, will facilitate the understanding of the place of public relations in the pervasive nation-building processes in modern-day Eastern Europe.

### Public Relations in Eastern Europe

The Rose Revolution has attracted general news interest but has been the subject of only a handful of academic studies and a small portion of mass media research. While several

books have been written about political significance of the Revolution by Areshidze (2007), Nodia and Scholtbach (2006), and Wheatley (2005), there are hardly any mass communication studies that focus specifically on Georgia. Although some mass communication scholars wrote about the challenges encountered by the media in former Soviet countries (Ferguson, 1998; Jakubowicz, 1995; Katz, 2006), such scholars rarely tackled the challenges encountered in the public relations field. Those scholars who did explore the public relations practices employed by the post-communist countries primarily focused on Slovenia (Gruban, 1995; Tampere, 2001; Vercic, Grunig & Grunig, 1996), Russia (Guth, 2000; Tsetsura, 2004), and the Baltic countries (Cutlip, 1990; Plavsak, 2002). The similarities in the most recent political developments and close social and cultural ties allows for certain aspects of public relations approaches used in the countries of Eastern Europe to be generalized to Georgia.

In Georgia, as well as across the entire Soviet Union, Communist ideological propaganda was used by the ruling party to communicate with the citizens for decades. Gruban (1995) wrote that propaganda, and not government public relations, was used in Slovenia when it was under the authoritarian and centralized rule of USSR before the Velvet Revolution which marked a democratic transformation. Tampere (2004), Tsetsura (2004), and Zary (2004), who wrote about Russia, Slovakia and Estonia, also agree that period of time was characterized by propaganda which entailed manipulation of information and severe media censorship, resulting in almost no freedom of speech and low credibility of the government-controlled media. Propaganda is radically different from public relations, which on aims to “bridge the gap between popular and bureaucratic government” (Cutlip, et. al., 1994, p. 465) by maintaining “responsive, mutual understanding based on two-way

communication with citizens” (Cutlip, et. al., 1994, p. 463). The goals of government public relations in a democratic political system are to inform the citizenry and facilitate development of civil society by increasing citizen participation, decreasing public apathy and countering legislative hostility (Cutlip, 1994).

There is no track record of public relations, in its true sense, being officially practiced in those countries until the 1990s. Estonia, as well as Georgia, was “an “empty place with respect to public relations” until that time (Tampere, 2004, p. 102). Tsetsura contends this lack of research in the field of public relations and frequent inability to apply theoretical foundations into practice are obstacles facing the field.

After the Soviet Union fell apart and gave rise to newly independent states, public relations was gradually introduced and integrated into governmental, societal and organizational life. Scholars agree that public relations was at first looked at suspiciously, as it bore a negative connotation of serving as a government’s mouthpiece. Tsetura (2004) draws attention to the notions of “black” and “white” public relations, also very popular in Georgia. “Black PR” is used primarily during political elections and involves a concerted effort to disgrace opponents. “White PR,” in turn, is associated with more Western, ethical practice of public relations. Tampere (2004) and Tsetsura (2004) described the initial misunderstanding and confusion about the function of public relation and its relation with marketing, advertising and press relations. As state-run and private higher education establishments started offering courses and designed undergraduate and graduate-level programs in public relations around 1996, the field became more organized. Women played a special role in developing the field, as they saw an opportunity to assume leadership positions and express themselves in public relations (Tsetsura, 2004).

With time, public and private organizations, businesses, and the government began to view public relations as an important part of their work and communication with stakeholders. Still, in Estonia, as well as in Georgia, public relations is primarily seen as a media relations and event management function. The share of strategic public relations, public relations planning and communication audits is still very low (Tampere, 2004). One of the causes might be the relative novelty of public relations campaigns, lobbying, communication ethics, corporate public relations and investor relations in the former USSR (Tampere, 2004).

In Georgia today, the advertising and marketing industries are much more developed than public relations. Georgian market business directory has a long list of local and international companies that provide advertising and marketing services, but only two entries about Georgian agencies that specialize in public relations: Infozavri PR Group and Public Relations Center (<http://www.market.ge>).

The scholars who have studied public relations in Eastern Europe have come to the conclusion that public relations in that part of the world is closely tied to political, economic, and ideological changes that take place in those newly independent countries (Gruban, 1995; Lawniczak, 2004). These scholars make similar prognoses about the future development of public relations in that region. They believe that public relations should help the new post-Soviet era administrations bridge the gap between the government and its people and help the people better adjust to the major changes emerging in their home countries. Coined by Ryszard Lawniczak (2004), the transitional public relations approach aims to “educate society to help the transformation succeed” (Ruler & Vercic, 2004, p. 9). This brings us to the argument that public relations has the potential to assume a role in nation-building.

## The Place of Public Relations in Nation-Building

As the governments make substantial changes within the country as a part of a democratic nation-building process, they should, and often do, use public relations to communicate with the citizenry and keep them in the loop about these adjustments. Therefore, it is rational to consider public relations as an integral tool for publicizing the success of the nation-building process.

Many scholars (Cutlip, et al., 1994; Cener & Broom, 1994; Diggs-Brown, 2007; Ruler & Vercic, 2004) argue that there is no succinct yet comprehensive definition of public relations. Lamb and McKee (2005) define public relations as “communication and action on the part of an organization that supports the development and maintenance of mutually beneficial relationships between the organization and the groups with which it is interdependent” (p. 1).

Maureen Taylor (2000), a noted public relations scholar, draws a direct line between public relations and nation-building by stating that public relations can help “build national unity” (p. 180) in her study about government-funded informational campaign in Malaysia. She advocates adoption of two-way, symmetrical communication (Grunig & Grunig, 1992) in order to foster establishment of “relationships between governments and publics as well as the creation of new relationships between previously unrelated publics” (Grunig & Grunig, 1992, p. 183). Grunig and Grunig’s (1992) two-way symmetrical model of public relations uses communication to foster the relationship between organization and its publics based on negotiation, trust and mutual respect. For Taylor (2000), relationships play a pivotal role in the public relations approach to nation-building. She thoroughly discusses the significance of relationship-centered public relations in emerging democracies prone to ethnic conflicts and

violence. She suggests that nation-building will be more effective if it adopts a public relations approach focused on establishing and managing relationships, increasing participation, and encouraging cooperation between the government and its people. Her main principles are summarized in Appendix G of this thesis.

Kruckeberg (1995-1996), in turn, builds on Somit and Peterson (2005) and takes this argument one step further by stating that “symmetrical practice of public relations inevitably will encourage non-democratic nations to become more democratic” (Kruckeberg, 1995-1996, p. 38). He addresses the need for practitioners to face the challenges posed by the new technologies in the globalization era. He urges them to become aware of and re-evaluate their own values and beliefs as they help entire governments and countries communicate with diverse audiences.

Curtin and Gaither (2007) address the role of public relations in the nation-building of countries such as Latvia, Belarus, and Georgia. They argue that the diverse ethnic and religious audiences, multiple languages, and vast geographic area of these newly-independent countries can become obstacles for governmental public relations practitioners as they develop informational campaigns. The governments employ public relations to help them achieve their nation-building goals. They also touch on a very important challenge—the dire economic conditions of these countries, especially in remote and rural areas. The value and effectiveness of communication initiatives decreases when people lack basic necessities such as hot water, electricity, gas, food, etc.

As Georgia becomes more democratic, public relations should become an integral part of the new administration’s public outreach efforts. Kruckeberg (1995-1996) highlights the historic affinity and ideological similarity between public relations and democracy. In



contrast, the web site “www.aboutgeorgia.net” notes that during the Communism rule, the Kremlin communicated with the masses by using propaganda. The media’s role was reduced to merely being a loudspeaker for the government. For the past few decades, the population was not considered a real target audience. Within the new democratic government, there is a lot more emphasis on maintaining favorable public opinion by keeping the public informed about the government’s accomplishments. Guth and Marsh (2005) explain: “in democratic societies, those who do not know how to communicate effectively are at a distinct disadvantage. For this reason, public relations, along with a free press, is critical to the success of democratic institutions” (Guth and Marsh, 2005, p. 267).

Saakashvili’s administration, contrary to that of the communist rulers, successfully employed public relations during and after the Rose Revolution. However, none of the scholars (Wheatley, 2005; Areshidze 2007, Nodia & Scholtbach, 2006) who studied the revolution and subsequent developments in Georgia have explicitly credited public relations’ input in the ultimate success of the revolution. However, several factors can justify public relations’ role in the Rose Revolution. First, the local as well as international media was kept in the loop as the events swiftly escalated. Irakli Kakabadze (2005), a well-known public figure in Georgia, wrote in his paper, “Inside the Revolution of Roses”:

Independent media ... played a major role in the success of the Rose Revolution as the media coverage contributed to the relatively high degree of transparency during the revolutionary events. The media’s involvement was constructive, and their coverage of the tensions helped to prevent an outbreak of violence in many cases (p. 7).

Second, the extensive live TV transmissions and subsequent print media coverage of the street protests, the storming of the Parliament building, etc., kept the general population well-informed at every stage as the events’ development. Supporters knew exactly where and

when to go to support the revolutionaries. Saakashvili used mass media to convey his agenda to the public and organize street protests and demonstrations to rally support of the people not only in big cities, but also in the rural areas across Georgia (Anable, 2006).

Third, ever since he became president, Saakashvili has been aggressively publicizing new reforms through TV ads, print brochures distributed door-to-door, and street banners. Being a charismatic leader and an eloquent and engaging speaker, Saakashvili has always welcomed media attention. Even after becoming a president, he actively attracted media attention to publicize events that celebrated the achievements of his administration. It can be argued that he initially employed the primordialist approach (Geertz, 1973) of using communication as a means to increase tension between the population and ex-President Shevardnadze and his followers. Later, he switched to an integrationalist approach (Deutsch & Foltz, 1963) of using communication to decrease tension between his young administration and the new opposition. Either way, Saakashvili's government can be characterized by its commitment to establishing and maintaining open and regular communication with the people.

As Kunczik (1990) put it, for "small nations in particular, it is often crucially important for economic reasons to cultivate their national image abroad" (p. 22). Jian Wang (2006) highlights the importance of establishing and maintaining a favorable national reputation as part of a country's nation-building. Wang (2006) defines national reputation as the "collective judgments of a foreign country's image and character" (p. 91). She lists three main kinds of interaction that serve as a basis of diplomatic communication: "government-to-government," "diplomat-to-diplomat," and, most recently, "government-to-people" (Wang, 2006, p. 93). Saakashvili's speech is a distinctive tool of diplomatic communication and falls

under all three categories because the audience of the speech comprises Georgian people, other politicians (diplomats), and the U.S. delegation.

The crucial role in the government public relations, therefore, is played by the ability of the administration, and namely the president of the country, to convey his or her vision to the target audiences. Historically, presidents have often used in-person or televised speeches to communicate with the public. The next section examines presidential speeches to a greater extent. The potential to impact the media through public address can be limited by several factors. The four main challenges of governmental speechwriting for diverse audiences are examined below.

### Presidential Speeches

Presidential speeches are an integral part of government public relations. They are “a carefully prepared monologue designed to have an impact on an audience” (Diggs-Brown, 2007, p. 163). The speeches provide the leaders with instantaneous access to the public and the media (Lammers, 1982). These speeches allow presidents to discuss issues without interruption from political commentators or the media (Hiebert, 1981; Ragsdale, 1984) and may be “especially important in setting the tone of media coverage and influencing public opinion” (Fisher Liu, 2007, p. 2). According to Diggs-Brown (2007), speeches have three main functions: to inform, to persuade, and/or to celebrate a special occasion. President Saakashvili’s speech fits in all three categories. Success of the speech depends on the speechwriter’s ability to correctly select the format of the speech and anticipate the target audience’s reaction (Diggs-Brown, 2007).

Bigg and Sindelar, in November 2007, wrote that “Saakashvili is viewed by many as the most successful pro-western leader in the former Soviet Union” (para. 15). He is fluent in

several languages, including English, Russian, and Ukrainian. He is an animated speaker who is always takes an opportunity to engage in a debate. He often delivers speeches at various events and gives extensive interviews to the media. Schaefer (1997) argues that “speeches to the nation are the most prominent and potentially influential weapon in the President's political arsenal. Speeches, together with other public events, are used to bolster the public image of, and boost public support for, the President and the President's policies” (p. 971). Although in this case the author was referring specifically to U.S. presidents, the same notion can be applied internationally. He recognizes the crucial role of the media as a vehicle to deliver the message to the intended audience. He writes: “the ‘power of the pulpit’ may be diffused or even stunted by the ‘power of the pen’” (Schaefer, 1997, p. 982).

Crafting a good speech is a difficult task. Wilcox (2005) suggests that “effective public relations writing is based on carefully defining the public and its composition so that you can tailor your information to its interests and concerns. . . . Armed with this information, you can write a more persuasive message” (p. 6). Presidential speeches address a wide range of target audiences. A number of challenges must be considered when crafting a national address for a president of a country. The first challenge is the multitude and diversity of primary and secondary target publics. In case of President Saakashvili’s speech, the target audiences included the Georgian people, local politicians, President Bush, the American people, Russian politicians, and the international mass media. It also included the leaders and residents of the conflict zones in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Kent and Taylor (1999) said that “messages often contain many levels of meaning. Thus, only individuals from that particular culture can fully appreciate and understand the subtleties of local messages” (p.

22). Therefore, it is a difficult task to craft a political speech that will diplomatically address the needs of such a diverse audience.

The second challenge is the cultural difference between the speaker and certain target audiences. Kent and Taylor (1999) stress that “particular economy, location, and history of a nation will influence the practice of public relations and that culture is linked both internally and externally to the practice of public relations. Culture as an external factor also influences communication messages, relationships, and national approaches to public relations” (p. 19).

The third challenge is satisfying the needs of the diverse international mass media. Curtin & Gaither (2007) emphasize that there is currently “the lack of a truly international public relations theory that addresses disparate nations, varying economic and sociopolitical systems, and different cultures” (p. 3). They further argue that it is important to develop an internationally accepted and practically employable public relations theory that will be “culturally sensitive, reflexive, and dynamic” (Curtin & Gaither, 2007, p. 3). They mention that propaganda is still widely used as a communications tool in some Eastern European countries with emerging democracies. Moreover, they link public relations and propaganda to the historic development of these countries.

Fourth, Botan (1992) draws attention to the issue of ethnocentrism in public relations, which is “a belief that what is known about public relations in one country is applicable in all countries. Many scholars also assume that their Western approaches to public relations can still describe the dynamics of the practice in the international arena” (p. 29). Would it be a challenge for a Westerner to draft a speech of an utmost importance for the President of an Eastern European country? Not necessarily. Incidentally, most of Saakashvili’s speeches

were written by an American, Daniel Kunin, who was a Senior Advisor to the Government of Georgia.

Wilcox (2005) claims that “a good speechwriter has the ability to stand in the shoes of the person who must give the speech. In a sense, you become your client's alter ego” (p. 466). Thus, the effect of the ethnocentrism can be minimized. Botan (1992) asserts that “societal culture influences the practice of public relations, including the direction of communication, relationships with the media, and the identification of key publics. A common assumption of the Western public relations is that practitioners should focus on a variety of key stakeholders” (p. 21).

The success of any communication process is dependent upon the ability of one party to convey information undistorted to the receiving party. To maximize the chances of effectively getting the message across to the recipient(s), it is vital for the provider of the information to identify the target audience(s) and tailor the message to their individual needs. Since the media are one of recipients of the presidential speech, they constitute a target audience.

### The Place of News Media in Nation-Building

Mass media are the primary source of information for people around the world. Newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet are the media that provide information on recent global and local developments to their target audiences. According to Lang and Lang (1966), “the mass media force attention to certain issues. . . . They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about” (p. 468). Dobbins, et al. (2007) specifically mention free press as an integral

part of democratization. Anable (2006) meticulously examined an active role played by the Georgian media during the Rose Revolution, leading to its ultimate success. He argued that media intervention and support in the process of Georgian democratization was voluntary and did not cost anything. Freedom of speech and uncensored media assuming the whistleblower function are components of the successful nation-building. Hippler (2005), in turn, related the power of media as a transmitter of information to successful nation-building. He wrote:

The media infrastructure is of particular relevance to the nation-forming process. In the face of a fragile democratic culture, the media have a large measure of influence with regard to divisive ethnicistic, nationalistic or religious ideologies being reinforced or overcome (p. 144).

Thus, the media is a crucially important target audience for government public relations efforts in a country where nation-building is under way. While presidential speeches are arguably one of the best channels to convey a message via media, ultimately it is the media that deliver the message to an even wider segment of the population that relies on media to convey the messages expressed in the speech.

Zoch and Molleda (2006) suggest that whatever the case, be it a crisis or a routine situation, a highly credible source has a greater chance to shape the media's agenda. They claim that media seek information from official sources. The president is a top newsmaker in his or her country. Consequently, presidents are automatically considered top-priority sources by the media. From the public relations perspective, it is important to address the notion of direct and indirect informational subsidies. A direct subsidy is information received directly from the source. An indirect subsidy is the same information filtered and delivered through a third party, such as the media. Zoch and Molleda (2006) also point out that public relations experts who wisely frame messages within indirect subsidies, "geometrically" (p. 287)

increase benefits for their client, because the media are more likely to reproduce these messages. Thus, public relations can maximize the chances of the encoded messages to be resonated by the media. Burton and Drake (2004) claim that the Georgian population more readily believes the media, which is perceived as more independent and objective, than they do official government sources. Therefore, government messages delivered by the media as opposed to a government official directly are more readily accepted and believed by the people.

