Public Opinion Research in Georgia: Opportunities and Challenges

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October 29, 2021

Challenges for Public Opinion Research

- Political context
- Democratizing state
- Not self-sustaining research capacities
- Politically polarizing electoral cycles
- Unfavorable geopolitical location

Multiple Checks on the Results Reported by the Central Election Commission

❑ CEC results

❑ Different Exit Polls

➢ Multiple estimates to ascertain voters' preferences

❑ PVT (Parallel Vote Tabulation) – the instrument for:

➢ Evaluating the voting process by the civil society

➢ Examining the reliability of elections results reported by the Central Election Commission

❑ Different case studies (recent elections in Georgia)

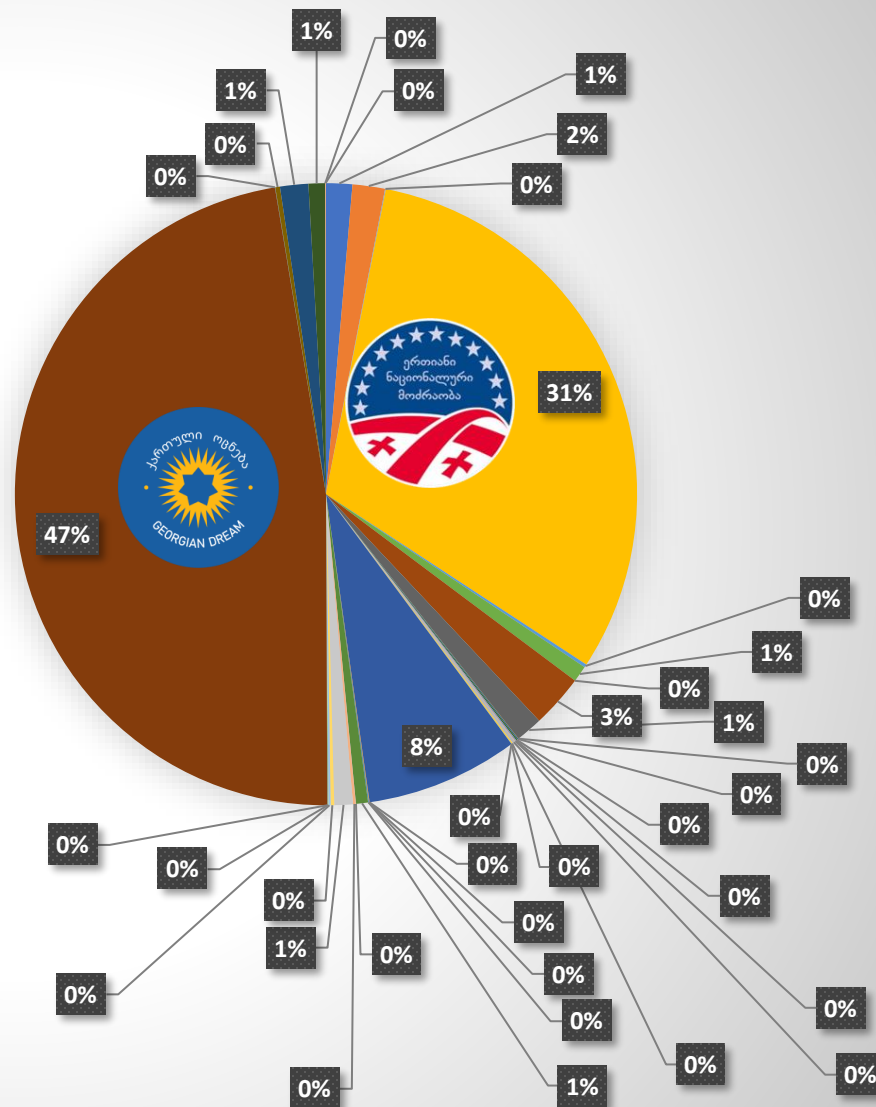➢ The 2021 local elections

    i.   Proportional Votes across Georgia

    ii.   Proportional Votes in Tbilisi

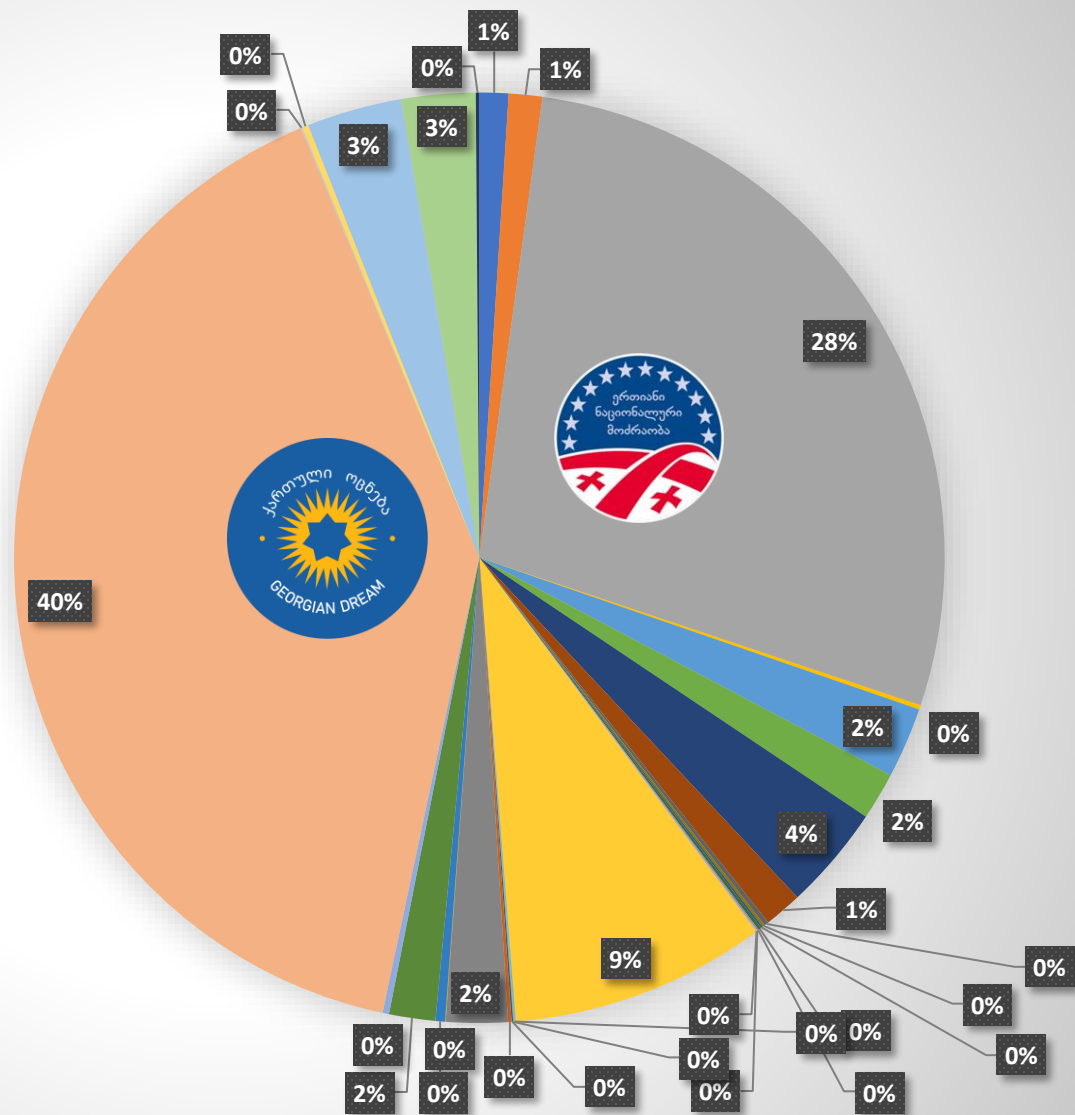   iii.   Tbilisi mayor's elections

➢ The 2020 parliamentary elections

Proportional Votes across Georgia – The 2021 Local Elections (First Round)

