



May 2023

Taking Georgians' pulse

Findings from March 2023 telephone survey

Carried out for NDI by CRRC Georgia

Research is funded by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland through the foreign, commonwealth and development office's good governance fund.

RESEARCH GOALS

- To foster the development of more responsive policies and governance in Georgia;
- To help stakeholders diagnose and address top national concerns and priorities, around the following topics: economy, institutions, foreign affairs, women's political participation and other.

MARCH 2023 TELEPHONE POLL

- ❖ Fieldwork dates: 17-23 March, 2023
- ❖ 1,032 completed interviews (14% response rate)
- ❖ The average margin of error is +/- 2%
- ❖ Note: the margin of error is different for every response
- ❖ Telephone survey
- ❖ Shift from face-to-face to telephone method might affect a change on historical slides.

Note: March 2023, March 2022, February 2022, December 2021, July 2021, February 2021, December 2020, August 2020 polls were conducted over telephones.

SAMPLE

- ❖ Interviews were conducted on mobile phones
- ❖ Simple random sampling method was used. Respondents were selected using the random-digit-dial method
- ❖ Interviews were conducted in Georgian, Azerbaijani, Armenian and Russian
- ❖ The poll is representative of entire Georgian population (excluding the occupied territories). In addition, the poll is representative of the capital, urban and rural settlements

Quality control

- ❖ All interviewers receive special training
- ❖ CRRC central office coordinators conduct quality control interviews.

Major findings

- New poll indicates Georgian citizens' unwavering support for political (54 percent) and economic (52 percent) cooperation with the European Union (EU). However, the aspirations of the Georgian people come into contrast with a perception that the government is not doing enough to ensure EU membership.
- The recent poll indicates a concerning trend of low public confidence in institutions. 64 percent of Georgians are saying none of the parties represent their interests. Even among those who identify with a particular party, 14 percent of GD supporters and 36 percent of opposition supporters say none of the parties represent their interests. Skepticism is the highest among the young demographic - only 15 percent say there is at least one party representing their views.
- Georgians remain skeptical of the parliament's willingness to address their concerns. Half of the population (49 percent) does not believe parliament is passing legislation on issues that matter to them. Only a third believe that parliament regularly communicates with the public.
- Every second Georgian (51 percent) says they don't trust any of the Georgian TV channels, which is a significant increase from 20 percent in 2019.
- The new poll reveals a growing demand for women's political participation, which can be understood as a desire for change in political discourse and agendas. There is an increase (from 48 percent to 56 percent) in the number of people who believe that women and men represent their interests equally, and fewer people (16 percent) say male politicians represent them better than women. Further, more and more people demand 50-50 gender representation in the parliament.

Chapter I

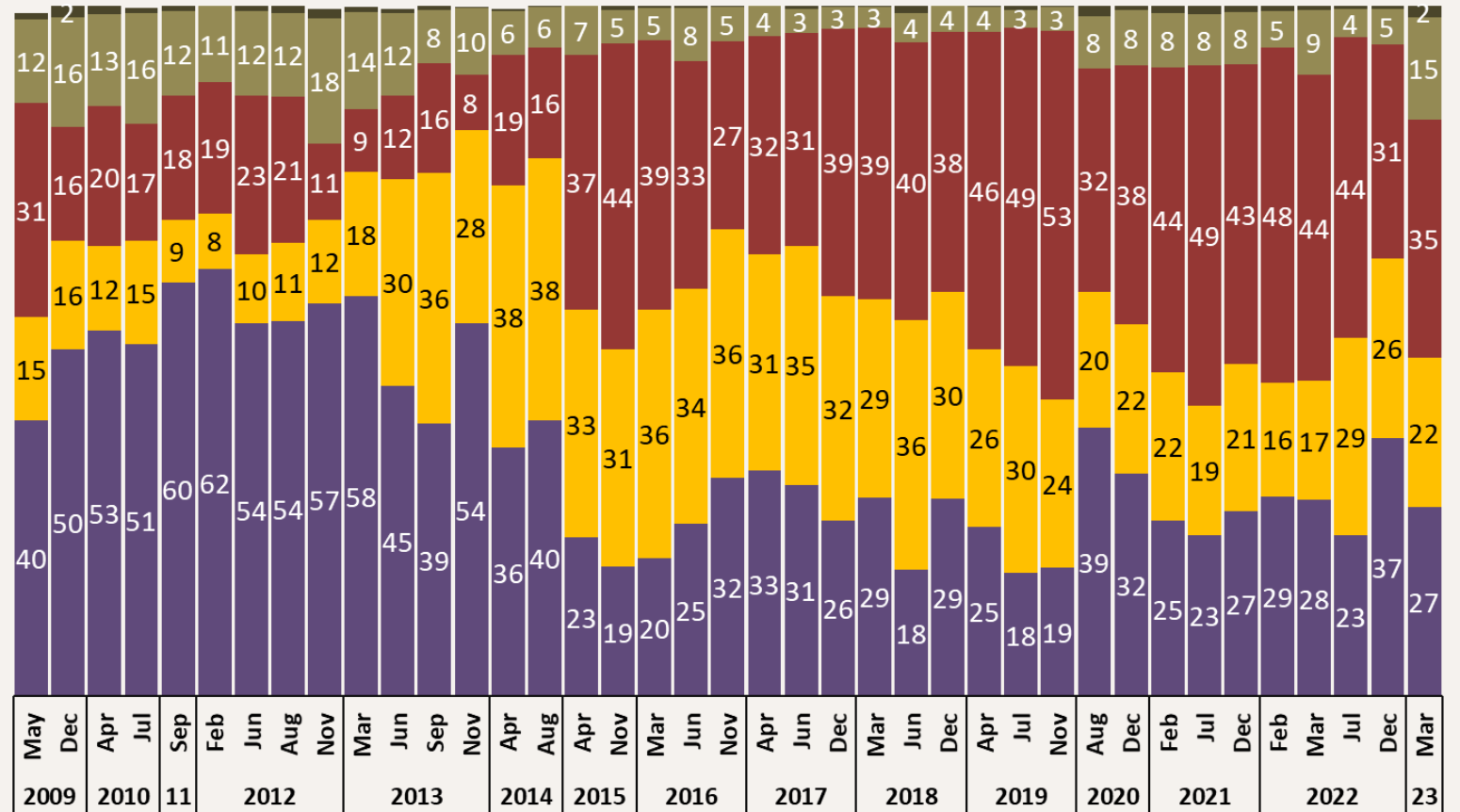
- Country direction
- State of democracy

Citizens perplexed regarding Georgia's direction of travel

Tbilisi residents and opposition supporters are the most dissatisfied with the country direction.

There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Which one do you agree with? (q6)

■ Georgia is going in the right direction ■ Georgia is not changing at all ■ Georgia is going in the wrong direction ■ DK ■ RA

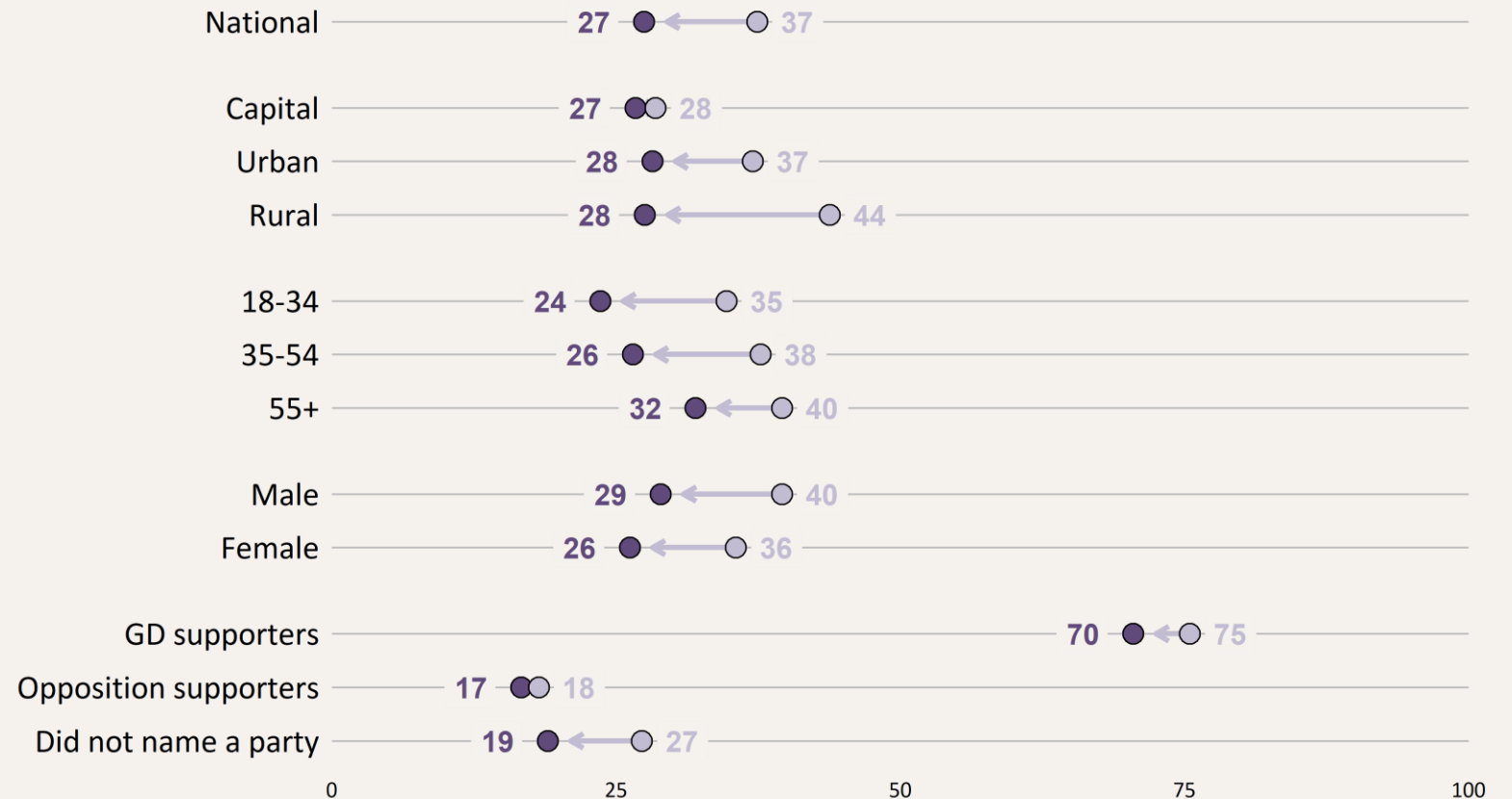


The biggest drop among the people who say Georgia is going in the right direction took place in the rural settlements

There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Please, rate your answer. (q6)

Share of those who say Georgia is going in the right direction

○ December 2022 ● March 2023

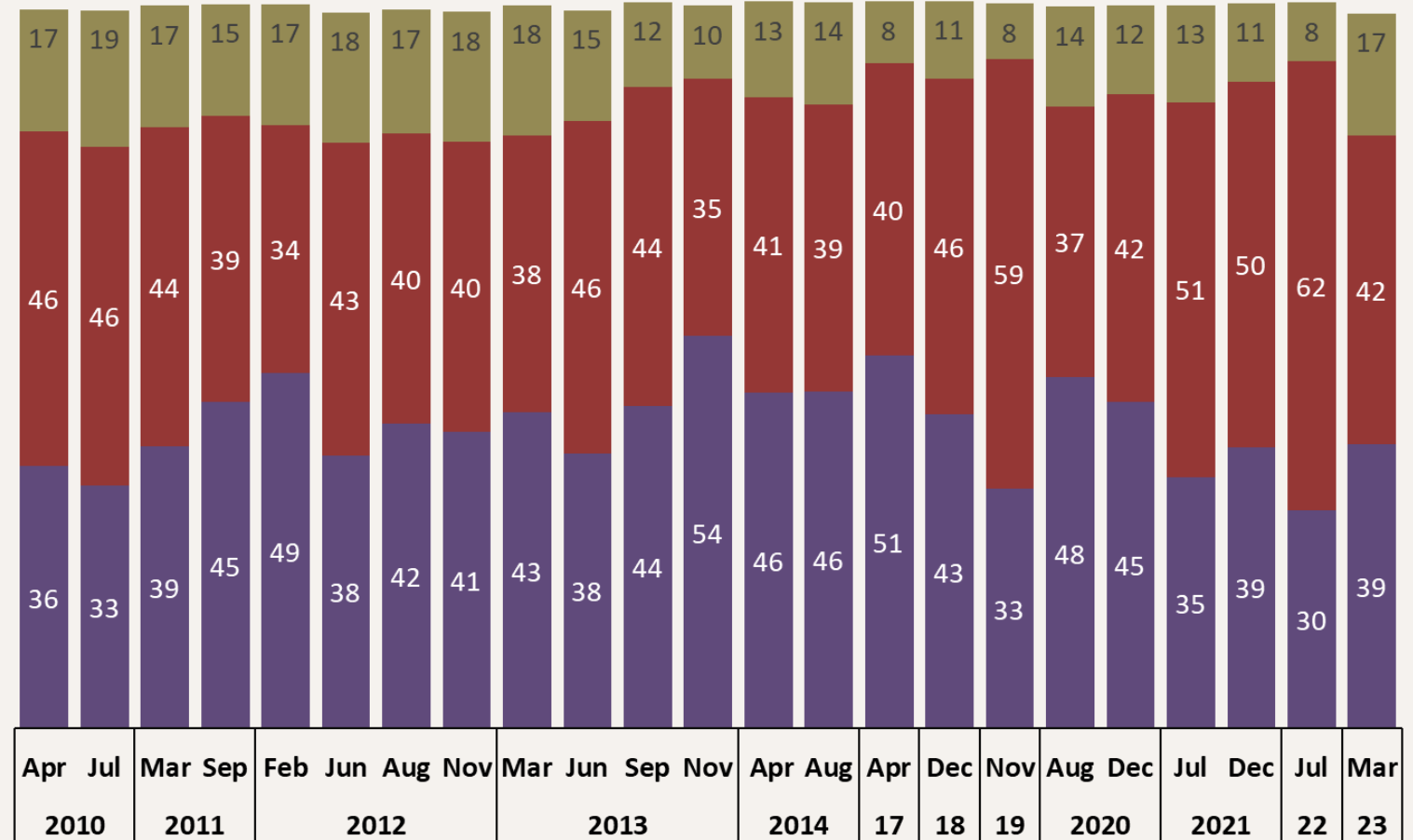


Compared to last year, more people claim Georgia is a democracy

Attitudes on this issue are consistent across different demographic groups.

In your opinion, is Georgia a democracy now? (q7)

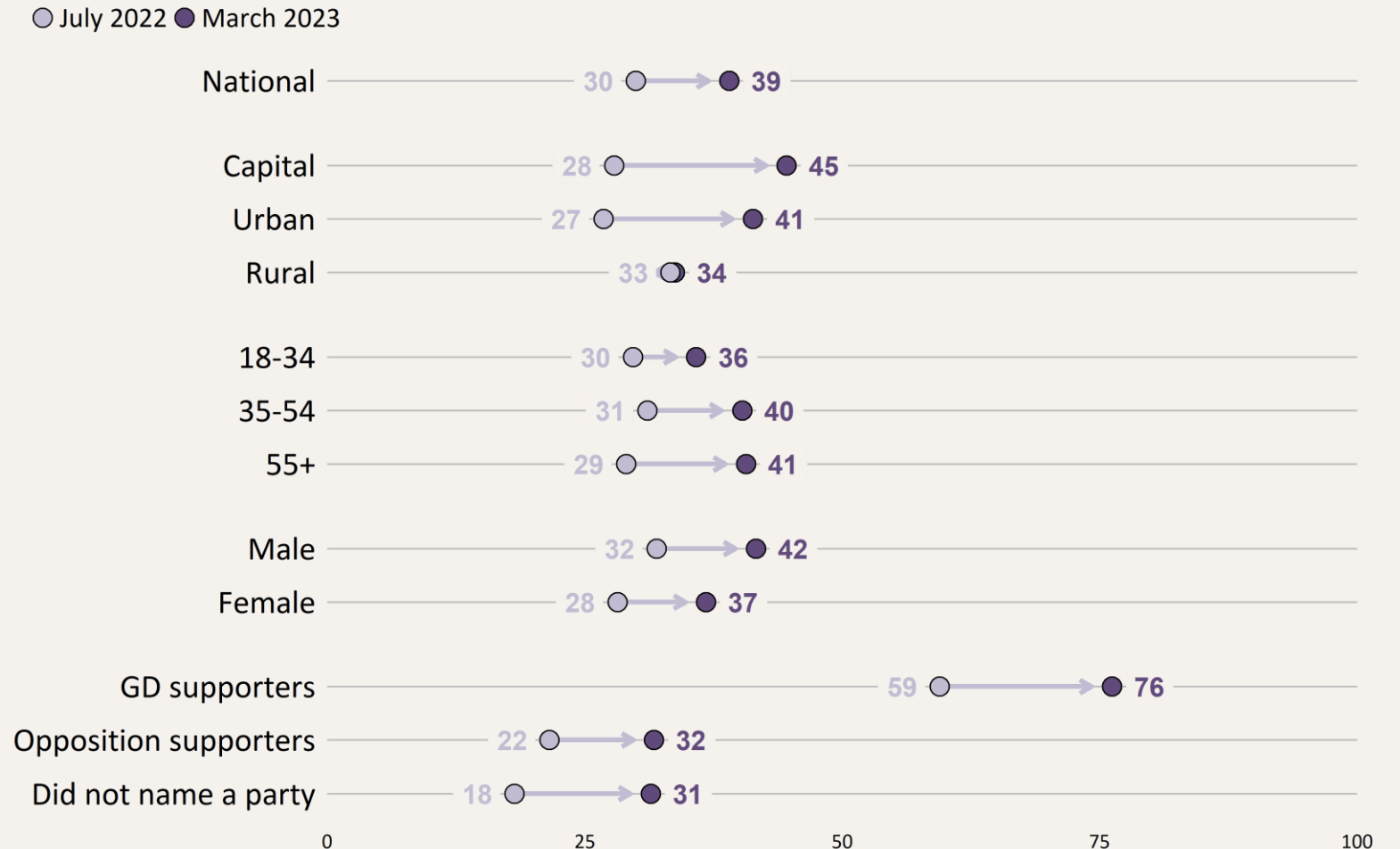
■ Yes ■ No ■ DK



Share of those who say Georgia is a democracy now increased the most among GD supporters and Tbilisi residents

In your opinion, is Georgia a democracy now? (q7)