Garrett and Bell (1998), who wrote about media discourse analysis, and gave four reasons why it is important to study media discourse. First, media represents an informative, diverse, and readily available resource. Second, it reflects people's attitudes. Third, it conveys social meanings and stereotypes of the society. Fourth, it reflects and influences sociopolitical life.

The government's commitment to fostering free flow of information and creating uncensored working conditions for the media is a characteristic of successful nation-building. Therefore, an essential task for government public relations should be establishing and maintaining open, two-way communication with the media. Public relations practitioners who work for government officials must ensure that news releases, speeches and other public outreach materials handed out to the media match their needs of newsworthiness, timeliness, relevance, etc. When it comes to crafting presidential speeches, public relations should be especially engaged to identify and address all key target audiences with the correctly "framed" messages.

Historically, the media has served as a vehicle to enable and facilitate communication between the government and its people, especially during the times of political turbulence.



To understand the choices the by the media when covering President Saakashvili's speech, it is essential to examine how the Georgian media works and assess its level of development. Hence, the next section explores the Georgian media system and its role in the emerging democracy.

### Georgian Media

The Georgian media have always been one of the least restricted among the former Soviet countries. Even deposed President Shevardnadze worked closely with the media and minimally restricted their work. It must be said that Georgian print media, radio and TV stations, and news agencies have come a long way since they were used and perceived as mere tools of the Communist propaganda. Nevertheless, compared to the Western media, today's Georgian journalism is still underdeveloped (Burton & Drake, 2004). The 2008 International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) study (see Appendix A) evaluated the professionalism level of the Georgian media. IREX and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission in Georgia also catalogued the Georgian media (see Table 1).

**Table 1***Georgian Media*

Licensed Media Outlets	No.
Television Stations	39
Radios	25
Joint Radio and Television Stations	2
News Agencies	15
Newspapers	120
Unidentified Media	2
Total	203

Georgia has four English-language newspapers: one daily called *The Messenger*, and three weeklies, *Georgia Today*, *The Georgian Times*, and *Georgian Journal*. *Georgian Journal* is a new newspaper that was launched in 2007. The other three newspapers have an established reputation and a wide readership. *Georgia Today* has been published since 2000 and *The Georgian Times* has been published since 1993. *The Messenger*, however, was the first English-language newspaper published in the country and began in 1919. After the Russian occupation of Georgia, the newspaper stopped functioning and reopened in 1990 when Georgia regained its independence from the Soviet Union. English language newspapers are primarily distributed among international donor organizations and their sub-

contractors, international and local businesses, embassies, airports, hotels, and cafes. Their main readership is the community of expatriates working in Georgia.

Nodia and Scholtbach (2006) note the importance of adopting a new media law shortly after the Rose Revolution, “which decriminalized defamation and has made it much more difficult to sue journalists” (p. 28). The state-run TV station, Channel 1, and radio station became the public broadcasting service. Nevertheless, scholars mention “hidden government pressure” ending political talk shows that openly criticized the government (Nodia & Scholtbach, 2006, p. 29). While all major TV networks still host political and public debates, this censorship had a strong chilling effect on the media, according to scholars.

The 2007 edition of the Freedom House's “Map of Freedom of the World” ranks Georgia as a partly free country. Freedom House is a non-governmental organization that strives to advance democracy and freedom around the world. Georgia has maintained this ranking since 1993. Political rights scores and civil liberties score received by Georgia from Freedom House is 3. Reporters Without Borders ([www.rsf.org](http://www.rsf.org)) lists Georgia as No. 66 and moving up in this year's World Press Freedom Index which consists of 169 countries worldwide. The rankings are based on the results of a survey about press freedom filled out by journalists, researchers, jurists, and human rights activists.

Yet, in the light of recent and widely covered violent political unrest that took place in Georgia in November 2007 (“Georgia Opposition,” Antelava, 2005) and the way the government handled this situation, these figures may change in future reports. Two TV stations, Imedi and Kavkasia, were forcibly closed down while on the air by the Special Forces after these stations started airing propaganda against President Saakshavili. Moreover,

the press was not allowed to do its work and international and local journalists alike were harassed and prevented from properly reporting about opposition's protests and the government's response to disperse the street protests. On Nov. 8, 2007, a *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, C.J. Chivers, wrote:

A photographer working for *The New York Times* was seized by an officer who wrestled away her camera and shattered it on the street. She was able to retrieve her disk of pictures, but the camera was ruined and she had two bloody scrapes on her face. Late at night the police fired rubber bullets at her as she tried to photograph the police cordon at the offices of Imedi-TV. There were also accusations that the police forcibly collected video and still cameras during the violence and returned them after, part of an effort to limit the number images that could be published or broadcast (para. 37).

Nodia and Scholtbach (2006) quote Resolution 1477 of the 2005 Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe that summarized the current state of the Georgian media. It said: "the media are financially weak and still lack the democratic culture which would allow them to credibly perform their role of democratic watchdog" (p. 29).

Although still in the development stage, the Georgian media play an important role in delivering domestic and international news to the public, especially when it comes to politics. Both the Georgian media and Saakashvili promoted the visit of President Bush "as a tribute to the newly strengthened U.S.-Georgian relationship" (Corso, 2005, para. 1). President Bush's visit to Georgia evoked a huge outpouring of affection among local residents, who provided an extraordinary turnout at the event of the speech ("An enthusiastic welcome in former Soviet republic," paras. 1 and 5). The next section gives additional information about the visit and explains its importance.

In summary, this review and examination of works written by scholars on the topics of nation-building, public relations, presidential speechmaking, and the media reveals little correlation. There seems to be a lack of emphasis on how these components can and should

integrate and contribute to the nation-building in post-Rose Revolution Georgia. This study ties these pieces together and makes logical connections as to why and how all of these areas fit together. President Saakashvili's speech is analyzed to identify the dominant ideology embedded in the text and also to identify the main frames that emerge from it. Another goal of the textual analysis will be to examine what, if any, nation-building principles are mentioned in the speech. Subsequently, international print media coverage of the speech will be subject to content analysis in order to evaluate how the media framed the speech in the larger context of President Bush's visit. The ultimate aim of the study is to determine how government public relations can contribute to the nation-building by helping high-ranking government officials deliver compelling speeches that will effectively contribute to the nation-building process by communicating the government's stance on democratization. It also aims to determine how government public relations can help such speeches be more widely covered and positively evaluated by the media. The following chapter presents the research questions derived from this literature review and provides a more in-depth explanation of the methods that will be used to answer them.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY**

The review of the relevant literature led me to assess the role of government public relations in nation building. My research is guided by following three research questions (RQ):

**RQ1:** To what extent and in what ways, if any, does President Saakashvili's speech, as a public relations tool, reflect Georgia's nation-building objectives?

**RQ2:** What frames emerge from the Presidential speech?

**RQ3:** To what extent do the frames that emerged in the speech appear in the subsequent local and international newspaper coverage?

(a) what frames emerge in the newspaper coverage that were not evident in the text of the speech?

(b) are there any differences regarding the use of frames between local and international news coverage?

This chapter describes the research methods I used to answer these questions. First, I analyzed the text of the speech delivered by President Saakashvili by applying ideological criticism (Foss, 2004) to find out who were the main target audiences of the speech, what techniques were employed to address each of these audiences, what were the key messages encoded in the speech, and, correspondingly, what major themes and frames were used to

convey those messages. Second, I used a qualitative content analysis with certain quantitative elements to review the print media coverage generated by the speech. Third, I summarized and analyzed the findings of the textual analysis and qualitative content analysis. Fourth, the findings of the study were discussed in relation to the research questions posed in this chapter. Finally, a set of recommendations was developed to improve government public relations in order to advance communication component of the nation-building in Georgia.

### Research Methods

In this study, I used a qualitative textual analysis that draws on grounded theory approach for analyzing fieldnotes and interview data (Corbin & Strauss, 1998) to examine the welcoming address delivered by President Saakashvili during President Bush's visit to Tbilisi. I then conducted a content analysis of the international English-language newspapers to see if these media covered this speech and how they chose to frame it. The primary advantage of using more than one method was to get a better understanding of both the actual text of President Saakashvili's speech and the international press coverage it received. The research methods applied are now explained.

### *Textual Analysis*

Using ideological criticism is one of the methods of the rhetorical criticism employed during textual analysis. Van Dijk (1998) refers to the concept of ideology as "one of the most elusive notions in the social sciences" (p. 23). Norman Fairclough (1995) conceptualized ideology as a worldview, or a reality, constructed by a dominant social group and expressed through art, law, etc.

A number of scholars have explored the characteristics, connotations, and impact of ideologies conveyed through media texts. Fairclough (1995, 1998) also explored the

approaches to textual analysis. Fairclough considered the relation between language, ideology and sociopolitical power. His goal was to locate ideology in language through discourse analysis, and examine the power relations found within a text in a wider context of society and culture. Fairclough (1995) wanted to formulate critical linguistics by examining ideology featured in contemporary political texts of television programs. He hypothesized that what he called “mediatized political discourse” (p. 178) was a modern-day form of hegemony and developed the following six questions for discursive events:

1. Who are the involved agents, what genres, discourse and ethos are used?
2. How are they articulated together?
3. How is this articulation realized in forms and meanings of the text?
4. How are the resources of the order of discourse drawn upon in the management of interaction?
5. What direction does discursive even give to the articulation of the political order of discourse?
6. What wider social and cultural processes shape and are shaped by discursive events?

Fairclough (1995) wrote that the notion of hegemony originated with Antonio Gramsci who saw it as the dominance of one particular social stratum over others in economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Fairclough (1995) suggests that what is known as common sense and never doubted by the society is, in fact, a manifestation of hegemony. He calls this “‘naturalized’ ideological representation” (p. 28).

For Fairclough (1998), media discourse comprises three elements: the text itself, discursal practice (text production and interpretation), and sociocultural practice. The text is viewed as having two levels: micro level (word choice, metaphors, syntax, alternation between passive and active voice, etc.) and macro level (combination of structure and interpersonal elements). Fairclough (1998) lists different genres used in political media discourse, such as interviews, debates, and so on. The agents in media politics who use these



genres as they struggle for hegemony in a discourse are politicians, journalists, experts (political analysts, etc.), economic agents (employers, trade unions, etc.), and the ordinary people.

Especially relevant for this study is Fairclough's (1998) contention that scholars should look for ideologies embedded in political texts. He assigns ideological significance to the different stylistic writing style used by the government to produce public information materials based on the image they want to construct of themselves. Fairclough (1998) is concerned with the "conversationalization of discourse" (p. 145), which is aimed at making political discourse seemingly informal. He believes that these superficial changes try to conceal the real struggle for ideological dominance by the involved agents. According to Fairclough (1998), as a country becomes more democratic, the power struggle between people and institutions should be reduced. Hence, as the government becomes more democratic, its communication should also become more democratic. The ultimate aim should be the creation of "discoursal democratization" (Fairclough, 1998, p. 160), which incorporates true informality, pluralism, and reduction of struggle for domination.

Stuart Allan (1998) offered a cultural studies approach to media discourse. Like Fairclough (1995, 1998), Allan studied how televised news replicated hegemonic ideology by presenting it as naturalized common sense. For Allan (1998), media communication has three moments: The moment of production (encoding) by media, the text itself, and meaning negotiation (decoding) by the audience. He argued that instead of impartially translating reality, the media ideologically construct realities and urged constant revalidation of what media present as appropriate or rational (Allan, 1998, p. 108).

Foss (2004) suggests that ideology examines the choices we make to communicate with each other and also explains the rationale for making those choices. The advantage of using ideological criticism in this case is that it specifically focuses on revealing the ideology intertwined in a text. Political speeches are laden with embedded or openly expressed dominant ideologies as well as shared values and beliefs of the speaker or a larger group he or she represents.

According to Foss (2004), the main concepts that concern ideological criticism are “who we are, what we stand for; what our values are, and what our relationships are with other groups” (Foss, 2004, p. 244). Ideological criticism examines values and beliefs shared by all members of a certain group. It is also largely influenced by deconstructionism (also called poststructuralism), which dissects central concepts stated or implied in the text to expose their underlying meanings, biases, and preconceptions (Foss, 2004).

According to Foss (2004), texts used for ideological criticism are primarily pop-culture artefacts, like lawn ornaments or children’s books, in which consumers are not expected to see any concealed ideology. Hence, they are not on guard and are consequently more receptive to the new information. On the other hand, viewers or listeners expect texts such as political speeches or advertisements to be loaded with the various ideologies. Therefore, they are more sceptical and more resistant when being exposed to these types of texts.

Foss (2004) suggests asking the following questions when analyzing text: What is the underlying ideology manifested in the text? What is the preferred reading of the text? Whose interests are dominant in the text? And whose interests are under-represented or suppressed? To expose the underlying dominant ideology, she also suggests that answering these

questions while applying ideological criticism to the text, will help uncover other ideologies (if any) that might be “muted” and “give voice to those whose interests are not represented” (Foss, 2004, p. 243).

I followed Foss’s (2004) approach to applying ideological criticism. It has two steps. The first is to find out what is the ideology embedded in the text. There are six categories that helped me determine the dominant ideology: membership, activities, goals, values/norms, position and group-relations, and resources. The membership category answers the question of who we are. It refers to the physical or perceptual group that the actor in the speech is affiliated with. The activities category answers the question of what we do, as a group. It refers to actions implemented by the speaker in the text. The goals category explains the motives of activities performed by the speaker, and answers the question of why we do this. The values and norms category lists main intrinsic beliefs of the actor. The position and group relations category makes a distinction between who is meant by “us” versus “them” in the text and explains relations that these two groups have with each other. Finally, the resources category lists the essential means available to the actor to achieve his or her goals.

The second step is discovering what strategies are used in the text to support the dominant ideology. I did this by using a set of another six strategies to support the ideology: nature of the ideology, communicative genre, size of the public, content, style, and interactional strategies (Foss, 2004). This analysis does not concern the event of the speech, but rather the text of the speech, which is formatted as a one-way monologue. Hence, the interactional strategies become irrelevant as there is no interaction between the speaker and the audience in the text. After understanding the ideology revealed in the speech through the textual analysis, relevant frames were developed that captured and supported this ideology.

At the next step, international news coverage of the speech was subject to a content analysis to determine if the media used the frames found in the speech, and whether the media developed new frames that were not evident in the speech.

### *Content Analysis of Local and International News Coverage*

The second method I used was a cross-national qualitative content analysis (Holsti, 1969; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006) of newspaper coverage of President Saakashvili's speech. Holsti (1969) defined content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (p. 14). Content analysis is widely employed in mass communication research and more specifically in public relations to track and assess positive or negative coverage of an organization's work. While primarily qualitative, the content analysis used here included coding news articles for their country of origin, number of words, sources, quotes, balance of the story, and tone of the article. The content analysis was used in this study to look for frames that the newspapers used when they wrote about the speech to see if the "frames" identified as a result of the textual analysis had been picked up and used by the print media. From the public relations perspective, a well-written speech, delivered at the correctly planned and executed event, will evoke wide and positive news coverage. The effectiveness of the president's speech can then be measured based on the extent to which it succeeded to provide the media with the frames they could, and chose to use.

Framing, or, in other words, reporting the story with a special angle, is frequently explored in the mass media research. The media develop frames for events, notions, persons, etc. to help viewers, listeners, and readers better understand and make sense of them. When the media cover "hot" issues that receive a lot of attention because of their magnitude and/or

impact, they employ various degrees of objectivity. Subjectivity of the media is expressed by its choices and application of “frames.” Zoch and Molleda (2006) clarify, that “developing a frame means deciding what to include or exclude, particular words to use or avoid, visuals to provide, etc.” (p. 298). Which frames are chosen and applied, and for what reasons, depends on various cultural and political journalistic aspects. According to Entman (1993):

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (p. 52).

Frames give structure to information presented by the media and put it in an understandable context for readers. According to Hertog and McLeod (2001), the media also influence the way people perceive and organize their understanding of the real world. Frames also determine what information is relevant to certain topics discussed by the public; define what part is played by certain individuals, organizations, or groups; link public’s beliefs, values, and actions; and analyze what linguistic tools are used to present information. However, Tankard (2001) argues that frames should not be confused with bias. Unlike biases, frames go beyond manifesting author’s feelings in favor or against certain event, person, or phenomenon.

According to Foss (2004), researchers who employ content analysis for scrutinizing media messages focus on different aspects. They examine article organization, types of accompanying imagery, overall tone of the articles, diversity and origins of quoted sources, as well as linguistic choices (adjectives, clichés, stereotypes, etc.) used in the text. Allan Bell (1998) zeroed in on print media to compare and contrast what the news stories said happened with what had actually happened. He engaged in “ideological detective work” (Bell, 1998, p. 9) and took apart newspaper articles to reveal ambiguities, shortcomings and inconsistencies.

Bell also pointed out that what the stories omit or de-emphasize is as important as what they concentrate on. Bell (1998) focused on the production side of the media to see how the news was manufactured. His in-depth analysis of news stories served as a useful roadmap for this study.