Legend:
- 1 Third Force - Strategy the Builder
- 2 European Georgia - Movement for Freedom
- 3 United Georgia - Democratic Movement
- 5 United National Movement
- 6 European Democrats
- 7 Aleko Elisashvili-Citizens
- 8 Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- 9 Lelo
- 10 Labor Party of Georgia
- 12 Law and Justice
- 13 Georgia
- 14 New Christian Democrats
- 17 Reformer
- 18 Georgian Dasi
- 19 European Socialists
- 21 Progress and Freedom
- 22 Georgian Development Party
- 24 Georgian Social-Democratic Party
- 25 For Georgia
- 26 Free Choice - New Alternative
- 29 For Social Justice
- 30 Workers Socialist Party
- 31 Nation
- 32 It Is Time
- 34 Leftist Alliance
- 35 Tribune
- 36 Girchi
- 37 Free Georgia
- 38 For United Georgia
- 39 Gamsakhurdia's Way
- 40 Face +
- 41 Georgian Dream
- 43 Third Way
- 44 People's Party
- 45 Girchi - More Freedom
- 48 For People
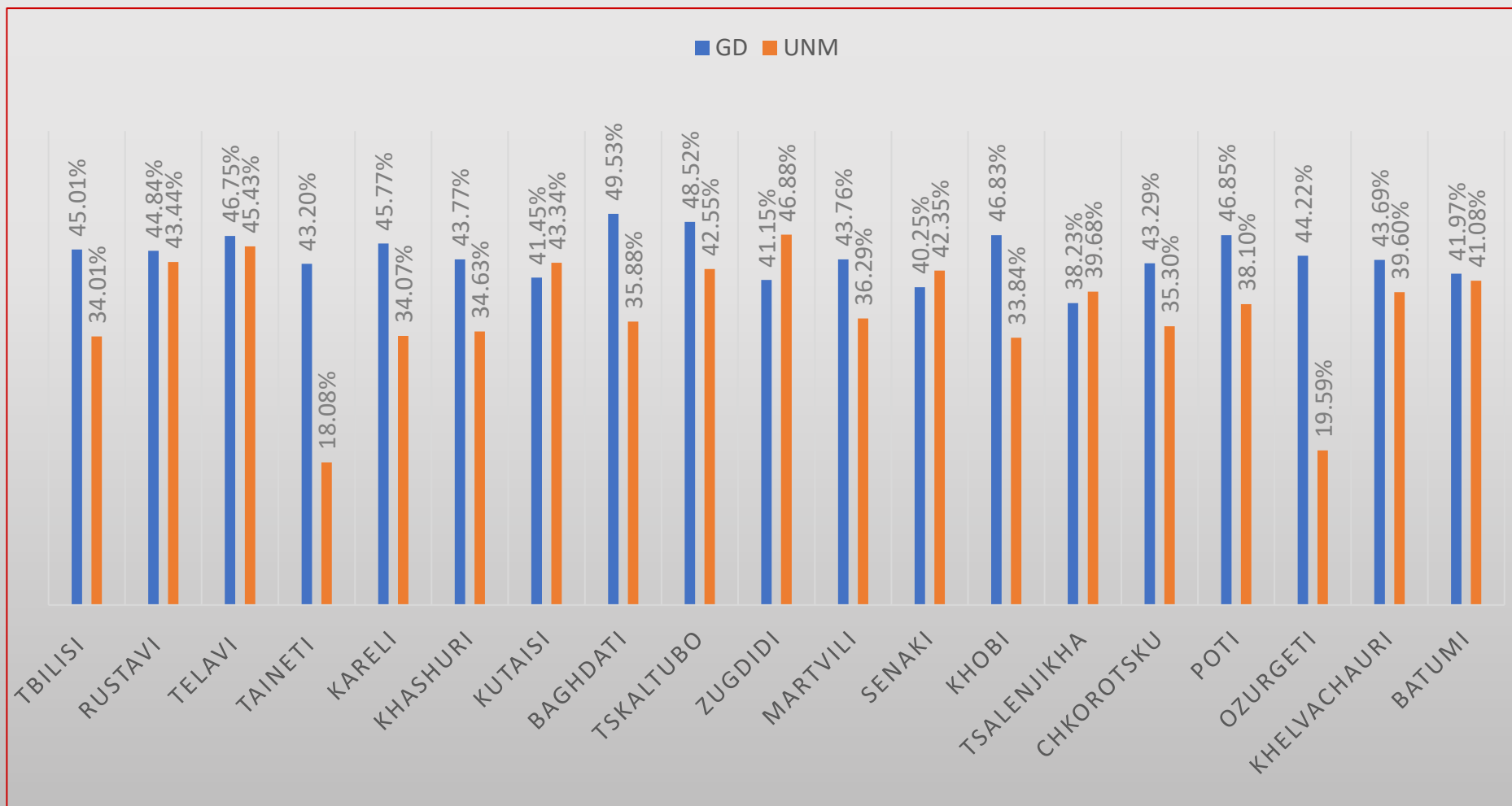- 49 Reformists
- 50 Greens Party

Proportional Votes in Tbilisi – The 2021 Local Elections (First Round)

- 1 Third Force - Strategy the Builder
- 2 European Georgia - Movement for Freedom
- 5 United National Movement
- 6 European Democrats
- 7 Aleko Elisashvili-Citizens
- 8 Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- 9 Lelo
- 10 Labor Party of Georgia
- 13 Georgia
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- 43 Third Way
- 44 People's Party
- 45 Girchi - More Freedom
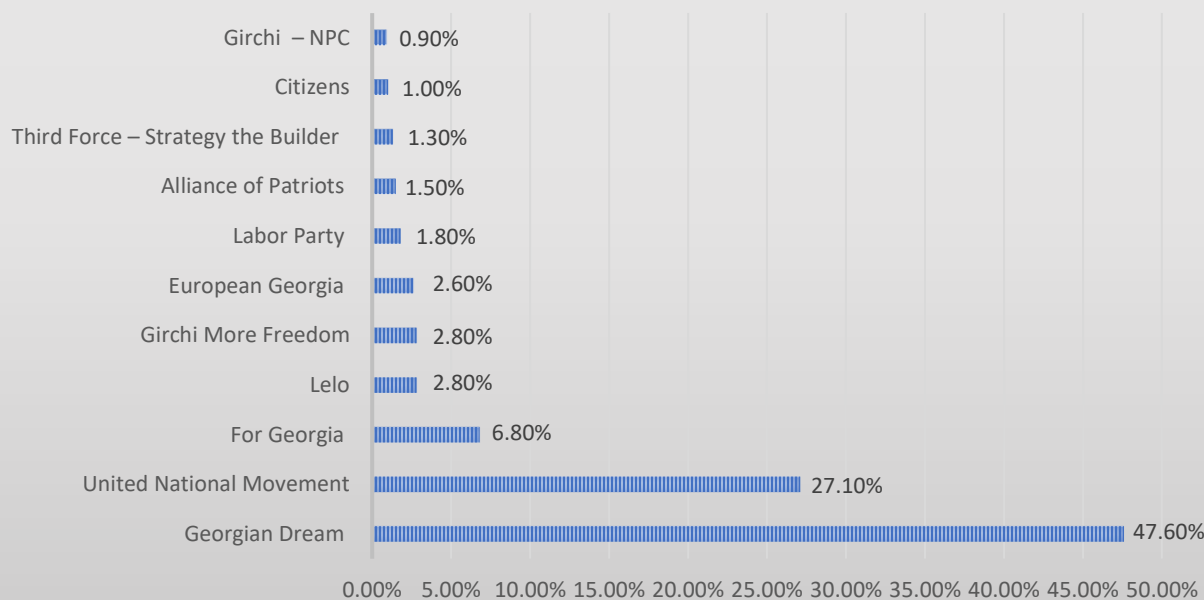- 48 For People
- 50 Greens Party

