

Representation of Political Forces in the Legislative Body of Georgia in the period between 1990 and 2016

Since 1990, parliamentary elections have taken place nine times in Georgia. The ones held in 2016 resulted in election of the Parliament of the 9th convocation by the population of Georgia.

2016 parliamentary elections brought along concerns whether concentration of the constitutional majority in a single party in the legislative body is well justified or vice versa, whether diversity of political parties can lead to positive outcomes for the country.

According to the Election Code of Georgia, a subject which represents a registered party, an election bloc, an initiative group of voters or independent candidate to majoritarian membership is entitled to run for elections.

Transparency International – Georgia explored representation of political forces in the legislative body of Georgia in the period between 1990 and 2016 as well as number of elected members and election threshold stipulated by the law.

- The 2nd convocation of Parliament (1992-1995), with 24 parties overcoming the election threshold, was the one with **the greatest number of political subjects**.
- In terms of the number of MPs, the Supreme Council with 247 members was **the most numerous**.
- 2% represented the lowest **election threshold**, whereas 7% - the highest.
- **The parliament of the 8th convocation (2012-2016)** included just two election subjects, though the bloc “Georgian Dream” was comprised of six parties.
- Since 1990, including the parliament of the 8th convocation, the legislative body has had **1216 members**
- The following members were most frequently represented in different convocations of the Parliament: Akaki Bobokhidze (member of six convocations) and Giorgi Baramidze (member of five convocations)

Number of MPs in the legislative body and the election threshold

Number of elected MPs as well as the election threshold have experienced a number of changes over time along with amendments to the law.

Congruent to Article 29 of the Constitution of Georgia, the Parliament of Georgia consists of 77 members elected by a proportional system and 73 members elected by a majority system for a term of four years on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. Congruent to the [Election Code of Georgia](#), 5% is defined as the election threshold.

Elections of the Supreme Council, the first legislative body of independent Georgia, used to be regulated by the Law on "Elections of the Supreme Council", adopted by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia on 18 August 1990; the Supreme Council consisted of 150 members elected by the proportional system and another 85 members elected by the majority system. The election threshold was set at 4%.

By the "Statute on Parliamentary Elections of Georgia", composition of the 2nd convocation of the Parliament (1992-1995) was defined by 235 members (150 members by the proportional system and 85 members by the majority system). The election threshold constituted 2%.

The Constitution adopted in 1995 also defined composition of the Parliament by 235 members (150 members elected by the proportional system and 85 members elected by the majority system). By the Organic Law¹ [on Elections of the Georgian Parliament](#), the election threshold was set at 5%. Though, the amendment moved to the law on 20 July 1999 resulted in increase of the threshold to 7%.

According to the [Election Code](#) adopted in 2001, the party list managing to obtain at least 7% of votes in the elections would be eligible to MP mandates. Amendment moved to the Code on 21 March 2008 resulted in reduction of the election threshold to 5%.

On 23 February 2005, amendments were moved to the Constitution of Georgia, whereby the composition of the Parliament was defined by **100** members elected by the proportional system and **50** members elected by the majority system. The amendment was triggered by the referendum held in 2003, which resulted in decrease of the number of MPs from 235 to 150.

Amendments moved to the Constitution in 2008 defined composition of the Parliament by 75 members elected by the proportional system and **75** members elected by the majority system; by amendments moved to the Constitution in 2011,

¹ (no longer effective) (17 October 1997 organic law of Georgia №965- parliamentary agencies №44,11.11.1997.),

the Parliament should include 77 members elected by the proportional system and **73** members elected by the majority system.

In 2011, a new Election Code was adopted, whereby the election threshold was set back at 5%.

It is noteworthy that from 1992 through 2004 parliament used to include MPs, who were elected by the majority rule on the territory of Abkhazia in 1992. Congruent to the law on "Parliamentary Elections in Georgia" adopted in 1995, prior to establishing required pre-conditions for electing members of Parliament in Abkhazia, MPs elected in single-mandate constituencies of Abkhazia would remain in the composition of the Parliament. MPs of Abkhazia elected in such a manner held authority in 3 convocations of the Parliament. The given rule was established after moving amendments to the Election Code on 16 September 2004.

Diagram 1. Change of the election threshold over 9 convocations of the Parliament

