



MONITORING MISUSE OF ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES 2006 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS TBILISI, GEORGIA

PROJECT OVERVIEW

Transparency International Georgia's (TI Georgia) project *Monitoring Misuse of Administrative Resources during the 2006 Local Government Elections* aimed at identifying specific cases and general trends of authorities misusing administrative resources for pre-election purposes. TI Georgia focused on four major types of soft administrative resources¹: (a) regulatory resources, (b) institutional resources, (c) budgetary resources, and (d) media resources. The project was implemented in cooperation with TI Latvia and through the financial support provided by the Latvian Foreign Affairs Ministry.

In view of the constrained timeframe, the monitoring conducted within the frames of the project was limited in scope; it targeted only Tbilisi and did not extend to the regions. Therefore, the findings presented in this preliminary report are the findings of the monitoring conducted in Tbilisi only and do not include legal violations and other types of misconduct observed outside the capital city. The objective of the project was to monitor the use of administrative resources on essentially a pilot basis.

In the process of gathering information and identifying the main concerns with regards to the misuse of administrative resources in the pre-election period, TI Georgia, together with its Latvian partners, held various meetings, including the meetings with the leaders of various political parties participating in the 2006 local government elections in Tbilisi², as well as with the representatives of Georgian NGOs involved in election monitoring. In addition to the meetings, TI Georgia obtained official documentation from the Tbilisi Mayor's Office and other state institutions in order to analyze: Tbilisi budget planning and spending in 2005 and 2006; 2007 Tbilisi draft budget priorities; 2006 state budget transfers to Tbilisi budget; Tbilisi Mayor's Reserve Fund spending; 2006 Presidential Program initiatives; etc.

The preliminary report presents a short summary of the election campaign conducted by the ruling party and its candidate to the Mayor's post in Tbilisi. Following the completion of the election result summarization and after the submission of the election subjects' campaign financing reports to the Central Election Commission (CEC), as prescribed by law, TI Georgia will produce its final report that will include more detailed analysis of the pre-election observation, as well as specific recommendations for preventing future misuse of administrative resources in pre-election campaigns.

The "misuse of administrative resources" refers to the use of state (or public) financial, infrastructural, and human resources for campaign purposes. Typical examples include the deployment of state officials to organize campaign events, as has happened in Russia, the expenditure of covertly allocated public funds by the ruling party, as in Zimbabwe, or the use of state enterprises to provide the incumbent party's main source of income, as in Poland. This form of corruption is less widely recognized than *quid pro quo* donations, but it is equally deserving of attention as a dominant feature of election campaigns in some countries, and a serious threat to democracy. Not only can incumbent parties and politicians exploit a tremendous advantage over other candidates..., but the abuse of administrative resources may even help to establish and preserve a permanent monopoly of power.

Open Society Justice Initiative – "Monitoring Election Campaign Finance: A Handbook for NGOs"

¹ The administrative resources range from 'hard' resources, such as the coercive powers of law enforcement agencies, to 'soft' resources, such as the financial and material resources of the state, etc. Misuses of soft administrative resources are not necessarily strictly illegal.

² Meetings were held with Salome Zurabishvili, leader of Georgia's Way party; Tinatin Khidasheli, one of the leaders of the Davitashvili, Khidasheli, Berdzenishvili election bloc; Shota Tarkhnishvili, head of staff of legal committee in Parliament; Tamar Zhvania, Executive Director of a local monitoring NGO International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy; Zura Jibghashvili, Representative of a local NGO Young Lawyers' Association of Georgia; etc



PROJECT FINDINGS

Misuse of Regulatory Resources

Using of various decision-making and law adopting institutions and establishments to realize specific political interests of political forces in power by passing legal provisions, influencing election commissions, misinterpreting legislation, etc.

Early Appointment of Elections

Spontaneous appointment of the election date was one of the main concerns expressed by the opposition parties participating in the 2006 elections. In June of 2006 the Parliament passed an amendment to the Election Code of Georgia, Article 129¹ authorizing the President to appoint the elections 40 days prior to the elections. According to the same law, the decree on appointing of the elections had to be publicized within three days from its adoption.

On June 6th of 2006, when asked if there would be local government elections in November, the President publicly stated that the local government elections would not be held until after a considerable period of time, stressing that the government still had a lot of work to complete before the elections³.