Share of those who say Georgia is a democracy now



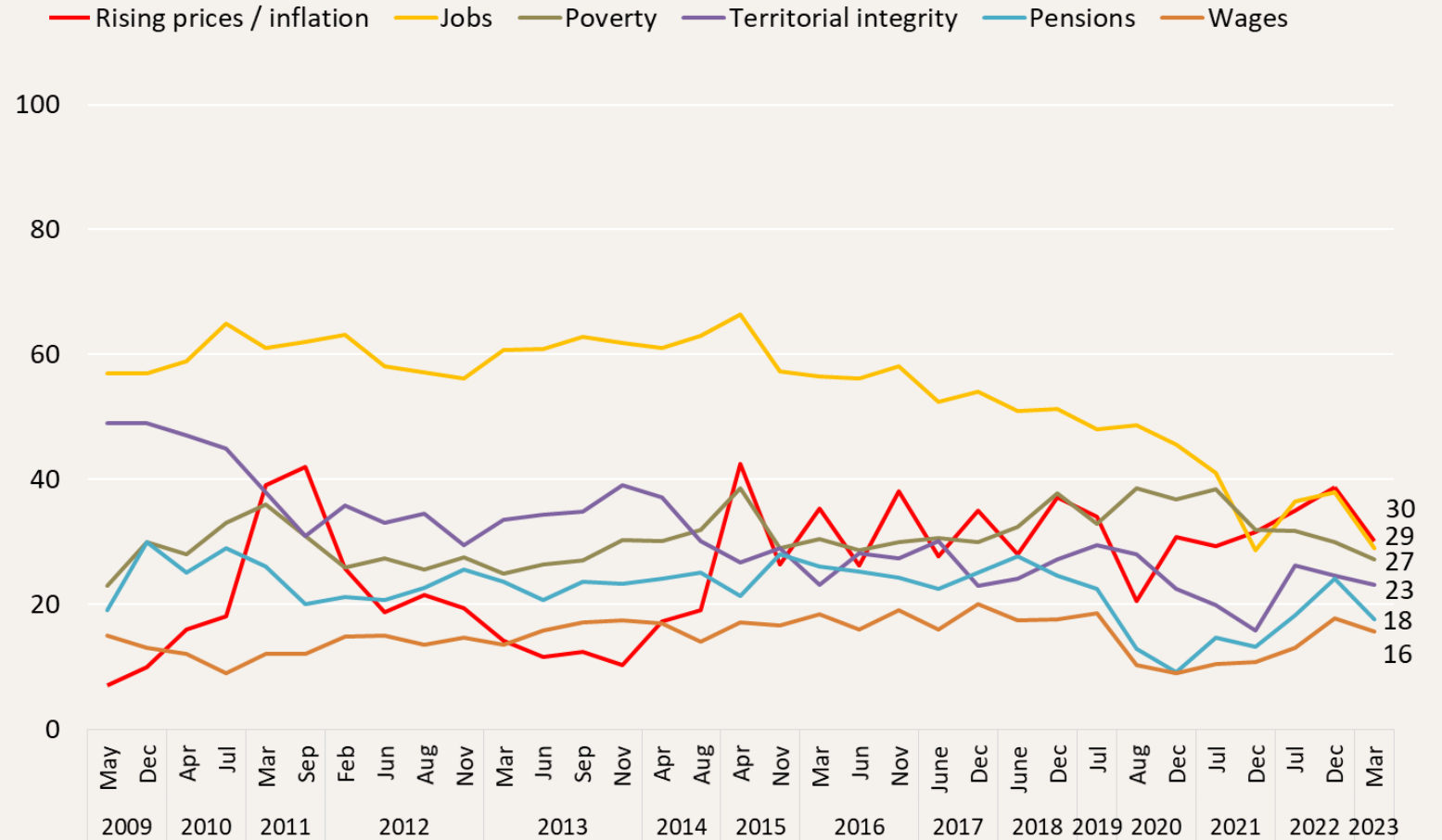
Chapter II

→ National Issues of concern

Rising prices, jobs & poverty remain top national concerns

Attitudes are consistent across the board.

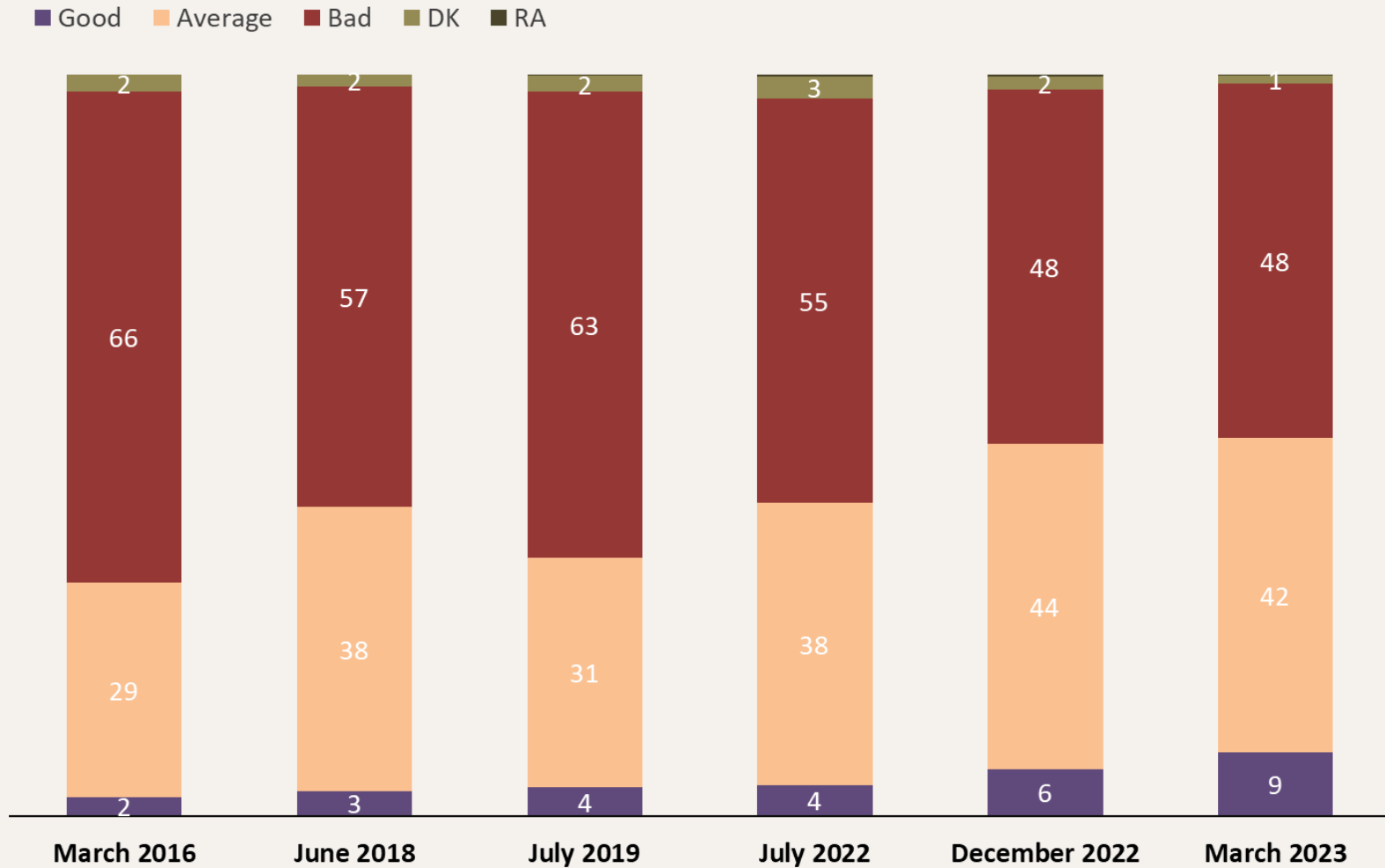
What are the most important national level issues facing you and your family? Up to three answers. Open question (q18)



Every second citizen says Georgian economy in bad shape

Tbilisi residents and opposition supporters are more critical than others.

Please evaluate the current situation of Georgia's economy. (q19)

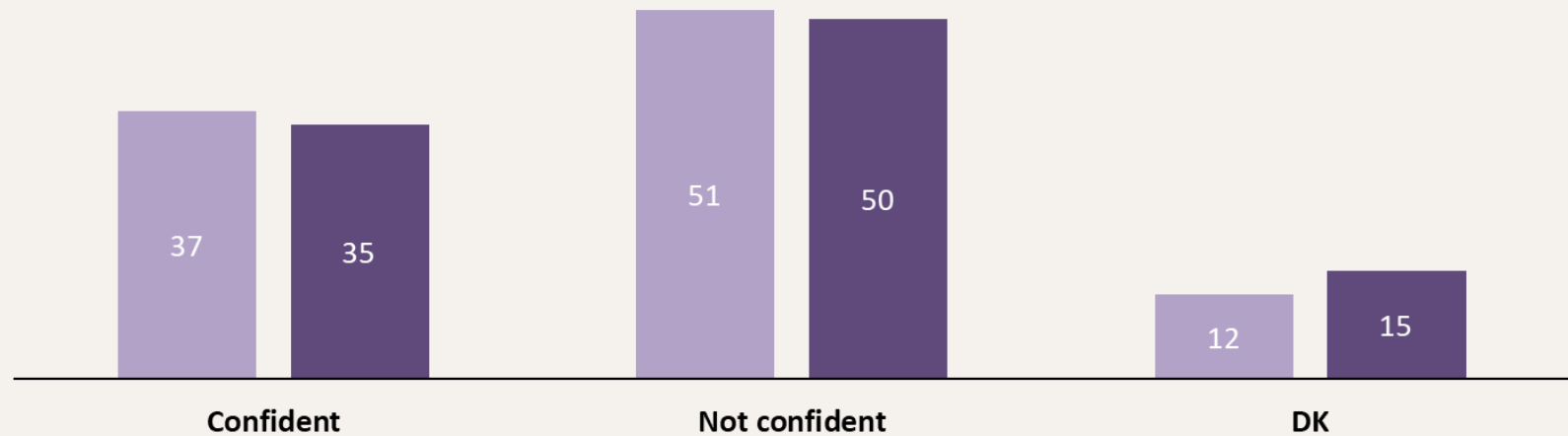


Half of the population is doubtful that government can solve economic problems

A huge partisan divide visible among GD and opposition/undecided supporters.

How confident or not confident are you in the Georgian government's ability to solve economic problems? (q20)

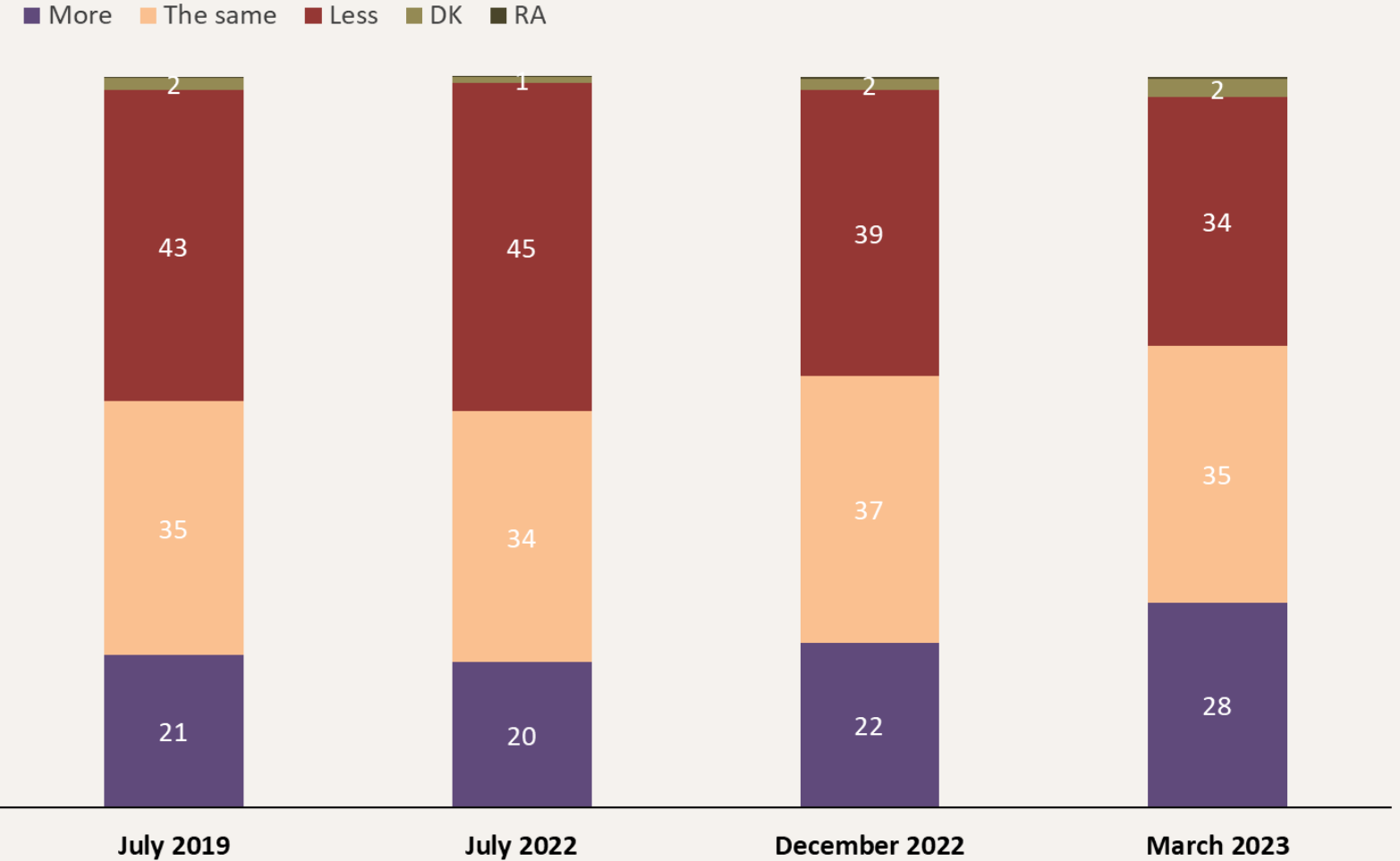
■ December 2022 ■ March 2023



Majority say they can afford the same or less than five years ago

GD supporters and young demographic is more likely to say that they can afford more than five years ago.

Thinking about your current situation, are you personally able to afford more, the same or less than you could 5 years ago? (q21)



Every sixth
Georgian
receives foreign
remittances from
a family member

Do any of your family members work abroad and regularly send money to your family? (q3)

■ July 2019 ■ March 2023

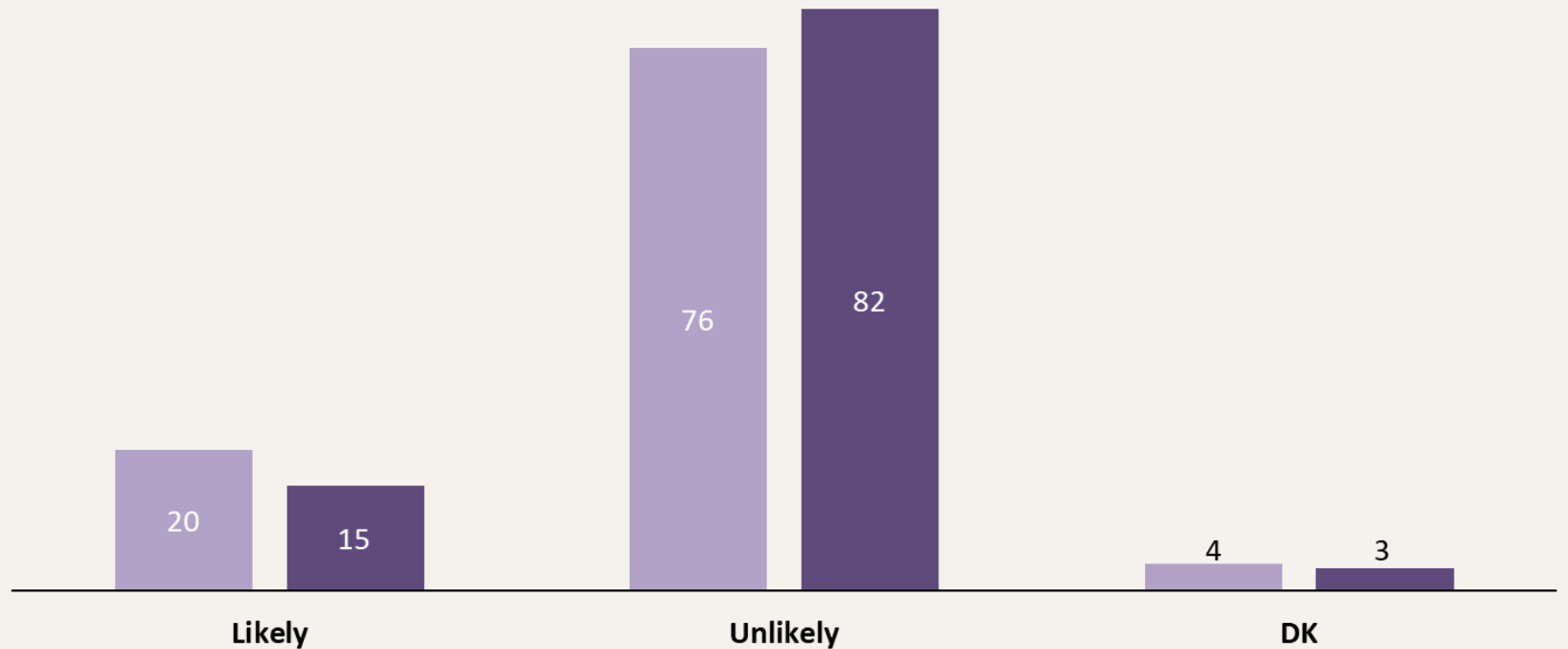


Every sixth Georgian likely to emigrate

Likelihood of emigration is relatively higher among the younger citizens and men.

