International Centre on Conflict and Negotiation



Opinion of the Population of Tbilisi on the Political Developments in Georgia

November 2007 through January 2008

Findings of the Public Opinion Polling

The research was conducted by the International Centre on Conflict and Negotiation (ICCN)

with support of the Dutch Foundation "Cordaid"



Polling was conducted with participation of the Institute for Social Research (Tbilisi, Georgia)

Methodology

Sociological study type: quantitative sociological study

The method of study: sociological study was carried out by the poll method using the face-to-face interview.

The study covered the following issues:

- Assessment of the November 2-6, 2007 mass protest actions
- Assessment of the November 7, 2007 events
- Assessment of the presidential elections
- Expectations about the 2008 parliamentary elections
- Assessment of the acting political figures and associations
- Assessment of the TV channels (with special accent on the Public Broadcaster)

Object of the research: the polling was carried out among the population of the city of Tbilisi. Proportion among the districts was considered.

Sampling: Selection of the respondents took place according to quotas, as well as the random sampling principle. Namely, according to the amount of the selective integrity and to secure the representativeness of sampling in accordance with the proportions given in the general aggregate we preliminarily determined the quotas of respondents by gender and age groups. As to selection of respondents in the families, in order to secure the maximum randomness in the frames of the mentioned quotas the principle of the nearest birthday was applied. In case a person selected among the members of the family by this principle did not conform to the quota, the interviewer passed to a next family and moved so until a satisfactory respondent was found. The interval (step) between the families was 10 (every 10th family). If for any reason connection to a family or respondent was impossible, the interviewer should not connect to a closest family but move according to the step. This principle secured the spread of respondents and the maximum coverage. The interviewers were additionally provided with geographical points of and the spatial area of movement (according to the streets and districts) in order to exclude the possibility of repeated visit in one and the same point.

The **general aggregate** represented the population of Tbilisi, the age of 18 and above, 10 districts altogether. The quotas, according to the gender and age were determined in accordance with proportions of the population groups polled.

The sampling integrity amounted to 1000 respondents.

The field works were done in the period of February 5 till 16, 2008.

30 highly experienced interviewers participated in the field works. Considering the specificities of the questionnaire, all interviewers have been specially instructed before the start of the works.

Analysis of the Data: The primary sociological data have been processed using the computer program SPSS 10.0. In the analysis the methods have been used such as data grouping and typologization, correlation analysis, regression analysis, etc.

The Results and their Analysis

1. In your opinion, what reasons have caused the mass protest actions of November 2-6, 2007 (no more than two answers allowed)?

2.	Dissatisfaction of people with the situation in the country	81.5
3.	Opposition parties actively worked towards bringing people out on the	15.7
	streets	
4.	Statements made by Okruashvili	18.4
5.	Anti-government campaing carried out by the TV company IMEDI	5.5
6.	B. Patarkacishvili's hiddent strategy against the government	4.6
<i>7</i> .	other	3.0
8.	It is hard to answer	1.7**
)

As we can see, the main reason behind the street protests is the dissatisfaction of the population with the government; in other words, the street manifestations are perceived by the majority of the respondents as a response to the wrong acts conducted by the government rather than the result of the activity of certain figures.

2. The united opposition wanted to (no more than 2 answers):

1.	Scheduling the parliamentary elections in spring	57.5
2.	Removing the government and gaining power	32.0
3.	Different opposition leaders had different goals	14.1
4.	Demonstrating one's own power	8.1
	,	
5.	other	1.8
6	It is hard to answer	4.9**)

note: in questions that allow more than two answers, the total percentage exceeds 10 percent.

We believe that the answer to this question (just like in the case of the answers to other questions) clearly reflects the political preferences of the Tbilisi inhabitants: the supporters of the opposition made their choice in favor of the first answer, the supporters of the government selected the second answer or/and the fourth answer, while the third answer is selected by those individuals who are not in favor of either of the sides.

3. In 2-6 November manifestation people participated (no more than 2 answers allowed)

1.	Due to economic hardship	68.5
2.	In order to defend their constitutional rights	
3.	Due to the existing injustice in the country	
4.	In order to replace the government with peaceful	6.4
	means	
5.	To enjoy the 'show'	3.3
6.	Joined the demagogy of the opposition	10.7
7.	Other	0.3
8.	It is hard to answer	0.8*)

It is clear that the economic hardship remains to be the country's primary problem. Thus, every serious social event is linked to economic issues; therefore, the post-November slogan suggested by the government, namely the slogan: "Georgia without poverty" can be considered as adequate, given the real situation. Also, the third answer (the injustice existing in the country) occupied quite an important place in the responses of the people.