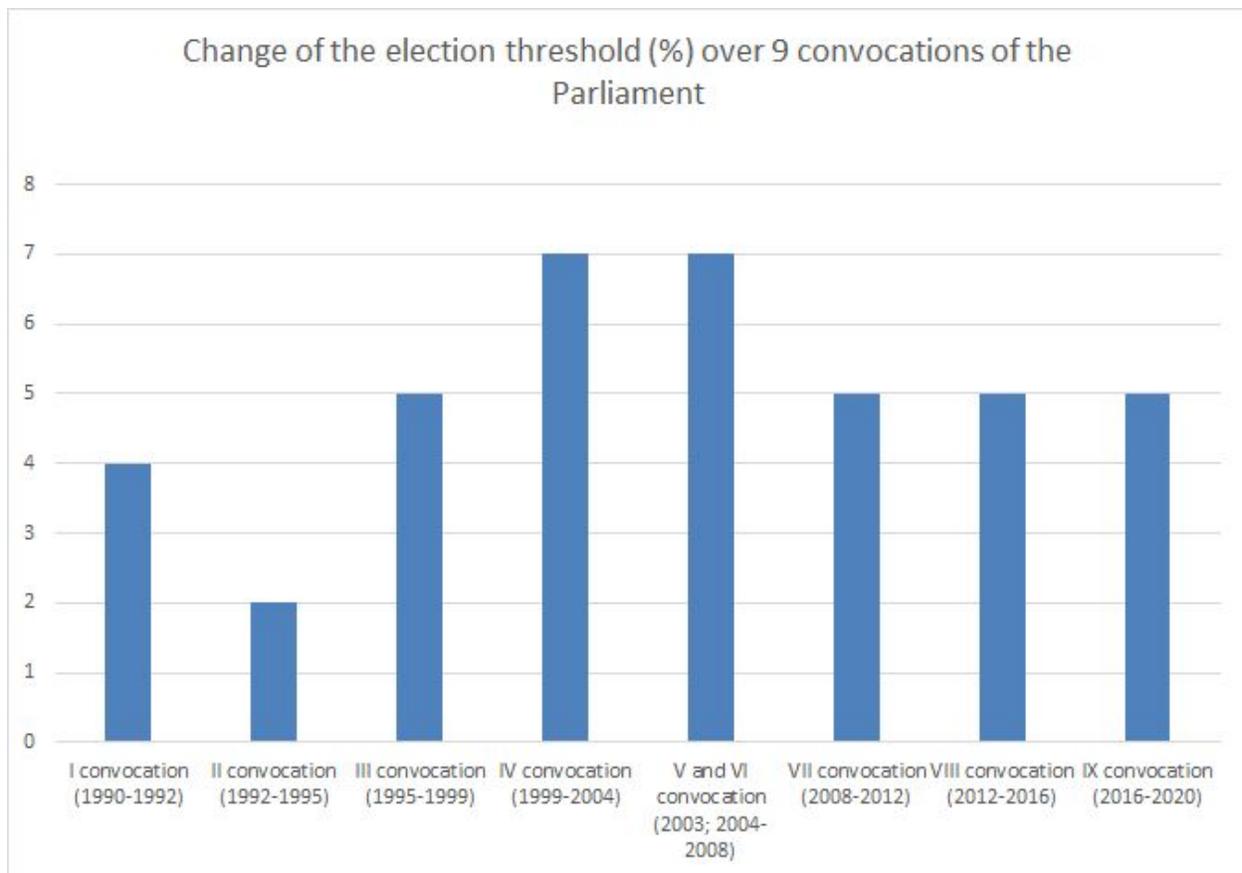
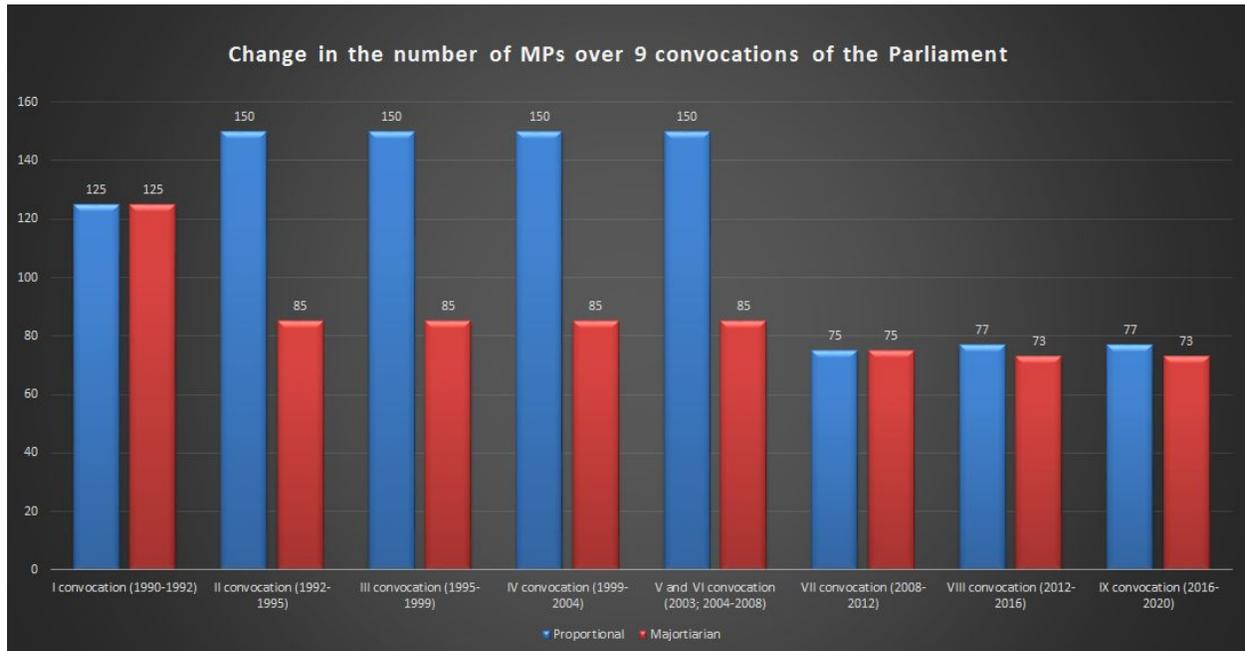