The goal of this cross-national content analysis was to understand how and to what extent cultural and political perspectives influence disparity, if any, in the coverage.

Although the newspapers represent different countries, the articles are written in a common language—English. I did not include newspapers written in Georgian and Russian languages to avoid confusion in trying to identify frames that might be lost in translation.

#### *Data collection*

Data were collected from sources that included Georgian, U.S., Russian, British, Canadian, Italian, Turkish, and Australian newspapers and newswires, as well as news services, published within the two-week time frame following delivery of the speech, from May 10 to May 24, 2005. This time frame was selected to allow enough time for the newspapers to cover the speech. Also, since some of these newspapers are published weekly, selecting a two-week period of time allowed enough time to study at least two issues of each weekly newspaper. The other newspapers were published daily, and therefore they presented more opportunities to find articles about the speech.

I analyzed English-language newspapers published in Georgia: *The Messenger*, which comes out daily, and weeklies *Georgia Today* and *The Georgian Times*. I found five relevant articles in these newspapers, within the specified time frame, in the National Parliamentary Library of Georgia in Tbilisi. These were included in the content analysis.

The articles published in the English-language newspapers in Russia were retrieved through the East View database of Russian press archives available at UNC-Chapel Hill's Davis Library. These newspapers were: the weekly *Moscow News* and daily *The Moscow Times*. The online archives of the newspapers provide full texts of the articles available only for registered users for a certain fee. Using the East View database, English-language newspapers and news agencies were manually searched for the same two-week period of time, using the keywords "Saakashvili," "Bush," "speech," "visit," and "Freedom Square" anywhere in the text, for the same period of May 10-24, 2005. A total of eight articles were found.

The Russian and Georgian newspapers included in the study (published in English), printed extensive coverage of international and domestic news, and had accessible archived editions through online database EastView. Their circulation and readership data were not available. To maximize the scope of the media covered and retrieve the most number of relevant articles, the Lexis-Nexis Academic database was searched under the following four categories: "All news," "major world newspapers," "major world publications," and "U.S. news and wire services." The initial data set (see Table 2) included a total of 207 articles.

**Table 2***Initial Data Set*

Data	No. of articles
Hard copies (Georgian Press)	5
EastView Database (Russian Press)	8
Lexis-Nexis Academic Database:	
All News	102
Major World Newspapers	21
Major World Publications	28
U.S. news and News Wires	43
Total	207

*Data screening*

At this stage, 47 documents from five sub-categories of the 102 articles in the All News category of the Lexis-Nexis database search results were eliminated, because they did not fit in with the type of articles used in this study. Nine government reports, one executive material (president's public paper), 16 aggregated news sources (information database materials and governmental documents), 12 TV and radio news transcripts, and 9 country and region reports were also left out for the same reason.

Many of the remaining 160 documents were duplicates of the articles that came up under different category searches in the Lexis-Nexis Academic database. At the next stage, these articles were compared to each other to eliminate double-counting. Only 93 unique



documents remained (see Appendix I). Out of these 93, nine documents were screened out because they were transcripts of the radio and TV broadcasts, and this study is concerned only with print media coverage. Articles that did not mention Saakashvili's speech or President Bush's visit to Georgia at all, or contained only passing mention of the visit, were also excluded. Stories that were republished by other newspapers were eliminated, leaving only one. One newspaper published the speech verbatim, so it was also excluded. A table presented in Appendix J summarizes and tracks the decisions made in the process of screening out articles to be used in content analysis. Thus, 24 documents were eliminated, leaving 69 articles for the final analysis (see Appendix K).

#### *Data Analysis*

A Coding Sheet (see Appendix L) and a Codebook (see Appendix M) were designed for this study. A pilot study was conducted to fine-tune the coding categories and ensure their accuracy using a sample of ten articles coded by both coders. Another coder was provided with a copy of the speech, the Coding Sheet, Code Book, and electronic copies of the articles. She was asked to familiarize herself with these materials and was also given detailed instructions on how to do the coding. The coders then discussed the discrepancies in coding results and modified Coding Sheet and Codebook accordingly. These ten articles were later re-coded using the finalized Coding Sheet and Codebook as references. I personally coded all articles, and 10 percent (seven articles) were coded by another coder. The intercoder reliability (IR) was measured using Holsti's coefficient of reliability (1969).

$$IR = \frac{2 M}{N1 + N2}$$

Here,  $M$  equals the number of coding decisions that both coders agreed on. The symbols  $N1$  and  $N2$  represent the total of coding decisions made by both coders separately from each other (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Given the exploratory context of study, the minimal acceptable intercoder reliability coefficient using this formula was set at 80 percent (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). The margin of error was left to allow for tolerable subjective disparity in coding. Using Holsti's formula, the sum of coding decisions made by both coders amounted to 214. The instances where at the two coders agreed amounted to 92. Thus, intercoder reliability in this study equaled 85 percent.

### *Reflexivity*

Reflexivity is an accepted and increasing popular notion among qualitative researchers (Emerson, et. al., 1995; Kleinman & Copp, 1993; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Lofland, et. al., 2006; Riemer, 1997). It refers to the idea that the researcher's personal feelings and past experiences prompt an intellectual curiosity towards a certain subject matter and influence his or her selection of the research topic. This is called "opportunistic research," a term coined and advocated by Riemer (1997, p. 467). He expressed an opinion that researchers who draw on their own experiences have an advantage of having a more in-depth and first-hand knowledge of the issues they write about. My selection of this research area was predisposed by my past work experiences and my cultural background. I anticipate that my Georgian nationality, my work experience with the State Chancellery during President Shevardnadze's administration, and later with Saakashvili's administration through the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of Georgia, my personal support for President Saakashvili's pro-Western political course may bring certain biases to my thesis.

Nevertheless, I recognize these potential biases and I am dedicated to presenting an objective and impartial analysis of the speech and its consecutive press coverage in my thesis.

On the other hand, my positionality brings certain benefits to the study. Being born and raised in Georgia positions me as an “insider,” guides my research interests, and accounts for my passion in studying my home country. Having personally witnessed the delivery of the speech by president Saakashvili puts me in an advantageous position to reflect on my own memories and incorporate my experiences in this study.

On a more practical level, it was easier for me as opposed to a foreigner, to get access to hard-copy Georgian newspaper archives in Tbilisi through the network of my friends who are journalists. I was also able to get information about preparatory work for president Bush’s visit from my personal acquaintances who were members of a planning committee at the time.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **FINDINGS**

This chapter begins with a textual analysis of President Saakashvili's speech. The textual analysis was done according to the guidelines set forth by Foss (2004) and Fairclough (1995). The "Critical Language Awareness" section provides an analysis of the language used in the text. The "Muted Voices" section describes those groups whose interests were not represented in the text. Afterward, an ideology uncovered in the text is examined, followed by a list and explanation of the frames that emerged from the text. Finally, the findings of the content analysis of the print media coverage of the speech are given.

While analyzing the text to find the ideology, Foss (2004) suggests paying attention to whom the text refers to as "us" vs. "them." In the speech, "us," or the voice of the speech, is primarily President Saakashvili, but he also talks on behalf of his administration and, in some cases, the Georgian people as a whole. "They" in the text refers to foreign powers that have invaded Georgia in the past and jeopardized its sovereignty. Group relations between "us" and "them" are also presented in Figure 1. The values of the Georgian people expressed through the speech, as well as the resources available to them, contributed to locating the democratic ideology in the text.

The strategies used in the speech to support democratic ideology included the communicative genre of political rhetoric, the size of the audience, and the visual effects

used to enhance the impact of the speech. Under the “context” of the speech, information that was emphasised as well as deliberately de-emphasised about both “us” and “them” is listed. Figure 1 summarizes the textual analysis findings using the two-step approach proposed by Foss (2004).

<b>Figure 1 Textual Analysis Summary</b>	
<b>STEP 1</b> Uncover the ideology embedded in the text	
<b>Membership:</b> <i>Who are we?</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The democratic government of Georgia.</li> <li>2. The people of Georgia.</li> <li>3. President Saakashvili himself.</li> </ol>
<b>Activities:</b> <i>What do we do?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strive to make a shift towards democracy.</li> <li>• Seek support from the U.S. to regain territorial integrity through peaceful means and join NATO.</li> <li>• Demonstrate to the international community what we have achieved thus far as a new democracy.</li> <li>• Show to the world that we are backed up by the world's superpower.</li> <li>• Manifest our values of "freedom, democracy and security" that we share with the U.S.</li> </ul>
<b>Goals:</b> <i>Why do we do this?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To welcome President Bush to Georgia.</li> <li>• To show our "unity of spirit" as a Georgian nation.</li> <li>• To underscore Georgia's contributions to promoting liberty in Europe and around the world.</li> <li>• To demonstrate democratic achievements of the new government.</li> <li>• To express gratitude and appreciation for assistance received from the U.S. in the past.</li> <li>• To reveal our hope for U.S.'s continuous support of Georgia.</li> <li>• To award the Order of St. George to President Bush for his special contribution to promoting democracy in Georgia.</li> </ul>
<b>Values/norms:</b>  <i>What are our main values and norms?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Our shared pride in Georgian history, language, people, dignity, independence, and multiethnic culture.</li> <li>• Our military and ideological support to U.S.'s fight to bring freedom and democracy to the Middle East.</li> <li>• Georgian nation is "equivocally" in favour of joining NATO.</li> <li>• Georgians do not want to go to war with Abkhazia and South Ossetia—they want peace.</li> </ul>

<p><b>Position and group-relations:</b></p> <p><i>Who are “us” and who are “they”?</i></p>	<p><b>Us:</b> It presumes either President Saakashvili’s administration or the Georgian people, depending on the context.</p> <p><b>In-Group relations:</b> Favourable. The people chose its government in fair elections, which is accountable before people, responsible for its actions, and uncorrupted.</p> <p><b>Them:</b></p> <p>1. Those nations that historically tried to invade Georgia.</p> <p><b>Group-relations with “us”:</b> Negative. They had a devastating effect, but they also made us stronger and unified. “We are not here to talk about the past.”</p> <p>2. Our neighbouring countries (thinly-veiled reference to Russia).</p> <p><b>Group-relations with “us”:</b> Strained, due to historic tension, as well as current struggle for dominance and constant threat to sovereignty.</p>
<p><b>Resources:</b></p> <p><i>What are our essential resources?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The people of Georgia, who have heroically endured turbulent times in history.</li> <li>• A strong ally—U.S., committed to helping Georgia in its efforts to become a truly democratic state.</li> <li>• Our pro-Western state, capable of defending geopolitical borders.</li> </ul>
<p><b>STEP 2</b> Uncover strategies used in the text to support the ideology</p>	
<p><b>Nature of the ideology</b></p>	<p>Democracy. It is viewed as a complex notion comprising shared values of freedom and rule of law, and a strong sense of patriotism and solidarity.</p>
<p><b>Communicative genre</b></p>	<p>Political rhetoric: persuasive, inspirational, and informative.</p>
<p><b>Size of the public</b></p>	<p>It was estimated that over 150,000 people were present at the speech venue. The event was referred to as the “largest gathering” in a country, and it was one of the largest addressed by President Bush.</p> <p>Indirectly, the size of the public was even bigger. Through international media, “the whole world is watching today,” President Saakashvili said.</p>

<p><b>Content</b></p> <p><i>Express/emphasize positive information about “us”</i></p> <p><i>Express/emphasize negative information about “them”</i></p> <p><i>Suppress/de-emphasize positive information about “them”</i></p> <p><i>Suppress/de-emphasize negative information about “us”</i></p>	<p><b>Us: The government:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ended corruption.</li> <li>• Ended tyranny in Adjara.</li> <li>• Ended human rights violations.</li> <li>• Created favourable conditions for immigrants to return.</li> <li>• Have strengthened our military.</li> </ul> <p><b>Us: The people:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Heroically died” for the victories of other countries.</li> <li>• Helped spread democracy in Ukraine and Belarus and support similar approach towards North Korea and Cuba.</li> </ul> <p><b>Them:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Were “invaders, enslavers” whose goal was only to “destroy, belittle and humiliate” Georgians.</li> <li>• Bombed Georgian territory and killed Georgian civilians.</li> <li>• Made people starve.</li> <li>• Are still trying to compromise Georgia’s independence.</li> <li>• “Only brought blood and destruction” to Georgia.</li> </ul> <p><b>Us:</b> There was no mention of remaining cases of human rights violations in Georgia, persistent corruption, dire living conditions, unstable economy, strained relations with Russia, media censorship, etc.</p>
<p><b>Style</b></p>	<p><b>Voice:</b> Mostly active voice is used with only two instances of the passive voice use.</p> <p><b>Word choices:</b> Strong adjectives (heroic), nouns (tyranny, brother-in-arms, bloodshed, oppressors, enslavers), action verbs (belittle, humiliate, enslave) and word phrases (corrupt thieving hands, most powerful country in the world).</p>
<p><b>Interactional strategies</b></p>	<p>As opposed to an interview, the format of a speech – which is essentially a one-way monologue – did not allow for a two-way interaction between a speaker and an audience.</p>



The critical discourse analysis of the text also revealed that, on a macro-level, the text of the speech can be viewed as a manifestation of larger sociopolitical processes within Georgia. The text is set within a pronounced political context. The Georgian national identity is being reshaped to incorporate allegiance to democracy. President Saakashvili's speech reflects the processes that take place in a country. In itself, the speech is "a form of social action" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 208). The speech is also a discourse between the government of Georgia and its people, as well as the discourse between the Georgian people and the United States, impersonated by President Bush.

The genre of the political media discourse in this case is a political speech. Since the format of a speech does not allow for a dialogue, there are no different discourses competing for power and influence in the text. The events and processes described in the speech are viewed exclusively from the Georgian government's standpoint. The key agent is the President of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili. Yet, the speech is written from the perspective of the Georgian people as a whole. The president positions himself as a steward, delivering the message of the Georgian people to the world through his public address. In his speech, the president uses the speech as a platform to glorify the country's new political course towards integration with the Western world.

For Fairclough (1995), the setting of a discourse is very important, as it affects text production, distribution, and consumption. The production included the writing and delivery of the speech. The delivery was an event in itself, which could be analyzed as another "text" that includes the responses from the crowd. This is not, however, the purpose of this study. The distribution and consumption of the text varied depending on the receivers of the information. Several hundred thousand people listened to the delivery of the speech in

person. Many more watched it on TV, listened to it on the radio, or read about in the newspaper the next day. For those who eye-witnessed the speech delivery, the excitement of the event and the patriotic decorations of the venue were factors that influenced their consumption of information.

### Critical Language Awareness

Fairclough (1995) paid special attention to what he called “critical language awareness” (p. 219) as he examined the relationship between the linguistic choices made in the speech and the power of the speaker expressed through the text. In the struggle for dominance, language plays a special part. Fairclough (1995) even suggests that the “problematic of language and power is fundamentally a question of democracy” (p. 221). On a micro-level, the text of a speech provides considerable information to work with (Fairclough, 1995).

### *Voice and Tone*

President Saakashvili's 1,504-word speech was carefully crafted and laden with ideological and strategic messages. Delivered in Georgian, the speech was accompanied by a consecutive interpretation into English provided by Mrs. Irina Gotsadze Moore. Burton and Drake (2004) discuss at length the importance of selecting professional translators and interpreters at bilingual and multilingual events involving media. The President switched from Georgian to English only once, to say “welcome to Georgia, Mr. President.” The speech was written in a largely active voice. The passive voice was used only on three occasions, in relation to World War II being fought by Georgians, Georgian territory being bombed while

civilians were being killed, and the Order of St. George being presented to President Bush for special contribution to promoting freedom and democracy in Georgia.

The overall tone of the speech was very serious. No jokes were made and no sarcasm, irony, humor, or other rhetorical devices often applied for levity were used. This is out of character for President Saakashvili, who, as far as I know, never misses a chance to crack a joke or demonstrate his quick wit during media interviews.

#### *Personal Pronouns*

The speaker used the collective pronoun “we” 28 times and the first-person, singular pronoun “I” 16 times in the speech. President Saakashvili used “I” in a sentence in two different contexts. First, when he was talking about his personal experiences, such as attending President Bush’s inaugural speech or visiting the World War II memorial site in Holland. Second, he used “I” when he was talking on his own behalf, and not on behalf of the Georgian people, such as when he welcomed President Bush, greeted the people who came to hear the speech, and so on.

#### *Word Choices*

Several word choices must be singled out from the speech. The speech mentioned Georgia 22 times. Georgia was described as a “victim” of foreign invasions in the past, a proudly independent country in present, and nurturing a hope of becoming “united” with its problematic regions in future with the U.S. assistance. It is also called a “boundlessly beautiful homeland,” having “multiethnic culture,” “standing beside” other countries such as Belarus and Ukraine in the past, as well as North Korea and Cuba in future, to spread democracy, “extending the hand of fraternity” to Abkhazia and Ossetia, and, last but not least, “unequivocally” dedicated to joining NATO, while realizing that it still has “a long

way to go on the path of democratic reform.” Georgian people, in turn, are portrayed as being strong-spirited, “proud,” “free,” “heroic,” fighting “side-by-side” with American troops in Iraq, and “delighted” to host President Bush.