4. Do you believe or not that the 2-6 November events were backed by the plot to overthrow the government?

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yes	22.6
no	61.1
hard to answer	16.3

here too, the answers reflect the mood of the Tbilisi inhabitants

5. Do you think that stopping the manifestation of those on hunger strike in the morning of the 7th of November was

1. a legal act	15.5
2. police used more force than it was allowed to	43.5
3. an illegal act	35.0
4. hard to answer	6.0

6. Do you believe that dissolving the manifestation held on Riqe on the 7th of November was

1. a legal act	11.2
2. Police has used more force than it was allowed to	41.4
3. an illegal act	40.3
4. hard to answer	7.1

7. Do you believe that the occupation of IMEDI building on the 7th of November was

1. a legal act	8.2
2. police had exceeded its power limits	33.1
3. an illegal and forceful act	51.8
4. hard to answer	6.9

The majority of the respondents evaluate the actions of the government that took place on November 7^{th} as negative. It is interesting to observe the growing strictness in evaluating single events (pls. view the last three tables)

8. The events of 7th November 2007 were (1 answer only):

1. Crime committed by the government, grave violation of the constitution	36.4
2. An act of suppressing/scaring the people on the part of the government	29.7
3. Undesirable but necessary step taken by the government	20.5
4. The only right decision of the government to defend its security	9.5
5. Other	0.4
6. It is hard to answer	3.5

The answers reflect the opinion of both the strong supporters of the opposition and the strong supporters of the government (answer I reflects on the supporters of the opposition and answer 4 on the supporters of government). Also, we can see the position of the 'moderates' (answer 2 reflecting the moderates in favors of the opposition and 3 in favor of the government).

9. In your view, who is responsible for the events that took place of November 7th?

1. opposition only	3,5
2. opposition	4,7
3. both sides equally	36,7
4. the government	20,9
5. only the government	31,8
6. it is hard to answer	2,4

The answers are clear and do not need further clarification.

10. In your view, who took the decision to apply force on the 7th of November (1 answer only)?

1.	Michail Saakashvili	11.4
2.	Michail Saakashvili in coordination with his team	56.7
3.	Michail Saakashvili with certain representatives of his team	13.4
4.	The decision was taken without Michail Saakashvili	3.2

5. It is hard to answer 15.2

As we can see, more than half of the respondents believe that the decision was taken by the team

11. In your view, how did the event of November 7th affect Georgia's image on the international arena?

1.	it improved	3.2
2.	it remained the	21.6
	same	
3.	it worsened	64.1
4.	it is hard to	11.1
	answer	

Here too, the results do not require additional clarification

12. Appointing the preliminary presidential elections was (not more than two answers allowed)

1.	The only right decision of the government to reduce the tension	34.3
2.	A compromise on the part of the government	19.8
3.	A decision taken under the pressure from the US	34.8
4.	A step taken to preserve the power	28.9
5.	It is hard to answer	4.1*)

Third answer needs some attention since it got high percent of answers which means that large part of the respondents believes that the processes are controlled by the outside forces.

13. In your view, what made Badri Patarkacishvili take the steps he had taken? (no more than 2 answers allowed):

His business interests	19.3
His interest matched those of Russia	9.6
His interest matched the interest of the Georgian state	22.8
Personal confrontation with Michail Saakashvili	27.0
Other	2.5
It is hard to answer	27.6

As we can see, the answers are not uniform and the reply 'it is hard to answer' is encountered rather often. It seems that the society has not developed a defined opinion concerning the figure of B. Patarkacishvili

14. In your view, did the presidential candidates enjoy equal conditions?

1.yes	10.2
2. more or less	23.9
3. no	57.5
4. it is hard to	8.4
answer	

15. How do you evaluate the work carried out by the Central Elections Commission?

1. Positively	9.3
2. More positively than negatively	12.7
3. More negatively than positively	15.2
4. Negatively	51.5

5. It is hard to answer	11.3
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16. How do you evaluate the work carried out by the international observers?