Run off Elections in Tbilisi, Major Cities and Self-governing Communities
(Mayor's Election)

Exit Poll Results
TV Imedi/GORBI – 18:00 pm Data
Proportional Vote Georgia

Party	Percentage
Girchi – NPC	0.90%
Citizens	1.00%
Third Force – Strategy the Builder	1.30%
Alliance of Patriots	1.50%
Labor Party	1.80%
European Georgia	2.60%
Girchi More Freedom	2.80%
Lelo	2.80%
For Georgia	6.80%
United National Movement	27.10%
Georgian Dream	47.60%

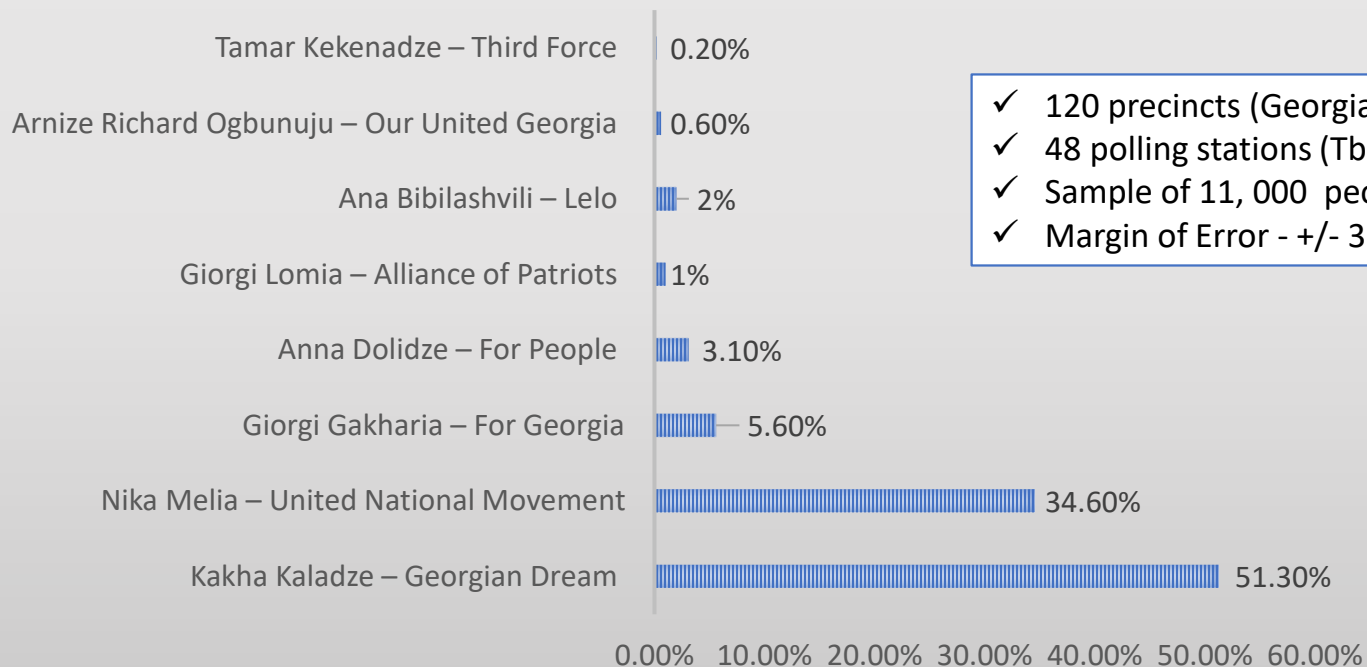0.00% 5.00% 10.00% 15.00% 20.00% 25.00% 30.00% 35.00% 40.00% 45.00% 50.00%

✓ 120 precincts (Georgia)
✓ 48 polling stations (Tbilisi)
✓ Sample of 11, 000 people
✓ Margin of Error - +/- 3 %

Exit Poll Results
TV Imedi/GORBI – 18:00 pm Data
Tbilisi Mayor's Election

✓ 120 precincts (Georgia)
✓ 48 polling stations (Tbilisi)
✓ Sample of 11, 000 people
✓ Margin of Error - +/- 3 %

Candidate	Percentage
Tamar Kekenadze – Third Force	0.20%
Arnize Richard Ogbunuju – Our United Georgia	0.60%
Ana Bibilashvili – Lelo	2%
Giorgi Lomia – Alliance of Patriots	1%
Anna Dolidze – For People	3.10%
Giorgi Gakharia – For Georgia	5.60%
Nika Melia – United National Movement	34.60%
Kakha Kaladze – Georgian Dream	51.30%