An interesting comparison was made between Iraq and Georgia: “The sight of people with ink on their hands in Iraq is as moving as the people who were holding roses here.” This sentence drew a parallel between military Operation Iraqi Freedom and Georgia’s peaceful Rose Revolution, both fighting for freedom and democracy.

### *Describing Others*

President Bush was praised as “the leader of the most powerful state in the world,” “a friend,” “a partner,” “an ally,” “a brother-in-arms,” “a man who has kept his word,” “our great supporter,” “our great friend,” and “a fighter for freedom.”

Other nationalities besides Georgians and Americans mentioned in the speech were Mongols, Byzantines, Turks, Persians, and Russians. Strong words were used to portray all of them as “invaders” and “enslavers” who only “brought bloodshed” in an attempt to “destroy, belittle and humiliate” the Georgian nation. In the context of this distant past, he referred to Georgia as a “victim.” Incidentally, this was also the only reference to Russia in the entire speech. Putting Russians next to the rest of these historically notorious and brutal invaders sends a clear message of the President’s resentment towards Russia’s foreign policy and its unceasing attempts to regain political, as well as economic, dominance over Georgia.

Ossetians and Abkhaz people were described as Georgian “brothers and sisters,” and the speech “humanized” Georgia’s contributions to spreading freedom in Europe by zeroing in on the heroic acts of two Georgians. Besides President Bush, these were the only other two individuals mentioned in the speech. First was Grigol Peradze, who raised the flag on top of

the Reichstag building in Nazi Berlin to commemorate the victory. It should be noted that the text did not mention that it was the Soviet Union flag that was raised. Contribution of the Georgian soldier was noted independently from the Soviet Union's Red Army. Also mentioned was Meliton Kantaria, who gave up his life to save innocent Jewish children at the Auschwitz concentration camp.

### Muted Voices

One of the most important aims of the ideological criticism is to give "voice" to those who have been underrepresented or completely muted in the text. Understandably, it is impossible to address everyone's needs in a single speech. Yet, the decisions made on what to omit from the text are just as important as decisions about what must be included in the text. As Fairclough (1995) put it, "choice entails exclusion as well as inclusion" (p. 210). The areas that were absent from the speech, therefore, deserve to be addressed separately.

The first thing that stood out in the text is the absence of any reference to the hundreds of thousands of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from Abkhazia and South Ossetia who lost their loved ones in the war, were forced out of their homes, had to abandon everything they owned and flee from their hometowns. Unlike its treatment of World War II, the speech did not put a human face on these two regional conflicts, which to date remain a sore spot for the majority of Georgians.

While President Saakashvili said that "Georgia's multiethnic culture is one of our greatest strengths," he did not make any mention of the needs or rights of ethnic minorities living in Georgia. It must be noted though, that President Bush's agenda included a meeting with prominent ethnic minority representatives of the civil society. Yet, they had not been

mentioned in the speech itself, despite the fact that President Saakashvili did say that one of the strengths of Georgia was its being a multiethnic country.

Another area that was ignored in the speech was the criticism of the government by its political opposition. This did not, however, prevent the media from interviewing opposition leaders and quoting them in articles, as discussed later in the chapter. Admitting shortcomings or appreciating constructive criticism is a part of democratic governance.

### Ideology

Fairclough (1995) defines ideology as “power exercised by the state on behalf of a dominant social class” (p. 17). It is a hegemonic worldview of a powerful group, an understanding of what is the best thing to do and by what means. The textual analysis of the speech revealed that the dominant ideology embedded in the text is democracy, manifested through values such as appreciation of liberty, commitment to spreading democracy in the Middle East, former Soviet Union, North Korea and Cuba, and the fight against oppression, shared by Georgia and the U.S. Throughout the text, numerous references were made to the ideological similarities between these two countries and their solidarity, expressed by common interests of military, economic and political cooperation. The event of the speech itself, as a part of the U.S. delegation’s visit, had its unique ideological significance. To quote President Saakashvili: “George Bush's presence here is confirmation of what unity can achieve, our common quest for freedom, our unity of spirit, our like-minded government.”

Democracy was also understood in the speech as a form of governance which entailed intolerance of corruption, defense of basic human rights, restoring and maintaining territorial integrity, advancing military potential and fighting tyranny. The speech discussed recent

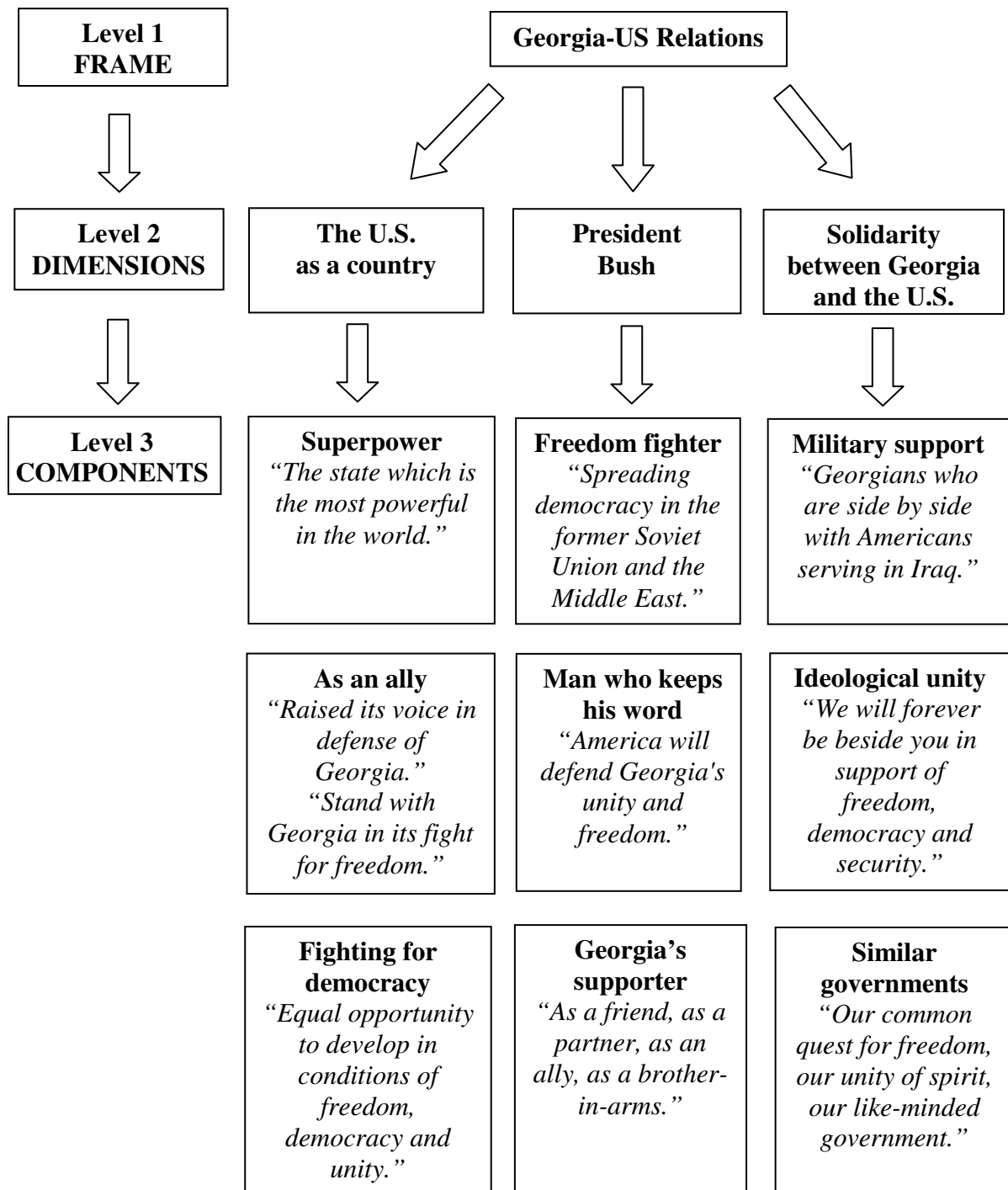
democratic achievements of the new government which fit in with the accepted requirements for a successful nation-building. The speaker's assessment of the government was also based on democratic principles of being accountable before the people, being elected by the people, and taking full responsibility for its actions.

An interesting turn in the text was when President Saakashvili's pro-Western, democratic administration was contrasted with ex-President Shevardnadze's regime. Unlike the previous ruling party, the new government was described as respectful of its people, not imposing its will on the people, and not engaging in unlawful activities. Establishment of democracy was positioned as a guarantee for continuous economic, political, and military support from the U.S., particularly in terms of ending isolation of separatist regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia and endorsing Georgia's ultimate membership in NATO.

### Frames

The following three frames emerged as a result of an in-depth textual analysis of the speech: Georgian National Consciousness, Georgia-US relations, and Georgia's Democratization. To gain a deeper understanding of these frames, a sub-set of dimensions were identified under each umbrella frame. Each dimension, in turn, had a number of components which helped examine those dimensions more in-depth and from different angles. Ultimately, this three-level analysis was applied to get as much information from the text as possible. Figure 2 provides an example of this three-level framing analysis.

**Figure 2. Example of the Three-level Framing Analysis**





The first frame in the speech was the **Georgian National Consciousness**. Its biggest dimension referred to the strong sense of *National Pride* President Saakashvili uses the word “proud” twice, “pride” twice, and “proudly” twice. In the speech, the Georgians’ sense of national pride extends to a number of things. First are the country's historic past and its ability to withstand foreign invasions and oppression over the centuries, hospitality, and resilience to maintain its national identity and revive. In the opening paragraph of the speech, President Saakashvili said: “Our pride, our boundlessly beautiful homeland, for centuries was the victim of many invaders.” To contrast past with the present, President Saakashvili also said in the same paragraph, “we still stand here today, we stand proudly and we stand free,” to convey the importance of geopolitical freedom of Georgia. The second source of pride is the unique Georgian language and distinctive Georgian culture, which survived despite numerous attempts to make it extinct.

Another source of *Nation Pride* is the honor and prestige of hosting President Bush on the Georgian soil. In the second paragraph, President Saakashvili welcomed President Bush to Georgia and said: “I greet him proudly as the president of this country.” President Saakashvili put a special emphasis on the role played by Georgians in the past in fighting for other countries’ independence. In the sixth paragraph he gave an example of Georgians who fought against the Nazi regime during World War II.

The second dimension within the National Consciousness frame was expressed through *gratitude* on behalf of an entire country and the Georgian people. President Saakashvili said “thank you” three times, in three different contexts. First, when he talked about the humanitarian assistance provided by the U.S. during the years of civil war. At that time, the population lacked bare necessities such as heat and electricity. There was also a

shortage of nutritious food. People were given minimum number of food coupons for butter, bread, eggs, and so on, but even with the coupon these products were not guaranteed because the production industry was broken down. There were long queues in front of grocery stores, where people stood for few hours just to get two loaves of half-baked bread. “When people were starving, it was America that gave us grain for free, it was American wheat we used to bake bread, for which I want to thank you, Mr. President,” Saakashvili said. He painted this grim picture of the country’s past to contrast it with a more stable and prosperous present, and also to remind everyone of the assistance received from the U.S. in the time of need. He also thanked not only President Bush personally, but also the American people. President Saakashvili expressed gratitude, too, for the support provided by the U.S. after Georgia tried to break away from the Soviet Union. “America was the first country to stand with Georgia in its fight for freedom, and we would like to thank you for that, Mr. President,” he said.

Within the same frame, *Georgia* itself was framed as being a beautiful and ancient country, oppressed by invaders in the past, but still able to maintain its resilience and recover. Its long history, as well as the continuing efforts to preserve the language and culture, were underscored.

The second frame was **Georgia-US Relations**. As a dimension of this frame, *the United States* was framed as the world’s superpower. President Saakashvili made a point about Georgia and the U.S. having “like-minded” governments, sharing the desire to bring liberty and democracy to oppressed countries and ensuring security around the world. The U.S. is portrayed as a longtime supporter and ally of Georgia, especially throughout its turbulent recent history.

As another dimension, *President Bush* as a person was honored for promoting democracy and helping other nations in the former Soviet Union and Middle East become free. At the end of the speech, he became the first person to be awarded the newly established Order of St. George, the ultimate official recognition of special contribution to Georgia. Finally, *Solidarity* between Georgia and the U.S. was expressed by shared ideological values such as commitment to advancing democracy and defending the rights of the oppressed nations around the world.

The third frame was **Georgian Democratization**. The first dimension concentrated on *Georgia's New Government*. It concerned the way President Saakashvili's administration was portrayed in the speech. The speaker specifically gave credit to the new government by underlying that it respected the people and did not impose its will on them. The Rose Revolution, which brought President Saakashvili into power, was described as a manifestation of the Georgian people's will. The government was also said to be fully aware of its responsibilities and was capable to shoulder them.

The second dimension underscored *Government Achievements*, namely the crackdown on corruption, ending a tyrannical leadership of Aslan Abashidze in Adjara, reversing the brain-drain by encouraging Georgian emigrants to return, putting an end to the violations of human rights, and increasing the capability to defend country's borders and maintain territorial integrity.

The third dimension, *Territorial Integrity*, focused on three problematic regions within Georgia: Adjara, Abkhazia and South Ossetia (Tskhinvali). Adjara was mentioned to illustrate the government's success in ending "tyranny" by ousting Abashidze.

## Print Media Coverage

During the content analysis, the final 69 articles that were left after the initial data was selected and screened, were grouped according to the country of origin (see Table 3). Only articles that contained small or considerable mention of the speech were coded. Extent of mention varied from no mention to considerable mention. Seven articles with small mention (one or two sentences or a direct quote) and 62 articles with considerable mention (at least one fourth of an entire article, measured by paragraphs) were included in the analysis. Other coding categories were story type and variety of sources (see Tables 4 and 5).

**Table 3**

*Articles by the Country of Origin*

Country	No. of articles
Georgia	4
Russia	4
US	30
UK	8
Canada	5
Australia	5
Italy	1
Turkey	1
France	10
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1
Total	69

**Table 4***Articles by Story Type*

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Story Type	No. of articles
<hr/>	
News Story	59
Feature Story	4
Interview	0
Editorial	1
Other*	5
Total	69

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\* News digests, remarks, etc.

**Table 5***Articles by Variety of Sources*

Sources	No. of articles
Press Release	1
News wire	30
In-house Story	31
Multiple Sources	4
Other Media	6
Unspecified	7
Other *	1
Total	80

\* Regulatory Intelligence Data

The content analysis also revealed that the majority of articles positively evaluated President Bush's visit to Georgia and the current state of Georgia's development. The tone of the articles varied from negative (10 articles) to neutral (18 articles) to positive (41 articles), depending on how they evaluated the visit of the official delegation, the event of the speech, and/or Georgia.

Stories were also coded for their balance. The story was considered unbalanced if it did not have any quotes, or was openly biased. Somewhat balanced stories quoted only one source and gave a one-sided account of the events. Balanced stories quoted two or more sources, including independent as well as government sources, stated facts, and gave positive

as well as negative perspectives of the same events. Twenty articles were unbalanced, six of them were only somewhat balanced, and the majority, 43 articles, were balanced.

As for the frequency of quotations, President Bush was quoted more than any other source in the articles (See Table 6). He was followed closely by President Saakashvili. Georgian and U.S. officials together were quoted as much as the security and the law enforcement personnel. The high number of quotations from the security personnel was due to a hand-grenade incident, which received a lot of media attention. Among other quoted sources were Georgian citizens attending the speech event, independent political experts, and other media. The “Other” entry under the quoted source category showed that the press sought out a variety of alternative sources, such as Georgian, Azeri, and Belarusian opposition leaders, the de-facto president of Abkhazia, the Russian president and defense minister, the Australian prime minister, etc. This variety of sources was also taken into account when stories were evaluated for their balance.

**Table 6***Frequency of Quotations*

Quote Source	No. of Quotations
Saakashvili	40
Bush	44
Georgian Official	21
U.S. Official	13
Georgian Citizen	8
Expert	7
Security Personnel	24
Other Media	9
Other *	16
Total	182

\* Georgian, Azeri, and Belarusian opposition leaders, de-facto president of Abkhazia, the Russian president and defense minister, the Australian prime minister, etc.

The articles were coded for political, socioeconomic, humanitarian, and security meta-frames (see Table 7). The meta-frames represented the big picture of the article. They summarized the gist of the story. As expected, the political meta-frame – which addressed political issues related to the visit – was the most widely used in the articles. The next most popular meta-frame concerned the hand grenade incident and resulting security breach during the speech event. The two frames the least used by the press were humanitarian meta-frame,



where the main emphasis of the story was on the common people, and the socioeconomic frame, where societal and economic issues were addressed. Finally, there was only one article which used a cultural meta-frame as it focused on the aspects of cultural entertainment provided to the U.S. delegation during the visit.

**Table 7**

*Frequency of Meta-Frame Use*

Meta-Frame	No. of Instances
Political	49
Socioeconomic	6
Humanitarian	7
Security	30
Cultural	1
Total	93

The findings of the study are further discussed in the next chapter. Also, research questions posed earlier are answered based on the results of the textual analysis of the speech and the content analysis of the news coverage. The evaluation of the speech is based on the extent to which it addresses basic nation-building principles. Local and international coverage is compared and disparities are identified and explained. Finally, new frames that were not evident in the speech but were nevertheless used by the press are listed.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **DISCUSSION**

Based on the findings of the study, the research questions posed at the beginning of the study can now be answered. Research Question 1 asked: to what extent and in what ways, if any, does President Saakashvili's speech, as a public relations tool, reflect Georgia's nation-building objectives?