1. positively	13.3
2. more positively than negatively	14.8
3. more negatively than positively	17.7
4. negatively	40.6
5. It is hard to answer	13.6

17. In your view, how were the presidential elections carried out?

Normally and justly	
With certain violations that did not influence the final result	
The government forged the results – according to real results, there should have been	
the second round	
The government forged the results - acceding to the real results, Levan	
Gachechiladze was the winner after the first round	
It is hard to answer	4.8

Thus, most of the respondents are unhappy with all major components of presidential elections. As for the results, in the opinion of the majority, the official story does not match the real picture according to which there should have been the second round.

18. How would you evaluate the positions of the Georgian Orthodox Church during the events of 2- $7^{\rm th}$ of November?

positively	55.0
neither positively, nor negatively	34.2
negatively	3.4
it is hard to answer	7.4

19. During the presidential race/campaign, the mainstream Church was supporting:

Michail Saakashvili	3.7
Representative of the opposition (one or more)	2.9
It was neutral	81.6
It is hard to answer	11.8

These results are once again reminding us that the authority of the mainstream Church is very high among the population

20. How deeply do you trust the below listed politicians or public figures (the list is organized in alphabetical order)?

- 1. I fully trust
- 2. I trust more than I distrust
- 3. neutral
- 4. I distrust more than I trust
- 5. I completely distrust
- 6. It is hard to answer