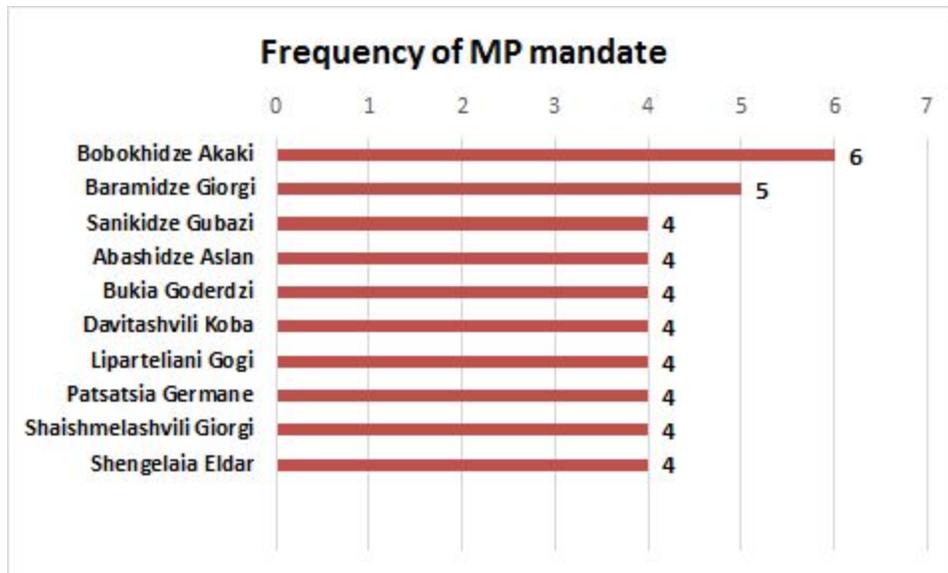
Diagram 2. Change in the number of MPs over 9 convocations of the Parliament



Politicians, most frequently representing MPs

Overall, in the period between 1990 and 2016, the population of Georgia has elected **1216 MPs**. Most of them were elected twice or even more frequently; to bring an example, Akaki Bonokhidze was elected 6 times, Giorgi Bramidze – 5 times, Gubaz Sanikidze, Aslan Abashidze, Goderdzi Bukia, Koba Davitashvili, Gogi Liparteliani, Germane Patsatsia, Giorgi Shaishmelashvili and Eldar Shengelia – four times. (Information on MPs of all convocations as well as on the frequency of membership by individual MPs is provided in the [table](#)).

Diagram 3. Politicians most frequently representing members of Parliament (figures for 1990 – 2016)



Transparency International - Georgia enquired to which political parties the given MPs belonged at the time of obtaining parliamentary seats.

Akaki Bobokhidze: at different times, he represented the Georgian Republican Party, the election bloc "Saakashvili – National Movement", the "United National Movement - for Winning Georgia" and the "United National Movement – More Benefit to People". He was a majoritarian MP from Khobi and Tskaltubo.

Giorgi Baramidze: at different times, he used to represent the Green Party, Citizens Union of Georgia, the election bloc "Burjanadze-Democrats", and the "United National Movement – More Benefit to People". He was a majoritarian MP from Didube as well.

Gubaz Sanikidze: represented the election bloc "Revival of Georgia", united opposition (National Council, the Rights), the election bloc "Bidzina Ivanishvili – Georgian Dream" (the party National Forum, quitted the ruling party in 2016). He was a majoritarian MP from Kutaisi and Ambrolauri as well.

Aslan Abashidze: at different times, he represented the election bloc "Round Table – Free Georgia", the bloc "Peace", the Union for Revival of Georgia and the election bloc "Revival of Georgia".

Goderdzi Bukia: represented the bloc "For New Georgia", "United National Movement – for Winning Georgia" (in 2015, he left the minority to join the ruling party). Twice he was a majoritarian MP from Khobi.

Koba Davitashvili: at different times, he represented the election bloc "Citizens Union of Georgia (CUG)", the election bloc "Saakashvili-National Movement", the

United Opposition (National Council, the Rights), the election bloc "Ivanishvili - Georgian Dream" (in 2013 he quitted the ruling party to become an independent MP). He also represented a majoritarian MP of Gldani.