On August 7th the Head of the President's Administration Giorgi Arveladze told the journalists, "we are leaning toward December as the most optimal month to hold these (local government) elections".

Less than three weeks later, **on August 26th**, the President signed a decree (*Decree #480*) appointing the elections on October 5th, on exactly the 40th day from the signing of the decree.

The decree became known to the public in the **evening of August 27th**, when *Rustavi 2's* daily news program *Kurieri at 21:00 o'clock*, after the completion of its news bloc, publicized the Press Release of the President's Administration calling elections on October 5th and encouraging international observer organizations to conduct full-scale monitoring of the elections. August 28th was an official Georgian holiday, when all state institutions (*except the CEC*) were closed.

Although the President signed and publicized the decree on election date appointment in full compliance with the requirements of the Election Code of Georgia, inconsistency between the Presidential decree and his and his administration's earlier statements caused problems for the election subjects and observer organizations planning to participate in the elections. In particular:

- After the announcement of the Presidential Decree on the appointment of elections, the political parties that had not participated in previous parliamentary elections but had a representative in the Parliament had only one day to submit their registration documents to the CEC in order to register as an election subject for the 2006 local government elections (*Article 117.2, Election Code of Georgia*). The parties managed to submit their registration documents in time;

1998 Local Government Elections Election date announced on July 23, 1998 Elections held on November 15, 1998 Interval: 115 days
1999 Parliamentary Elections Election date announced on August 4, 1999 Elections held on October 31, 1999 Interval: 88 days
2000 Presidential Elections Election day was fixed in the law
2002 Local Government Elections Election date announced on March 28, 2002 Elections held on June 2, 2002 Interval: 66 days
2003 Parliamentary Elections Election date announced on May 3, 2003 Elections held on November 2, 2003 Interval: 183 days
2004 Repeated Parliamentary Elections Election date announced on January 9, 2004 Elections held on November March 28, 2004 Interval: 79 days

³ "The President appoints the date of elections. I am not yet going to appoint the elections; no one should be too worried about this for a long time. There is still a lot of work to be carried out in the city that they (opponents) should calm down and wait a bit," said the President to media when visiting facilities under construction in Tbilisi together with the city's mayor. The President's statement followed the Mayor's comment that "the elections are like the second coming: no one knows when it might take place."



- The parties that had not participated in the previous parliamentary elections and had no representatives in the Parliament had five days after the announcement of the Presidential Decree on the appointment of elections to submit their registration documents and additionally 50,000 supporters' signatures to the CEC in order to register as an election subject for the 2006 local government elections. However, it should be noted that the law did not restrict the parties to start gathering the supporters' signatures before the announcement of the election day. (*Article 117.3, Election Code of Georgia*);
- Two opposition parties, Industry Will Save Georgia and Labor Party, which by law had the right to nominate their two members each to the Precinct Election Commissions (PECs) as they, together with the Unified National Movement, were among the three top parties in the previous parliamentary elections, had only two days to nominate their candidates to the PECs. Currently in Georgia there are 3,005 PECs, which means that within these two days the parties had to submit to the relevant District Election Commissions (DECs) the names and papers of at least 6,010 candidates each. In addition to these main candidates, these parties had to nominate 6,010 reserve candidates each (*Article 36.3 and Article 37.3, Election Code of Georgia*)⁴. Following the early announcement of the elections the so-called special groups that were set up to conduct door-to-door checking of the voter lists and were of the same compositions as the PECs had to be of, were transformed into the PECs.
- Setting the election date for October created serious challenges for the CEC as well. In result, the CEC was not able to meet all legal deadlines and it had to change the election timeline by issuing a decree. Sometimes the deadlines were prolonged after they had already expired. This included such important deadlines as delineating the boundaries of the precincts, forming of PECs, publicizing the voter lists in the precincts, etc;
- The constrained timeframe also affected the scheduled work of international observer organizations as well as of local NGOs involved in pre-election and election-day activities. The OSCE/ODIHR was able to deploy a *limited election monitoring mission*. Local observer organizations were also forced to rearrange their election action plans. TI Georgia, although intending to conduct an active voter education campaign through public meetings and distribution of brochures in fifty-seven districts of Georgia, was able to hold these meetings in only twenty-one districts.

Registration Regulations

- On September 9th, the CEC adopted an Ordinance (*Ordinance #28/2006*) on the Nomination of the Reserve Candidates by an Election Party/Bloc for the 5 October 2006 Tbilisi Local Government Elections, allowing the election subjects to submit the party/bloc lists including the candidates who were not nominated as majoritarian candidates in any of the ten election districts in Georgia.