How likely or unlikely is it that you will go abroad for work in the next 12 months? (q4)

■ December 2022 ■ March 2023



Chapter III

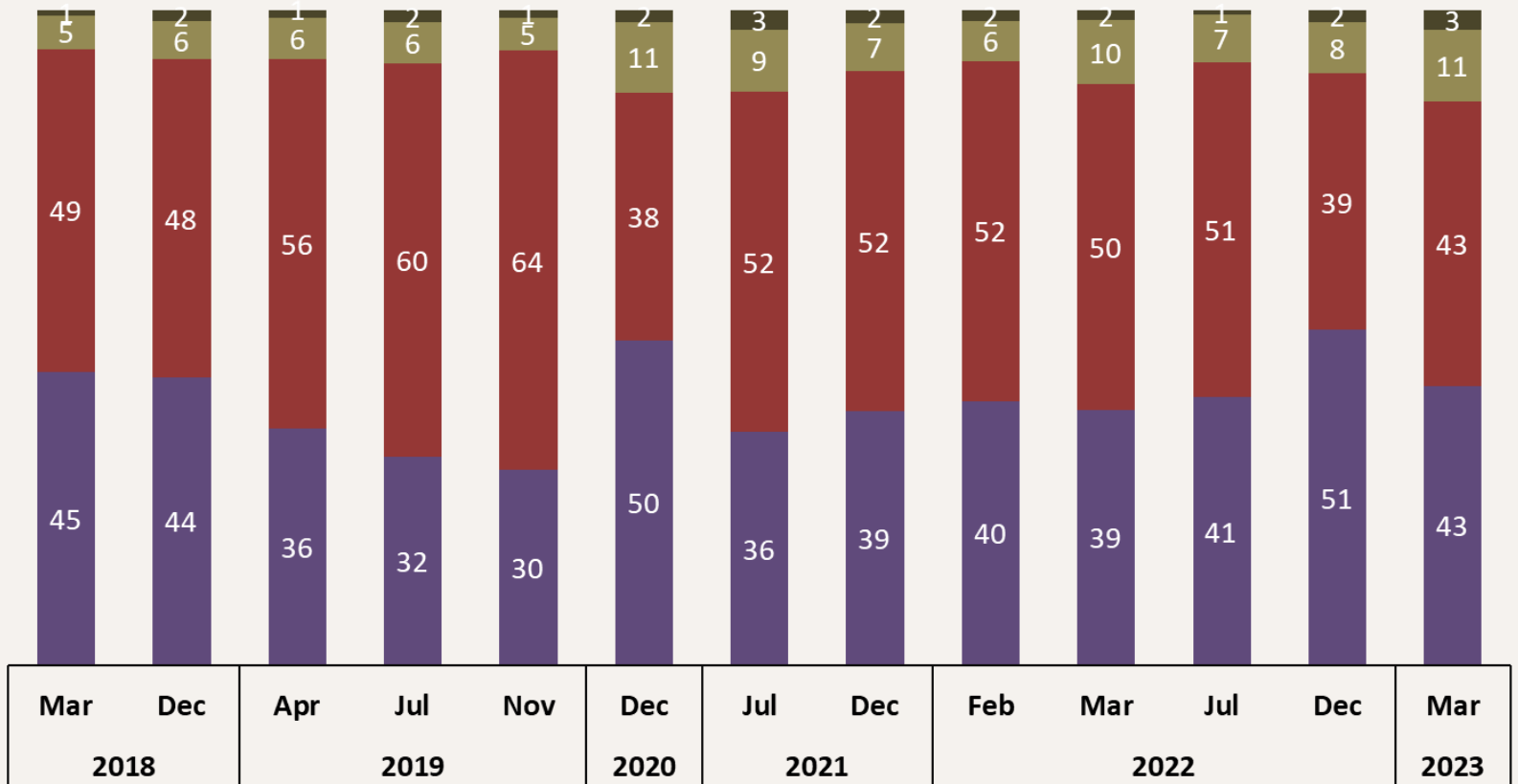
→ Institutions

Government's positive job assessment drops

Among the most critical are: younger citizens and opposition supporters.

Please, tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government? (q8)

■ Good ■ Bad ■ DK ■ RA

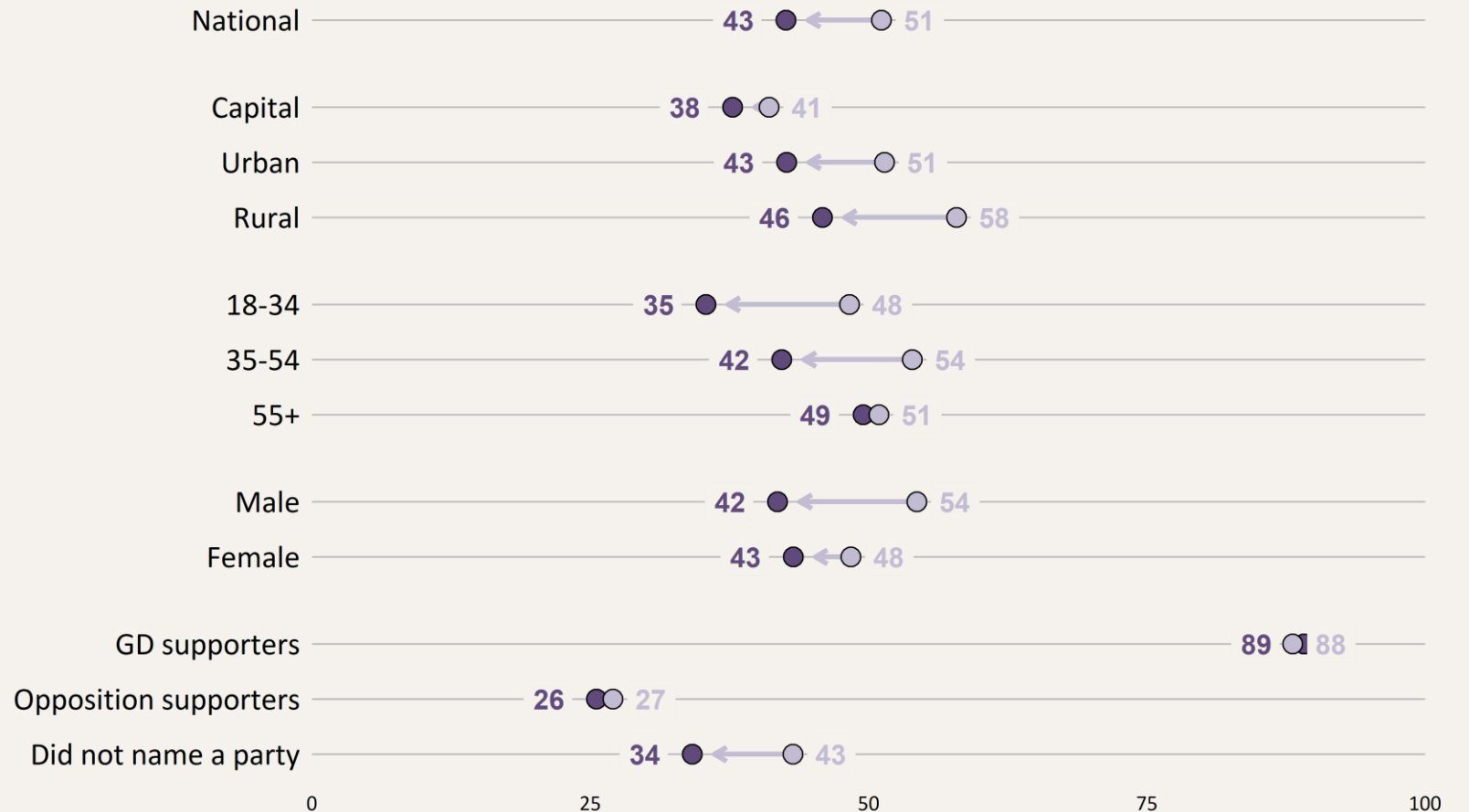


Performance of government worsened among younger people and rural population

How would you rate the performance of the current government? (q8)

Share of those who rate performance of current government as Good

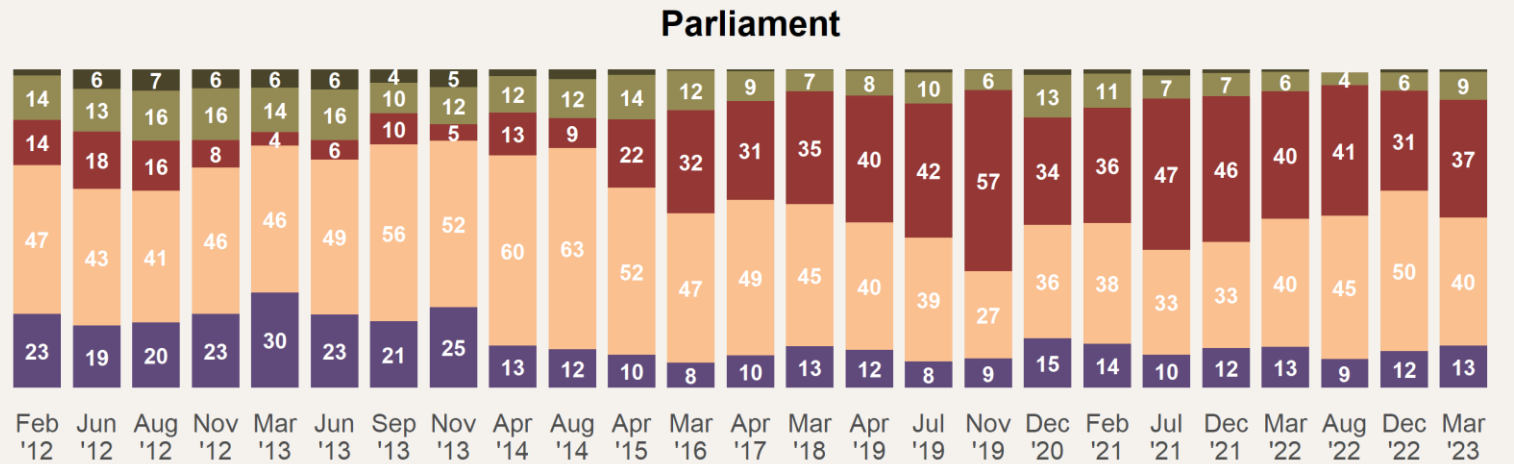
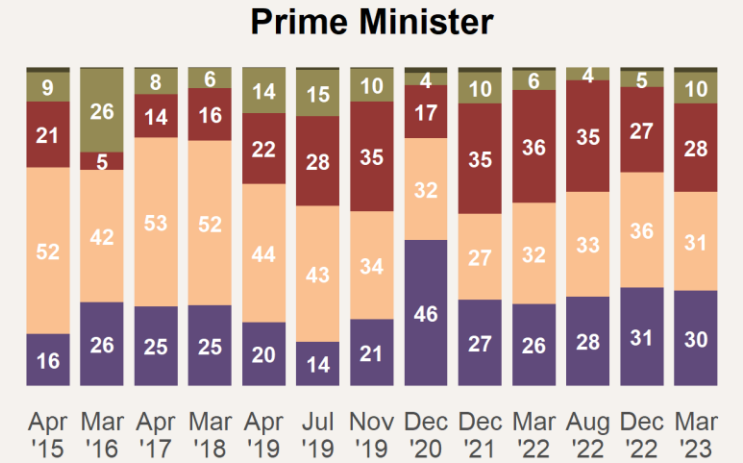
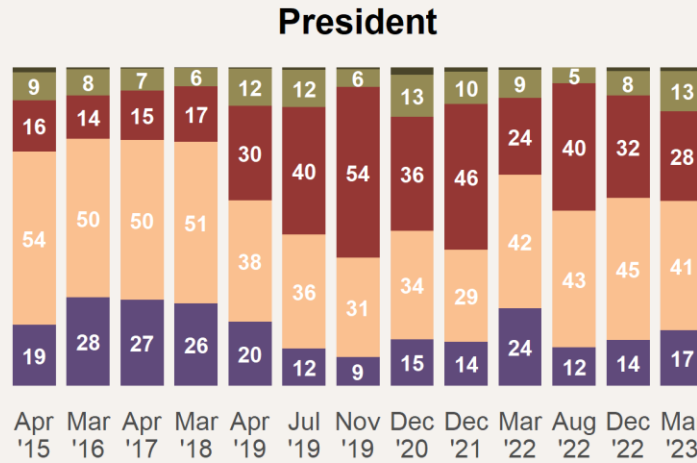
○ December 2022 ● March 2023



President's and PM's job approval remains stable; parliament's negatives slightly increase

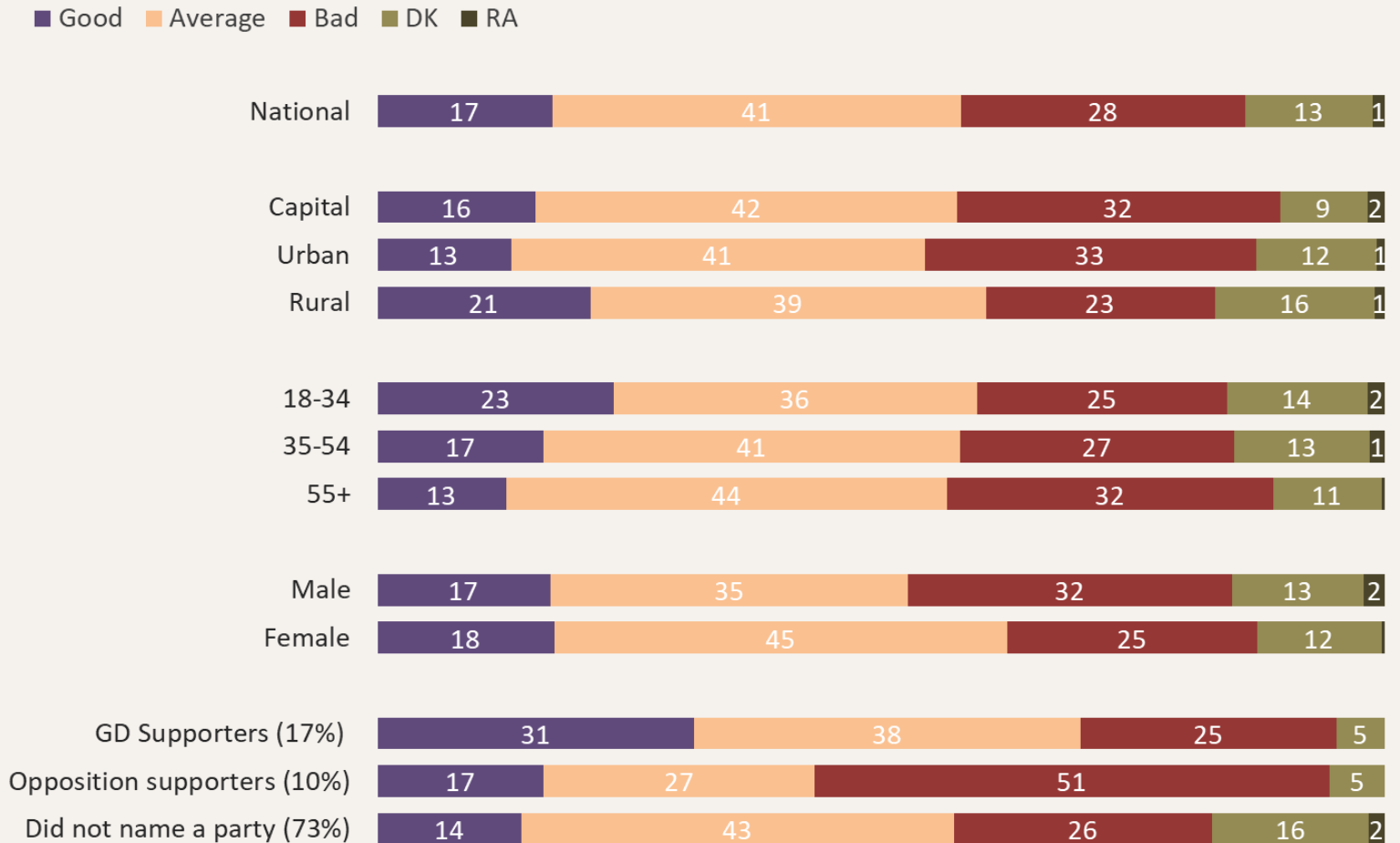
How would you rate the performance of...? (q6)

■ Good ■ Average ■ Bad ■ DK ■ RA



President's job approval is the highest among younger citizens and GD supporters

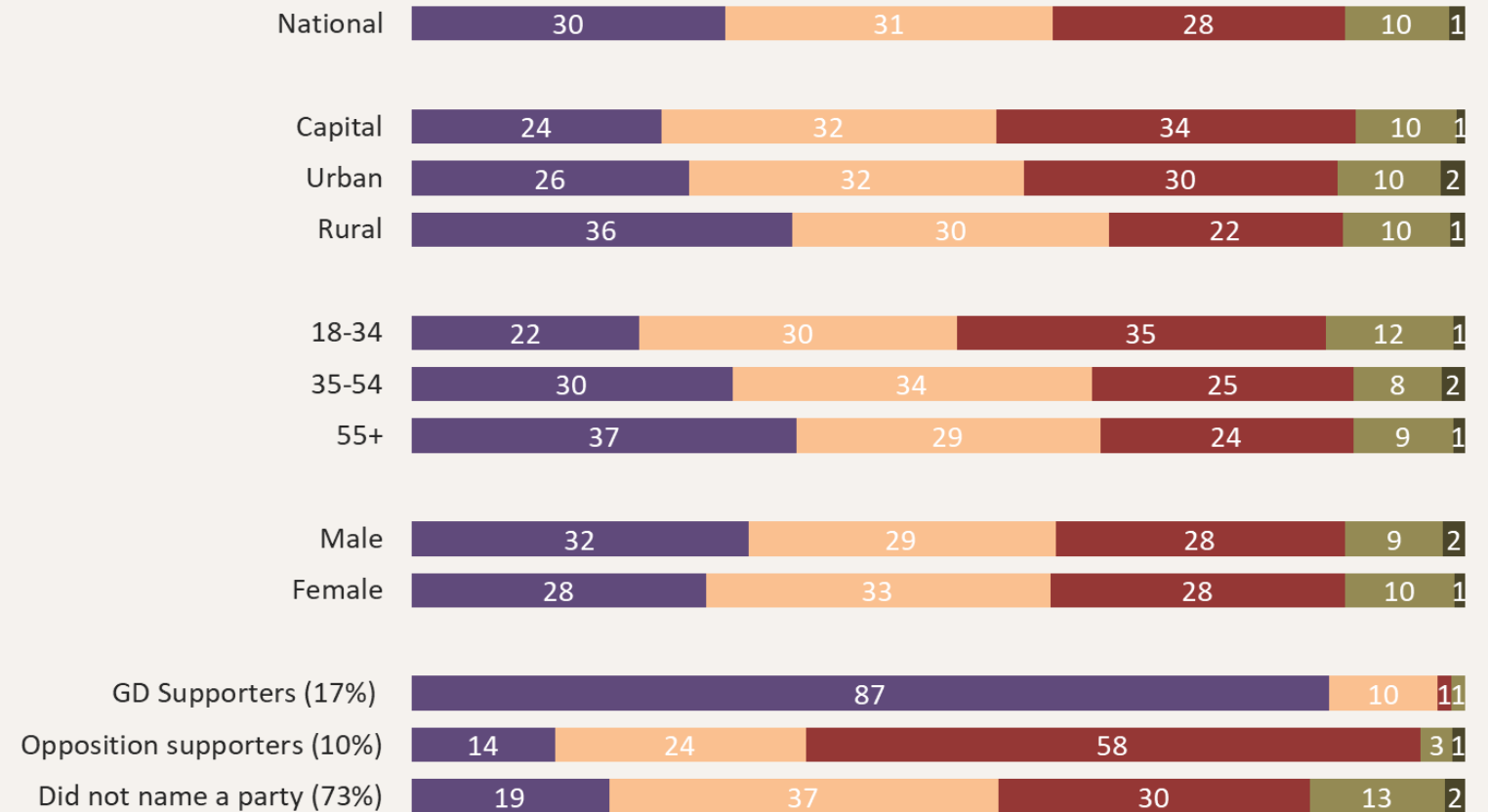
How would you rate the performance of the President Salome Zourabichvili? (q11_2 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