As Dobbins, et al. (2007) suggested, commitment to democracy, security of national borders, humanitarian relief, economic stabilization and development, self-governance, and transparent policymaking, are important components of the successful nation-building process. Textual analysis revealed that, to various extents, all of these components were reflected in the speech. The speaker addressed the security-related issues by mentioning the continuous fight of the Georgian people to maintain their unity and independence over the centuries. He also focused on the regional conflicts raging in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. A separate topic in the speech was a prospect of Georgia's integration in NATO, which would guarantee its geopolitical security and facilitate the peaceful resolution of these conflicts. In his speech, President Saakashvili put a special emphasis on thanking the U.S. for its support to secure Georgia's national borders and for openly concurring in the Georgian government's warning to its neighboring countries, which implies a thinly-veiled reference to Russia, that

the territorial integrity of a sovereign country is untouchable and that “no-one is allowed to overstep” its borders.

Humanitarian aspects of nation-building were referred to in the speech by making a request to the U.S. to help Georgia “put an end to the isolation” of the Georgians’ “brothers and sisters” who live in the two break-away regions. Improved self-governance in Georgia was described in the speech in terms of characteristics of the new government. President Saakashvili proudly stated that his administration was chosen by the people and brought to power after the Rose Revolution. He underscored that his administration is drastically different from previous one, led by ex-President Shevardnadze which used to “rob” and “impoverish” the people. The new administration was said to listen to what the people have to say, be accountable for its deeds and take full responsibility for its actions. Among the major achievements made by the new government, the following were listed: crackdown on corruption, ending a “tyranny” in the region of Adjara, putting an end to human rights violations in the country, and regaining the ability to defend national borders.

The topic of economic stabilization was not elaborated on in the speech. President Saakashvili did mention the reverse of brain-drain, as emigrants were returning to Georgia, which can be partially attributed to the improved economy in the country. Yet, there was no mention of improving legal or regulatory frameworks, creating a favorable climate for local and international commerce, launching a massive privatization process of state-owned property and land, and attracting foreign investment, even though all of these processes had taken place in Georgia in the recent years. The content of the speech was very political and not socioeconomic. This was subsequently reflected in the content analysis. Forty-nine

articles out of 69 featured a political meta-frame, as opposed to only six which also mentioned socioeconomic factors.

Democratization was allotted a lot of attention in the speech, which, in a sense, served as a promotion tool for the new regime. The speaker repeatedly stressed that Georgia and the U.S. share the ideological values of freedom and democracy. He also made it known that Georgia is supporting the expansion of democratization in the Middle East and former Soviet Union space. Georgian troops fighting side-by-side with Americans in Iraq was given as a vivid example. Yet, little has been said about the internal democratic changes taking place within Georgia. There was no mention of sound political opposition or healthy political party spectrum, ensuring non-interference with the development of free media, making an effort to advance the civil society, or creating a legal and constitutional framework for fair elections.

In the speech, the new government, backed up by the people, represents the key actor in bringing democratic change to Georgia. As Wheatley (2005) explores the theory of democratization and how it applies to Georgia, he poses a challenging question of whether regime change is “an actor-driven process” (p. 7). Therefore, it can be argued that democratization in Georgia is driven by the government. Yet, it is made sure in the speech to convey a message that the government is carrying out a will of the people.

As the textual analysis of the speech revealed, there is a strong sense of shared national consciousness among people in the former Soviet Union countries. Wheatley (2005) sees this unifying sense of national consciousness as one of the preconditions to making a successful transition from one regime to another. For Anderson (1991), national consciousness and patriotism, both visibly expressed in the text, are characteristics of an imagined community. Hence, it can be argued that the Georgian nation qualifies as an

imagined community. Yet, it is important to recognize the challenges for the efforts of President Saakashvili's government to make a peaceful, rapid, and effective transition to democracy because, "due to the simultaneous demands of state-building, democratization and economic reform, there has been a tendency in the former Soviet Union for transition to be a highly complex process" (Wheatley, 2005, p. 9).

In the news articles, while Saakashvili was widely praised for improving infrastructure and boosting the national budget, nothing was said about economic development of Georgia since he came to power. On the contrary, several members of the print media described Georgia as a struggling, "poverty-ridden" country.

After identifying elements of the nation-building addressed in the speech, it can be assumed that the speech did, indeed serve as a nation-building tool, as it conveyed the steps undertaken by the Georgian government to comply with the nation-building requirements.

Research Question 2 asked: what frames emerge from the presidential speech? Three frames emerged from the speech: Georgian National Consciousness, Georgia-US Relations, and Georgia's Democratization. Each of these three frames had a sub-set of dimensions that contributed to a better understanding of the frames. The **Georgian National Consciousness** frame comprised the following dimensions: *National Pride* of the Georgian people, expression of *Gratitude* to the U.S, and *Georgia* as a country. The **Georgia-US Relations** frame comprised the following dimensions: *The U.S.* as a country, *President Bush* as a person, and *solidarity* between Georgia and the U.S. The **Georgia's Democratization Frame** comprised the following dimensions: characteristics of *Georgia's new government*, *achievements of the new government*, and *Georgia's territorial integrity*.

Research Question 3 asked: to what extent do the frames that emerged in the speech appear in the subsequent local and international newspaper coverage?

Most of the above-mentioned frames were covered by the international press to varying degrees, as revealed during the content analysis. The total of 291 frame occurrences in the print media was revealed through content analysis. Most-frequently used frame was Georgian National Consciousness, with 118 occurrences. The second frame was Georgia's Democratization. It was used in the news coverage 87 times. The third frame – Georgia-US Relations, had 86 occurrences in the print media.

Tables 8, 9, and 10 provide more detailed information about the frequency with which specific dimensions and components of each of the three frames appeared in the news coverage. Dimensions and their components serve to better understand the bigger frames that unite them.

**Table 8**

*Frequency of Georgian National Consciousness Frame, Dimension, and Component Use in News Articles*

Dimensions and Components	No. of Incidents
National Pride	
History	4
Language	1
Hospitality	8
Historic Contributions	2
Independence	3
Other*	1
Gratitude	
Past Support	7
Current Support	8
Future Support (to end regional conflicts)	16
Future Support (for NATO integration)	14
Georgia as a Country	
Multiethnic/ancient	5
Struggling	13
New Democracy	36
Total:	118

\* National pride

**Table 9***Frequency of Georgia-US Relations Frame Dimension and Component Use in News Articles*

Dimensions and Components	No. of Incidents
United States	
Superpower	3
As an ally	13
Fighting for freedom/democracy	5
President Bush	
Freedom Fighter	18
Man Who Keeps His Word	2
Georgia's Supporter	14
Other	0
Solidarity between U.S. and Georgia	
Military Support	10
Ideological Unity	10
Similar Governments	11
Total:	86



**Table 10**

*Frequency of Georgia's Democratization Frame Dimension and Component Use in News Articles*

Dimensions and Components	No. of Incidents
New Government Characteristics	
Respectful of people	1
Accountable	2
Responsible	0
Government Achievements	
Ended Tyranny in Adjara	1
Ended Corruption	13
Encouraged Emigrants to Return	1
Can Defend Borders	6
Territorial Integrity	
Abkhazia	31
Ossetia	31
Adjara	1
Total:	87

Part (a) of the Research Question 3 asked: what frames emerge in the newspaper coverage that were not evident in the text of the speech? Three new frames, not evident in the speech, were used by the news media coverage. These were: **Not so Fast**, **Things to Do**, and **Strained Relations**. First was the **Not So Fast** frame, which included shortcomings on both macro and micro levels with regard to Georgia as a country as well as to the event itself. This frame had several dimensions:

a. *Two sides of the coin*. The speech focused only on positive developments within Georgia and did not specify areas that needed further improvement. All problem areas were glossed over by a generic phrase, “we still have a long way to go on the path of democratic reform.” Yet, in several cases, the media drew attention to Georgia’s fragile economy. The *St. Petersburg Times* (Florida) described Georgia as “a poor, dangerous country struggling to make the transition from ex-communist backwater to economically thriving democracy” (“Grenade Tossed at Bush no Dud,” para. 20). *Newsweek* called it a “deeply troubled country, still struggling with breakaway provinces and decades of a depressed economy” (Wolfe & Bailey, para. 4). The Associated Press said: “Georgia still has plenty of problems. Corruption is widespread. So is poverty. Basic utilities including gas and electricity are unreliable. Russia, for all positive talk, remains a threat” (Hunt, para 21). *The Houston Chronicle* wrote, “a relatively poor country with a 12% unemployment rate, Georgia is looking for help from the West to improve its economy and raise its status among democratic nations” (Mason, para. 9). The *Chattanooga Times Free Press* was more sympathetic to President Saakashvili, who was “struggling to build democracy in a country plagued by corruption, political instability and economic hardship” (Hutcheson, para 6). The Associated Press was the only news outlet that tried to quantify U.S. assistance to Georgia. It wrote: “In

2006, the United States is expected to spend 80.2 million dollars (62 million Euros) on aid to Georgia" ("Bush Makes Landmark Visit to Ex-Soviet Georgia," para 18). Without making a clear connection to Georgia, the *Moscow Times* mentioned the fact that the "U.S. budget for 2006 requested \$24 million to help countries that overthrow 'tyranny' and elect pro-Western government" (Medetsky, 2005, para. 6)

b. *Saakashvili's track record.* *The Washington Post* wrote, "while still broadly popular at home, President Saakashvili has stirred growing criticism with a brash and impetuous manner. His blunt candor and thirst for radical change that appeal to many people strike others as needlessly confrontational. Some critics complain he has concentrated power at the expense of the opposition and the news media" (Backer & VandeHei, p. A12). The *St. Petersburg Times* alleged that he "stoked enmity with his aggressive policies since becoming president" ("Grenade Tossed at Bush No Dud," para 14). *The Huston Chronicle* wrote, "government corruption remains pervasive, according to the U.S. State Department; and local journalists say the authorities have shut down some news organizations and threatened others that report stories critical of them" (Mason, para. 11). The Associated Press quoted an opposition leader, David Gamkrelidze, as saying that "Georgia's democracy was superficial - like the newly painted facades of buildings in the capital." (Hutcheson, para 22). Gamkrelidze also pointed out that "lack of an independent legal system and a strong parliament are problems, and concentration of power in the hands of Saakashvili" (Hutcheson, para 23).

The *International Herald Tribune* listed the government's new achievements as "modernizing the military, increasing tax collection, and instituting standardized testing in schools" (Bumiller, para 16). But the newspaper also mentioned that Georgia has been

criticized by the organization Human Rights Watch for “the use of torture and a plea-bargaining system that allows defendants in criminal cases to pay the government to avoid trial” (Bumiller, para. 16). *The Times* magazine divided Saakashvili's record into positives and negative shortcomings. Saakashvili's accomplishments were that he

disbanded almost the entire police force and recruited and trained new officers to fight corruption. Reunited Georgia with the region of Abkhazia. Expanded a US program to train the Georgian Army and sent troops to Iraq, Afghanistan and Kosovo. Slashed taxes and put up state-owned businesses and land for privatization. Improved relations with the international community. Boosted national budget to \$1.9 billion from \$350 million” (Page, para 24).

His shortcomings, in turn, were that he was:

blamed by non-governmental groups for a rise in cases of politically expedient arrests. Tried to intimidate South Ossetia and Abkhazia, other separatist regions, into reuniting with Georgia. Offended Russia by boycotting celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Accused by the Council of Europe of making the presidency too powerful. Accused of failing to raise living standards. Failed to negotiate with Russian withdrawal from Soviet-era bases (Page, para 24).

c. *Bush's perspective*. In his speech, Bush praised Georgia as “a beacon of liberty,” a democracy trend-setter in the neighboring countries. However, *The Houston Chronicle* wrote that “[Bush] did not mention the rights violations, crackdowns on the free press, government corruption or bitter feuds with separatists” (Mason, para 6).

d. *Security breach*. The content analysis of news coverage showed that security issues were used as a meta-frame in 30 articles. The security meta-frame was the second most widely used frame by the press, surpassed only by the political meta-frame. As the two presidents delivered their speeches, a hand grenade was hurled toward them by a person standing in the crowd. Although the grenade did not detonate and this incident was promptly muffled, it still received a lot of coverage in the media. This dimension obviously could not

have been unforeseen at the time when the speech was written. Security concerns were enhanced by the scale of the event. The *Birmingham Post* and *The New York Sun* quoted President Saakashvili saying that the public address at the Freedom Square “was by far the largest gathering ever in the country, and it was certainly one of the largest Mr. Bush has ever addressed” (Mainville, para. 11).

e. *Technical issues.* The *International Herald Tribune* and *The New York Times* mentioned technical problems encountered during the event, including malfunctioning of loudspeakers during the speech delivery. Again, this frame did not emerge from the text, for apparent reason. *The New York Times* wrote: "A speech that Mr. Saakashvili delivered before Mr. Bush spoke went largely unheard because the public address system failed and was not fixed until the end of his remarks. The loudspeakers failed again when the Georgian national anthem was played" (Bumiller, para 11).

The second new frame identified was the **Things to Do** frame. While the press acknowledged Georgia’s efforts to build a new democracy, they also specified what needs to be done. The *International Herald Tribune* quoted President Bush as saying that Georgia needs to put in place democratic institutional foundations such as "independent judiciary, rule of law, free media" (Bummiller, para. 17). According to *PR Newswire*, President Bush expressed his commitment to help young democracies that need to establish the foundations to sustain human freedom:

First, freedom of speech, vibrant press that informs the public, ensures transparency and prevents authoritarian backsliding. Second, freedom of assembly, citizens can gather and organize in free associations to press for reform, and so that a peaceful, loyal opposition can provide citizens with real choice. Third, free economy, create prosperity and opportunity and economic independence. Fourth, independent judiciary to guarantee rule of law and assure impartial justice for all citizens. Fifth, freedom of worship, because

respect for the beliefs of others is the only way to build a society where compassion and tolerance prevail" (Remarks by President Bush, para 15).

Georgia, as a young democracy, needs to lay the groundwork for all of these institutional foundations. The Associated Press and Facts on File World News Digest both quoted Bush as saying that much work remains to ensure an independent judiciary, rule of law, and a free media in Georgia.

The third new frame identified was the **Strained Relations** frame. Strained relations between Georgia and Russia, only superficially addressed in the speech, turned out to be an important topic for the media. The Strained Relations frame primarily concerned the lingering presence of the Russian military basis on Georgian soil. President Saakashvili boycotted the World War II Victory Day celebrations in Moscow, demanding that Russia withdraw its military bases from the Georgian territory. During press briefing together with President Bush, President Saakashvili expressed his hope that the U.S. would facilitate a Georgian-Russian dialogue and support Georgia's position on the military bases issue. Yet, *The New York Sun*, among other newspapers, noted that Bush was careful not to promise too much. *The Australian*, on the other hand, was the only newspaper that mentioned the U.S.'s interest in improving the Georgian military by observing that "the US has dozens of military trainers in Georgia." Figure 3 summarizes and compares the frames found in the speech as opposed to the news articles.

<b>Figure 3. Comparison of Frames Emerged from Speech and News Articles</b>		
Source: <b>Speech</b>		Source: <b>News Articles</b>
Frames:	Frames:	<b>Frame Use</b>
<b>Georgia's National Consciousness</b>	<b>Georgia's National Consciousness</b>	118
<b>Georgia's Democratization</b>	<b>Georgia's Democratization</b>	87
<b>Georgia-U.S. Relations</b>	<b>Georgia-U.S. Relations</b>	86
	<b>Not So Fast</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two Sides of the Coin</li> <li>• Saakashvili's Track Record</li> <li>• Bush's Perspective</li> <li>• Security Breach (<i>during the event</i>)</li> <li>• Technical Issues (<i>during the event</i>)</li> </ul>	19
	<b>Things to Do</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freedom of speech.</li> <li>• Free economy.</li> <li>• Rule of law through independent judiciary.</li> <li>• Freedom of worship.</li> </ul>	3
	<b>Strained Relations</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Withdrawal of the Russian military bases from Georgia.</li> <li>• President Saakashvili's boycott of the Victory Day celebrations in Moscow.</li> <li>• U.S. facilitating dialogue between Russia and Georgia</li> </ul>	2
		<b>Total: 315</b>

A Part (b) of Research Question 3 asked: are there any differences regarding the use of frames between local and international news coverage?

There were three major differences in local vs. international coverage. First, Georgian media analyzed President Saakashvili's speech much more closely as compared to the international news coverage. Georgian newspapers quoted excerpts from the speech, and one newspaper even published an entire speech verbatim, which may be unusual for the Western media, but is a common practice in Georgia. The vast majority of the international media, in turn, quoted President Saakashvili only when he estimated the total number of people present at the event, or when he introduced President Bush as a "freedom fighter." The rest of the speech seemed to have sifted through the media filter. On the other hand, the Georgian press largely ignored the hand grenade incident, while the Western media allotted a lot of attention to this security breach issue.