According to Article 5 of the CEC Ordinance, a reserve candidate, a candidate included in the election list of a party/bloc, "could also be included in the party list of a pertinent party/bloc," which in other words meant that the reserve candidate did not have to be in the party list. However, Paragraph 3 of the Article 126⁸ of the Election Code of Georgia says that "a party list must be composed of those candidates, who are nominated in majoritarian elections." According to Paragraph 4 of the same article, the party list must provide the following information for each candidate including: name, date of birth, profession, occupation, employment, party membership, passport and ID numbers, registration place, and a title of the majoritarian district where s/he is nominated as a majoritarian candidate. The compliance of the CEC Ordinance #28/2006 with this requirement of the Election Code of Georgia was questioned by the election bloc *Davitashvili*,

⁴ In response to the criticism of the opposition parties with regards to limited timeframes for carrying out pre-election procedures and campaigns, one of the representatives of the ruling party Davit Kirkitadze responded, saying: "if a political organization has an ambition to participate in the elections and moreover intends to win, it should have no problems in meeting the deadlines set forth by the Election Code. We (the ruling party) are in same conditions as other political organizations."



Khidasheli, Berdzenishvili and a local NGO *Young Lawyers' Association of Georgia*. Both submitted appeals to the Tbilisi City Court, however the Court dismissed the appeals on the grounds that the election bloc and the NGO were not entitled to file such an appeal⁵.

- On September 10 the CEC stated that Tinatin Khidasheli, one of the majoritarian candidates of the election bloc *Davitashvili, Khidasheli and Berdzenishvili*, had inaccuracies in the supporters' lists. Namely, among the 200 supporters' signatures submitted by this candidate, there were a number of supporters who were not registered in the same election district where Tinatin Khidasheli applied for registration as a majoritarian candidate of this district⁶. Nevertheless, the CEC chose not to dismiss this candidate from the elections; however, the CEC chairman publicly stated that in order to do so the CEC "had to step on the edge of the law." The day before the adoption of the final decision over this issue by the CEC, the head of the President's Administration, Giorgi Arveladze, held a special briefing where he told the journalists that the ruling party suspected that some opposition representatives had made intentional mistakes in the registration documents in order to be dismissed by the CEC and use this to accuse the government of attempting to prevent the opposition candidates from running in the elections. The response of the head of the President's Administration to this was that the "ruling party would not allow this to have happened." By law, however, taking the decision on the possible dismissal of an election candidate due to the inaccuracies in the supporters' signatures was the responsibility of the CEC, and was in no way connected with the political will of the ruling party or the President.

Amendments to the Election Code

- In June of 2006 the Parliament passed a set of changes and amendments to the Election Code of Georgia. Some of these changes and amendments took into consideration the recommendations forwarded to the Government of Georgia by various Georgian and international organizations. However, in addition to the recommended provisions, the ruling party initiated and adopted the regulations that increased its opportunities for pre-election campaigning. In particular, Article 73 of the Election Code of Georgia on election campaigns was amended allowing the heads of state executive agencies and the heads of local government bodies to take part in the election agitation. This initiative was first introduced to the Parliament in March of 2006. The opposition parties were against it, claiming that the initiative was an attempt by the ruling party to legalize the existing practice of the government officials in taking an active role in upholding the ruling party and its candidates.

Article 73.5: The following persons and entities do not have the right to take part in election agitation:	
Before June 2006	As Amended in June 2006
Election commission members	Same
Heads of bodies of state executive authority	Removed
Judges	Same
Public officials of the of the Ministry of State Security, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Defense, the State Department of the State Frontier Guard of Georgia, the State Department of Intelligence and the Special Service of State Security	Ministry of State Security removed from the list (<i>as the Ministry of the State Security was merged with the Ministry of Interior</i>)
Heads of bodies of local governance	Removed
Foreign citizens and organizations	Same
Charity and religious organizations	Same
Public officials of bodies of state and local governance, when they are carrying out the duties related to their office and job	Same

⁵ The election bloc and the NGO appealed the City Court's decision to the higher court. The higher court returned the case to the City Court requesting it to hear the case. The City Court held the hearing and turned down the appeal.