Gogi Liparteliani: at different times, he represented the election bloc "For New Georgia", the "United National Movement - For Winning Georgia", the "United National Movement - More Benefit to People" (in 2012 he left the parliamentary minority). Twice, he was a majoritarian MP from Lentekhi and Krtsanisi.

Germane Patsatsia: in the 1st convocation of Parliament, he represented the United Communist Party, Traditionalists Union of Georgia. He represented a majoritarian MP of Abkhazia as well.

Giorgi Shaishmelashvili: at different times, he represented the election bloc "Round Table - Free Georgia", the bloc "Unity", the bloc "Citizens Union of Georgia (CUG)".

Eldar Shengelaia: in all four cases, he represented the Citizens Union of Georgia by the majority as well as the party list.

Parliament of the 1st convocation: (1990 - 1991)

On 18 August 1990, the Supreme Council of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia adopted a new election code - Law "on Elections of the Supreme Council", which envisaged holding of non-Soviet and multiparty elections.

The Election Day was scheduled for 28 October 1990. In conditions of duress from the national forces, instead of citing the Georgian SSR, it was referred to as "the elections of the Supreme Council of the Georgian Republic". The elections were held through mixed, symmetrical election system. 125 MPs were elected by the proportional system and another 125 members - by the majority rule in single-mandate constituencies. The elections failed to be held in Gudauta, Tkvarcheli and Tskhinvali; consequently, mandates won by the election subjects totaled 247.

In 28 October 1990, **14 political parties** ran for the elections². The threshold constituted **4%**. **6 parties** were represented in the Supreme Council.

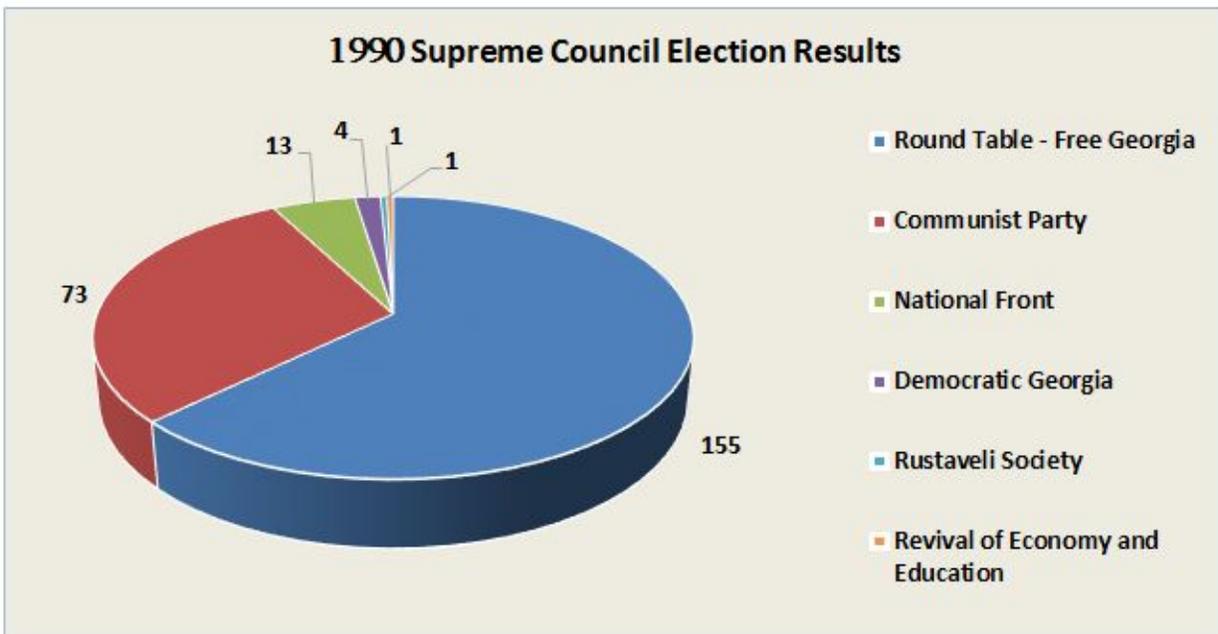
- **„Round Table - Free Georgia“ (155 MPs)**
- **Communist Party (73 MPs)**
- **People's Front (13 MPs)**

² <http://electionreforms.ge/files/library/415.pdf>

- „Democratic Georgia“ (4 MPs)
- Rustaveli Society (1 MP)
- Revival of Education and Economy (1 MP)

Following the elections, “Round Table – Free Georgia” came to power³.

Diagram 4. Full composition of the Parliament’s first convocation



Parliament of the 2nd convocation (1992 – 1995)

Following 1992 parliamentary elections, 150 members were elected by the proportional system (multi-mandate constituencies) and 75 members - by the majority rule. By the majority rule, elections took place in 75 out of 84 majoritarian constituencies⁴. Elections failed to be held in the following electoral districts: Java, Tskhinvali, Zugdidi, Tsalenjikha, Chkhorotsku, Gagra, Gali, Gudauta and Tkvarcheli; the election threshold constituted **2%**. **24** parties managed to overcome the set barrier.