Second, the international media quoted a much wider variety of sources in the articles. The most commonly quoted sources besides President Bush and President Saakashvili, were U.S. and Georgian government officials, security personnel, ordinary citizens, and other media. Yet, the international media went through the trouble of also interviewing Georgian opposition party member, president of Abkhazia's de-facto President Sergei Bagapsh; Free Belarus Block co-coordinator Dzmitry Bandarenka; Anatol Liabedzka, United People's Party chairman in Belarus; Australian Prime Minister John Howard; Russian President Vladimir Putin; Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov; and supporter of Azerbaijan's opposition, Tofiq Yagublu. In comparison, the only other sources quoted in Georgian articles was the rightist opposition leader David Gamkrelidze, speaker of the



Parliament and a Georgian lawmaker. Georgian media did not diversify its sources. Hence, two out of four Georgian articles were only somewhat balanced.

It was especially interesting to observe that the articles quoted eight persons involved in public relations (see table 11). Most of the spokespersons made comments concerning the grenade incident, the safety issues, and the investigation that followed. Only one article included President Bush's press secretary Scott McClellan's comment on the grenade incident, in which he called it "an example of courage." David Bartlett commented on President Bush's trip to Moscow, but he was not quoted saying anything about the president's next stop in Tbilisi. From the Georgian president's office, the two persons involved with public relations who were quoted were Daniel L. Kunin and Vano Noniashvili. Kunin made a non-political comment about President Bush being impressed with Georgian cuisine, which was mentioned in only two articles. Noniashvili commented on the grenade incident in only one of the articles. None of the public relations sources commented on any of the topics covered in the Presidents' speeches.

**Table 11***Frequency of Public Relations Sources' Quotations*

Person	Employment	Topic	No. of Articles
Scott McClelland	White House	Security breach, Georgia	10
Jonathan Cherry	US Secret Service	Security breach	9
Guram Donadze	Georgia Interior Ministry	Security breach	5
Daniel L. Kunin	Government of Georgia	Georgian cuisine	2
David Bartlett	White House	Security breach, Moscow visit	2
Wendy Kennedy	US Embassy	Security breach	2
Lorrie Lewis	US Secret Service	Security breach	1
Jim Mackin	US Secret Service	Security breach	1
Vano Noniashvili	Georgian Presidency	Security breach	1
Total			33

Third, the international media voiced more criticism than the Georgian media. They mentioned poverty, corruption, the crippled economy, and other issues that are still present in Georgia, despite the optimistic picture painted by President Saakashvili in his speech. Georgian media focused on decoding the messages in the text and evaluating the visit and its future effects on Georgian foreign politics.

The *Georgia Times* was the only newspaper that viewed President Bush's visit as an opportunity for Georgia to market itself to the world. The article called the visit "a great political breakthrough and a brilliant promotional opportunity for the country" (Edilashvili,

para. 15). This phrase opens up an array of opportunities to promote Georgian brand abroad that have been missed by both the government and the media. It can only be speculated that including even limited information to draw attention to Georgia's agricultural exports, its summer and winter resorts, tourist destinations, vibrant culture, and so on, could have boosted the media interest in these areas and served as an excellent point to attract foreign investment, or stir up the interest of the international business community.

And finally, most U.S. newspapers and only one Russian newspaper had an article that used a political meta-frame to convey its concern with the U.S. trying to "weaken" Russia's influence on its neighboring countries. The *Moscow Times* quoted the deputy editor of *Russia in Global Affairs* journal who suggested that the U.S. was planning to help governments in emerging democracies "handle refugee crises, rein in public disorder and build Western-style institutions" (Medetsky, para. 13). None of the other newspapers related Bush's visit to Georgia and its consequences to their countries of origin.

### Limitations

This study has a number of limitations. First, only English language publications were examined. It is realistic to suggest that examination of Russian and Georgian-language newspapers could have yielded more results. Second, besides hard copies of the Georgian newspapers, only Lexis-Nexis Academic and EastView databases available at UNC-Chapel Hill were used as search engines. A more thorough search could have produced more relevant results. Third, a two-week time frame may not have been sufficient to fully examine the impact of the speech. A year after the event, the media might have covered Bush's visit in retrospect. Also, monthly publications would have been excluded from the analysis, if they

were published outside this time frame. Fourth, only a limited number of countries were included in the study. These countries were selected based on the availability of archives through free electronic search engines, as well as their importance for Georgia's foreign relations due to their proximity or political and economic ties. Other countries that were not included in the study could have covered the speech event as well.

The findings of this study cannot serve as the basis for making assumptions that the press coverage of the speech had certain effects on perceptions of subscribers or readers of those newspapers. Any change in their behavior or attitudes towards the speech should not be linked or attributed to their media exposure based on this study. Also, the results of this study cannot be generalized to other media beyond those included in the study. Other types of media, such as television, radio, online media, etc. may have used different approaches and frames to covering this event.

Another limitation of this study is the range of coding categories and operational definitions developed for coding purposes. Other researchers may come up with a wider range of frames or coding categories that might alter findings of the consecutive studies.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

This study has demonstrated that President Saakashvili's welcoming address to President George W. Bush carried multiple messages that were in line with the government's nation-building efforts. The dominant ideology identified in the speech was liberal democratic ideology. The democratic ideology was presented as a hegemonic worldview of the current Georgian administration. The ideology was manifested through the claims of similarity between Georgian and American values of sovereignty, as well as ideological support for the promotion of democracy around the world and military support for the fight against oppression.

A qualitative content analysis of the international print media that covered the event of the speech within a bigger context of President Bush's visit to Georgia revealed that, overall, the media gave the address a positive evaluation. Most frames that emerged from the speech were used in the articles, but the media framed coverage of the speech in ways that were different from these. At the same time, the speech itself was not allotted considerable attention in the coverage that followed its delivery. This can be explained by several factors. First, President Bush's speech was considered more noteworthy and this overshadowed what President Saakashvili had to say. Second, the unfortunate security breach at the event diverted attention from the speech. Third, technical issues with the malfunctioning sound

system and loudspeakers hindered the comprehension of the speech. Fourth, while the public address by the two presidents was conceived as the grand finale of the visit, in reality, it did not get as much in-depth media coverage as expected.

One can also argue that the media missed an opportunity to take a closer look at Georgia while it was in the international spotlight due to President Bush's visit. They had a unique chance to let the world get better acquainted with this country. They could search for new, challenging angles to discuss its recent shift to democracy.

On the other hand, the Georgian government could have been more pro-active in promoting the country not only in a political light as a new democracy with ambitious nation-building goals, but also seizing the chance of branding it as an attractive investment opportunity, popular tourist destination, or exporter of agricultural products.

The above-discussed conclusions were made based on the current scope and purpose of this study. This next section provides suggestions for researchers who might have an ambition to expand or further develop this study in future.

### Further Research

The following recommendations for future research can be made. First, it is advisable to extend the time frame of the study to at least one year, to include subsequent coverage, especially around the anniversary of the Bush's visit. Second, Russian and Georgian language print media should be included in the study. Third, worldwide coverage should be extended to those countries that were not used for this study. Fourth, it should be helpful to include transcripts of the radios such as Voice of America and America's National Public Radio, as they tend to cover such events in more detail. Television news, or online blogs

could also be examined, expanding the reach of this study. There are two potential benefits to carrying out these recommendations. Firstly, additional articles may be retrieved, which would allow for a more in-depth analysis of the media coverage. Secondly, extending the scope of this study beyond just the print media to include TV, radio, online news, and other social media, will provide researchers with an opportunity to examine the media coverage from different angles.

Most importantly, it would be a fascinating task to take a close look at how public relations has been employed during the most-recent period of the Georgian history. The Rose Revolution alone can be turned into an exciting case study for public relations students and professionals. Currently, Georgia's government public relations strategy is not documented. Scholars have not yet taken this opportunity to examine when public relations practices have been introduced, how developed in Georgia, or how they have been used by President Saakashvili's government in the light of recent political turmoil. Gruban (1995) suggests that "Eastern Europe presents the most intriguing opportunity for the public relations profession nowadays" (p. 21). Given the recent global increase in the spread of democracy, learning how the Georgian government employs public relations to facilitate nation-building will be beneficial for other countries whose governments have similar goals.

The final section of this study makes suggestions on how public relations approach to nation building can increase the government's effectiveness in communicating its key messages to the media and to the public. The recommendations pertain specifically to speechwriting, as well as to broad suggestions on how to make public relations the government's key strategic planning tool by integrating public relations approaches with nation-building strategies.

## Recommendations

While in the big scheme of events, President Saakashvili's public address can be considered a success, there is always room for improvement. Diggs-Brown(2007) lists characteristics of a successful speech and also warns against common pitfalls, such as ineffective delivery of the speech and the lack of speaker's credibility. Her recommendations on selecting the correct format for the speech depending on the function and anticipating target audiences' reaction can be used to improve the presidential speechwriting in Georgia.

In the future, the Georgian government can consider the following suggestions on how to improve government public relations in the effort to advance Georgia's nation-building goals, and increase positive media coverage of events similar to President Bush's visit.

- a. While the primary focus of the event might be political, the government should take an opportunity to discuss improved economic conditions and the favorable investment climate in the country to catch the attention of the international business community.
- b. Press officers and public relations should be actively used as spokespersons assigned to the media during special events to reinforce the government's key messages.
- c. The government should be more pro-active and incorporate the political opposition's points of view and respond to the criticism by providing counter-arguments. Presenting only the dominant official position on the issues does not prevent that the media from seeking an alternative opinion from the opposition or independent experts.



- d. The muted voices in the speeches should be minimized. Especially when it comes to multiethnic countries like Georgia, the governmental speech should strive to address the needs of ethnic, racial and other minorities, and underprivileged groups, such as IDPs.
- e. The organizers of the event must make sure that there are no technical issues with the sound system, microphones, or loudspeakers to ensure that the public address is properly heard. A technical failure can be a major distraction during the events. It can also become a source of embarrassment.
- f. In order to maximize the media attention for a governmental speech, it is advisable to hold a press conference after the event. After listening to the speech, the media will ask more informed questions, thus providing the speaker with an opportunity to reiterate and elaborate on the points already made in the speech. During President Bush's visit, the press briefing the day before received considerably more coverage than the speeches delivered the next day.

Besides specific recommendations on how to improve the quality of governmental speechmaking, this study also illustrated the need, and potential benefits, for the Georgian government to increase the effectiveness of the communications component of nation-building by putting a priority on making government public relations its key strategic component. The following broad recommendations should be implemented on a larger scale.

1. The Georgian government can advance the country's nation-building goals by acknowledging that transitional public relations (Lawniczak, 2004) has a pronounced strategic planning function to help enhance national unity and develop a shared democratic national identity for Georgia. Public relations is an integral part

of a democratic society (Kruckeberg, 1995-1996). As Georgia's nation-building brings the country closer to creating a truly democratic state, the government should integrate public relations into its diplomacy to help manage the national reputation (Wang, 2006) and negotiate better understanding and cooperation with local and international audiences.

2. By adopting a public relations approach to nation-building (Taylor, 2000) during President Saakashvili's administration, as well as during subsequent administrations, such strategies will serve three important purposes. First, public relations can contribute to nation-building by easing the democratic transition for the people within the country. Second, public relations can maximize the government's public outreach efforts by making communication more participatory (Taylor, 2000). The coorientation, dialogic, and civil society theories mentioned earlier can be employed to plan and carry out comprehensive public information campaigns to communicate new public policies and nation-building objectives to the population. Third, with tactically employed public relations, President Saakashvili's government can convey to the world that Georgia is a thriving new democracy that truly belongs in the global village.
3. The focus of the public relations within nation-building should be on nurturing long-term relationships (Kent & Taylor, 2006) and having an ongoing constructive dialogue (Kent & Taylor, 2002) with accurately selected domestic (general population, activists groups, political opposition, local media, NGOs, international donor organizations, such as IMF, World Bank, USAID, UN, OSCE, etc., and businesses) and international (foreign governments, international media, new U.S.

president and his or her administration, etc.) publics. These relationships, based on mutual trust, will gradually reduce the power distance between the government, the citizens, and the media and contribute to successful implementation of the democratic nation-building by developing a civil society, increasing governmental transparency, and fostering freedom of speech.

4. Public relations should be used to empower the people, as they should be in a real democracy. Public relations should be distanced from propaganda. Its goal in Georgia should be to facilitate two-way, symmetrical communication between the government and its target publics (Grunig & Grunig, 1992). The government watchdog function of the media should not be jeopardized, and the opposition's voices should not be muted by intricate public relations efforts. Rather, public relations should encourage plurality of opinions as it facilitates a dialogue between the government and its publics.
5. As the government acknowledges the interdependence between political communication and public relations, practitioners should also become sensitive towards cross-cultural subtleties involved in this process (Newman & Verčič, 2002). Prior to applying Western public relations practices in Georgia, they should be localized and adapted to the Georgian environment. The public relations practitioners should also be aware of ethnocentrism (Botan, 1992; Kent & Taylor, 1999; Kruckeberg, 1995-1996) and consider the six factors, suggested by Wakefield (2000), within the context of Georgia: the level of development in a country, the local political situation, the cultural environment, language differences, the potential for activism, and the role of the mass media (p. 186).

In the end, as Georgia continues its journey toward becoming a truly democratic country, it will gradually reach nation-building milestones. To facilitate this process along the way, the Georgian government should take an opportunity to employ public relations practices to advance its nation-building agenda and communicate effectively with internal as well as external target audiences.

By adopting public relations approaches to nation-building recommended in this study, President Saakashvili's administration can establish and nurture long-term relationships based on mutual trust with the citizenry by keeping them well-informed about new policy issues, support development of civil society in the country by engaging in a constructive dialogue with the activist groups, NGOs, and the opposition, and contribute to promoting the freedom of speech by cooperating with the media. Placing a priority on public relations as a management function and taking advantage of its carefully tailored strategies and tactics, including presidential speechwriting, can help the Georgian government catch the momentum and demonstrate to the world that Georgia is not only fully committed to democratization, but also knows how to tell its success story.

## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix A: IREX's 2008 Media Sustainability Index for Georgia**

**Overall country Score: 2.07/4.00**

**Objective 1: Free Speech**

**Georgia Objective Score: 2.16/4.00**

**Objective 2: Professional Journalism**

**Georgia Objective Score: 2.11/4.00**

**Objective 3: Plurality of News Sources**

**Georgia Objective Score: 2.09/4.00**

**Objective 4: Business Management**

**Georgia Objective Score: 1.77/4.00**

**Objective 5: Supporting Institutions**

**Georgia Objective Score: 2.23/4.00**

Source: [http://www.irex.org/programs/MSI\\_EUR/2008/georgia.asp](http://www.irex.org/programs/MSI_EUR/2008/georgia.asp)

## Appendix B: Agenda of the President Bush's Visit (abridged)

**For immediate release**  
**Government of Georgia Presidential Visit Task Force**

### **INFORMATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF GEORGIA FOR MEDIA ON EVENTS OF THE VISIT OF U.S. PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH TUESDAY 10 MAY 2005**

*These are elements of the public portions of the official visit of the President of the United States of America to Georgia, 9-10 May 2005.*

*For more information on these events, please contact the Government of Georgia press officers and please visit the special website [www.georgiawelcomesusa.com](http://www.georgiawelcomesusa.com)*

*For more information about the schedule of President Bush, please contact the press officers of the White House or the U.S. Embassy.*

*Some of this information is subject to change.*

*Anglicized pronunciations of some names and place names are provided in phonetic form as a courtesy to media who are visiting Georgia for the first time.*

*Information regarding the White House can be requested from the White House or the Embassy of the United States in Georgia.*

*Media coverage of these events is also listed with each event.*

*Some events must be covered by "pools" where space is limited and only small groups of press can be accommodated. Members of these pools will be assigned by press offices of the Government of Georgia and the White House. Both the Government of Georgia press officers and the White House press officers are communicating directly with the members of these pools to give them information on where they should be and at what time.*

*Monday 9 May 2005  
TBILISI , GEORGIA*

### **THE PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA WELCOMES THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO GEORGIA ON HIS ARRIVAL**

<b>Location:</b>	Tbilisi International Airport, VIP 2 Terminal
<b>Time:</b>	Approximately 7:45 PM, 19:45 Georgia Daylight Time
<b>Media</b>	Open to credentialed media

*Format:*

Air Force One arrives  
President Saakashvili greets President Bush.  
The President will be accompanied by his spouse, Ms Sandra Roelofs,  
The Chair of the Parliament of Georgia, Nino Burjanadze  
The Prime Minister, Zurab Nogahaideli  
The National Security Advisor, Gela Bezhuashvili

*[The official arrival ceremony with honors will occur on Tuesday morning at the courtyard of the Parliament of Georgia. There are no ceremonies or remarks this evening at the arrival at the airport.]*

*Monday, 9 May 2005  
TBILISI , GEORGIA*

### **PRESIDENT SAKASHVILI HOSTS PRESIDENT BUSH IN OLD TOWN TBILISI AT 'ABANOTUBANI'**

**Location:** Abanotubani (translation: Street of Baths)  
**Time:** Approximately: 8:15 PM/ 20:15 Georgia Daylight  
Time  
**Media  
Coverage:** Georgia Host TV Pool and small Georgia US pool

*Format:*

In this visit to Old Town, Georgians will present some of their best traditional dancers and music as President Saakashvili and his spouse, Ms Sandra Roelofs, introduce President Bush and Mrs. Bush to the beautiful culture of Georgia and the strong Georgian tradition of hospitality and welcome.