⁶ According to Article 42.2 of the Election Code of Georgia, if a certain amount (*the exact authenticity revision process is described in the law*) of signatures is deemed to be incorrect, the election commission must invalidate the entire list and dismiss the application for registration of the respective election subject. Correspondingly, if the signatures presented by Tinatin Khidasheli conflicted with this provision, the Central Election Commission should have automatically dismissed her registration.



Misuse of Institutional Resources

Using material and human resources (office equipment, vehicles, subordinated civil servants, etc) pertaining to a certain political position or institution to promote incumbent party's and politicians' specific political interests

The June 2006 changes to the campaign agitation rules prescribed in the Election Code of Georgia made it more difficult to distinguish between political party and state resources, a recurrent problem in the past elections that led to unequal campaign conditions. Throughout the election campaign period there was no clear line between state affairs and the ruling party's campaign.

During August and September of 2006 state and municipal authorities initiated a number of social aid and other programs. The Mayor was present and made speeches at nearly all presentations of these programs and other public events organized by the state and municipal authorities regardless of the lack of involvement of the Mayor's Office in the program design and implementation (opening of an educational resource center in Didube-Chughureti funded by USAID Georgia, opening of a new police office in Tbilisi funded from the budget of the Interior Ministry of Georgia, etc).

On September 11th the President together with the Mayor attended the opening of the entertainment park in the district of Gldani, where he announced the campaign of the ruling party opened and called on citizens to support its candidate Gigi Ugulava⁷. On September 12th, at the opening of the ice rink in Tbilisi Sport Hall, where again the president was present together with the mayor, the president praised the mayor for the construction of the ice rink, saying: "If he (Gigi Ugulava) is re-elected, I am giving you my word that Tbilisi Sport Hall will be three times bigger than Dinamo Stadium."

Active public support of the ruling party's candidate by the President of Georgia, as well as by other high ranking officials of the state authorities continued throughout the pre-election period. Although this was not a violation of the pre-election campaign rules, the close association of both the development programs of the state and the municipal authorities with the incumbent Mayor, who is at the same time a candidate in the upcoming local government elections, farther diluted the line between the campaign activities and the state affair.

Budgetary Resources

Using state and local authorities' budget resources during the election campaign in the interests of the political forces in power, including direct distribution of public funds to voters, sudden increase in welfare payments in the course of the election campaign, initiating ambitious projects shortly before the elections without public debates and appropriate cost-benefit analysis, etc.

- Public funds being used to finance "quality of life" initiatives, including the pre-election increase in pensions, was observed during the 2006 local government elections. In addition to the programs envisioned in the initial versions of the state and Tbilisi city budgets, during the year the authorities initiated a number of projects that were not officially and publicly justified in a persuasive manner in the design phase. One of the most visible examples of such occurrence was the new internship initiative of the President, which promised to retrain 50,000 job seekers. The three-month internship was said to pay each trainee a total of 450 GEL. The release of such an amount of new money into circulation was directly counter to the IMF's recommendation to the government (*August 11 – 18 visit of the mission*) to reduce government spending in order to reduce the 14.5% inflation rate (*more than doubled since April of 2006*).
- The law of Georgia on the Capital of Georgia – Tbilisi does not envision the active involvement of the Tbilisi Mayor in the budget formulation process. According to Article 24, Paragraph 3 of this law, the City Premier presents to the City Council the draft budget of Tbilisi, as well as its fulfillment report. The Mayor, the Premier, the Government, and the Gangebeli have the right to propose

⁷ At the opening of the Park the Mayor announced that the Park would be free for all visitors until the end of the year.



amendments to the initial budget, which have to be considered and approved or disapproved by the City Council before the executive officials take any further actions. Despite the chief role of the City Council and then of the City Premier in the Tbilisi budget formulation and fulfillment process, the two have remained rather out of sight in the advertisements and other publicity campaigns of the Tbilisi municipality projects and activities. On the other hand, the Mayor and the main candidate of the ruling party in the 2006 local government elections, has been presented as the chief initiator and implementer of the municipality programs.