Exit Poll Results
TV Mtavari Arkhi/Ipsos Global

✓ Margin of Error - +/- 3 %

TV MTAVARI ARKHI/IPSOS GLOBAL, 20:00 PM DATA
TBILISI MAYOR'S ELECTION
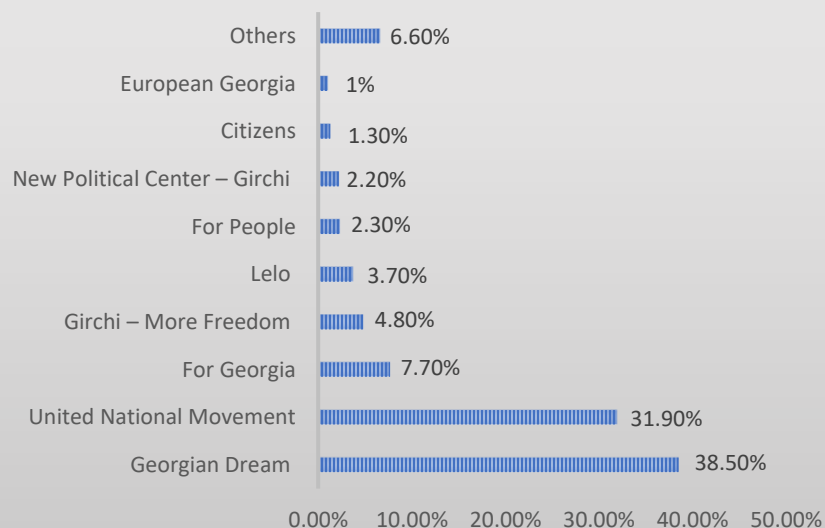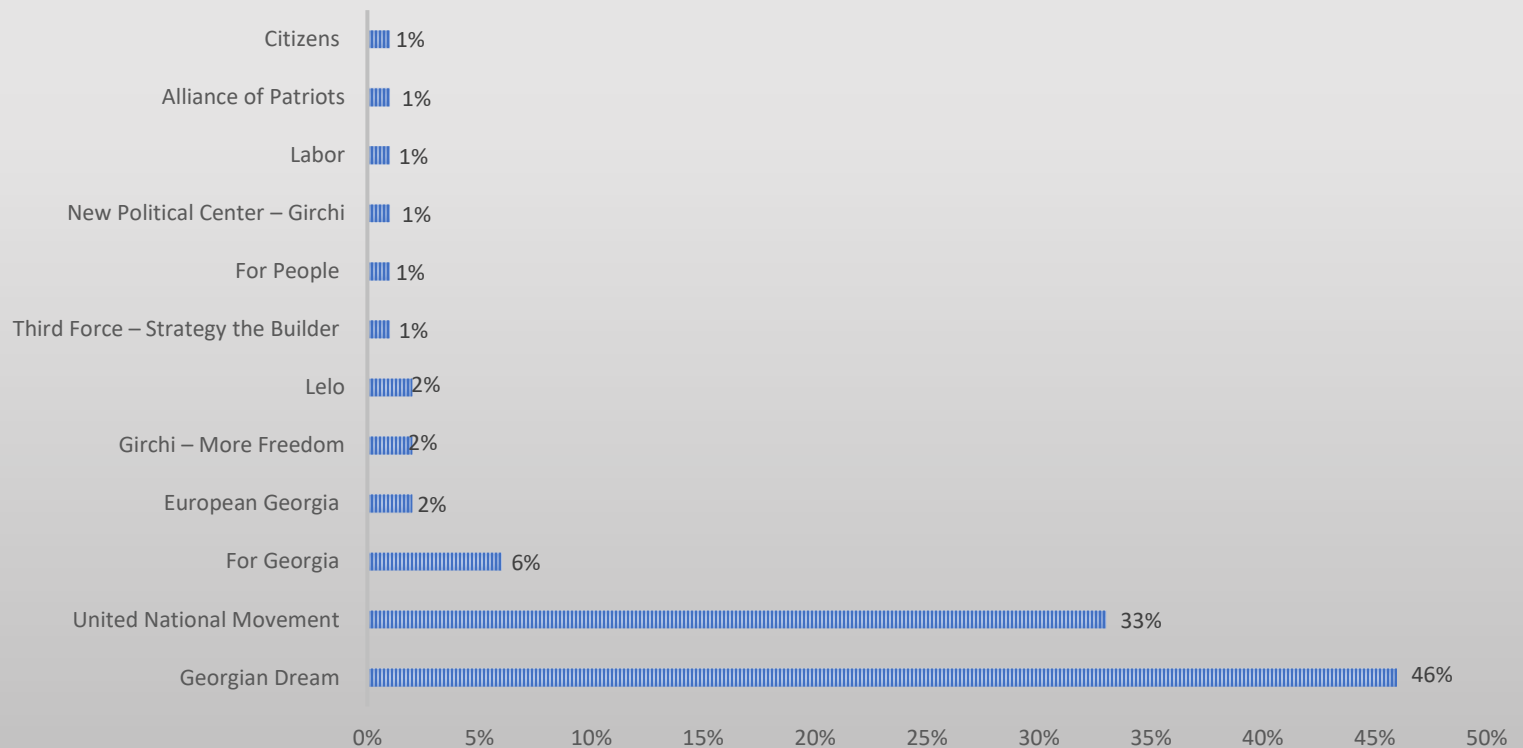
Candidate	Percentage
Others	4.10%
Ana Bibilashvili – Lelo	2.50%
Anna Dolidze – For People	4.10%
Giorgi Gakharia – For Georgia	8.90%
Nika Melia – United National Movement	39.90%
Kakha Kaladze – Georgian Dream	40.50%