No speeches or ceremonies will occur during this warm Georgian welcome planned by the artists and people of Georgia for the President of the United States.

"Abanotubani" has been the site of active warm springs and sulfur baths for more than a millennium. It is the oldest part of Tbilisi. The baths are still active and many Georgians regularly take the baths here.

#### **Among the performers this evening at Abanotubani:**

"National Academy of Ballet", more than 100 artists performing  
"Orbi", nearly 50 youngsters from Tbilisi's Academy of Young Virtuosos  
" Rustavi", ensemble of 70 from the National Folksong and Dance academy  
and another 100 Georgians in a variety of groups.

Many of these artists will also perform on Tuesday for the public at Freedom Square.

*Tuesday 10 May 2005  
TBILISI , GEORGIA*

## **HONORS ARRIVAL CEREMONY**

**Location:** Courtyard, Parliament of Georgia  
**Time:** 08:55 AM Georgia Daylight Time  
A number of media pools in different places  
**Media Coverage:** In the Courtyard  
And live television by Georgia Host TV Pool

### *Elements of the Program*

The President of Georgia greets the President of the United States and escorts him to the reviewing platform

Anthem of Georgia  
Anthem of the United States of America

BAND NAME?

Commander of the Honor Guard invites  
President Saakashvili and President Bush to review Honor Guard

Review of troops  
Georgian Army  
Georgian Navy  
Georgian Air Force

President Saakashvili and President Bush greet the official Delegation of the Government of Georgia

President Saakashvili and President Bush greet the official Delegation of the United States and officers of the Embassy of the United States

*Tuesday 10 May 2005*  
*TBILISI GEORGIA*

## **PRIVATE MEETING OF THE PRESIDENT OF GEORGIA AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES With Georgian and U.S. officials**

**Location:** Offices of the President of Georgia In the Parliament of Georgia  
**Time:** Approximately 09:15 AM  
**Media Coverage:** Georgia and US Media photographers and Georgia Host Television Pool

### ***Government of Georgia Participants in the private meeting of President Saakashvili and President Bush:***

The Chair of Parliament of Georgia, Her Excellency, Dr. Nino Burjanadze



The Prime Minister of Georgia, His Excellency Zurab Noghaideli

The Foreign Minister, H.E. Salome Zurabishvili

The Minister of Defense H.E. Irakli Okruashvili

The State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration,  
H.E. Giorgi Baramidze

Chief of Staff to the President, Mr. Gigi Ugulava

National Security Advisor to the President Mr. Gela Bezhuashvili

Ambassador of Georgia to the United States, H.E. Levan Mikeladze

***Government of the United States Participants:***

The names of participants will be released by The White House.

*Tuesday 10 May 2005  
TBILISI , GEORGIA*

**PRESS STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT SAKASHVILI  
AND PRESIDENT BUSH**

<b>Location:</b>	Atrium of the Offices of the President In the Parliament of Georgia
<b>Time:</b>	Approximately 10:15 AM Georgia Daylight Time
<b>Media Coverage:</b>	Live television by Georgia Host Television Pool Pools of Georgia and US photographers Pools of Georgia, US and international correspondents
<b>Translation:</b>	Simultaneous translation, Georgian and English

*Format:*

Announcement of President Saakashvili and President Bush

Opening Statement of President Saakashvili

Opening Statement of President Bush

A few questions from the press corps of Georgia, the White House press and representatives of other international press.

*Tuesday 10 May 2005  
TBILISI , GEORGIA*

**PRESIDENT SAKASHVILI AND PRESIDENT BUSH  
HAVE DISCUSSION WITH CIVIL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES**

**Location:** Offices of the President of Georgia in Parliament  
**Time:** Approximately 10:45 AM  
**Media Coverage:** Georgia and U.S. Media Pool and Georgia Host TV Pool  
for a few minutes coverage before private meeting  
continues

*Tuesday 10 May 2005  
Tbilisi , Georgia*

**THE CHAIR OF THE PARLIAMENT OF GEORGIA HAS PRIVATE GREETING WITH  
PRESIDENT BUSH**

**Location:** Private offices of the Chair, Nino Burjanadze  
**Time:** Approximately 11:30 AM Georgia Daylight Time  
**Media Coverage:** Georgia-U.S. Pool of still photographers and  
Georgia Host Television Pool

Source: [http://www.georgiawelcomesusa.com/event\\_participants.htm](http://www.georgiawelcomesusa.com/event_participants.htm)

## APPENDIX C: Photo Collage of President Bush's Visit to Georgia



President Saakashvili's speech venue was the Freedom Square in the center of Tbilisi.



President Saakashvili and President George W. Bush on May 10, 2005.



The choir of Georgian singers performed national anthems of the two countries.



The official logo of the President Bush's visit symbolized the Rose Revolution and close ties between the U.S. and Georgia.

Source: [www.georgiawelcomesusa.com](http://www.georgiawelcomesusa.com)

APPENDIX D: Welcoming address by the President of Georgia

"CELEBRATING FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY"  
IN FREEDOM SQUARE  
TBILISI, GEORGIA  
10 MAY 2005

*Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili thanked US President George Bush for his support, but said further American help is needed on the way to democratic reform. In an address to a large crowd gathered in Tbilisi's Freedom Square on 10 May, Saakashvili said that Bush, who was with him on the podium, had "openly supported" Georgia's bid for NATO membership. Saakashvili told Georgians that they had a responsibility for spreading democracy throughout the world, "starting with Belarus". The following is the text of the address carried live by Georgian TV station Rustavi-2 on 10 May; subheadings inserted editorially:*

[Saakashvili] My dear people, my fellow citizens, today we are writing the history of Georgia together. This city's walls, our city's walls, remember many things. Our pride, our boundlessly beautiful homeland, for centuries was the victim of many invaders. There is not one empire in the world that has not brought bloodshed, destruction and an attempt to destroy the Georgian language here. These walls remember the Romans, the Byzantines, the Turks, the Persians, the Mongols and the Russians. No-one could destroy us. We still stand here today, we stand proudly and we stand free. [Applause]

Throughout our history many great world leaders have come here, but as invaders, enslavers, to further destroy, belittle and humiliate our nation. Their visits here only brought blood and destruction.

Today, for the first time in the history of our country, beside us, before us now, stands the leader of the state which is the most powerful in the world and he stands as a friend, as a partner, as an ally, as a brother-in-arms, as a person whose visit delights each of us. I greet him proudly as the president of this country. Welcome, Mr. President. [Applause, cheering]

Georgia's contribution during WWII

Mr. President, you were in Holland a few days ago to see the graves of American servicemen. Two days before you I was in Texel [island], also in Holland. Many people in the world do not know that the last battle of World War II in Europe was fought by Georgians. Six hundred and twenty of them died heroically for the freedom of Europe and the whole world, and they were victorious.

Our people have done more than is possible for the freedom of Europe. Our philosopher, thinker and spiritual leader Grigol Peradze fled from the Bolsheviks to Poland and was imprisoned in Auschwitz because he defended Jewish children against capture. Instead of them, he volunteered to be sent to the gas chambers and died heroically for the freedom of these children and the whole of Europe.

Finally, it is possible that in the past few days many people have not remembered this elsewhere, but on the German Reichstag, Hitler's Reichstag, it was our fellow countryman, Georgian Meliton Kantaria, who raised the [Soviet] flag. All my fellow citizens are very proud of that. [Applause]

Georgians have fought everywhere for freedom, but Georgia, as a result of these battles, did not win freedom. However, we are not here to talk about the past.

Achievements of the new government

Today, George Bush's presence here is confirmation of what unity can achieve, our common quest for freedom, our unity of spirit, our like-minded government.

For the first time Georgia has a government that listens to the people rather than imposes its own will on the people. This is a government that respects your views. This is a government that serves the people rather than robbing and impoverishing them. Most importantly, this is a government which is accountable to each of you, which is fully aware of its responsibility for the future of our children.

Over the past 18 months, the time when young people left Georgia because of a lack of opportunity has come to an end. Last year was the first in which more Georgians returned to Georgia than left. Our successful children, successful Georgians, are returning to help their country, to help their homeland rebuild. Corrupt thieving hands are no longer bleeding our people dry. No longer is there tyranny in Ajaria. The violation of human rights is now a thing of the past. We no longer live in a state which cannot defend itself, its borders or its people.

Georgia to spread democracy, "starting with Belarus"

I want to tell you one thing - we all take responsibility together for our country. All of us have responsibility for spreading democracy throughout the world, starting with Belarus, whose people deserve freedom. We stood beside the people of Ukraine, we will stand beside others, starting with North Korea, Cuba. This is support for democracy. Georgia will be America's main partner in spreading democracy in the former Soviet Union and the Middle East. That is our offer to you, Mr. President. [Applause, cheering]

Mr. President, we agree with your belief that the shoots of democratic change will appear in the Middle East. As a sign that there will also be democracy in Iraq - [changes thought] The sight of people with ink on their hands in Iraq is as moving as the people who were holding roses here.

I want to greet those Georgians who are side by side with Americans serving in Iraq. They are represented here and I would like to greet them with my fellow citizens. We are very proud of them. [Applause, cheering]

I want to tell you Americans with pride that we will forever be beside you in support of freedom, democracy and security.

"We do not want war"

The defense of freedom - [changes thought] Georgia's multiethnic culture is one of our greatest strengths. Today, we, in front of the whole world, extend a hand of fraternity, friendship to our Abkhaz and Ossetian brothers and sisters. We do not want war. We want peace. We want a united Georgia - [Applause, cheering, chants of "Misha, Misha!"] - in which their values, their identity are defended, and we will fight together for our country.

I want to tell America and the whole world - the whole world is watching today - that at the beginning of the 1990s when Georgia found its new independence, when people were starving, it was America that gave us grain for free, it was American wheat we used to bake bread, for which I want to thank you, Mr. President.

When three years ago Georgia's territory was bombed and our civilians were killed, America was one of the countries which raised its voice in defense of Georgia and told all our neighbours that the red line passes along the Caucasus range, no-one is allowed to overstep it and this is an independent, free country.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, and the Americans for this. [Applause] When we all gathered in this square to defend our freedom and dignity, America was the first country to stand with Georgia in its fight for freedom, and we would like to thank you for that, Mr. President.

American help still required

However, America's assistance remains very important for Georgia. Despite the success of the Rose Revolution, there are parts of Georgia where people have no freedom. We should put an end to the isolation of our citizens in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region [ South Ossetia]. We should give them equal opportunity to develop in conditions of freedom, democracy and unity. [Applause]

Today, the American president, like no other world leader, has said clearly for the whole world to hear that Georgia will be united and America will defend Georgia's unity and freedom. [Applause]

Bush supports Georgia's NATO bid - Saakashvili

I said earlier that we need extra security guarantees in order to defend our democracy and freedom. That is why Georgia has said unequivocally, the entire Georgian nation has said unequivocally, that Georgia should become a member of NATO. Today President Bush has again openly supported Georgia's bid to join NATO. [Applause]

Naturally, we still have a long way to go on the path of democratic reform. We still have a lot to do. However, Mr. President, last winter was the first winter since our democratic revolution [changes thought] - I had the opportunity to listen to your second inaugural speech. I remember your words:

All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: the United States will not ignore your oppression or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you. [end of quote]

That evening my feeling was that you were addressing me personally and our people, you were talking about our freedom and success, were defending our democracy as well as the democracy of the people in all our neighbouring countries. Today you kept your promise.

Today, the whole world can see that America, which stood with us during the revolution, now stands in front of so many residents of Tbilisi, so many Georgians. There are more than 150,000 people here today. You are standing with us here today as a man who has kept his word and as our friend.

Saakashvili gives Bush award for service to Georgia

Standing in Freedom Square, I would like, on behalf of the whole nation, to welcome the world leader who has done more than anyone else in the fight for freedom. I would like to welcome him as our great supporter and our great friend, as a fighter for freedom. [switches to English] Welcome to Georgia, Mr. President. [Applause]

[Switches back to Georgian] Last September the parliament of Georgia established a new award, the Order of St George, for special services to Georgia. We have not yet awarded this order to anyone. Naturally, when it was introduced last year we did not know that President Bush was coming here.

I would like to award the Order of St George to the US president, Mr. George Bush, for his special contribution to the promotion of freedom and democracy in Georgia and the fight for democracy across all of the former Soviet Union and the Middle East. He will be the first person to receive this award. I am passing it to him now on your behalf. [Applause]

Source: Rustavi-2 TV, Tbilisi, in Georgian 0915 gmt 10 May 05

Source: [http://www.georgiawelcomesusa.com/event\\_programs.htm](http://www.georgiawelcomesusa.com/event_programs.htm)

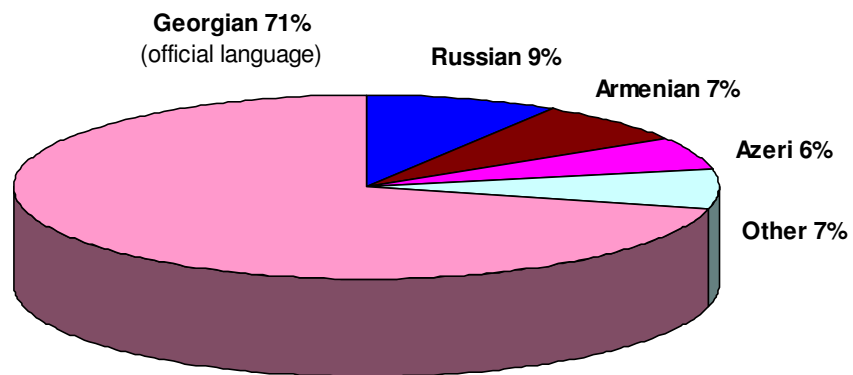
## Appendix E: Overview of the Nation-Building Studies

<b>Country/Region</b>	<b>Author(s), Year</b>
<b>Afghanistan</b>	Somit and Peterson, 2005.
<b>Baltic countries</b>	Galbreath, 2005; Kolsto 1999; Ruutsoo 2002.
<b>Central Europe</b>	Micgiel, 1996.
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	Jha, 1998.
<b>Former Soviet Union</b>	Daftary and Grin, 2003; Heradstveit and Strommen, 1999; Hunter, 1994; Janmaat, 2000; Kolsto, 1999; Korobkov, 2003; Kuzio and D'Anieri 2002; Smith, et. al., 1998.
<b>Iraq</b>	Dobbins, et. al. 2005; Fukuyama, 2004.
<b>Malaysia</b>	Islam, 1998.
<b>Russia</b>	Kolsto and Bkakkisrud, 2004.



## Appendix F: Central Intelligence Agency Worldbook Facts

Languages spoken on the Georgian territory:



## APPENDIX G: Principles of Public Relations Approach to Nation Building

1. Nation building requires two levels of relationships: those between individuals and those between individuals and governments.
2. Individual relationships can be fostered through communication. Public relations can offer a strategic approach for relationship building. Communication campaigns, a function of public relations, are one vehicle for relationship building.
3. Relationships must be negotiated between individuals and between individuals and governments. Negotiation involves compromise, trust, and respect for the other parties. Communication campaigns need to be flexible and adapt to the needs of the target publics.
4. Relationships are negotiated in a social context. This social context will affect the evolution of the relationships. Communication campaigns that foster relationships must be complemented, not contradicted, by social and political contexts.
5. Campaigns that allow individuals to control their own relationships, foster trust, and provide for intimacy will be beneficial for relationship building and, ultimately, for nation building.

Taylor, (2000). p. 207.

## APPENDIX H: Hierarchy of Nation-Building Tasks

- ***Security:*** peacekeeping, law enforcement, rule of law, and security-sector reform.
- ***Humanitarian relief:*** return of refugees and response to potential epidemics, hunger, and lack of shelter
- ***Governance:*** resuming public services and restoring public administration
- ***Economic stabilization:*** establishing a stable currency and providing a legal and regulatory framework in which local and international commerce can resume
- ***Democratization:*** building political parties, free press, civil society, and a legal and constitutional framework for elections.
- ***Development:*** fostering economic growth, poverty reduction, and infrastructure improvements.

Dobbins, et al. (2007).