PM's approval is the highest in the rural settlements, 55+ and GD supporters

How would you rate the performance of the Prime minister Irakli Gharibashvili? (q11_3 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

■ Good ■ Average ■ Bad ■ DK ■ RA

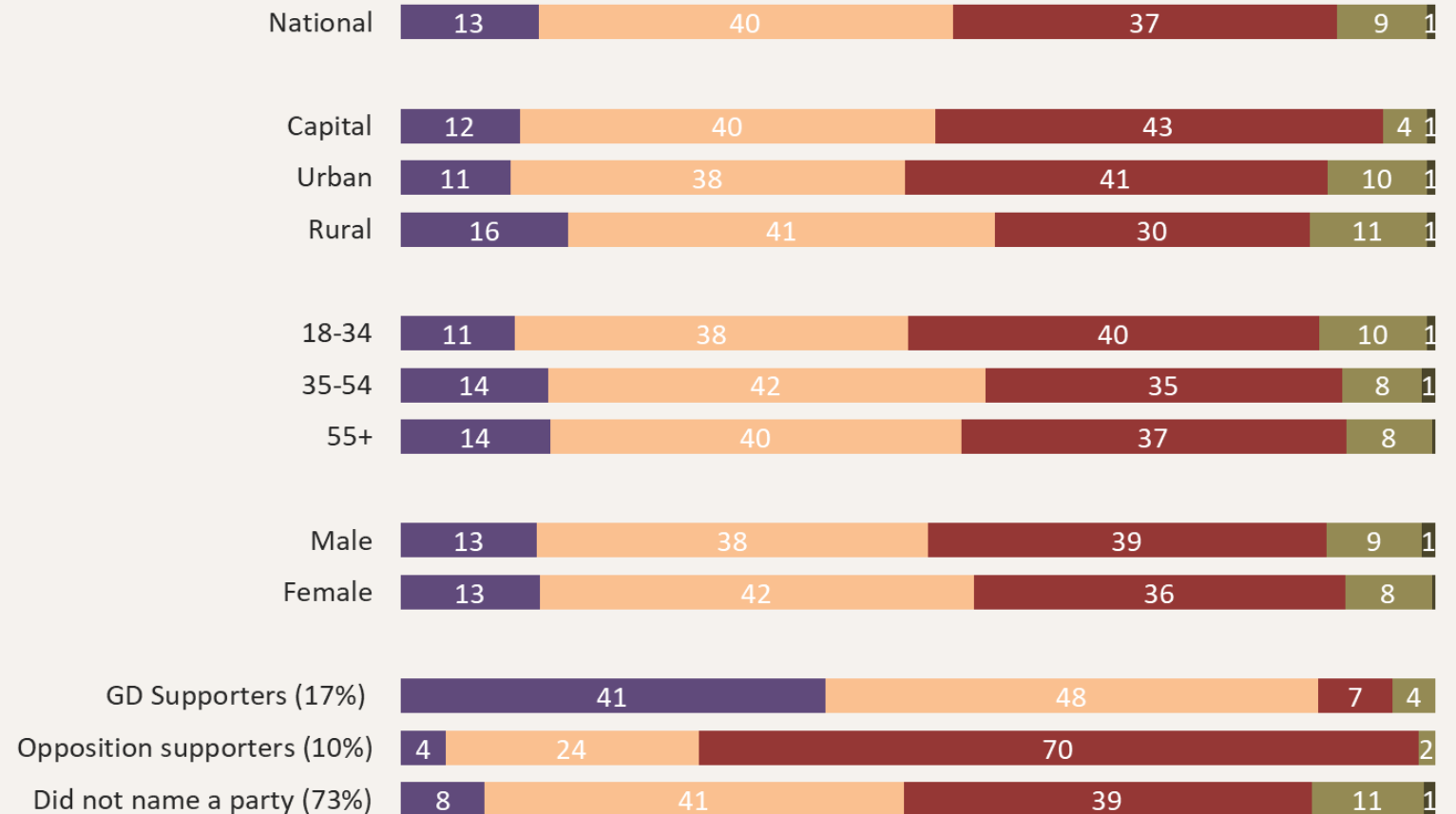


Attitudes towards the parliament is linked to partisanship

Most GD supporters approve of the parliament, while majority of opposition supporters dislike it.

How would you rate the performance of the Parliament? (q11_1 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

■ Good ■ Average ■ Bad ■ DK ■ RA

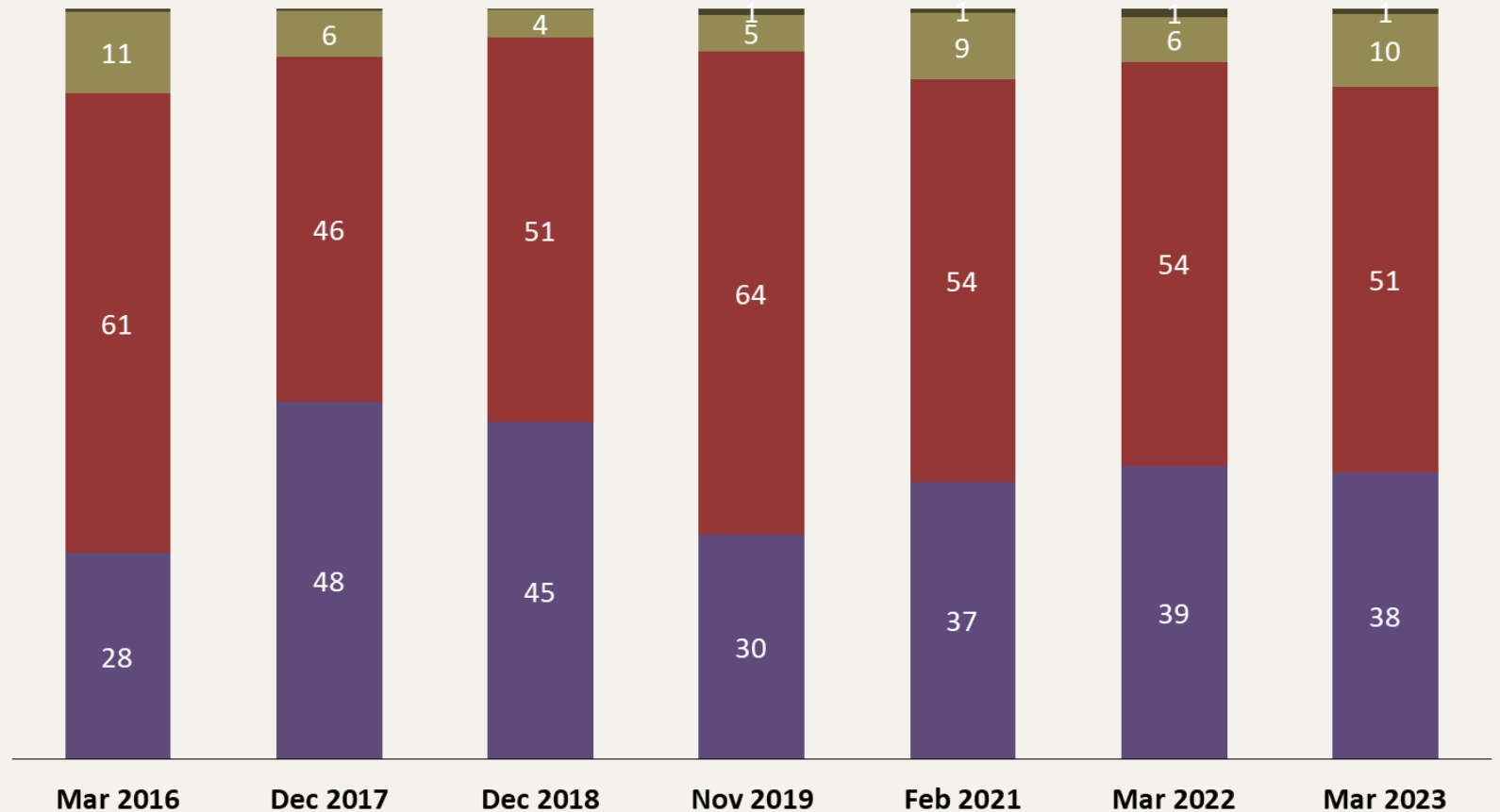


According to the majority, MPs don't take into account opinions of people like them

This is consistent across the board, except for GD supports, majority of which believe MPs serve the interests of people like them.

Please, tell me, how much do you agree or disagree that Members of parliament take into account opinions of people like you? (q15)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA



Plurality is skeptical parliament can fulfill its functions

Please, tell me, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q16)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA

Parliament is effectively overseeing the actions of the government (ministries)



Parliament is passing legislation on issues that matter to me



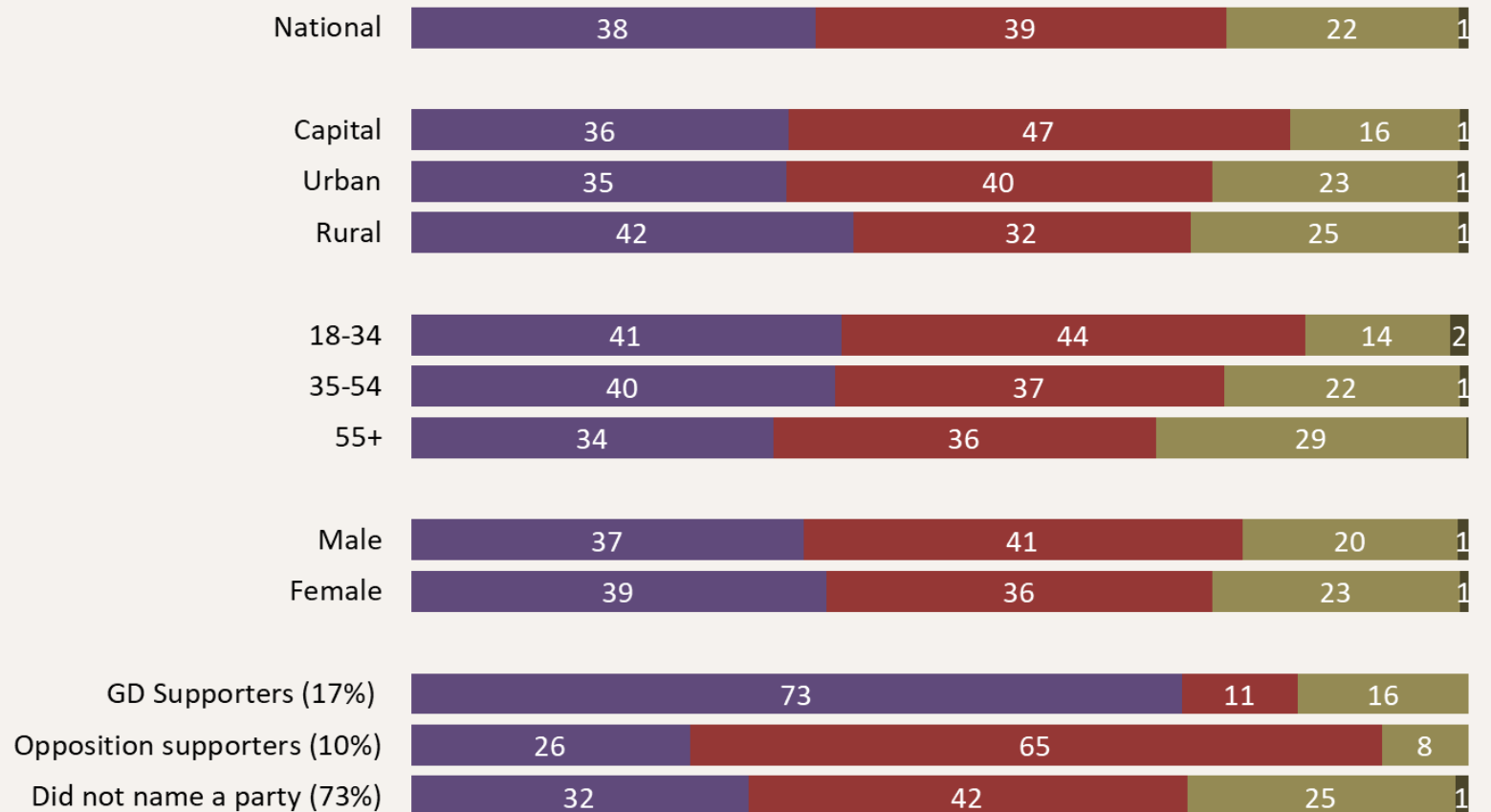
Parliament communicates regularly with citizens



Majority of GD supporters believe that parliament effectively oversees actions of the government, while others disagree

How much do you agree or disagree that parliament is effectively overseeing the actions of the government (ministries)? (q16_3 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

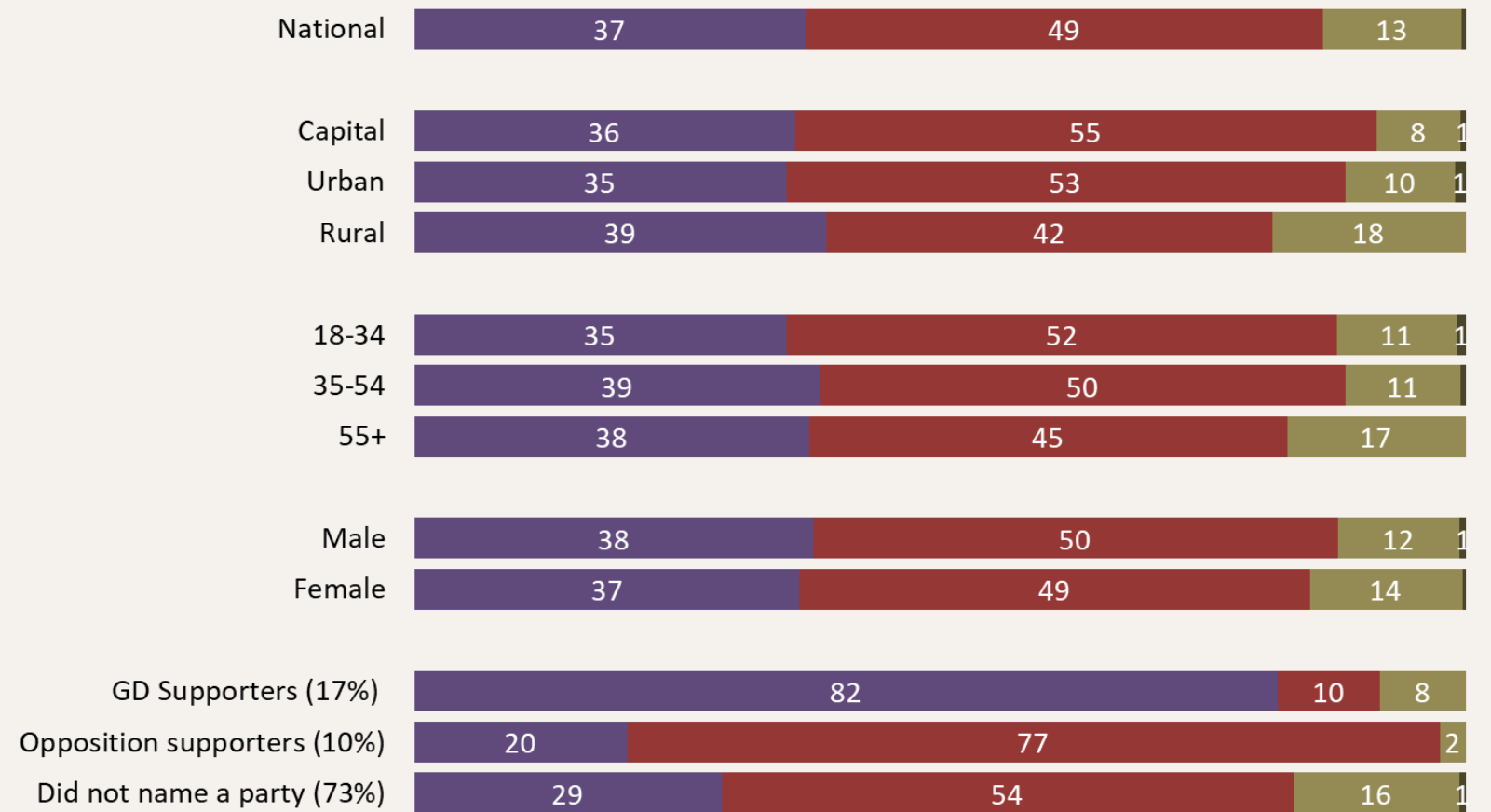
■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA



Majority of GD supporters believe that parliament is passing laws on issues that matter to them, while others disagree

How much do you agree or disagree that parliament is passing legislation on issues that matter to me? (q16_2 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