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4. Giga Bokeria 3.1 3.6 5.3 4.3 80.4 3.3 5. Nino Burjanadze 17.9 15.1 17.0 8.4 38.5 3.1 6. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia 10.8 13.5 23.9 9.4 35.9 6.5 7. Davit Gamkrelidze 18.3 30.1 24.8 5.7 16.5 4.6 8. Levan Gachechiladze 35.2 21.0 15.5 5.0 19.4 3.9 9. Lado Gurgenidze 12.8 14.2 12.9 4.5 28.7 26.9 10. Koba Davitashvili 20.7 24.3 20.4 6.8 22.9 4.9 11. Salome Zurabishvili 15.2 18.7 20.8 9.2 30.2 5.9 12. Givi Targamadze 3.5 5.1 8.8 5.6 71.2 5.8 13. Giorgi Targamadze 39.6 20.7 12.8 4.6 17.6 4.7 14. Levan Tarkhnishvili 3.2 4.5 10.3 4.8 63.2 14.0 </td <td></td> <td>22.7</td> <td>23.3</td> <td>19.3</td> <td>6.8</td> <td>21.8</td> <td>6.1</td>		22.7	23.3	19.3	6.8	21.8	6.1
5. Nino Burjanadze 17.9 15.1 17.0 8.4 38.5 3.1 6. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia 10.8 13.5 23.9 9.4 35.9 6.5 7. Davit Gamkrelidze 18.3 30.1 24.8 5.7 16.5 4.6 8. Levan Gachechiladze 35.2 21.0 15.5 5.0 19.4 3.9 9. Lado Gurgenidze 12.8 14.2 12.9 4.5 28.7 26.9 10. Koba Davitashvili 20.7 24.3 20.4 6.8 22.9 4.9 11. Salome Zurabishvili 15.2 18.7 20.8 9.2 30.2 5.9 12. Givi Targamadze 3.5 5.1 8.8 5.6 71.2 5.8 13. Giorgi Targamadze 39.6 20.7 12.8 4.6 17.6 4.7 14. Levan Tarkhnishvili 3.2 4.5 10.3 4.8 63.2 14.0 15. Gia Tortladze 15.7 15.4 21.4 5.8 25.1	3. Kakha Bendukidze	0.9	1.8	6.7	5.6	79.3	5.7
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7. Davit Gamkrelidze 18.3 30.1 24.8 5.7 16.5 4.6 8. Levan Gachechiladze 35.2 21.0 15.5 5.0 19.4 3.9 9. Lado Gurgenidze 12.8 14.2 12.9 4.5 28.7 26.9 10. Koba Davitashvili 20.7 24.3 20.4 6.8 22.9 4.9 11. Salome Zurabishvili 15.2 18.7 20.8 9.2 30.2 5.9 12. Givi Targamadze 3.5 5.1 8.8 5.6 71.2 5.8 13. Giorgi Targamadze 39.6 20.7 12.8 4.6 17.6 4.7 14. Levan Tarkhnishvili 3.2 4.5 10.3 4.8 63.2 14.0 15. Gia Tortladze 15.7 15.4 21.4 5.8 25.1 16.6 16. Temur Iakobashvili 2.9 3.8 7.9 4.6 37.7 43.1 17. Iia II 90.2 4.0 1.6 0.1 2.4 1.7 <td>5. Nino Burjanadze</td> <td>17.9</td> <td>15.1</td> <td>17.0</td> <td>8.4</td> <td>38.5</td> <td>3.1</td>	5. Nino Burjanadze	17.9	15.1	17.0	8.4	38.5	3.1
8. Levan Gachechiladze 35.2 21.0 15.5 5.0 19.4 3.9 9. Lado Gurgenidze 12.8 14.2 12.9 4.5 28.7 26.9 10. Koba Davitashvili 20.7 24.3 20.4 6.8 22.9 4.9 11. Salome Zurabishvili 15.2 18.7 20.8 9.2 30.2 5.9 12. Givi Targamadze 3.5 5.1 8.8 5.6 71.2 5.8 13. Giorgi Targamadze 39.6 20.7 12.8 4.6 17.6 4.7 14. Levan Tarkhnishvili 3.2 4.5 10.3 4.8 63.2 14.0 15. Gia Tortladze 15.7 15.4 21.4 5.8 25.1 16.6 16. Temur Iakobashvili 2.9 3.8 7.9 4.6 37.7 43.1 17. Iia II 90.2 4.0 1.6 0.1 2.4 1.7 18. Kakha Kukava 29.4 22.1 15.5 5.0 20.8 7.2	6. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia	10.8	13.5	23.9	9.4	35.9	6.5
9. Lado Gurgenidze	7. Davit Gamkrelidze	18.3	30.1	24.8	5.7	16.5	4.6
10. Koba Davitashvili	8. Levan Gachechiladze	35.2	21.0	15.5	5.0	19.4	3.9
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12. Givi Targamadze	10. Koba Davitashvili	20.7	24.3	20.4	6.8	22.9	4.9
13. Giorgi Targamadze	11. Salome Zurabishvili	15.2	18.7	20.8	9.2	30.2	5.9
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15. Gia Tortladze 15.7 15.4 21.4 5.8 25.1 16.6 16. Temur Iakobashvili 2.9 3.8 7.9 4.6 37.7 43.1 17. Iia II 90.2 4.0 1.6 0.1 2.4 1.7 18. Kakha Kukava 29.4 22.1 15.5 5.0 20.8 7.2 19. Kakha Lomaia 3.2 5.6 8.4 5.8 72.2 5.6 20. Gia Maisashvili 11.3 15.1 22.3 24.8 19.2 7.3 21. Vano Merabishvili 4.8 3.7 9.0 4.0 72.9 5.6 22. Maia Nadiradze 2.1 3.6 6.5 5.0 78.3 4.5 23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26	13. Giorgi Targamadze	39.6	20.7	12.8	4.6	17.6	4.7
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17. Iia II 90.2 4.0 1.6 0.1 2.4 1.7 18. Kakha Kukava 29.4 22.1 15.5 5.0 20.8 7.2 19. Kakha Lomaia 3.2 5.6 8.4 5.8 72.2 5.6 20. Gia Maisashvili 11.3 15.1 22.3 24.8 19.2 7.3 21. Vano Merabishvili 4.8 3.7 9.0 4.0 72.9 5.6 22. Maia Nadiradze 2.1 3.6 6.5 5.0 78.3 4.5 23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4	15. Gia Tortladze	15.7	15.4	21.4	5.8	25.1	16.6