0.00% 5.00% 10.00% 15.00% 20.00% 25.00% 30.00% 35.00% 40.00% 45.00%
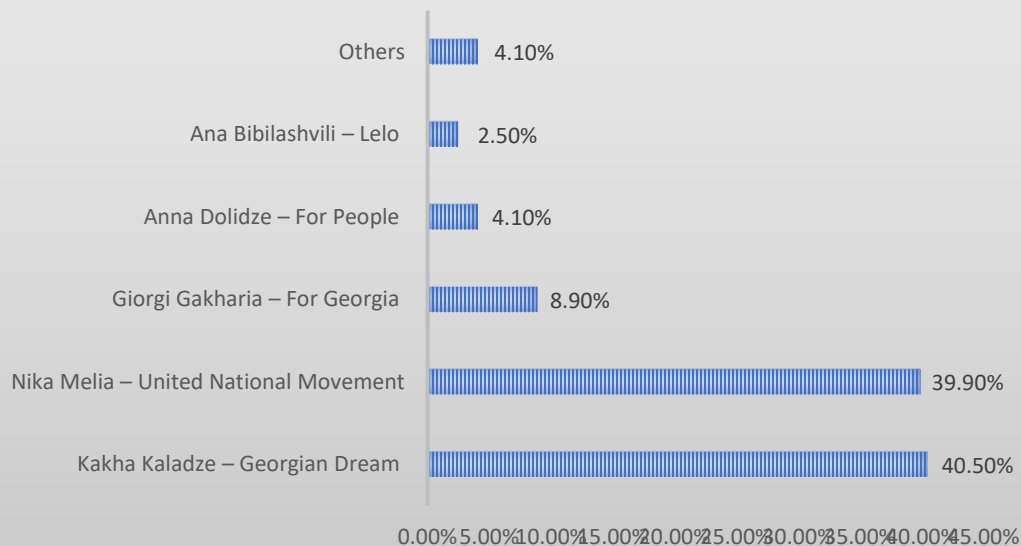
TV MTAVARI ARKHI/IPSOS GLOBAL PROPORTIONAL VOTE TBILISI - 20 PM DATA

Party	Percentage
Others	6.60%
European Georgia	1%
Citizens	1.30%
New Political Center – Girchi	2.20%
For People	2.30%
Lelo	3.70%
Girchi – More Freedom	4.80%
For Georgia	7.70%
United National Movement	31.90%
Georgian Dream	38.50%

0.00% 10.00% 20.00% 30.00% 40.00% 50.00%

Exit Poll Results TV Formula/Edison Research

✓17,758 voters interviewed
✓Margin of error +/-2%

TV FORMULA/EDISON RESEARCH PROPROTIONAL VOTE GEORGIA

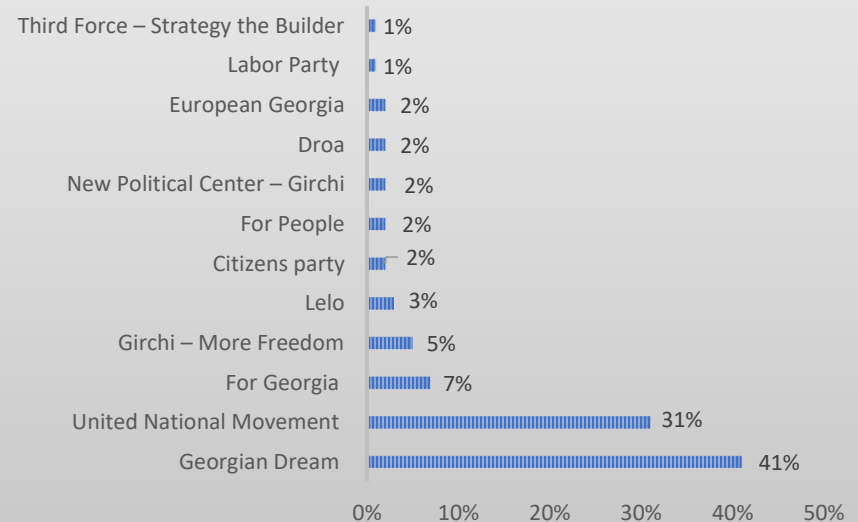| Party	Percentage
Citizens	1%
Alliance of Patriots	1%
Labor	1%
New Political Center – Girchi	1%
For People	1%
Third Force – Strategy the Builder	1%
Lelo	2%
Girchi – More Freedom	2%
European Georgia	2%
For Georgia	6%
United National Movement	33%
Georgian Dream	46%