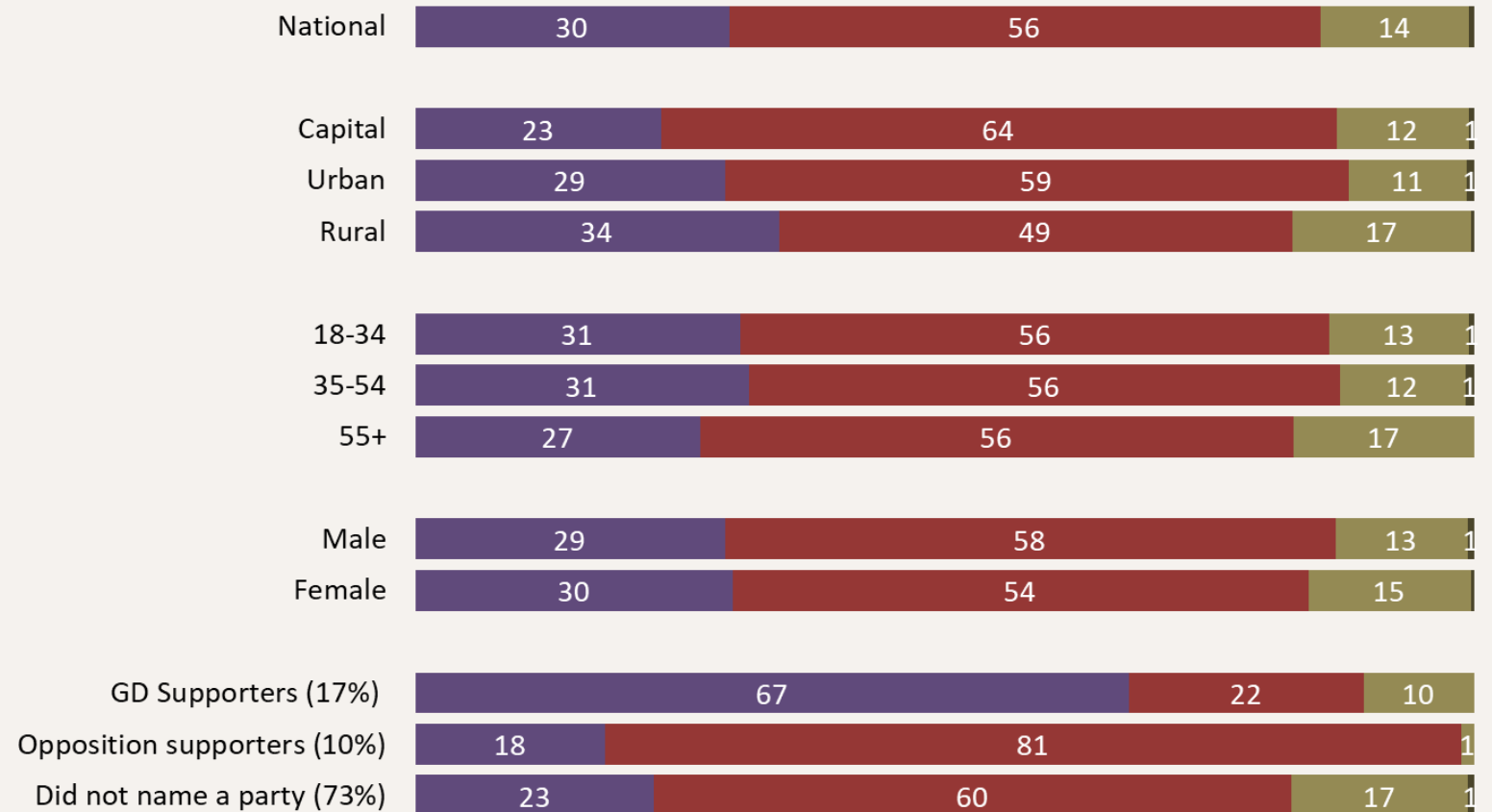
■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA



Majority of GD supporters believe that parliament communicates regularly with citizens, while others disagree

How much do you agree or disagree that parliament communicates regularly with citizens? (q16_1 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA



Chapter IV

→ Women's political participation

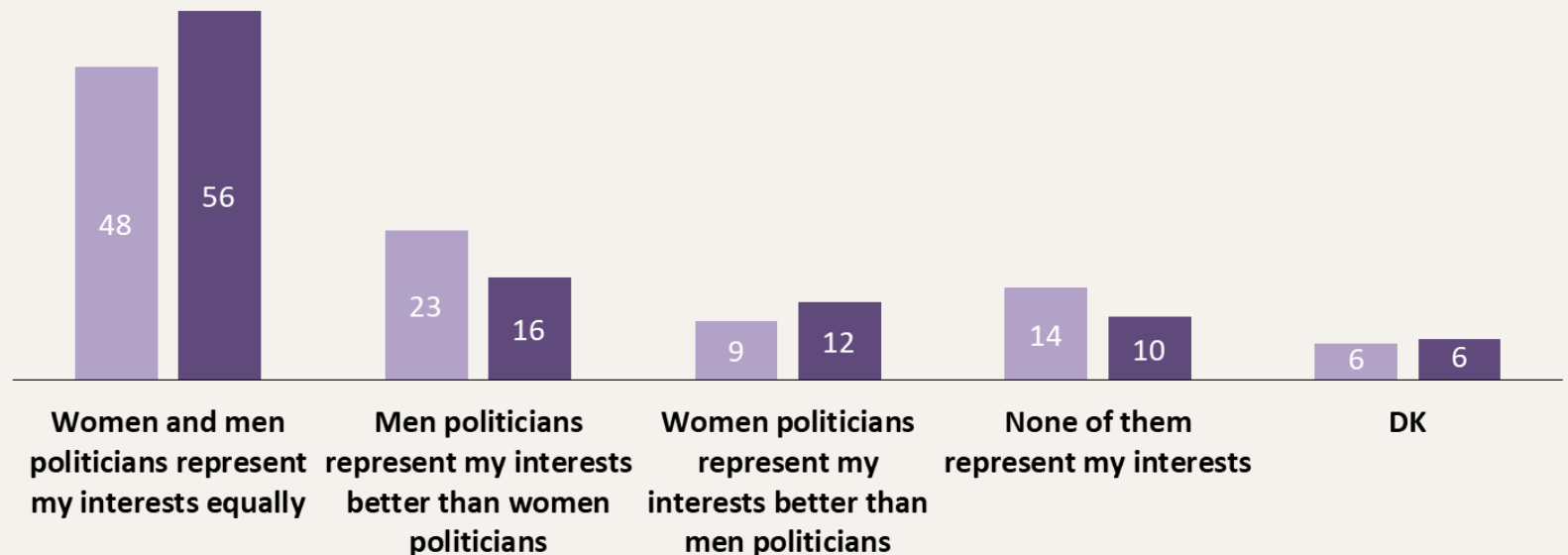
Compared to nine years ago, more people believe that women and men represent their interests equally, and less people say male politicians represent them better than women

Women and opposition supporters are more likely to say that female politicians represent their interests better than men.

Age difference is visible, with 18-34 more likely to say that men and women represent people equally well.

Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q13)

■ October 2014 ■ March 2023

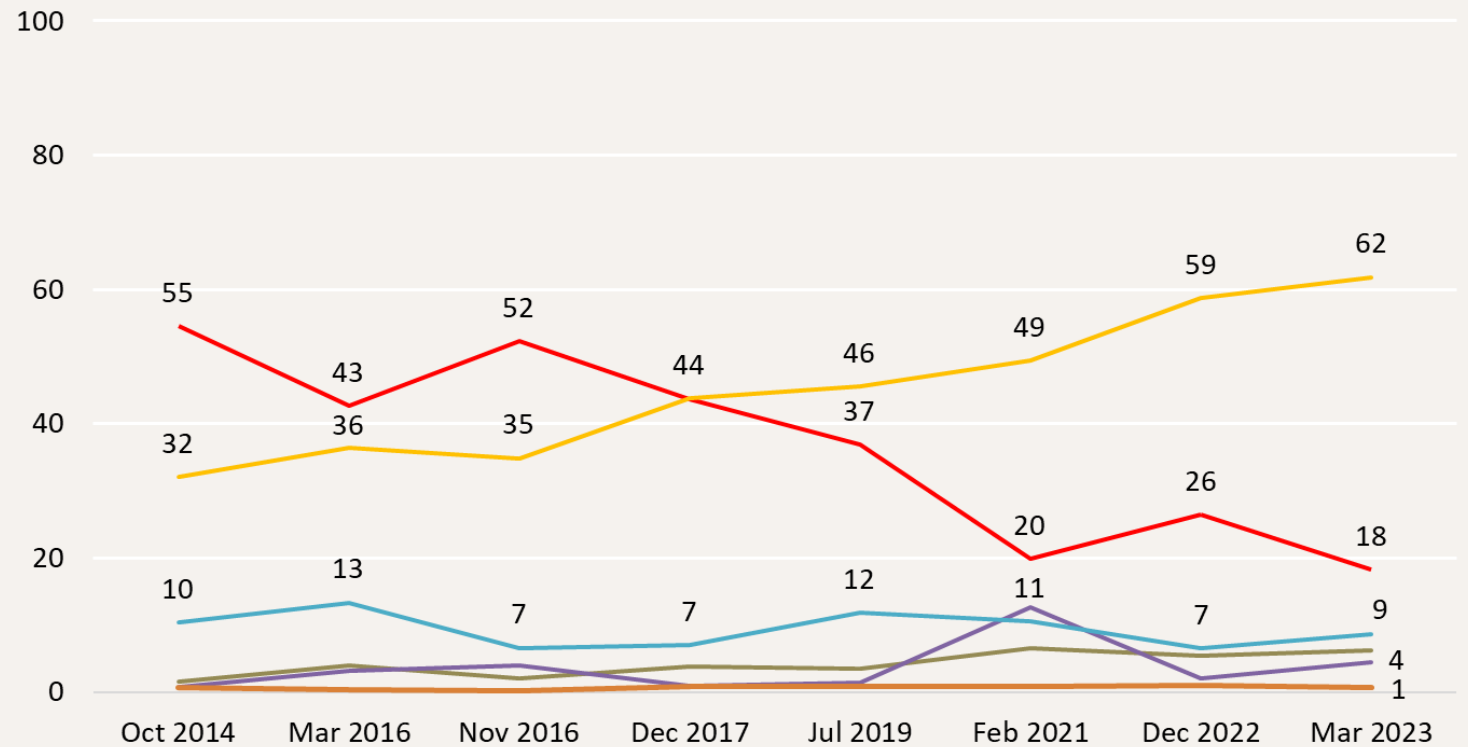


More and more people demand 50-50 gender representation in the parliament

Younger people and female citizens are the strongest supporters of 50-50 male-female representation in the legislative body.

In your opinion, what would be the best proportion of men and women members in parliament? (q17)

- 30% women or less, 70% or more men members
- 50% women, 50% men members
- 30% or less men, 70% or more women members
- Other
- DK
- RA



Chapter V

→ Political parties

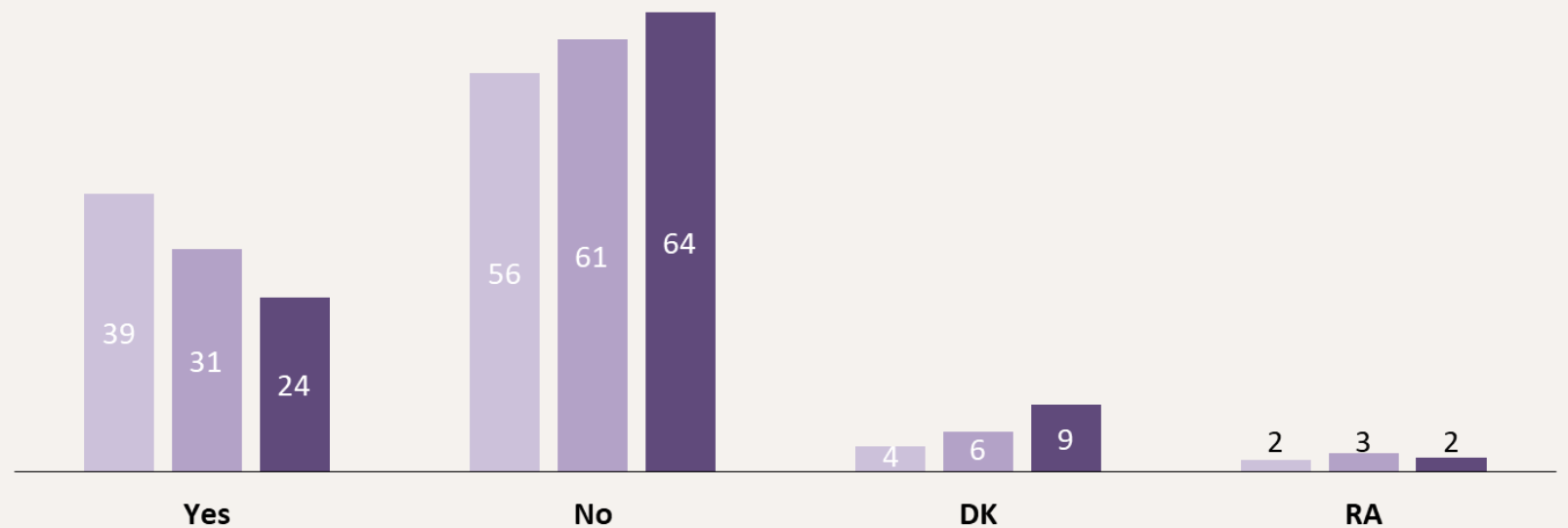
A record low – 24 percent of citizens believe that there is at least one party representing their interests

Even 14 percent of GD supporters and 36 percent of opposition supporters say none of the parties represent their interests.

Skepticism is the highest among the young demographic (18-34).

Do you believe that at least one political party in Georgia that more or less represents your interests? (q9)

■ July 2022 ■ December 2022 ■ March 2023

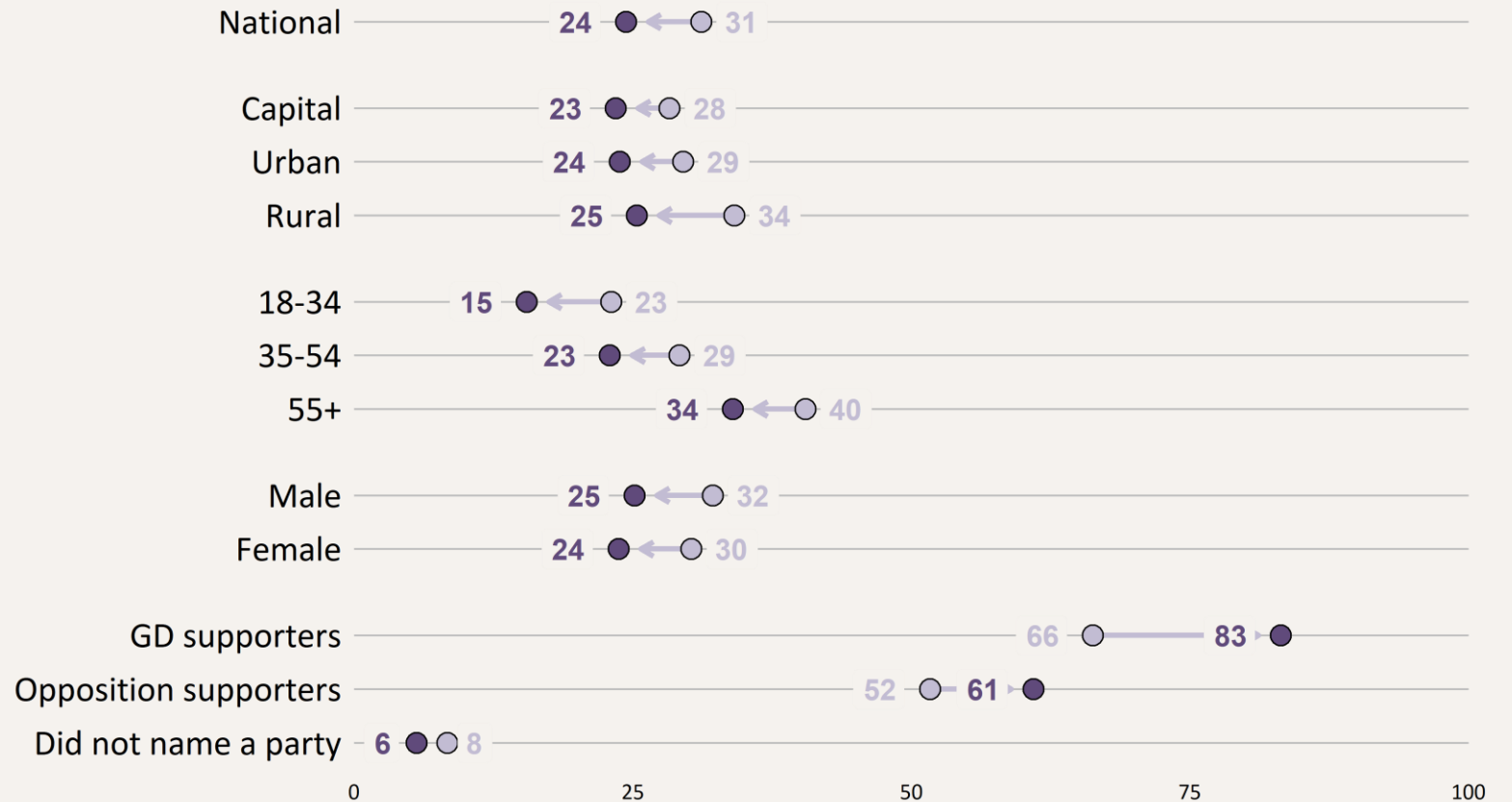


Compared to the last year, we see an increase of GD supporters who say that there is at least one political party that represents their interests

Do you believe that at least one political party in Georgia that more or less represents your interests? (q9)

Share of those who say there is at least one such party

● December 2022 ● March 2023



Almost half of Georgians don't believe that GD is acting in their best interest; this number is even higher for elected opposition parties

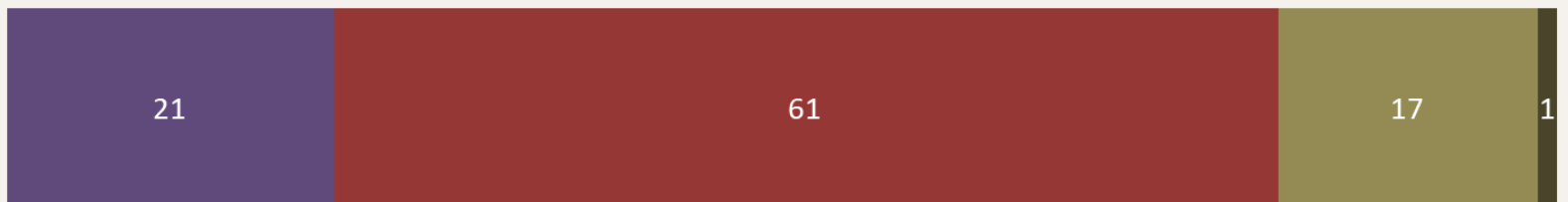
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q12)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA

Ruling party Georgian Dream is acting in the best interests of the country and Georgian people



Elected opposition parties in the parliament and the local government act according to the interests of the country and Georgian people