18. Kakha Kukava 29.4 22.1 15.5 5.0 20.8 7.2 19. Kakha Lomaia 3.2 5.6 8.4 5.8 72.2 5.6 20. Gia Maisashvili 11.3 15.1 22.3 24.8 19.2 7.3 21. Vano Merabishvili 4.8 3.7 9.0 4.0 72.9 5.6 22. Maia Nadiradze 2.1 3.6 6.5 5.0 78.3 4.5 23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 <tr< td=""><td>16. Temur Iakobashvili</td><td>2.9</td><td>3.8</td><td>7.9</td><td>4.6</td><td>37.7</td><td>43.1</td></tr<>	16. Temur Iakobashvili	2.9	3.8	7.9	4.6	37.7	43.1
19. Kakha Lomaia 3.2 5.6 8.4 5.8 72.2 5.6 20. Gia Maisashvili 11.3 15.1 22.3 24.8 19.2 7.3 21. Vano Merabishvili 4.8 3.7 9.0 4.0 72.9 5.6 22. Maia Nadiradze 2.1 3.6 6.5 5.0 78.3 4.5 23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2	17. Iia II	90.2	4.0	1.6	0.1	2.4	1.7
20. Gia Maisashvili 11.3 15.1 22.3 24.8 19.2 7.3 21. Vano Merabishvili 4.8 3.7 9.0 4.0 72.9 5.6 22. Maia Nadiradze 2.1 3.6 6.5 5.0 78.3 4.5 23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 <td>18. Kakha Kukava</td> <td>29.4</td> <td>22.1</td> <td>15.5</td> <td></td> <td>20.8</td> <td></td>	18. Kakha Kukava	29.4	22.1	15.5		20.8	
21. Vano Merabishvili 4.8 3.7 9.0 4.0 72.9 5.6 22. Maia Nadiradze 2.1 3.6 6.5 5.0 78.3 4.5 23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4<	19. Kakha Lomaia	3.2	5.6	8.4	5.8	72.2	5.6
22. Maia Nadiradze 2.1 3.6 6.5 5.0 78.3 4.5 23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0	20. Gia Maisashvili	11.3	15.1	22.3	24.8	19.2	7.3
23. Shalva Natelashvili 19.3 19.0 25.4 5.9 26.4 4.0 24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 <t< td=""><td>21. Vano Merabishvili</td><td>4.8</td><td>3.7</td><td>9.0</td><td>4.0</td><td>72.9</td><td>5.6</td></t<>	21. Vano Merabishvili	4.8	3.7	9.0	4.0	72.9	5.6
24. Gia Nodia 3.6 5.5 8.4 4.2 47.4 30.9 25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7	22. Maia Nadiradze	2.1	3.6	6.5	5.0	78.3	4.5
25. Irakli Okruashvili 15.9 12.3 19.5 7.6 32.7 12.0 26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	23. Shalva Natelashvili		19.0	25.4	5.9	26.4	4.0
26. Badri Patarkacishvili 12.6 11.3 15.7 5.3 31.8 16.3 27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	24. Gia Nodia	3.6	5.5	8.4	4.2	47.4	30.9
27. Nika Rurua 2.5 2.7 7.1 4.2 53.0 30.5 28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	25. Irakli Okruashvili	15.9	12.3	19.5		32.7	12.0
28. Michail Saakashvili 20.2 12.6 15.4 6.8 39.6 5.4 29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	26. Badri Patarkacishvili	12.6	11.3	15.7	5.3	31.8	16.3
29. Irina Sarishvili 1.8 2.5 12.8 9.2 68.5 5.2 30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	27. Nika Rurua	2.5	2.7	7.1	4.2	53.0	30.5
30. Eka Tkeshelashvili 6.1 5.9 7.4 5.1 56.4 19.1 31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	28. Michail Saakashvili	20.2	12.6	15.4	6.8	39.6	5.4
31. Davit Usufashvili 24.2 23.5 19.7 4.7 18.2 9.7 32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	29. Irina Sarishvili	1.8	2.5	12.8	9.2	68.5	5.2
32. Zviad Dzidziguri 25.1 21.6 19.0 5.4 21.5 7.4 33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	30. Eka Tkeshelashvili	6.1	5.9	7.4	5.1	56.4	19.1
33. Pikria Chikhradze 15.8 21.2 23.7 7.5 24.0 7.8 34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	31. Davit Usufashvili	24.2	23.5	19.7	4.7	18.2	9.7
34. Giorgi Khaindrava 14.3 16.3 23.5 6.1 33.4 6.4 35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	32. Zviad Dzidziguri	25.1	21.6	19.0	5.4	21.5	7.4
35. Eka Khrkheulidze 3.5 3.0 5.7 4.0 55.7 28.1	33. Pikria Chikhradze	15.8	21.2	23.7	7.5	24.0	7.8
	34. Giorgi Khaindrava	14.3	16.3	23.5	6.1	33.4	6.4
36. Tina Khidasheli 30.4 24.1 17.0 4.3 17.9 6.3	35. Eka Khrkheulidze	3.5	3.0	5.7	4.0	55.7	28.1
	36. Tina Khidasheli	30.4	24.1	17.0	4.3	17.9	6.3