# APPENDIX I: Initial Data Summary

<b>N o</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>News Wire</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>No. of docs.</b>
1.	<i>Georgia Today</i>	Georgia			1
2.	<i>The Messenger</i>	Georgia			2
3.	<i>Georgian Times</i>	Georgia			2
4.	<i>Moscow News</i>	Russia			2
5.	<i>Moscow Times</i>	Russia			6
6.		Russia	ITAR-TASS		1
7.		Russia	Interfax News Agency		1
8.	<i>USA Today</i>	U.S.			1
9.	<i>The New York Times</i>	U.S.			4
10.	<i>The Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	U.S.			2
11.	<i>The Washington Post</i>	U.S.			1
12.	<i>The Washington Times</i>	U.S.			1
13.	<i>St. Petersburg Times</i>	U.S.			1
14.	<i>Newsweek</i>	U.S.			1
15.	<i>The Dallas Morning News</i>	U.S.			1
16.		U.S.	PR Newswire		2
17.		U.S.	States News Service		2
18.		US	Eurasianet		1
19.		U.S.	Associated Press		6
20.		U.S.		Facts on File World News Digest	1
21.	<i>The Huston Chronicle</i>	U.S.			1
22.	<i>The International Herald Tribune</i>	U.S./ International			1
23.	<i>The New York Sun</i>	U.S.			1
24.	<i>The New York Post</i>	U.S.			1
25.	<i>The Post and Courier</i>	U.S.			1
26.		U.S.	CQ Federal Department and Agency Documents Regulatory Intelligence Data		1
27.	<i>Knight Ridder Washington Bureau</i>	U.S.			1

28.	<i>The Record</i>	U.S.			1
29.	<i>St. Paul Pioneer Press</i>	U.S.			1
30.	<i>The York Dispatch</i>	U.S.			1
31.	<i>Chattanooga Times Free Press</i>	U.S.			1
32.	<i>Inland Valley Daily Bulletin</i>	US			2
33.		US		Voice of America	6
34.		US		NPR	1
35.		US		CNN	1
36.		UK		BBC	1
37.	<i>Daily Post</i>	U.K.			1
38.	<i>Birmingham Post</i>	U.K.			1
39.	<i>The Times</i>	U.K.			1
40.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	U.K.			1
41.	<i>Financial Times</i>	U.K.			3
42.	<i>Western Morning News</i>	UK			1
43.	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	Canada			1
44.	<i>The Calgary Herald</i>	Canada			1
45.	<i>Guelph Mercury</i>	Canada			1
46.	<i>National Post</i>	Canada			1
47.	<i>Prince George Citizen</i>	British Columbia			1
48.	<i>Hobart Mercury</i>	Australia			2
49.	<i>The Australian</i>	Australia			1
50.	<i>The Courier Mail</i>	Australia			2
51.		France	Agence France Presse		11
52.		Bosnia-Herzegovina	ONASA News Agency		1
53.	<i>Turkish Daily News</i>	Turkey			1
54.		Italy	ANSA English Media Service		1
					<b>Total: 93</b>

APPENDIX J: List of documents excluded from the content analysis

No.	Newspaper	TV	News Wire	Radio	Country	No. of docs.	Reason for exclusion				
							No Mention	Passing Mention	Reprinted Article	Media Type	Other
1.				Voice of America	U.S.	6				Radio show transcripts	
2.				NPR	U.S.	1				Radio show transcripts	
3.		BBC			U.K.	1				TV show transcript	
4.		CNN			U.S.	1				TV show transcript	
5.	<i>Georgian Times</i>				Georgia	1					In verbatim speech
6.	<i>Moscow Times</i>				Russia	2		X			
7.	<i>Moscow Times</i>				Russia	4	X				
8.	<i>The Record</i>				U.S.	1			X		
9.			AFP		France	1			X		
10.			PR Newswire		U.S.	1			X		
11.	<i>Saint Paul Pioneer Press</i>				U.S.	1			X		
12.			States News Service		U.S.	2			X		
13.	<i>The New York Times</i>				U.S.	2			X		
						<b>Total: 24</b>					

APPENDIX K: Final data summary

No.	Newspaper	Country	News Wire	Other	No. of docs.
1.	<i>Georgia Today</i>	Georgia			1
2.	<i>The Messenger</i>	Georgia			2
3.	<i>Georgian Times</i>	Georgia			1
4.	<i>Moscow News</i>	Russia			1
5.	<i>Moscow Times</i>	Russia			1
6.		Russia	ITAR-TASS		1
7.		Russia	Interfax News Agency		1
8.	<i>USA Today</i>	U.S.			1
9.	<i>The New York Times</i>	U.S.			2
10.	<i>The Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	U.S.			2
11.	<i>The Washington Post</i>	U.S.			1
12.	<i>The Washington Times</i>	U.S.			1
13.	<i>St. Petersburg Times</i>	U.S.			1
14.	<i>Newsweek</i>	U.S.			1
15.	<i>The Dallas Morning News</i>	U.S.			1
16.		U.S.	PR Newswire		1
17.		US	Eurasianet		1
18.		U.S.	Associated Press		6
19.		U.S.		Facts on File World News Digest – News Database	1
20.	<i>The Huston Chronicle</i>	U.S.			1
21.	<i>The International Herald Tribune</i>	U.S./ International			1
22.	<i>The New York Sun</i>	U.S.			1
23.	<i>The New York Post</i>	U.S.			1
24.	<i>The Post and Courier</i>	U.S.			1
25.		U.S.	CQ Federal Department and Agency		1

			Documents Regulatory Intelligence Data		
26.	<i>Knight Ridder Washington Bureau</i>	U.S.			1
27.	<i>The York Dispatch</i>	U.S.			1
28.	<i>Chattanooga Times Free Press</i>	U.S.			1
29.	<i>Inland Valley Daily Bulletin</i>	US			2
30.	<i>Daily Post</i>	U.K.			1
31.	<i>Birmingham Post</i>	U.K.			1
32.	<i>The Times</i>	U.K.			1
33.	<i>Daily Mail</i>	U.K.			1
34.	<i>Financial Times</i>	U.K.			3
35.	<i>Western Morning News</i>	UK			1
36.	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	Canada			1
37.	<i>The Calgary Herald</i>	Canada			1
38.	<i>Guelph Mercury</i>	Canada			1
39.	<i>National Post</i>	Canada			1
40.	<i>Prince George Citizen</i>	British Columbia			1
41.	<i>Hobart Mercury</i>	Australia			2
42.	<i>The Australian</i>	Australia			1
43.	<i>The Courier Mail</i>	Australia			2
44.		France	Agence France Presse		10
45.		Bosnia- Herzegovina	ONASA News Agency		1
46.	<i>Turkish Daily News</i>	Turkey			1
47.		Italy	ANSA English Media Service		1
					<b>Total: 69</b>



APPENDIX L: Coding Sheet

Coder \_\_\_\_\_ Article ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Newspaper Name \_\_\_\_\_

Country \_\_\_\_\_ Issue No. \_\_\_\_\_ Section \_\_\_\_\_

Page No. \_\_\_\_\_ Word Count \_\_\_\_\_

Byline \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Publication \_\_\_\_\_  
MM/DD/YY

Article Title: \_\_\_\_\_

**Source**

- |                   |                     |                |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Press release  | 4. Multiple sources | 7. Other _____ |
| 2. Newswire       | 5. Other media      |                |
| 3. In-house story | 6. Unspecified      |                |

**Story Type**

- |                  |              |                |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. News story    | 3. Interview | 5. Other _____ |
| 2. Feature story | 4. Editorial |                |

**1. Pride Dimension**

- |                         |                                      |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. Georgia's history    | b. Georgian language                 |
| c. Georgian hospitality | d. Georgians' historic contributions |
| e. Independence         | f. Other _____                       |

**2. Gratitude Dimension**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. U.S.'s past support                             | b. U.S.'s current support                                  |
| c. U.S.'s future support to end regional conflicts | d. U.S.'s future support for Georgia's integration in NATO |

**3. Georgia Dimension**

- |                                     |                            |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. As a multiethnic/ancient country | b. As a struggling country |
| c. As an exemplary new democracy    | d. Other_____              |

**4. U.S. Dimension**

- |                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. Superpower                     | b. Georgia's ally/brother-in-arms |
| c. Fighting for freedom/democracy | d. Other_____                     |

**5. President Bush Dimension**

- |                        |                             |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Freedom fighter     | b. A man who keeps his word |
| c. Georgia's supporter | d. Other_____               |

**6. Solidarity Dimension**

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| a. Military support        | b. Ideological support |
| c. Like-minded governments | d. Other_____          |

**7. Territorial Integrity Dimension**

- |               |                 |           |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------|
| a. Abkhazia   | b. Ossetia      | c. Adjara |
| d. Other_____ | e. Context_____ |           |

**8. New Government Dimension**

- |                                     |                                 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. Respects the people              | b. Is accountable to the people |
| c. Is aware of its responsibilities |                                 |

**9. Government Achievements Dimension**

- |                                    |                                    |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. Ended tyranny in Adjara         | b. Ended corruption                |
| c. Encouraged immigrants to return | d. Ended violation of human rights |
| e. Can defend country's borders    |                                    |

**Overall tone of the article**

5      4      3      2      1

Positive      Neutral      Negative

**Balance**

5      4      3      2      1

Balanced      Somewhat balanced      Unbalanced

**Quotes**

a. Saakashvili      b. Bush      c. Georgian official      d. U.S. official

e. Georgian citizen      f. Expert      g. Security personnel      e. Other media

h. Other\_\_\_\_\_

**Dominant Meta-Frame**

1.      Political      3.      Humanitarian      5. Other\_\_\_\_\_

2.      Socioeconomic      4.      Security issues

**Extent of Mention**

1.      No mention      2.      Passing mention

3.      Small mention      4.      Considerable mention

**Additional Observations/Comments**

---

# APPENDIX M: Codebook

## Coding Instructions for Qualitative Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of President Saakashvili's Speech (10.05.2005)

Coding Category	Definition
<b>Coder</b>	Type in your initials.
<b>Article ID</b>	Each article is numbered and assigned a unique ID, based on the news category within Lexis-Nexis Database, or the country of origin. Choose from the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MWN</b> – Major World Newspapers</li> <li>• <b>MWP</b> – Major World Publications</li> <li>• <b>US</b> – US News and Wire Services</li> <li>• <b>ALL</b> – All News</li> <li>• <b>RUS</b> – Russian Newspapers</li> <li>• <b>GEO</b> – Georgian Newspapers</li> </ul>
<b>Country</b>	Type in the country of origin of the publication. Choose from the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>US</b></li> <li>• <b>UK</b></li> <li>• <b>Canada</b></li> <li>• <b>Australia</b></li> <li>• <b>Russia</b></li> <li>• <b>Georgia</b></li> </ul>
<b>Issue</b>	If available, type in the information about the issue or edition.
<b>Section</b>	If available, type in the information about the section within the publication where the article was printed.
<b>Page No.</b>	If available, type in the page(s) on which the article was printed.
<b>Word Count</b>	If available, type in the total number of words in an article.
<b>Byline</b>	If available, type in the name and title of the author of the article
<b>Date</b>	Type in the date of the publication ( <b>dd/mm/yy</b> ).
<b>Title</b>	Type in the title of the article

<b>Source(s)</b>	<p>If available, type in the corresponding number for the source(s) used in the article. Choose all that apply from the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>1. Press release</b></li> <li><b>2. Newswire</b></li> <li><b>3. In-house story</b> (<i>written by a staff member</i>)</li> <li><b>4. Multiple sources</b></li> <li><b>5. Other media</b></li> <li><b>6. Unspecified</b></li> <li><b>7. Other</b> (<i>specify</i>)</li> </ol>
<b>Story Type</b>	<p>Type in the corresponding number for type of the article. Choose one from the following options:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>1. News story</b></li> <li><b>2. Feature story</b></li> <li><b>3. Interview</b></li> <li><b>4. Editorial</b></li> <li><b>5. Other</b> (<i>specify. E.g. full text of speech, transcript, etc.</i>)</li> </ol>

*Note: Articles may include multiple or no frames. If a frame is not mentioned, leave the corresponding cell blank. Otherwise, please mark all frames that apply.*

<b>Frame Code</b>	<b>Component Definitions</b>
<b>Georgian National Consciousness Frame</b>	
<b>1. Pride Dimension</b>	<p>The speech was saturated with multiple sources of Georgians' national pride. If the articles mentions or extensively discusses any of the sources of pride listed below, mark all that apply:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. Georgia's History</b> (<i>multicultural/multiethnic state, subject to numerous invasions, etc.</i>)</li> <li><b>b. Georgian Language</b> (<i>it's uniqueness, resilience through centuries, etc.</i>)</li> <li><b>c. Georgian Hospitality</b></li> <li><b>d. Georgians' historic contributions</b> (<i>WWII, etc.</i>)</li> <li><b>e. Independence</b> (<i>collapse of USSR, Rose Revolution, etc.</i>)</li> <li><b>f. Other</b> (<i>please specify</i>)</li> </ol>
<b>2. Gratitude Dimension</b>	<p>President Saakashvili expressed the gratitude on behalf of Georgia and its people towards the U.S. and its economic and political support. Please mark all that apply:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. U.S.'s past support</b> (<i>supported Georgia in its fight for independence, recognized its territorial integrity,</i></li> </ol>

	<p><i>donated grain, etc.)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>b. U.S.’s current support</b></li> <li><b>c. U.S.’s future support to end regional conflicts</b> (<i>in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali (South Ossetia)</i>)</li> <li><b>d. U.S.’s future support for Georgia’s integration in NATO</b></li> </ul> <p><i>Note: NATO stands for North Atlantic Treaty Organization</i></p>
<b>3. Georgia Dimension</b>	<p>How does the article talk about the country?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. As a multiethnic/ancient country</b></li> <li><b>b. As a struggling country</b></li> <li><b>c. As an exemplary new democracy</b> (<i>“beacon of liberty”</i>)</li> <li><b>d. Other</b> (<i>please specify</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Georgia-US Relations Frame</b>	
<b>4. U.S. Dimension</b>	<p>How does the article portray the U.S.? Mark all that apply</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. Superpower</b></li> <li><b>b. Georgia's ally/brother-in arms</b></li> <li><b>c. Fighting for freedom/democracy</b></li> <li><b>d. Other</b> (<i>please specify</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>5. President Bush Dimension</b>	<p>How does the article portray President Bush? Mark all that apply:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. Freedom fighter</b></li> <li><b>b. A man who keeps his word</b> (<i>to support countries that fight for democracy and liberty, to support Georgia in securing its borders</i>)</li> <li><b>c. Georgia's supporter</b> (<i>first person to receive the Order of St. George for his special contribution to the promotion of freedom and democracy in Georgia</i>)</li> <li><b>d. Other</b> (<i>please specify</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>6. Solidarity Dimension</b>	<p>Georgia’s solidarity to the U.S. Mark all that apply:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. Military support</b> (<i>Georgian troops in Iraq, training</i>)</li> <li><b>b. Ideological support</b> (<i>democracy, freedom, security</i>)</li> <li><b>c. Like-minded governments</b></li> <li><b>d. Other</b> (<i>please specify</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Georgia’s Democratization Frame</b>	
<b>7. Territorial Integrity Dimension</b>	<p>Does the article mention any of these “separatist” (so-called break-away) regions? Mark all that apply.</p>

	<p>a. Abkhazia b. Ossetia c. Adjara d. Other (<i>please specify</i>) e. Context</p> <p><i>Note: Under Context, briefly describe the context in which the region was mentioned</i></p>
<b>8. New Government Dimension</b>	<p>How is Saakashvili's administration portrayed in the article? Mark all that apply:</p> <p>a. Respects the people b. Is accountable to the people c. Is aware of its responsibilities</p>
<b>9. Government Achievements Dimension</b>	<p>Does the article discuss the accomplishments of the new government? Does it mention any of the ones below?</p> <p>a. Ended tyranny in Adjara b. Ended corruption c. Encouraged immigrants to return d. Ended violation of human rights e. Can defend country's borders</p>

Code	Definition
<b>Tone</b>	<p>On the scale 1 to 5, mark the overall tone of the article, as it evaluates President Bush's visit to Georgia, or the country itself:</p> <p><b>5-4 Positive</b> <b>3 Neutral</b> <b>2-1 Negative</b></p>
<b>Balance</b>	<p>On the scale 1 to 5, evaluate the balance of the article.</p> <p><b>5-4 Balanced</b> (<i>quotes two or more sources, states facts, and tells an objective story</i>) <b>3-2 Somewhat Balance</b> (<i>quotes one source, seems biased</i>) <b>1 Unbalanced</b> (<i>doesn't have any quotes, is biased, or tells a one-sided story</i>)</p>
<b>Quotes</b>	<p>If applicable, mark all sources quoted in the article.</p> <p>a. Saakashvili b. Bush c. Georgian official</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>d. U.S. official</b></li> <li><b>e. Georgian citizen</b> (<i>everyday people providing opinions</i>)</li> <li><b>f. Expert</b></li> <li><b>g. Security/law enforcement personnel</b></li> <li><b>h. Other media</b></li> <li><b>i. Other</b> (<i>please write name and title of the person</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Dominant Meta-Frame</b>	<p>What is the overall, dominant frame, or the main emphasis in the story? If you had to summarize an article, what would you say it focused on? Mark all that apply:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>a. Political</b> (<i>when the focus is on political issues</i>)</li> <li><b>b. Socioeconomic</b> (<i>when the focus is on sociological or economic issues</i>)</li> <li><b>c. Humanitarian</b> (<i>when the focus is on people</i>)</li> <li><b>d. Security Issues</b> (<i>hand grenade incident</i>)</li> <li><b>e. Other</b> (<i>please specify</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Extent of Mention</b>	<p>Note how much attention is given to the Bush's visit to Georgia in an article. Mark only one:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>1. No mention</b></li> <li><b>2. Passing mention</b> (<i>just one mention of the visit</i>)</li> <li><b>3. Small mention</b> (<i>one or two sentences, or a direct quote</i>)</li> <li><b>4. considerable mention</b> (<i>at least one fourth of an article</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Additional Comments</b>	<p>Please note anything about an article that you consider worthwhile for this study. This might be information within the article which was unexpected, interesting, or relevant to the analysis. Also, note any information that you think could be useful, but could not be included in the coding sheet, due to its limited coding categories.</p>



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