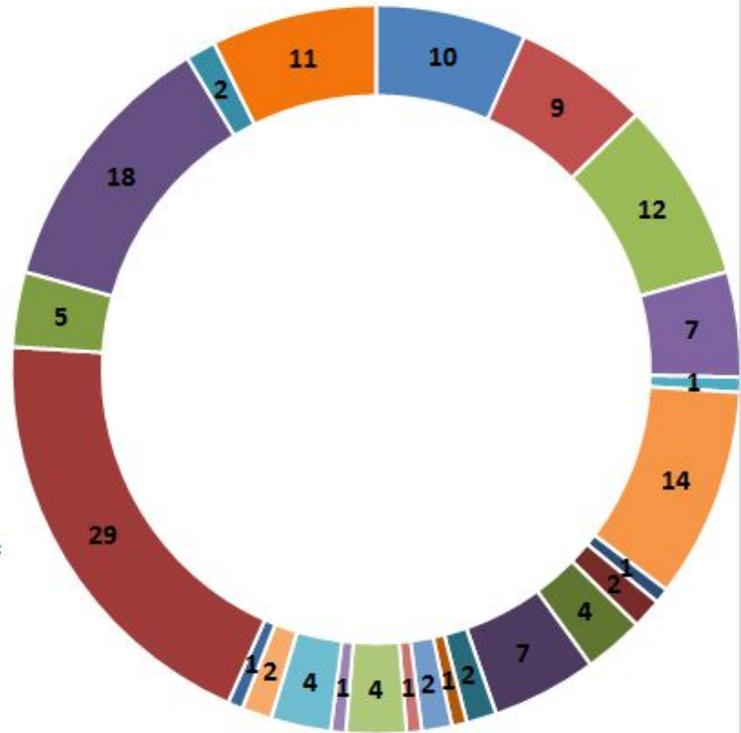
³ Parliament of Georgia; 28 October 1990 parliamentary elections <https://goo.gl/OfIM6I>

⁴ Parliament of Georgia; 1992 parliamentary elections <https://goo.gl/c6ym0O>

Diagram 5. Composition of the Parliament's 2nd convocation

Parliament composition in 1992-1995

- Democratic Party
- Charter - 91
- National Democratic Party
- Georgian Traditionalist Union
- Georgian Mtielta Union
- Unity bloc
- Society for the Revival of the Fatherland
- Friendship and Justice Party
- National Unity and Revival Union
- Society for Ilia Chavchavadze
- Union of Children of God
- Union for National Unity and Regional Politics bloc
- Social justice union
- Party for Georgia's national restoration
- Socialist labour party
- Radical royalist party
- National Democratic Party
- Georgian land workers Party
- Constitutional Demoratic Party
- Peace bloc
- Merab Kostava Society
- 11 October bloc
- Social democratic party
- Green party



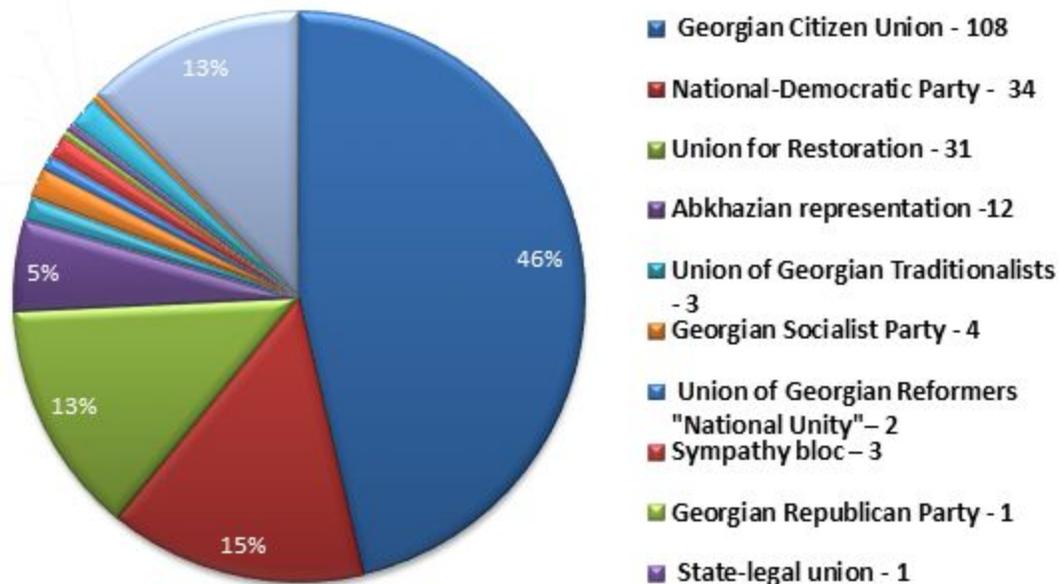
Parliament of the 3rd convocation (1995-1999)