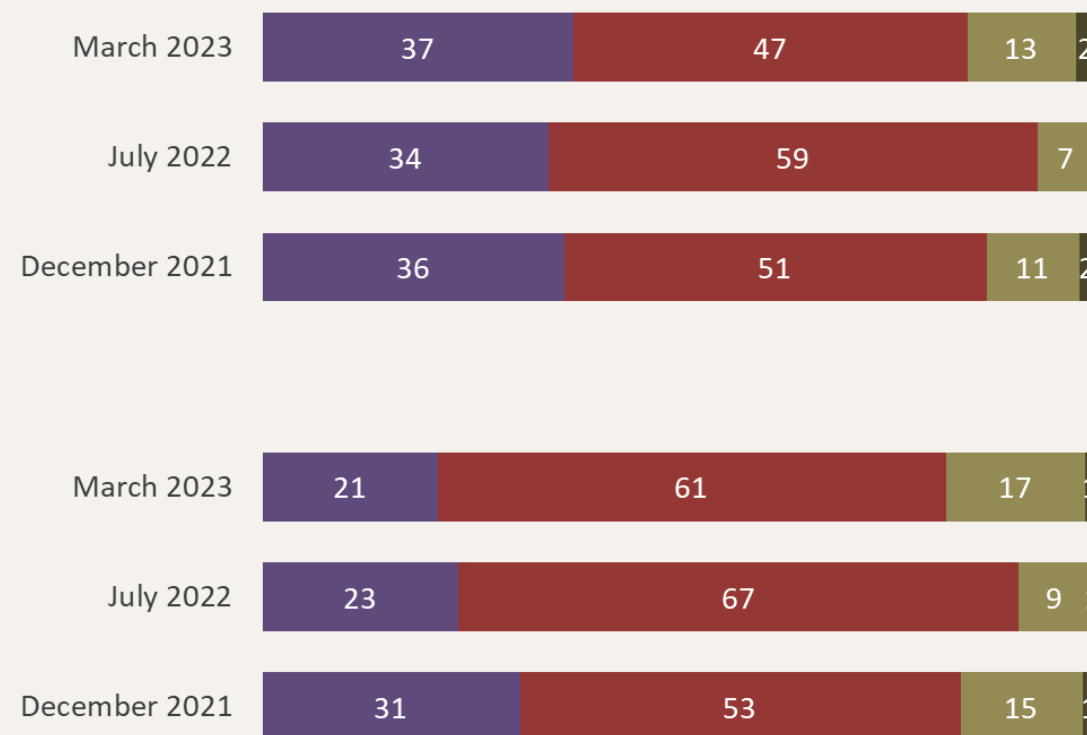
Almost half of Georgians don't believe that GD is acting in their best interest; this number is even higher for elected opposition parties

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q12)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA

Ruling party Georgian Dream is acting in the best interests of the country and Georgian people

Elected opposition parties in the parliament and the local government act according to the interests of the country and Georgian people

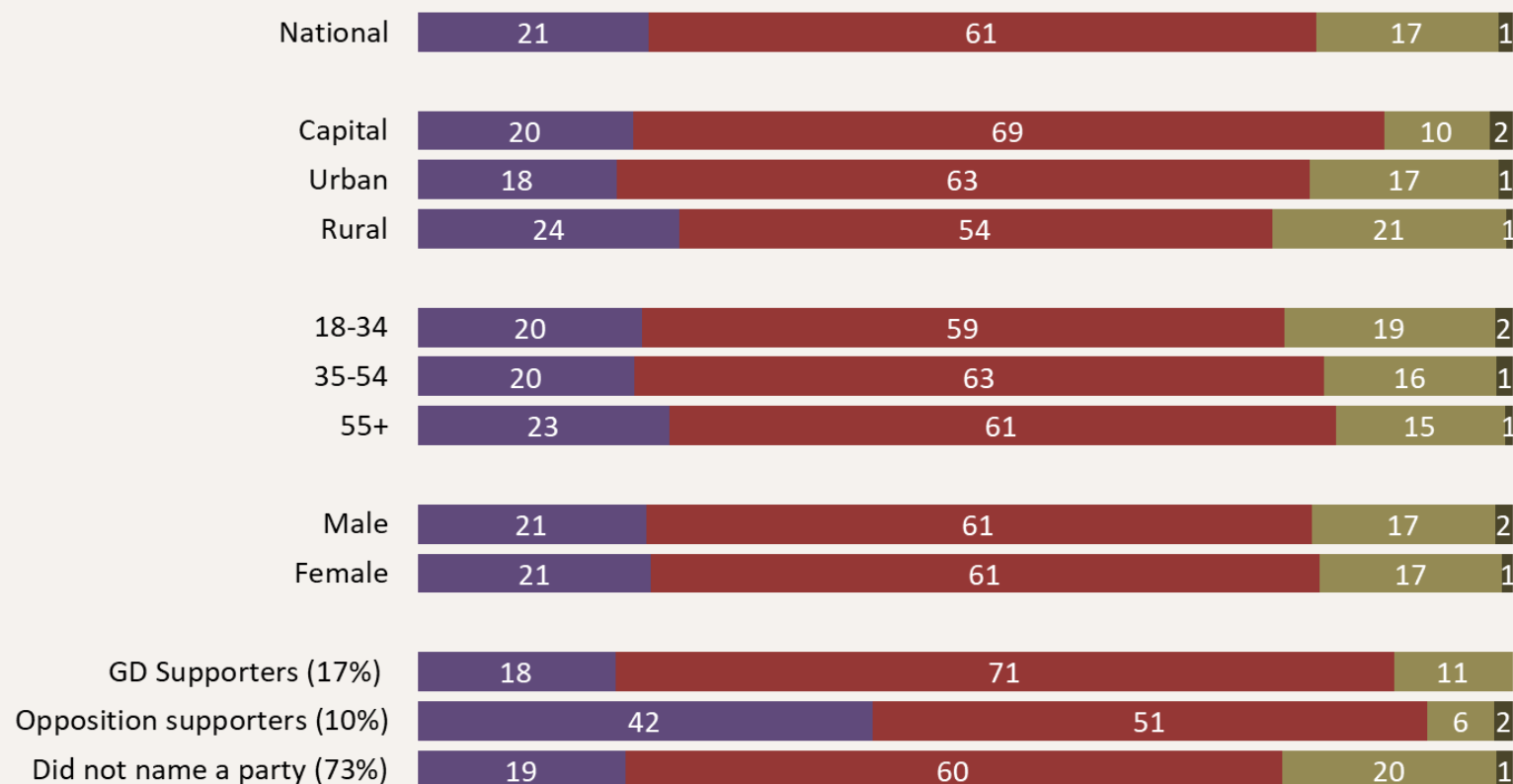


Half of opposition supporters don't believe elected opposition acts in their best interest

Interestingly, every fifth GD supporter says that elected opposition acts in accordance to the interests of the Georgian people.

Do you agree or disagree that elected opposition parties in the parliament and the local government act according to the interests of the country and Georgian people? (q12_1 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

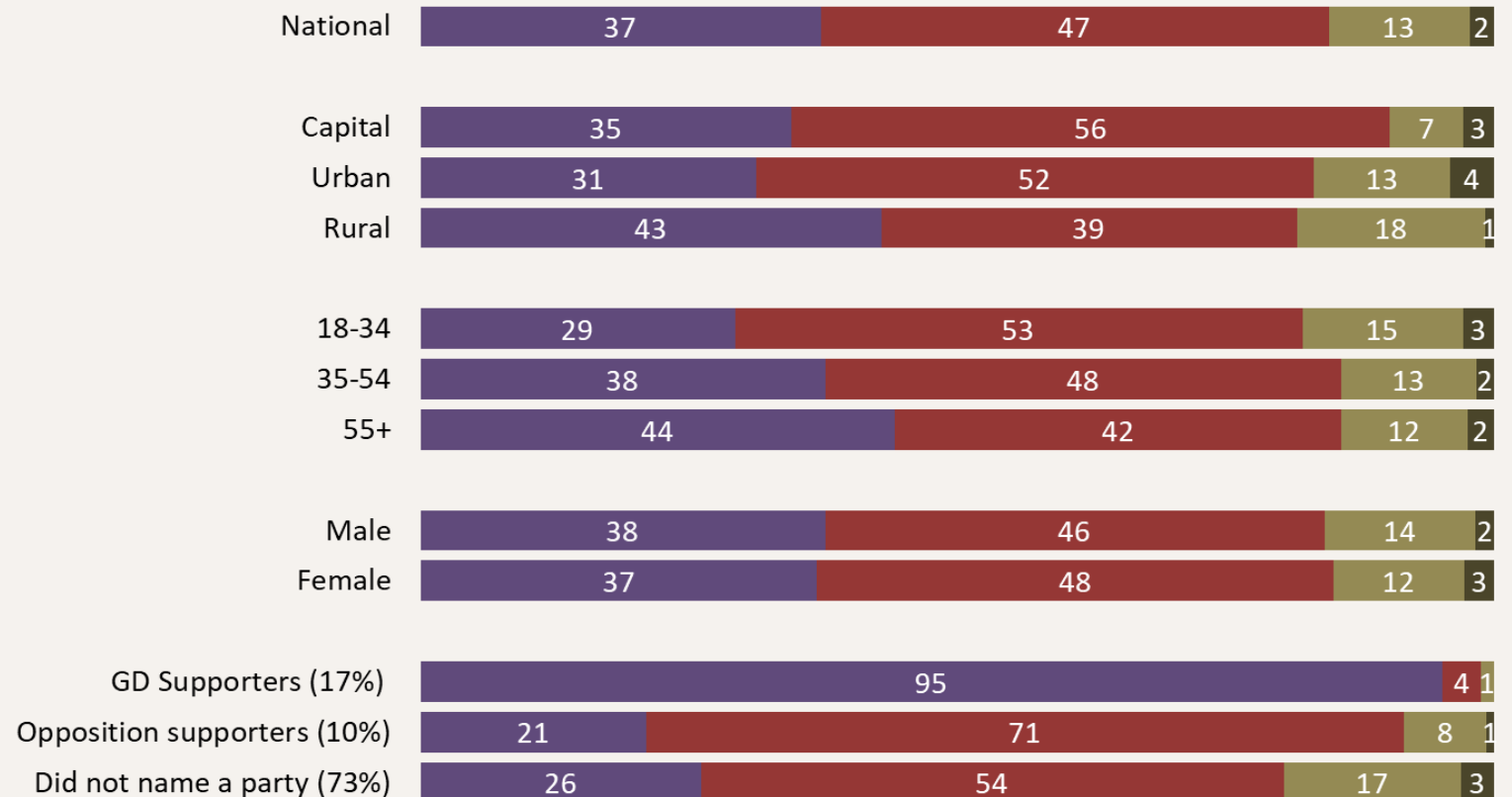
■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA



Interestingly, every fifth opposition supporter and undecided citizen say that GD acts in the Georgian people's best interest

Do you agree or disagree that ruling party Georgian Dream is acting in the best interests of the country and Georgian people? (q12_2 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

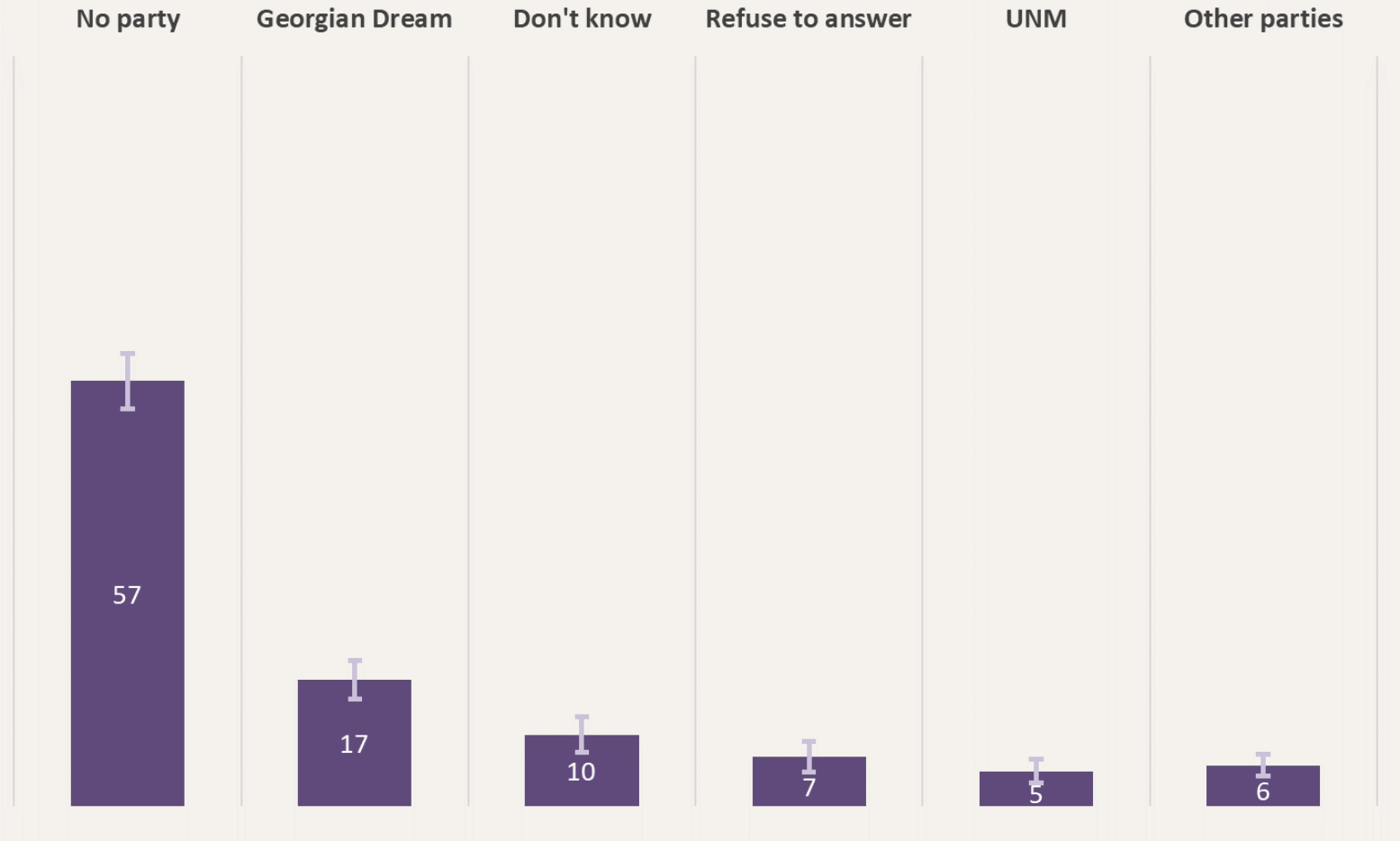
■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA



Majority of Georgians remain politically undecided

Plurality do not know or do not say which party is closest to them. Declared support for individual parties is so low that they cannot be taken as a guide to the outcome of future elections.

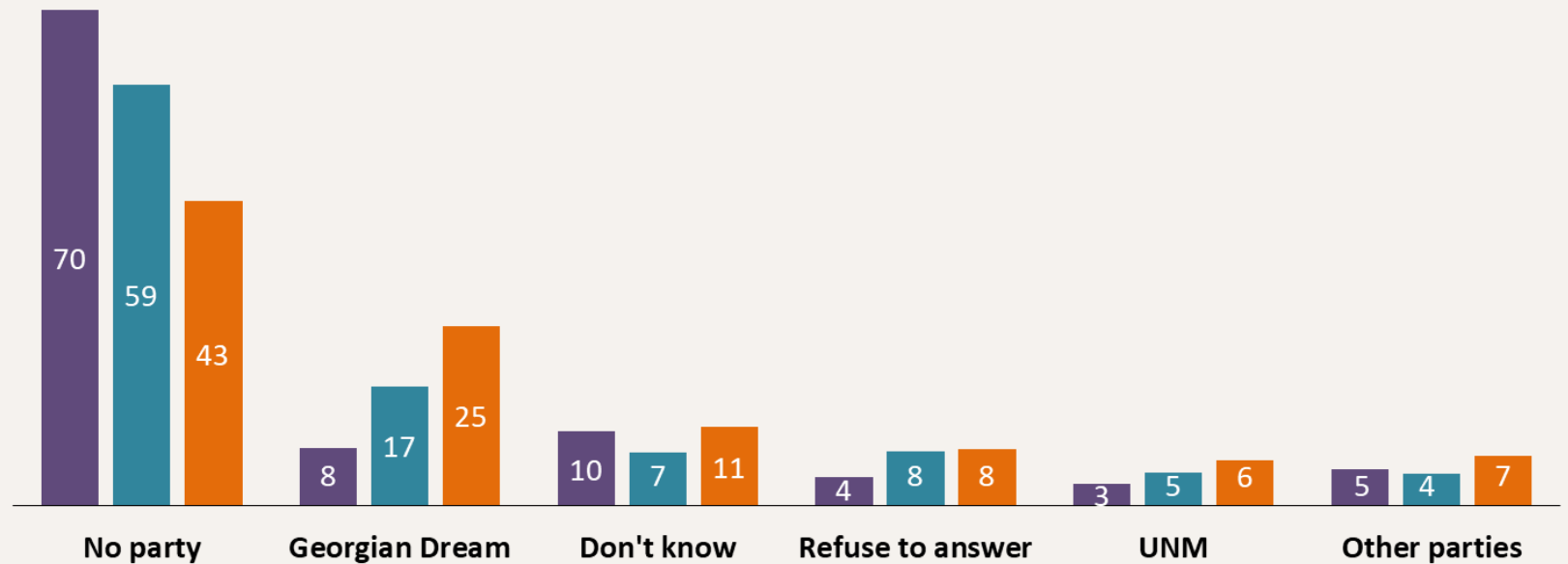
There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? Open question (q10)



GD support is relatively lower among the younger demographic

There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? Open question (q10 X Age)

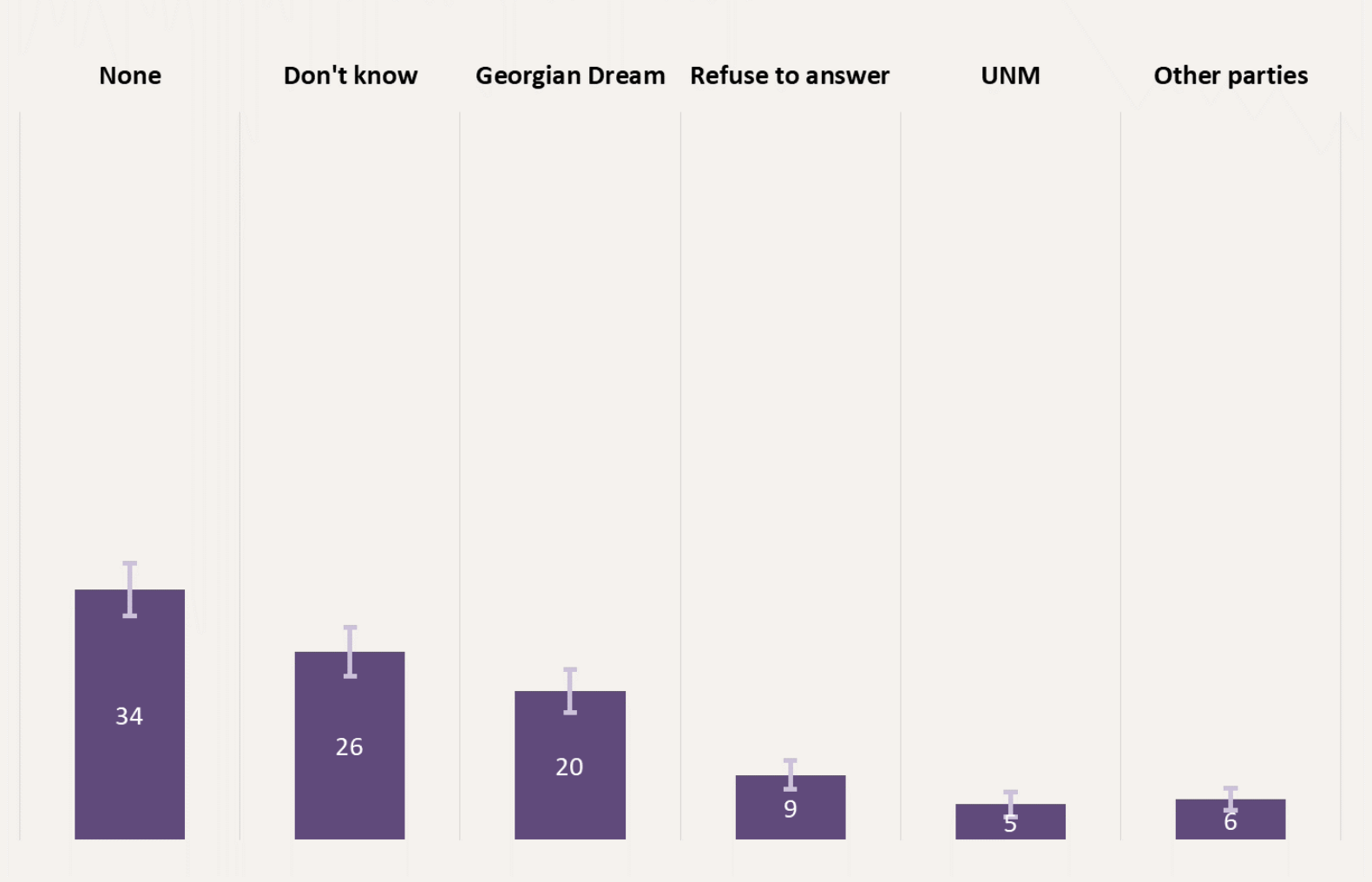
■ 18-34 ■ 35-54 ■ 55+



When asked about voting intention, majority say they are undecided

Plurality do not know or do not say which party they would vote for. Declared support for individual parties is so low that they cannot be taken as a guide to the outcome of future elections.