^{*)}As this research was being implemented, we received news on the death of B. Patarkacishvili. This could have an effect on the results

$Total\ rating\ (I\ trust\ completely+I\ trust\ more\ than\ I\ mistrust)\\ (in\ de-escalating\ order)$

94,2
60,3
56,2
54,5
51,5
48,4
47,7
46,7
46,0
45,0

11. Shalva Natelashvili	29.2
	38,3
12. Pikria Chikhradze	37,0
13. Salome Zurabishvili	33,9
14. Nino Burjanadze	33,0
15. Michail Saakashvili	32,8
16. Gia Tortladze	31,1
17. Giorgi Khaindrava	30,6
18. Irakli Okruashvili	28,2
19. Lado Gurgenidze	27,0
20. Gia Maisashvili	26.4
21. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia	24,3
22. Badri Patarkacishvili	23,9
23. Eka Tkeshelashvili	12,0
24. Jondi Baghaturia	11,5
25. Gia Nodia	9,1
26. Kakha Lomaia	8,8
27. Givi Targamadze	8,6
28. Vano Merabishvili	8,5
29. Levan Tarkhnishvili	7,7
30. Giga Bokeria	6,7
31. Temur Iakobashvili	6,7
32. Eka Kherkheulidze	6,5
33. Maia Nadiradze	5,7
34. Nika Rurua	5,2
35. Irina Sarishvili	4,3
36. Kakha Bendukidze	2,7

Thus, the leader among the public figures is Ilia II.

As for the politicians, it is quite hard to give estimates on further developments. Today, among the clear favorites are Giorgi Targamadze and the leader of the united opposition council Levan Gachechiladze. In terms of Giorgi Targamadze, one has to point out that he is about to create a new political party. However, the high rating he is enjoying derives from his role as a journalist rather than his political activity.

The 'governmental' team, with Nino Burjanadze and Michael Saakashvili specifically, appear to occupy 14 and 15th places (the two politicians ratings are rather similar). The new prime-minister has a moderate rating while the rest of the team occupy positions towards the end of the list. This picture shows us that individuals dissatisfied with Saakashvili's government comprise both the supporters of the opposition and the supporters of M. Saakashvili (pls. see question 21.2).

Factorial Analysis

We conducted factorial analysis based on the table with the ratings. The analysis gave us interesting results, showing us how the evaluation of a particular figure is changing. For example, if the respondent N is evaluating A positively, how big is the chance that this respondent will evaluate B as positively and C negatively. As for the respondent NN, if he/she is evaluating C positively, how big is the chance that he/she will evaluate A's A and B negatively.

As a result of our analysis, two defined groups were formed that covered all the persons on the list except for Ilia II. The results are shown in tables (the quantitative indicator does not point either to trust of

leadership; it only shows the perception of the society of a given politician in relation to the latter's team).

[This is not a rating!]

Governmental Team	
1. Mikhail Saakashvili	0.75
2. Levan Tarkhnishvili	0.70
3. Eka Tkeshelashvili	0.70
4. Nino Burjanadze	0.67
5. Vano Merabishvili	0.67
6. Givi Targamadze	0.67
7. Nika Rurua	0.66
8. Giga Bokeria	0.65
9. Maia Nadiradze	0.65
10. Kakha Lomaia	0.65
11. Gia Nodia	0.62
12. Eka Kherkheulidze	0.61
13. Kakha Bendukidze	0.58
14. Temur Iakobashvili	0.57
15. Lado Gurgenidze	0.53

Opposition	
1. Levan Gachechiladze	0.83
2. Kakha Kukava	0.80
3. koKoba Davitashvili	0.78
4. Zviad Dzidziguri	0.77
5. Giorgi Khaindrava	0.77
6. Salome Zurabishvili	0.75
7. Levna Berdzenishvili	0.75
8. Tina KHidasheli	0.74
9. Gia Tortladze	0.74
10. Shalva Natelashvili	0.66
11. Giorgi Targamadze	0.65
12. Konstantine Gamsakhurdia	0.65
13. Badri Patarkacishvili	0.62
14. Jondi Baghaturia	0.60
15. Irakli Okruashvili	0.60
16. Pikria Chikhradze	0.60
17. Davit Usufashvili	0.59
18. Gia Maisashvili	0.56
19. Davit Gamrkrelidze	0.53
20. Irina Sarishvili	0.31

In the 'government' team, special attention should be paid to the high percent demonstrating their close affiliation to the team of the two new members—Levan Tarkhnishvili and Eka Tkeshelashvili.

As we can see, the gap between the highest and lowest indicators is more narrow in the governmental team than among the opposition. This could be due to the fact that the society perceives the government as a more closely collaborating 'team'.