After adoption of the Constitution of Georgia in 1995, the parliamentary and presidential elections simultaneously took place. A party or political union, that would submit signatures of 50 000 supporters, or had a representative in the Parliament of Georgia, would be eligible to run for parliamentary elections. Out of 235 mandates, 150 seats were proportionately distributed among the parties obtaining more than **5%** of votes. 85 seats were distributed among the majoritarian candidates. Since it was not possible to hold elections in Abkhazia, term was extended to 12 MPs. 73 MPs were elected from the remaining majoritarian constituencies. 53 parties took part in the elections⁵. Out of these, three parties managed to overcome the threshold by the proportional system:

- **Citizens Union of Georgia - 90 seats**
- **National-Democratic Party – 31 seats**
- **Revival Union of Georgia - 25 seats**

Diagram 6. Composition of the Parliament's third convocation (percentage distribution and number of seats)

Composition of the Parliament in 1995 –1999



⁵ Parliament of Georgia, 1995 parliamentary elections <https://goo.gl/0q3grV>

9 factions and 14 committees were set up in the Parliament.

Factions:

- „Citizens’ Union” (chaired by Mikheil Saakashvili)
- „Revival” (chaired by Jemal Gogitidze)
- „People’s Faction” (chaired by Mamuka Giorgadze)
- „Labor Faction” (chaired by Shalva Natelashvili)
- „National-Democratic Party NDP” (chaired by Irina Sarishvili-Chanturia)
- „Imedi” (“Hope”) (chaired by Petre Beraia)
- „Majoritarian-Socialist” (chaired by Iuri Chikhradze)
- “Mamuli” („Fatherland”) (chaired by Vakhtang Shamiladze)
- „Abkhazeti” (chaired by Germane Patsatsia)

The parliamentary majority was comprised of the following factions: “Citizens’ Union”, the factions “Imedi” and “Mamuli”. Lana Ghogoberidze was elected as a leader of the parliamentary majority. A coalition “United Georgia” was set up as well. It was comprised of the following factions: “Revival” and the “Labor Faction”. Shalva Natelashvili was appointed as a chairman of the coalition.

Parliament of the 4th convocation (1999-2004)

Composition of the Parliament was defined by **235** members. Out of these, 150 members were elected by the proportional system and the other 85 – by the majority rule. In total, 45 parties ran for the elections.

Through the proportional system, three parties managed to overcome **7%** election threshold:

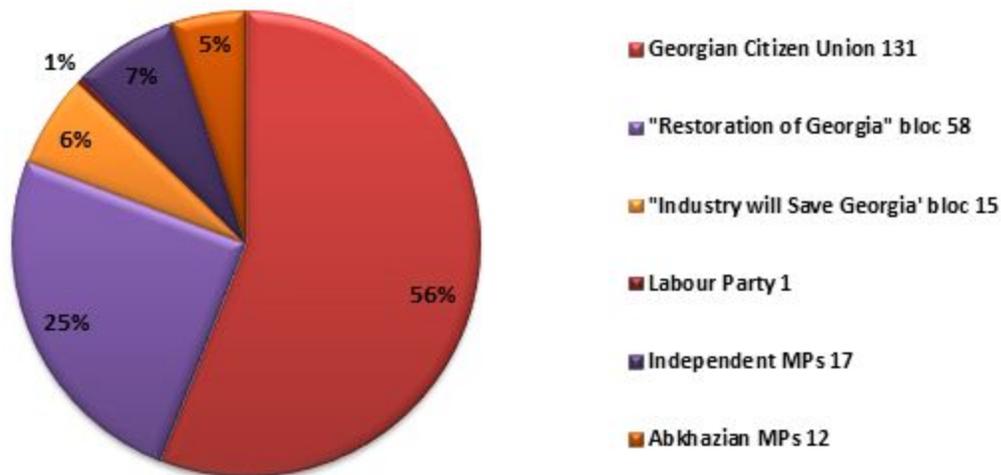
- 1. Citizens Union of Georgia 42.07% 894 850 votes (85 seats)**
- 2. Bloc „Revival of Georgia” 25.41% 540 389 votes (51 seats)**
- 3. Bloc „Industry Will Save Georgia” 7.13% 151 685 votes (14 seats)**

In the beginning, 10 parliamentary factions were set up; however, due to ongoing political changes, developments in the parliament took a different turn. In October 2001, Speaker of the Parliament Zurab Zhvania resigned from the held position. In July 2002, together with his companions, he founded the party the “United Democrats”; a relevant faction was formed as well.

Following the "Rose Revolution", results of 2 November 2003 elections were declared invalid; authority of the Parliament's fourth convocation was extended until 2004.

Nino Burjanadze was appointed as the Acting President while Giorgi Tsereteli became the Acting Chair of the Parliament⁶.