- In February of 2006 the Tbilisi City Budget was amended for the first time and later amendments took place on a monthly basis. By August the budget had been increased by 151,900,000 GEL. More than half of the budget increase came from nine of the total thirty-five line items in the budget. The following chart presents the list of line items for which the increase during the seven months of the budget implementation made a four-digit number⁸:

Line Item	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	Total
City Council Apparatus	+288 000		+200 000					+488 000
Education and Culture	+460 000			+2 365 000		+984 700	-700 000	+3 109 700
Healthcare and Social Affairs				+200 000		+4 496 000		+4 696 000
Sports			+2 200 000			+941 000		+3 141 000
City Cleaning					+12 565 000	-1000 000	+200 000	+11 765 000
Tbilisi Corpus			+1 500 000			+2 700 000		+4 200 000
Infrastructural Development	-1 191 300	+19 500 000	+40 250 000	+22 925 000	-12 565 000	+41 355 000	-135 000	+110 138 700
Transport	+1 191 300		+3 400 000			+205 000		+4 796 300
Water Supply System	+3 425 800							+3 425 800

- On December 28 of 2005 the parliament passed changes to the law on the capital of Georgia – Tbilisi which provided for the creation of the City Mayor’s Reserve Fund. The Mayor was authorized to disperse money from the reserve fund on the basis of his ordinances and for the purposes of covering unforeseen expenses. The definition of “unforeseen expenses” is not provided in the law, which makes its purpose rather ambiguous and gives the Mayor unlimited leeway. According to the first six month report (February 2006 through June 2006) of the reserve fund expenses, 64,094 out of total 494,315 GEL was given out as one-time financial aid to forty-eight residents of Tbilisi (including 12 WWII veterans); 1,000 GEL were allocated for the football team “Saburtalo”; in April 200,000 GEL were allocated for the City Sport’s Office for fixing up a small football stadium and financing personnel; in June 17,728 GEL were allocated to the City Education and Culture Office for paying a honorarium to the winner of the tender on school uniforms; and in the same month 211,493 GEL were allocated to the Mayor’s Administration Office. The last allotment does not provide more concrete description of the purpose of the allocated fund. The next report covering July through September on the disbursement of the remaining funds in the Mayor’s Reserve Fund will be available at the end of September or beginning of October. As of June of 2006, more than 2,500,000 unspent GEL remained in the reserve fund.

⁸ The chart is based on the financial documentation obtained from the City Mayor’s website in September of 2006. Currently the website is under construction.



- A number of development programs enjoying wide public support were included in the state budget at the budget design phase as well. They were labeled and presented to the public as Presidential Programs. The law of Georgia on the Budgetary System of Georgia does not include any provisions on the Presidential Program. The only legal act that refers to the Presidential Program is the law of Georgia on the 2006 State Budget, which includes the list of some of the projects envisioned within this program, such as⁹:

Program Title	Amount	Ministry
President's National Program "Deer Leap: Implementing Information-Communication Technologies in the Schools of Georgia"	8,000,000 GEL	Ministry of Education and Sciences
President's National Program "Rehabilitation of Educational Institutions"	86,500,000 GEL	Ministry of Education and Sciences
President's National Program "Iakob Gogebashvili: Rehabilitation of Georgia's Public Schools"	67,500,000 GEL	Ministry of Education and Sciences
President's National Program "Giorgi Nikoladze: Rehabilitation of Sports' Squares"	2,000,000 GEL	Ministry of Education and Sciences
President's National Program "Rehabilitation of Professional Educational Institutions"	5,000,000 GEL	Ministry of Education and Sciences
Presidential Programs	18,625,000 GEL	Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports
Program "Patriot"	3,585,000 GEL	Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports
Sports' Infrastructure Rehabilitation and Sports Inventory Renovation Program	6,400,000 GEL	Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports
State Support of Football Program	3,400,000 GEL	Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports
Ballet Choreography Art Development Program	1,640,000 GEL	Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports
Program "Present for Children"	1,900,000 GEL	Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports
Folklore Support National Program	1,700,000 GEL	Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports
President's National Program "First Medical Aid"	17,750,000 GEL	Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Protection
President's National Program "Provision of Agricultural Equipment"	1,800,000 GEL	Ministry of Agriculture

As presented in the chart, the programs titled "Presidential Programs" are funded from the budgets of different ministries as other programs and activities foreseen in the ministerial budgets. The Georgian legislation says nothing about why these particular programs are named the President's Programs and whether or not such status creates any differences in the way these programs should be implemented and reported on. Obviously, these programs, which address some of the most problematic issues for Georgia at the moment, largely contribute to the President's image and that of the ruling party, since the president is the head of the ruling party.