21. Please indicate how strongly you agree with the following statements

- 1. I fully agree
- 2. I agree more than I disagree
- 3. Neutral
- 4. I disagree more than I agree
- 5. I disagree completely
- 6. It is hard to answer

21.1

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Street manifestations only bring problems and	29.0	13.4	11.9	15.0	26.9	3.8
are not contributing to finding a solution to the						
problem						

The answers are distributed relatively evenly.

21.2

	1	2	3	4	5	6
The president would have taken better	42.7	21.6	8.5	5.4	14.2	7.6
decisions if he had better team/ better						
surroundings						

This answer shows us that the dissatisfaction with Saakashvili's government among the Tbilisi inhabitants is rather strong

21.3

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Georgian democracy has been deteriorating	29.9	14.0	15.6	12.3	20.4	7.8
over the past few years						

Given the overall picture, this result was quite unexpected. This can be explained by the fact that large part of the society did not link the November events with democracy while other half of the society considered the intensity of street demonstration a sign of democracy

21.4

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Introducing Constitutional Monarchy would be	12.6	9.0	8.8	11.0	33.2	25.4
a solution for Georgia						

It seems that the idea of Constitutional Monarchy is not very popular among the Tbilisi society 21.5

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Saakashvilis' government learnt some good	29.8	20.3	12.2	7.9	21.1	8.7
lessons as a result of the November events.						
Thus, the government will try to avoid further						
mistakes and improve its work						

The result is quite interesting. The majority of the respondents believe that the street manifestations will make the government more attentive to the needs of the people

21.6

21.0						
	1	2	3	4	5	6
People do not trust the government (regarding	12.7	11.4	10.6	11.9	36.9	16.5
the parliamentary elections) and are ready to stage new revolution						

This result reflects on the previous one. The majority believes that parliamentary elections will be more fair (pls. see question 22).

21.7

	1	2	3	4	5	6
If Saakashvili's government will be replace,	12.1	8.0	6.6	12.0	47.2	14.1
Georgia will stop developing and the event of						
90-ies will become a reality						

According to the answers, the changes in the government will not cause serious destabilization.

22. In your view, will the parliamentary elections be fair?

Mostly fair	14.2
More fair than unfair	29.5
More unfair than fair	20.9
Mainly unfair	12.1
It is hard to give an answer	23.3

In the view of the majority of the respondents, the parliamentary elections will be more fair than the presidential elections (pls. view question 17).

23. In your view, how is the 'United National Movement' going to be represented in future parliament?

It will gain constitutional majority (over 2/3)	11.7
It will gain majority (more than 50%)	27.8
It will have the largest fraction	11.2
It will be in minority	18.9
It will not get into the parliament	2.7
It is hard to answer	27.7

24. In your view, which political unions will get seats in future parliament?

27. III your view, v	vincii politicai t	amons win get	scats in rutur	c par nament.	
	Surely get into the parliament	Probably	Likely not	Surely not	Hard to answer
New Rights and the Industrialists	29.6	41.9	8.4	2.8	17.3
B. Patarkacishvili's Party	4.1	14.8	21.9	32.8	26.4
United Opposition Council	61.7	25.2	2.9	2.1	8.1
Imedi (Irina Sarishvili	0.6	2.1	11.1	76.1	10.1
Labour Party	21.7	42.6	14.3	12.1	9.3
Party of Future (Gia	1.7	9.0	20.7	53.1	15.5

Maisashvili)					
National Movement (Michail Saakashvili)	77.2	12.4	2.0	3.4	5.0
other*					

^{* 137} respondents named the new political party headed by Giorgi Targamadze

Thus, the favorites are the National Movement and United Opposition Council

25. Do you plan to cast your vote in the parliamentary elections scheduled in Spring 2008?

Definitely yes	73.6
Probably yes	14.3
Most probably not	3.1
Definitely not	4.1
Hard to answer	4.9

It seems that the turnout will be rather high.