Exit Poll Results TV Formula/Edison Research

✓6,783 voters interviewed
✓Margin of error +/-3%

TV FORMULA/EDISON RESEARCH TBILISI MAYOR'S ELECTION – 18:00 PM DATA

Candidate	Percentage
Arnize Richard Ogbunuju – Our United Georgia	1.00%
Giorgi Lomia – Alliance of Patriots	1.00%
Tamar Kekenadze – Third Force - Stratagy the Builder	1%
Ana Bibilashvili – Lelo	2%
Anna Dolidze – For People	5.00%
Giorgi Gakharia – For Georgia	7.00%
Nika Melia – United National Movement	40.00%
Kakha Kaladze – Georgian Dream	44.00%
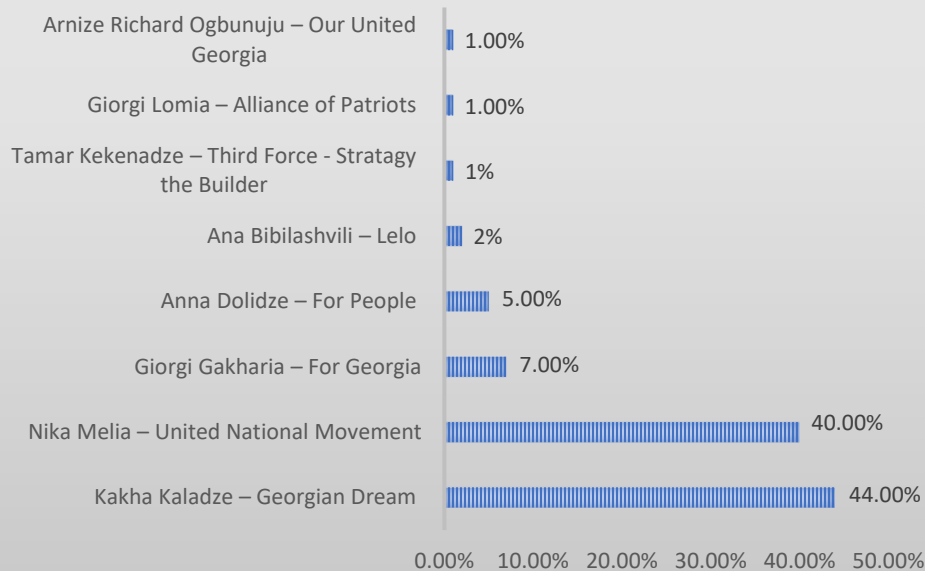
TV FORMULA /EDISON RESEARCH PROPORTIONAL VOTE TBILISI - 18:00 PM DATA

Party	Percentage
Third Force – Strategy the Builder	1%
Labor Party	1%
European Georgia	2%
Droa	2%
New Political Center – Girchi	2%
For People	2%
Citizens party	2%
Lelo	3%
Girchi – More Freedom	5%
For Georgia	7%
United National Movement	31%
Georgian Dream	41%

Comparing Results

(*e.g.* Proportional Votes Georgia)

Political Parties	CEC Results	ISFED PVT Results	GORBI	Ipsos Global	Edison Research
Georgian Dream	47 %	46.60%	47.60 %	-	46 %
United National Movement	31 %	31.1 %	27.60 %	-	33 %

(*e.g.* Tbilisi Mayor's Election Results)

Political Parties	CEC Results	GORBI	Ipsos Global	Edison Research
Georgian Dream	45.01 %	51.3%	40.5%	44 %
United National Movement	34.01 %	34.6%	39.9%	40 %

How can we explain these different findings?
We need more methodological information to answer this question!

The 2020 Georgian Parliamentary Elections – the CEC Results
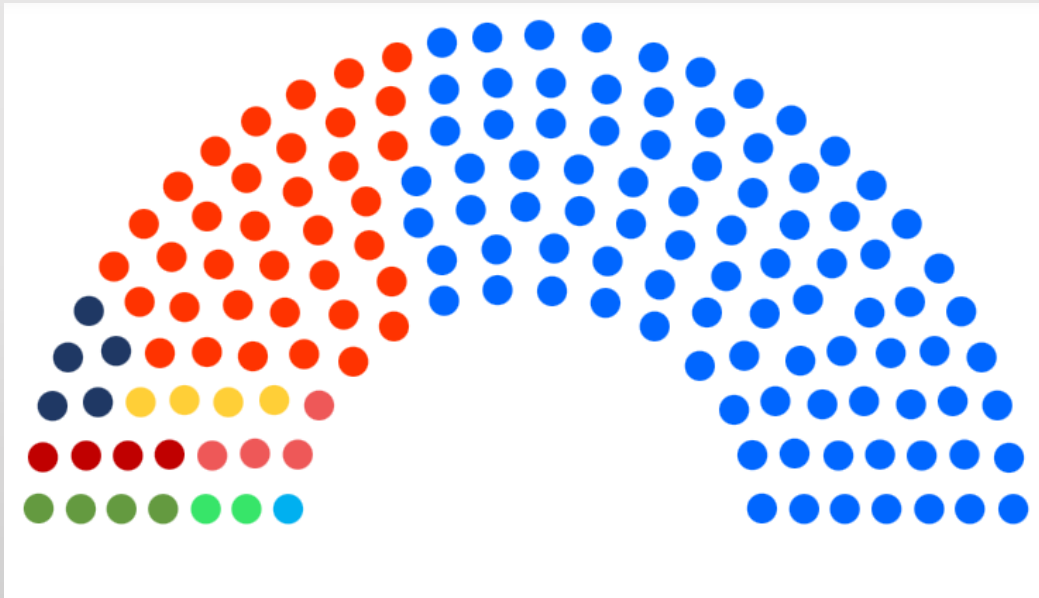
- Georgian Dream – 90 seats
- United National Movement – 36 seats
- European Georgia – Movement for Freedoms – 5 seats
- Lelo – 4 seats
- Strategy the Builder – 4 seats
- Alliance of Patriots of Georgia – 4 seats
- Girchi – 4 seats
- Citizens – 2 seats
- Labor Party of Georgia – 1 seat