Diagram 7. Composition of the 4th convocation of Parliament (percentage distribution and number of seats)



5th and 6th convocations of Parliament (parliamentary elections in 2003 and 2004)

Parliamentary elections were held on 2 November 2003. The parties and political unions which submitted signatures of 50 000 supporters or had their own representatives in the parliament took part in the elections. However, as it was widely believed that the election results were rigged, protest rallies ensued, leading to the so-called "Rose Revolution". With the exception of the majority system outcomes, results of the elections were annulled and new ones were appointed for 28 March 2004⁷.

85 MPs were elected by the majority rule from administrative units of Georgia. Out of these, authority was automatically granted to 12 MPs from Abkhazia; as for the remaining 73 majoritarian constituencies, the elections took place in an ordinary manner (authority of Abkhazian MPs was terminated at the plenary session of the Parliament in August 2004).

⁶ Parliament of Georgia, 1999 parliamentary elections <https://goo.gl/WTwV98>

⁷ Parliament of Georgia, 2003 - 2004 parliamentary elections <https://goo.gl/GaaAK0>

Majoritarian seats were distributed in the following manner:

- **Union of Democratic Revival - 6**
- **Labor Party - 3**
- **Bloc „Burjanadze -Democrats“ - 7**
- **Bloc „Saakashvili – National Movement“ - 10**
- **Bloc „For New Georgia“ – 19**
- **Bloc „New Rights“ – 4**
- **Bloc „Industry Will Save Georgia“ - 4**
- **Independent candidates (presented by the initiative groups) - 20**

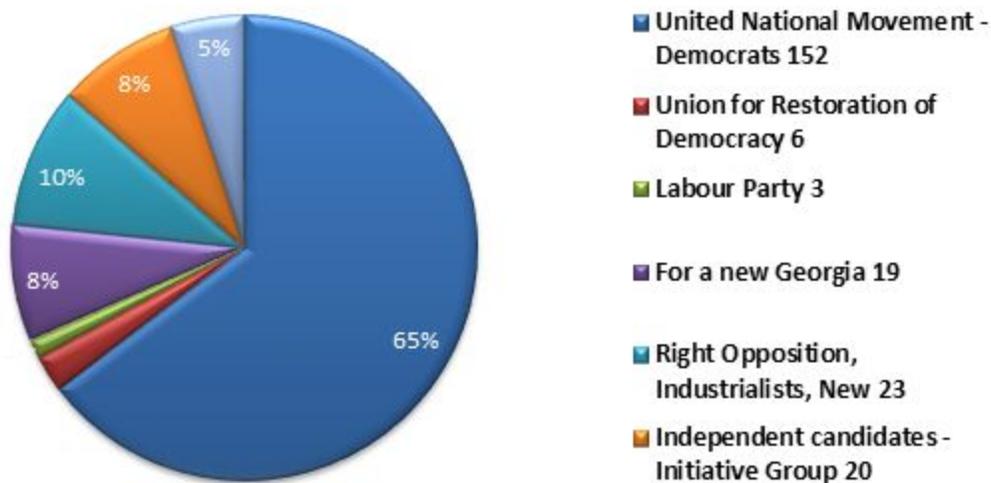
On 28 March 2004, the parliamentary elections were held anew through the proportional system. The newly established bloc “National Movement – Democrats” (66,24% - 135 seats) as well as the Rights Opposition - Industrialists, the News (7,56% - 15 seats) managed to overcome **7%** threshold

Four parliamentary factions were set up:

- **„National Movement - Democrats“**
- **„Majoritarians“**
- **„Independent Majoritarians“**
- **„Rights Opposition“**

A Coordination Council of Independent MPs was established as well.

Diagram 8. Composition of the 6th convocation of Parliament (percentage distribution and number of seats)



Parliament of the 7th convocation (2008-2012)

In 2012, 12 subjects took part in the elections, with four parties overcoming **5%** threshold:

- 1. United National Movement - 59.18% - 1 050 237 votes (48 seats)**
- 2. United Opposition - 17.73% - 314 668 votes (15 seats)**
- 3. Giorgi Targamadze – Christian Democrats - 8.66% - 153 634 votes (6 seats)**
- 4. Shalva Natelashvili – Georgian Labor Party - 7.44% - 132 092 votes (6 seats)**

Due to lack of confidence to the election results, most of the winning United Opposition members turned down their parliamentary mandates and refused to enter the Parliament. (Representatives of the Labor Party, which won a parliamentary mandate, did not refuse to accept it. However, over the period of four years they had not attended any of the plenary sessions on political grounds)⁸.