- On August 30, at the government session, President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili said that effective governance in Tbilisi has made it possible to introduce to the capital city a pension system based on the length of a person's service starting from September 1, 2006. Gigi Ugulava, who attended the government session, was presented as an initiator of this amendment to the pension distribution system in Tbilisi. The president praised the mayor for his initiative, and called on the ministers to support the mayor's proposal. "I fully support Gigi Ugulava's decision. Tbilisi could do this because it has a consolidated government. Similar governments should be created elsewhere in the regions," said the President during the government session. The issue of introducing the new pension system

⁹ Table provided by the Ministry of Finance on September 27 in response to the FOIA request submitted on September 19. TI Georgia submitted the same requested to the President's Administration. It has not yet received the response from the second addressee.



was first discussed in the Parliament in December of 2005. The pension system based on the length of a person's service was one of the pre-election promises of the ruling party in the previous elections. Since 2004 the government increased the minimum pension from 14 GELs to 38 GELs, however, when commenting on the introduction of the new pension system in December, government said that this system would be introduced after increasing the minimum pension up to a subsistence level. "I think this will be possible after two years", said the Minister of Labor, Healthcare and Social Protection at the parliamentary committee hearing devoted to the issue of pensions that took place on December 2, 2005.

The increase of the pensions in Tbilisi on the basis of the new pension system was funded from the city budget. According to the new law of Georgia on State Pensions, adopted on December 23, 2005, the main principles of the pension system are: (a) equality before law, (b) universality, and (c) permanent nature. These principles mean that the system must apply to all eligible citizens of Georgia, regardless of their place of residence. Granting of pensions, as well as organization, suspension, restoration, and termination of its distribution constitute the authority of the Ministry of Labor, Health, and Social Protection of Georgia and the administrative bodies within its system. The law refers to the state budget as the only source for funding the state pensions. It does not entitle the Tbilisi City Council or the mayor the right to pass any changes or corrections to the pension system. Article 45, Paragraph 2 of the law of Georgia on the Capital of Georgia – Tbilisi does oblige the executive bodies of the city to ensure socio-economic development of the city's infrastructure, improve the living conditions of the city population, and create favorable conditions for the citizens' social protection. Considering the provisions of the law on State Pensions, however, it is difficult to evaluate whether or not the law of Georgia on the Capital of Georgia – Tbilisi allows the city government to increase the pension supply within one city.

- On September 19th the Mayor introduced a new initiative of the Mayor's Office, as a follow-up to the similar program launched in the summer, to employ university students for the last two weekends prior to the start of university classes in the fall (following a similar program launched in the beginning of summer of 2006). With this initiative an additional 2,000 students were paid 30 GEL per day to clean the city during the weekends.
- In September, Tbilisi City Hall introduced vouchers for school teachers in Tbilisi. The 100 GEL voucher was to be used for gas payment. The voucher is signed by the mayor and also displays his picture. It also uses the same colors and design as some of the campaign materials produced by the ruling party.

Media Resources

Using media resources in the interests of the political forces in power, including targeted attempts to win positive publicity in the private media via misuse of one of the aforementioned resources

- Starting in summer and throughout the pre-election period the national TV channels regularly broadcasted a public information item "Tbilisuri Ambebi" (Tbilisi Stories), promoting the success of the government. The ads, which were sponsored by the Tbilisi municipality¹⁰, showed the Mayor of the city and the President. These ads were perceived as hidden campaigning in favor of the ruling party. The Institute for Polling and Marketing (IPM), subcontracted by TI Georgia to carry out media monitoring in the pre-election period, conducted a phone survey in Tbilisi interviewing 500 city residents. 66.7% of the respondents said that they perceived the "Tbilisuri Ambebi" as a call to vote for the National Movement and its candidate Gigi Ugulava.

¹⁰ According to the information provided by the Tbilisi Municipality, 600,000 GEL were allotted from the Tbilisi City Budget for the production and airing of the TV ads "Tbilisuri Ambebi" on Rustavi 2 and Imedi TV channels.



- In the last weeks of the campaign, for the first time, the Mayor's Office funded a newsletter "Tbilisuri Ambebi" (Tbilisi Stories), with the photo of the Mayor of the City on the cover page, which provided information about different initiatives undertaken in Tbilisi during the election year. The newsletter was distributed to the Tbilisi residents free of charge together with the campaign brochures of the ruling party and a letter from the Mayor Gigi Ugulava.