26. How often do you use the listed TV channels in order to receive information on political developments?

TV channels	Very often	More or less often	Rarely	Never	Have no access
Kavkasia	34.1	23.0	22.8	16.3	3.8
Maestro	4.7	12.1	20.9	49.3	13.0
mze	19.1	37.0	25.5	15.5	2.9
Rustavi 2	47.5	29.9	14.1	8.1	0.4
Public Broadcaster	15.8	34.7	27.1	21.4	1.0

Thus, the leaders are Kavkasia and Rustavi 2

27. Please indicate the TV channel you trusted most before the closing of TV company Imedi

- 1. Fully trust
- 2. Trust more than mistrust
- 3. Neutral
- 4. More mistrust than trust
- 5. Mistrust completely
- 88. It was not accessible
- 99. It is hard to answer

	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
'Imedi'	73.1	11.0	8.0	2.8	2.9	0.4	1.8
'Kavkasia'	28.2	13.7	21.0	7.5	12.3	3.2	14.
							1
'Mze'	6.6	16.8	33.7	14.4	16.3	2.0	10.
							1
Rustavi 2	13.1	19.4	25.3	14.1	24.5	0.2	3.3
Publci Broadcaster	7.1	12.6	28.7	14.2	27.7	0.6	9.1

It is clear that 'Imedi' was the only favorite

28. Please evaluate the TV channels as of today

- 1. Fully trust
- 2. Trust more than mistrust
- 3. Neutral
- 4. More mistrust than trust
- 5. Mistrust completely
- 88. no access
- 99. Hard to answer

	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
'Kavkasia'	37.7	14.3	16.2	5.5	11.1	3.1	12.1
'Maestro'	8.2	5.0	15.9	6.1	14.1	13.1	37.6
'Mze'	8.8	17.6	33.1	11.5	17.0	2.2	9.8
'Rustavi2	18.0	16.4	28.2	12.3	22.1	0.2	2.8
Publci Broadcaster	9.2	13.5	31.4	12.9	24.3	0.6	8.1

We believe these results clearly show the current tendencies of the Tbilisi inhabitants

29. Which statement do you agree with?

The Public Broadcaster is currently serving the interests of the government	63.7
The Tueste Broadcaster is currently serving the interests of the government	03.7
The public Broadcaster is being objective	18.2
The public Broadcaster is being objective	10.2
The Public Broadcaster is representing more the interest of the opposition	0.1
The I done Broadcaster is representing more the interest of the opposition	0.1
Hard to give and answer	17.8
Traid to give and answer	17.0

It is clear, that "Public Broadcasting" is strongly associated with the government in the eyes of the majority of our respondents

30. Do you agree with the statement that many things should be done differently (should be changed) in the work of the Public Broadcaster?

I fully agree	73.6
I agree more than I disagree	9.1
I disagree more than I agree	2.7
Completely disagree	1.3
Hard to give an answer	13.3

31. What do you expect from the changes on the level of the Public Broadcaster's (channel one) leadership?

It will positively affect the work of the channel				
Nothing will change				
It will negatively affect the work of the				
channel				
Hard to give an answer				

Thus, those in favor of the changes comprise the majority of the respondents. Also, it is interesting to point out that the majority evaluates the replacement of the Chairperson of the Public Broadcaster in an optimistic way

Summary and Conclusion of the Results

- The majority of the population in Tbilisi sympathizes with the opposition;
- The pro-opposition mood of people is caused by negative perception of the acting government, i.e. dissatisfaction with the government;
- The dissatisfaction of people with policies is linked to Mikhail Saakashvili's team rather than Saakashvili himself;
- Practically all the activity, institutes and persons are evaluated significantly more positively if they are associated with the opposition rather than the government;
- The majority of the population is optimistic they believe that street manifestations had a positive impact and the coming parliamentary elections will be conducted in a more fair manner while the replacement of the chair of the Public Broadcaster TV company will have positive results;
- It is likely that the turnout at the parliamentary elections will be high;
- It is likely that the political spectrum of Georgia will witness the emergence of the new and a rather important party, namely the Christian-democratic party headed by Giorgi Targamadze;
- The evaluation of Badri Patarkacishvili by the society is neither clearly defined nor polarized;
- The Georgian Orthodox Church and the Patriarch of Georgia are not linked to politics: their popularity is very high among the population;
- The idea of constitutional monarchy has little support among the population of Tbilisi.

Demographic data of the respondents

Sex

46.5
53.5

Age

18-25	15.1
26-35	18.0
36-45	20.2

46-55	17.5
56-65	12.4
65+	16.8

Education

Never attended school			0.1
Attended primary school			0.5
Incomplete	secondary	school	1.2
education			
Complete	secondary	school	16.0
education			
Secondary technical education			17.5
Incomplete higher education			7.1
Complete higher education			57.6

Economic well-being

very poor	9.8
poor	30.9
middle	57.9
high	1.4
very high	0