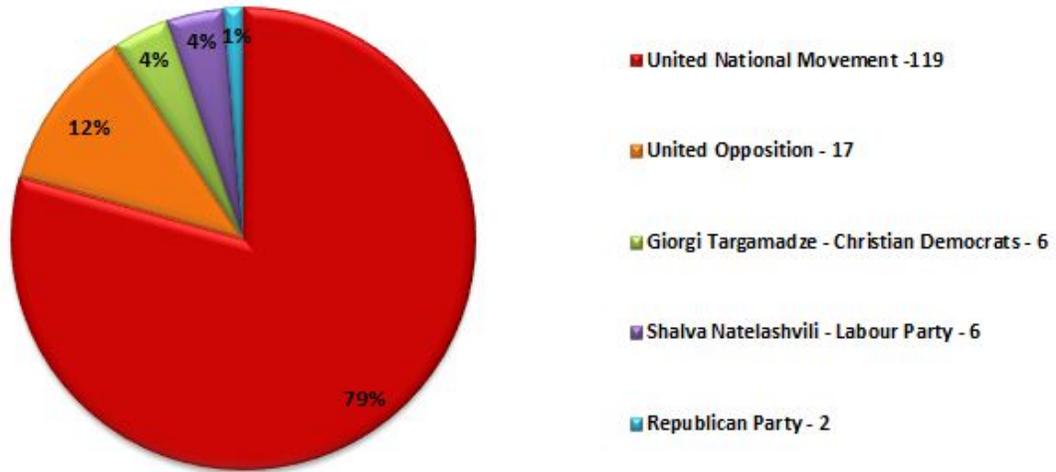
Five parliamentary factions were set up:

- Faction: „United National Movement”– 98 members
- Faction „Regions of Georgia – Majoritarians” – 14 members
- Faction: „Christian – Democrats” – 7 members
- Faction: „Powerful Georgia” – 6 members
- Faction: „Unity for Justice” – 7 members

5 members remained beyond the factions.

Diagram 9. Composition of the 7th convocation of Parliament (percentage distribution and number of seats)

⁸ Parliament of Georgia, 2008 parliamentary elections <https://goo.gl/otPGwb>

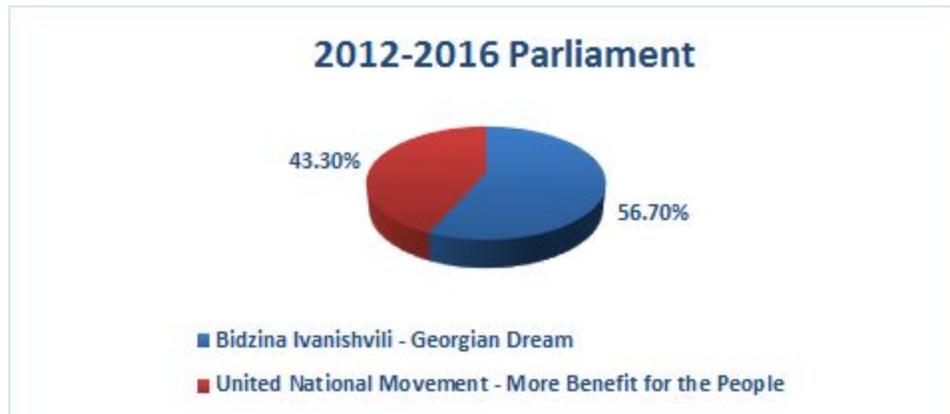


Parliament of the 8th convocation (2012-2016)

In 2012, congruent to the effective legislation, 73 MPs out of 150 were elected by the majority rule in single-mandate constituencies, while the remaining 77 seats were distributed proportionally among the party lists of the election subjects, who overcame 5% election threshold. The following two parties managed to overcome the threshold – “Bidzina Ivanishvili - Georgian Dream” and “United National Movement-More Benefit for people”.

In the parliament of the 8th convocation, the election subject “Ivanishvili - Georgian Dream” included six political unions: “Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia”, the Conservative Party, “Industry will Save Georgia”, the Republican Party, Our Georgia - Free Democrats” and the “National Forum”.

Diagram 10. Composition of the 8th convocation of Parliament (percentage distribution and number of seats)⁹



⁹ Parliament of Georgia, composition of the 8th convocation of Parliament, <https://goo.gl/B0dTQO>
The Election Commission of Georgia, 2012 elections <https://goo.gl/wZiokf>

Parliament of the 9th convocation

The ninth parliamentary elections were held on October 8, 2016, with the second round taking place on October 30. In line with the Constitution, the citizens of Georgia elected 150 members for a term of four years: 77 members by the proportional system and 73 members by the majority system. 5% was defined as the election threshold. While 25 election subjects participated in 2016 parliamentary elections, only three parties managed to pass the threshold: the "Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia", the "United National Movement", David Tarkhan Mouravi, Irma Inashvili – the Alliance of Patriots, the united opposition.

Based on the preliminary results, seats will be distributed in the following manner:

- "Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia" - 115
- **United National Movement - 27**
- **David Tarkhan Mouravi , Irma Inashvili – the Alliance of Patriots, the united opposition - 6**
- **Independent MPs - 1 (Salome Zurabishvili)**
- **Topadze, Industrialists - Our Homeland - 1 (Simon Nozadze)**

Based on preliminary results for 2016 parliamentary elections, seats in the **Parliament of the 9th convocation** will be distributed as follows:

Diagram 11. Results of 2016 elections