If parliamentary elections were tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Open question (q37)



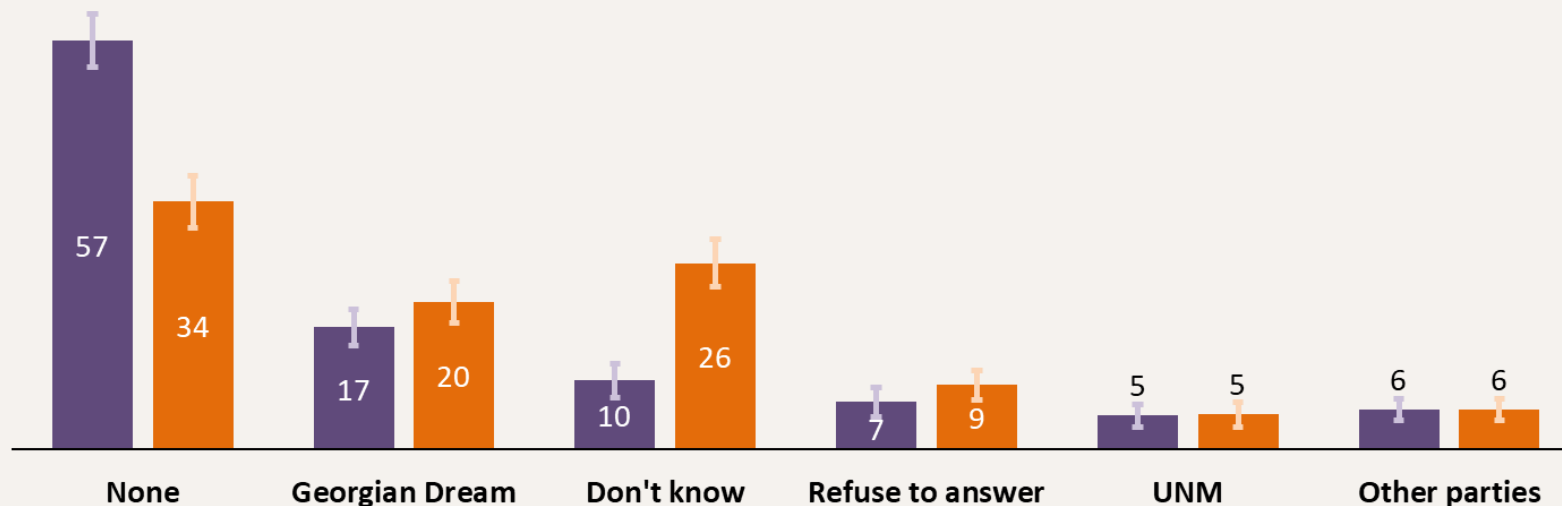
Majority of Georgians remain politically undecided

Plurality do not know or do not say which party they would vote for or which party is close to them. Declared support for individual parties is so low that they cannot be taken as a guide to the outcome of future elections.

Which party is closest to you? X If parliamentary elections were tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Open questions (q10, q37)

■ Which party is closest to you?

■ If parliamentary elections were tomorrow, which party would you vote for?



Chapter VI

→ Foreign affairs

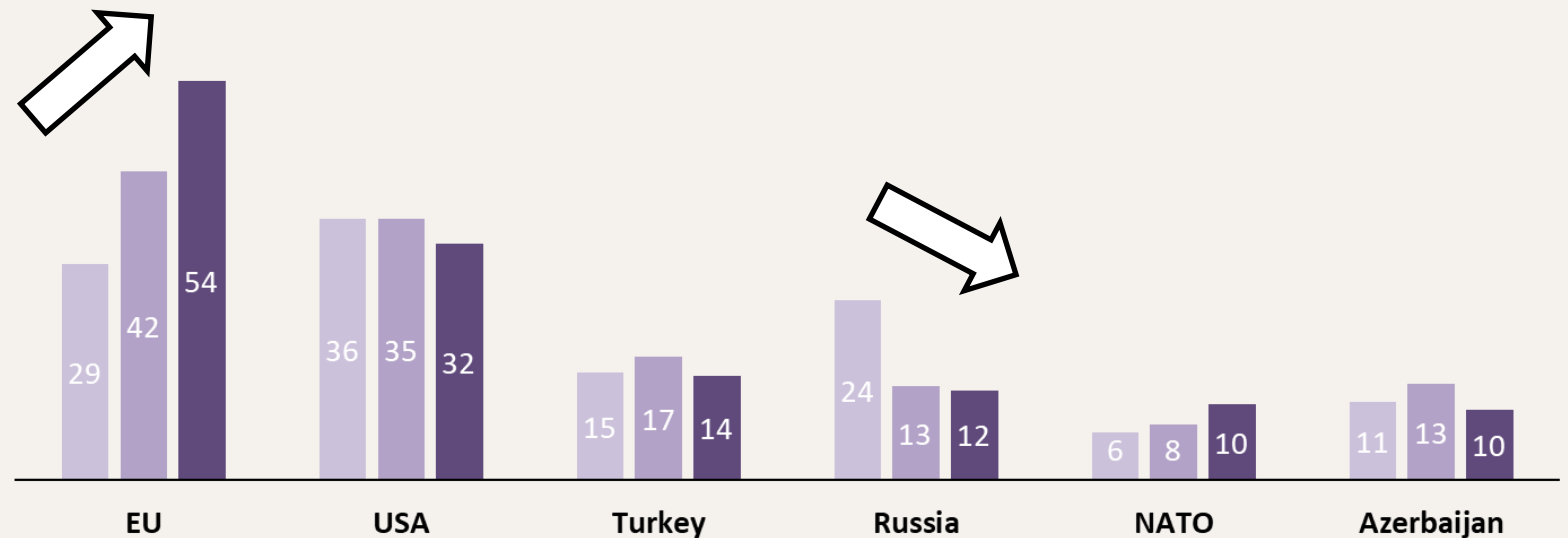
Significant jump for EU-Georgia political cooperation

Support for close political ties with EU is the highest among Tbilisi dwellers and young citizens.

There is no statistically significant difference based on partisanship.

Which countries and unions should Georgia have the closest political cooperation with? Up to three answers. Open question (q29) Part 1

February 2022 March 2022 March 2023

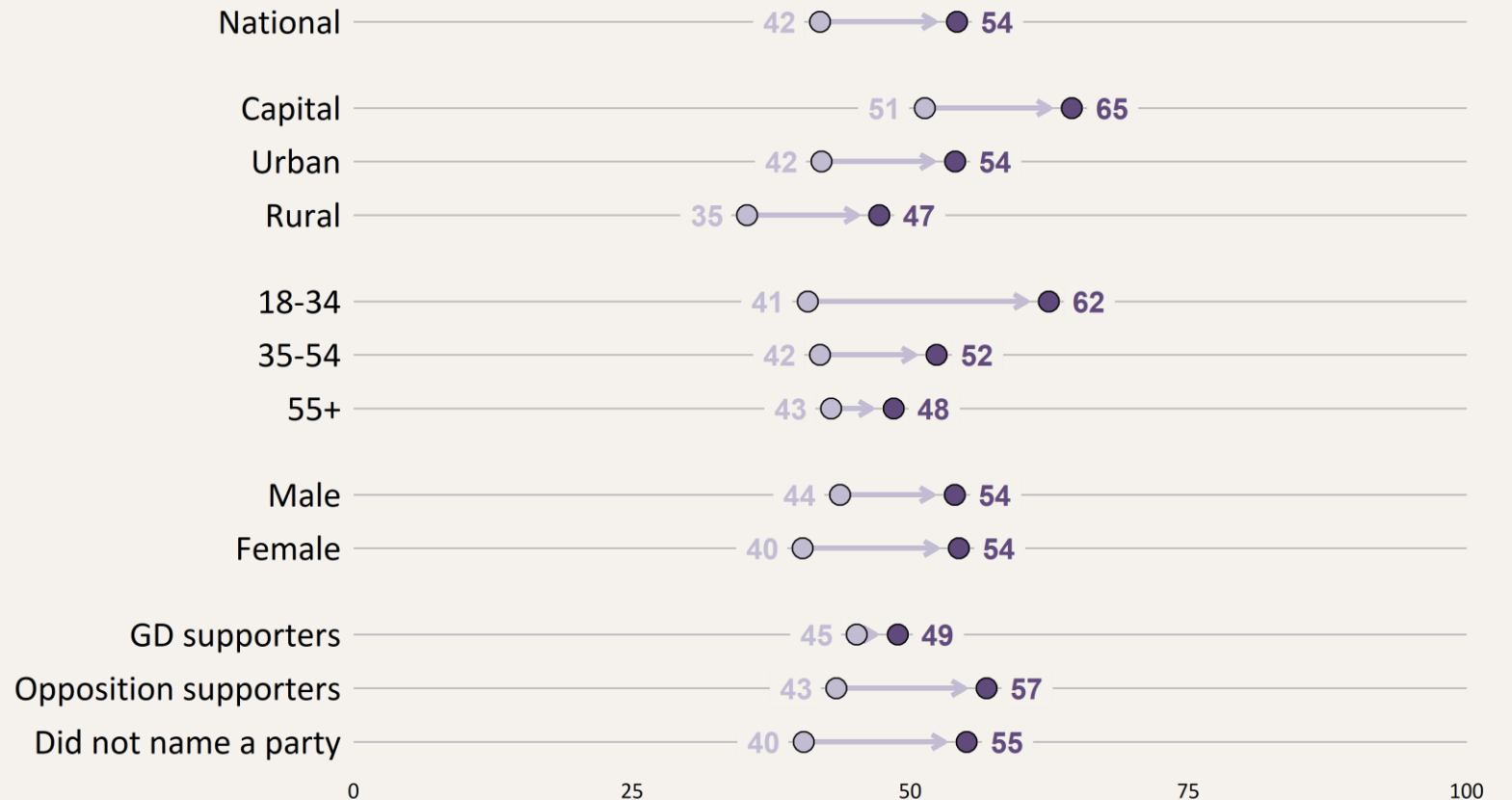


Demand for close political cooperation with EU has significantly increased among Tbilisi and other city residents, as well as the young demographic

Which countries and unions should Georgia have the closest political cooperation with? (q29)

Share of those who named European Union

○ March 2022 ● March 2023



Twice as many men than women want close political cooperation with Russia

Which countries and unions should Georgia have the closest political cooperation with? Up to three answers. Open question (q29 X Gender) Part 1



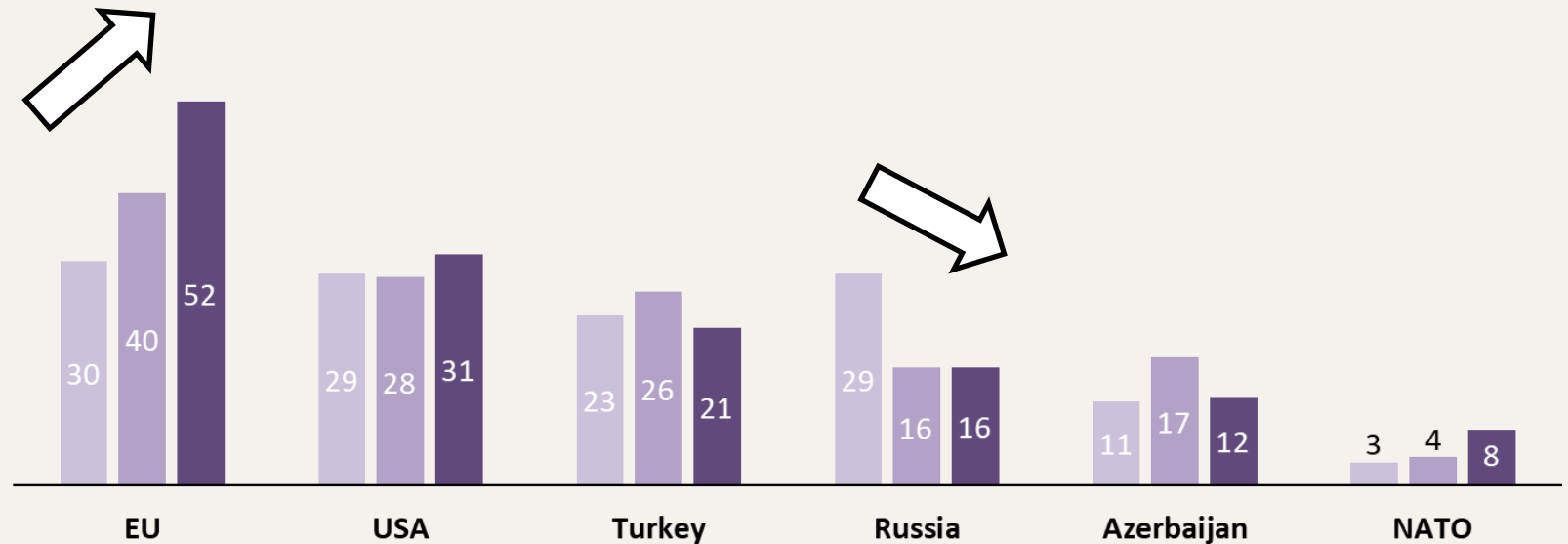
Significant jump for EU-Georgia economic cooperation

Support for close economic ties with EU is the highest among Tbilisi dwellers and young citizens.

There is no statistically significant difference based on partisanship.

Which countries and unions should Georgia have the closest economic cooperation with? Up to three answers. Open question (q30) Part 1

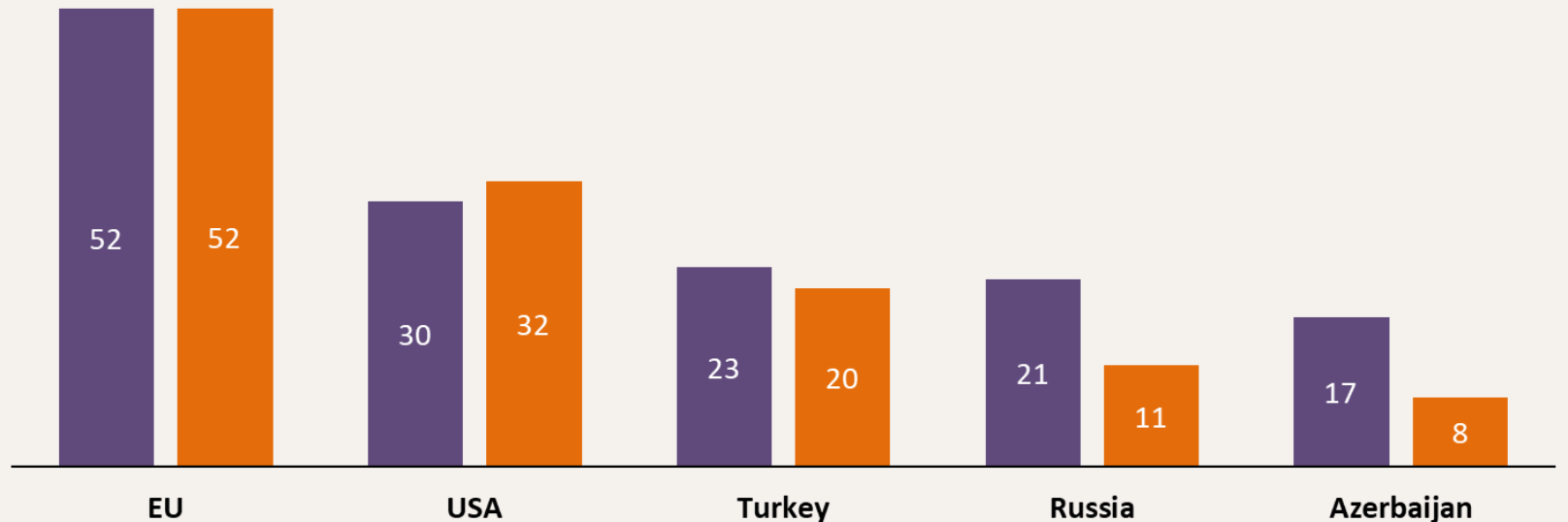
■ February 2022 ■ March 2022 ■ March 2023



Twice as many men than women want close economic cooperation with Russia

Which countries and unions should Georgia have the closest economic cooperation with? Up to three answers. Open question (q30 X Gender) Part 1