The 2020 Georgian Parliamentary Elections - Proportional Votes

Political Parties	CEC Results	ISFED PVT Results	Public Opinion Strategies	Ipsos Global	Survation	Edison Research
Georgian Dream	48.22 %	45.8%	55 %	41 %	52 %	46 %
United National Movement	27.18 %	26.4%	23 %	33 %	25 %	28 %
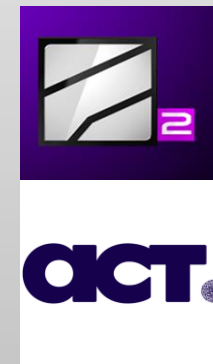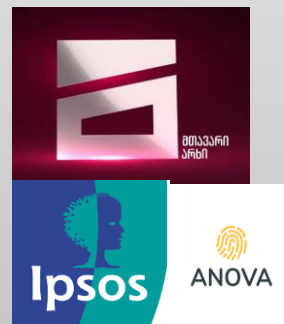
Different Exit Polls Are Good, But What If They Produce Conflicting Projections

Article 8. Disclosure Items for Public Opinion Polls

When Public Opinion Polls are published, a publisher or a research organization must disclose the following information:

1. Name of the client, researcher, or research organization that conducted the research;

2. Source of the research funding;
3. The questionnaire used in the study with its exact wording and sequence of questions;
4. Interviewer instructions for administering the questionnaire;
5. Population and its geographic coverage, in which the researcher shall explain the reasons of for any exclusion of specific geographic areas;
6. Sample size;
7. Description of sample design, including whether probability or non-probability-based sampling methods were used; whether quotas were used and based on what criteria; respondent selection methods; whether the cluster or/and stratified sampling was used;
8. Dates of the field period when data were collected;
9. Identity of a person or organization who designed the sampling strategy, if this person is a third party;
10. Number of the research participants who provided data and number of respondents who refused to participate in the research;
11. The mode of data collection (such as CATI, CAPI, ACASI, IVR, etc.);
12. The language(s) in which the interviews were conducted (e.g., Georgian or English);
13. Margin of sampling error and confidence interval in the case of the probability-based sampling;
14. Description of interviewers' training, supervision and monitoring;
15. Description of measures taken to verify the quality of data collection process;
16. Description of post-survey adjustments (sample weighting) or an explanationof not using weighting; and
17. Designating the particular software system in which the data are available.

Disclosure Items Provided by Edison Research (The 2021 Local Elections)

1. **Client:** TV Formula;

2. **Source of funding:** Free of charge for interviewees, the funding is defined by the contract between Edison Research (Edison Media Research, Inc) and TV Formula;

3. **Date when data collected:** October 2, 2021;

4. **Polling method:** Self-administered interviews;

5. **Margin of sampling error:** +/- 2.2 % and +/- 3 % for national and Tbilisi exit polls respectively at 95% confidence interval;

6. **Population:** Georgian citizens over 18 age (who have a right to vote);

7. **Sampling and its geographic coverage:** Georgia (except for Russian occupied territories of Abkhazia and Samachablo);

8. **Sampling size:** 165 precincts across Georgia (total of 17, 683 districts), 76 precincts in Tbilisi (total of 8, 181 precincts);

9. **Method of sampling:** random sampling (each voter has an equal probability of being selected);

10. **Post-survey adjustments:** The sample was weighted by gender, age, and regional parameters.

The questionnaire used in the study

A. What is a party you voted for?
  - ➢ Political parties are enlisted (from N1 to N50 – N88 means voted for no party)

B. Who was a candidate you voted for in Tbilisi Mayor's Election?
  - ➢ Candidates are enlisted (from N1 to N50 - N88 means voted for no party)

C. Who was a majoritarian candidate and from which party you voted for today?

1. N 25 – Gakharia (For Georgia);
2. N41 – Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia candidate;
3. Opposition party candidate (N2 – European Georgia Movement for Freedom; N5 – United National Movement; N32 It Is Time and N45 Girchi – More Freedom);
4. Other (please fill in) -----------

D. Gender:

1. Male
2. Female

The questionnaire used in the study

E. Age:

1. 18-29   3. 40-49   5. 60-or above
2. 30-39   4. 50-59

R. When you eventually have decided for which party to vote?
   1.   Today
   2.   During last week
   3.   During last month
   4.   More than a month

G. Which issue was the most decisive today in your choice?
   1.   Economy
   2.   Health
   3.   National security

H. Education:
   1.   Primary/incomplete high school
   2.   High school degree
   3.   Vocational
   4.   Incomplete university education
   5.   University

Please fold the questionnaire and put in the box. Thank you!

Opportunities for Public Opinion Research

✓Establishing Georgian Association for Public Opinion Research (March 2021)

✓Who helped to build Georgian Association for Public Opinion Research (GAPOR)?

What GAPOR aims at?

- GAPOR aims at promoting establishment of high scientific, ethical and professional standards in public opinion research in Georgia.

- GAPOR values openness, transparency, impartiality, reliability, collegiality and collaboration.

Thank you