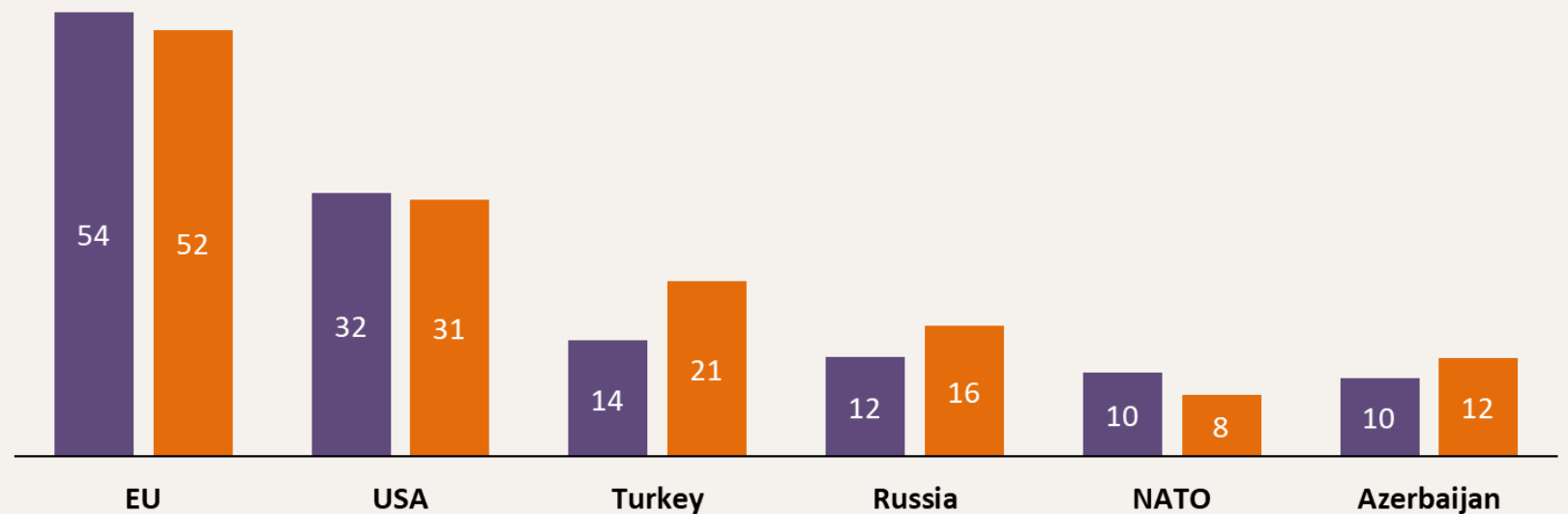
■ Male ■ Female



The majority of Georgians pick the EU as the closest political and economic ally

Which countries and unions should Georgia have the closest political/economic cooperation with? Up to three answers. Open question (q29, q30) Part 1

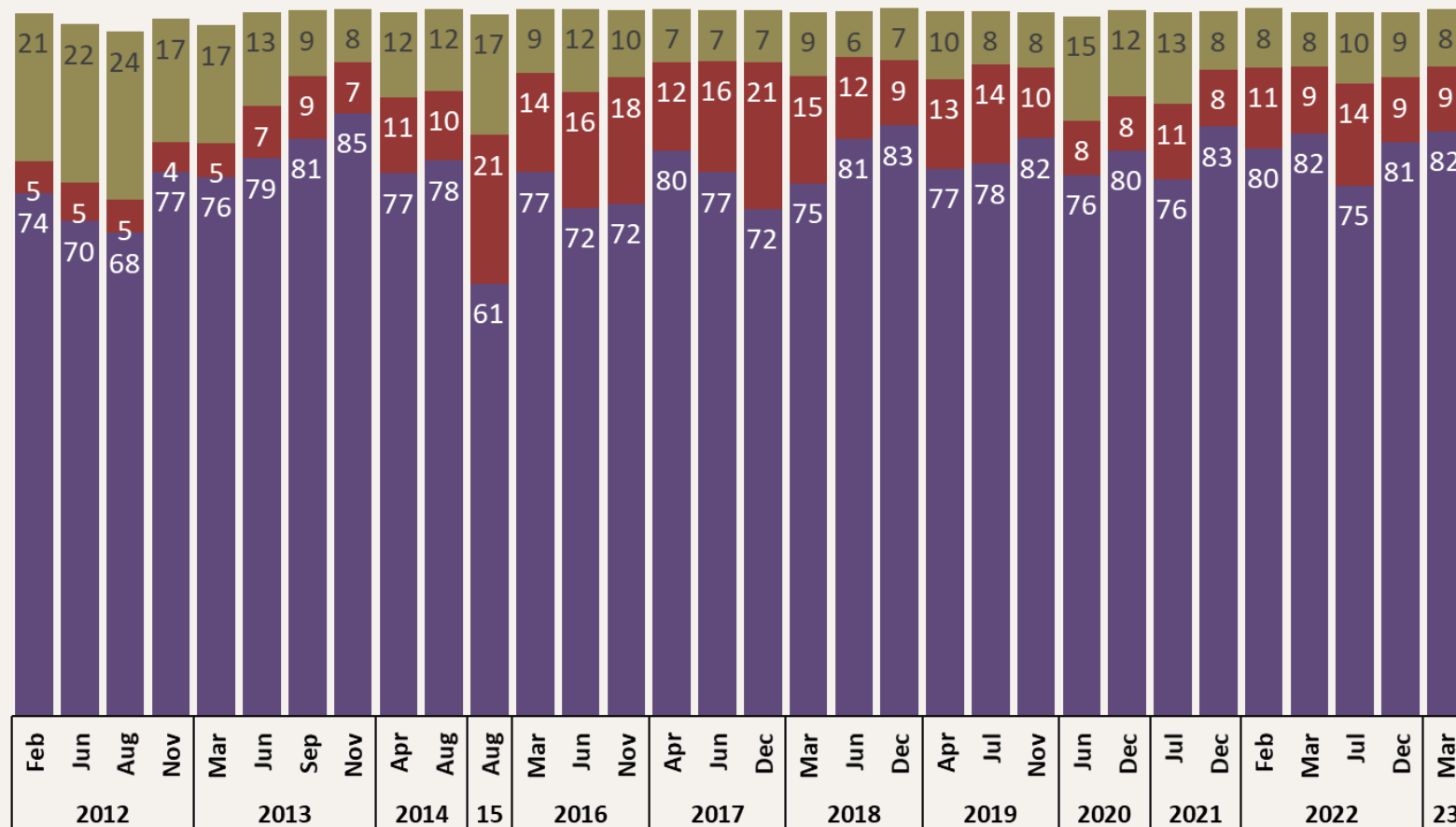
■ Political ■ Economic



EU support remains high, indicating Georgian citizens unwavering support for EU membership

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU? (q31)

■ Approve ■ Disapprove ■ DK

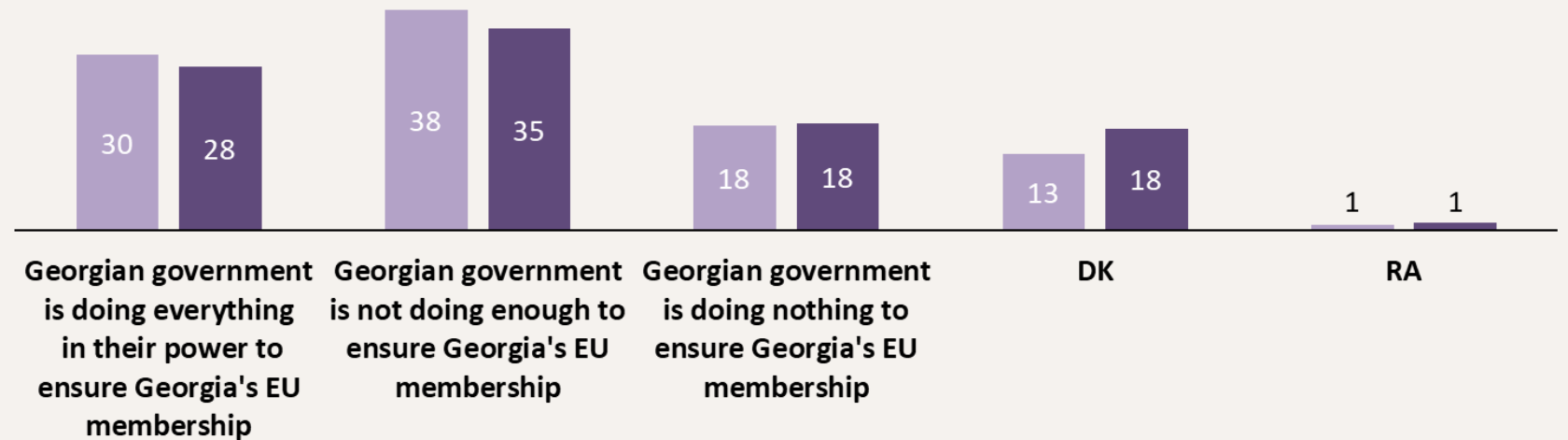


EU support is consistently high across the board.

Majority remain confident that government is either not doing enough or is doing nothing to ensure EU membership

Which of these three statements is closest to your opinion? (q32)

■ December 2022 ■ March 2023

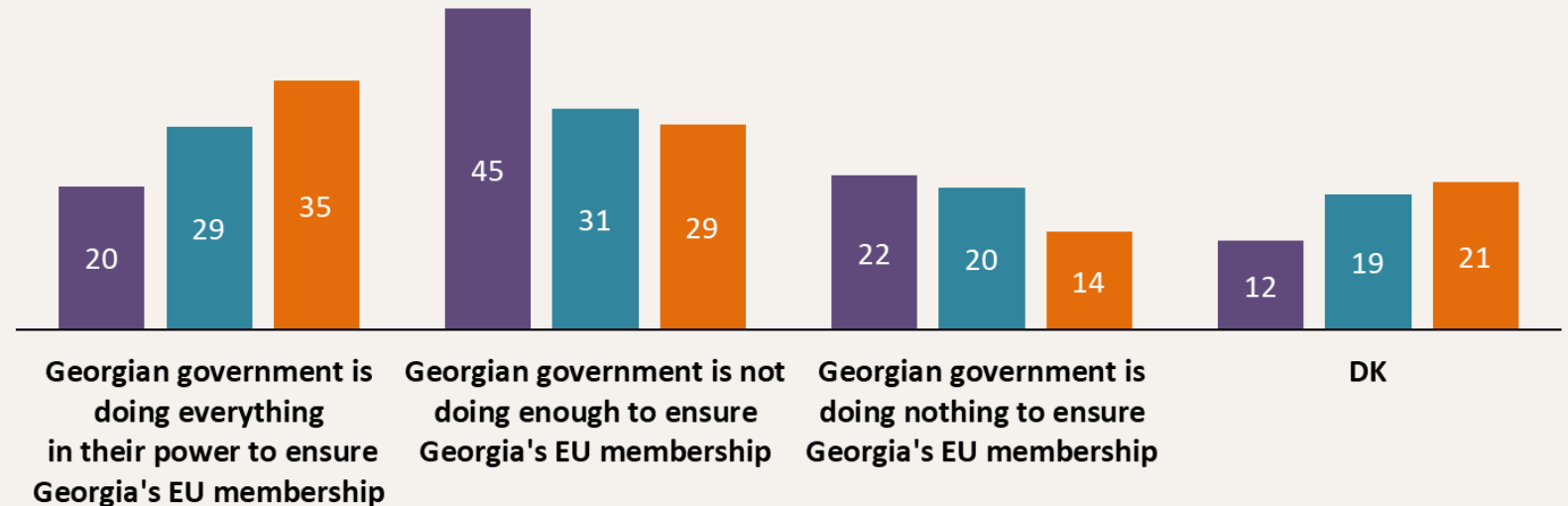


Older demographic has more confidence that GD government is doing everything in their power for Georgia to join EU

While younger citizens more likely to criticize GD for their lack of effort.

Which of these three statements is closest to your opinion? (q32 X Age)

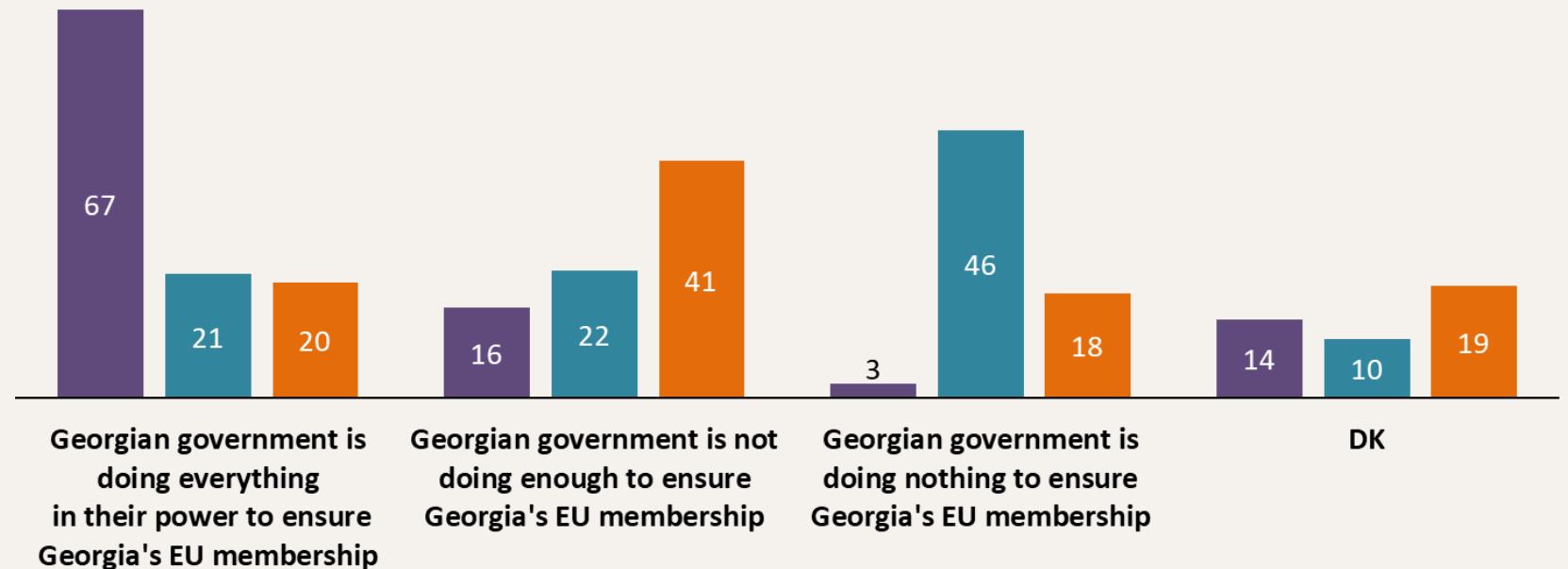
■ 18-34 ■ 35-54 ■ 55+



A third of GD supporters unsure about GD's EU membership efforts

Which of these three statements is closest to your opinion? (q32 X Party closest to you)

■ GD supporters (17%) ■ Opposition supporters (10%) ■ Did not name a party (73%)

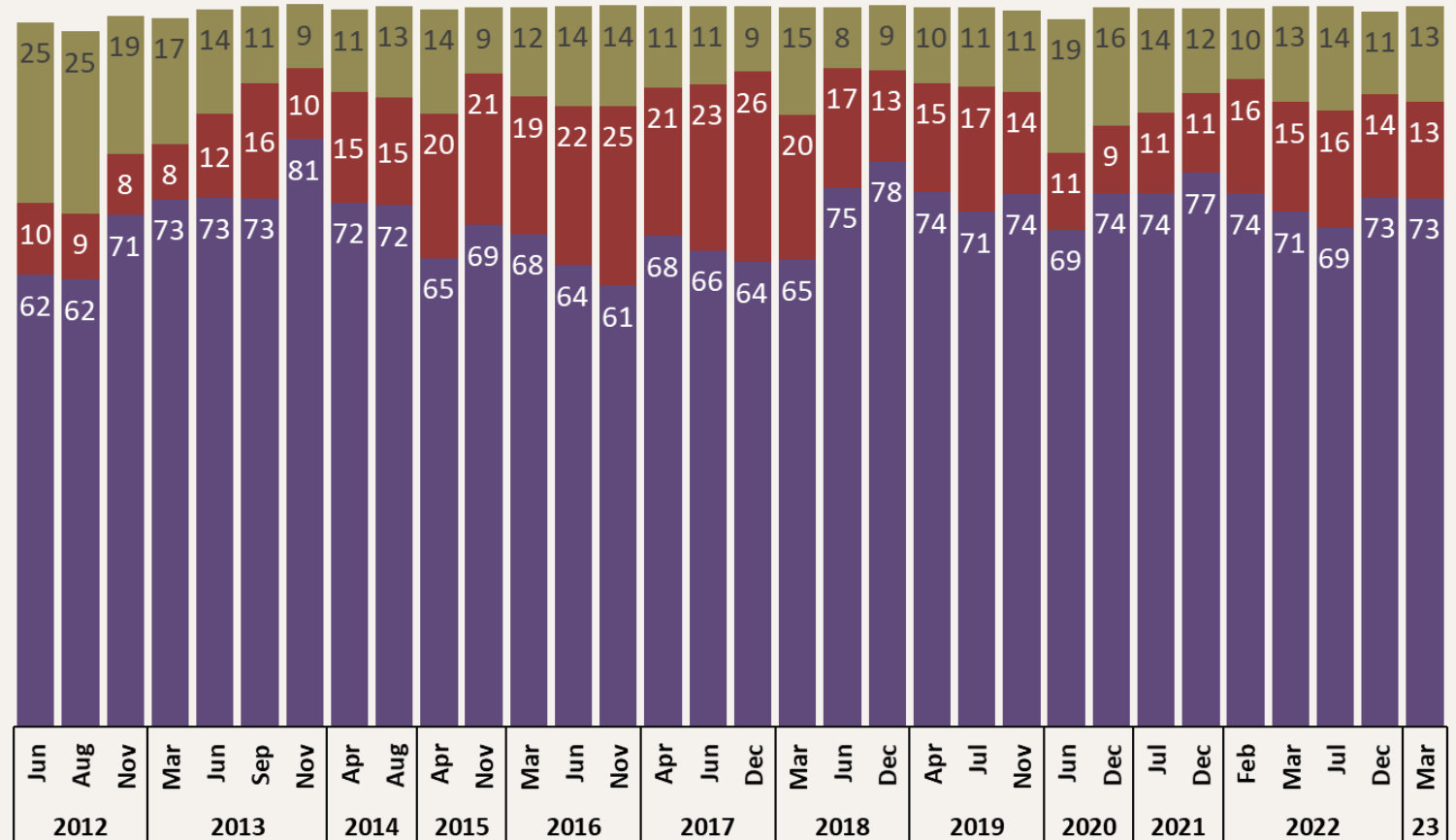


NATO support remains solid

NATO support most prominent among younger citizens.

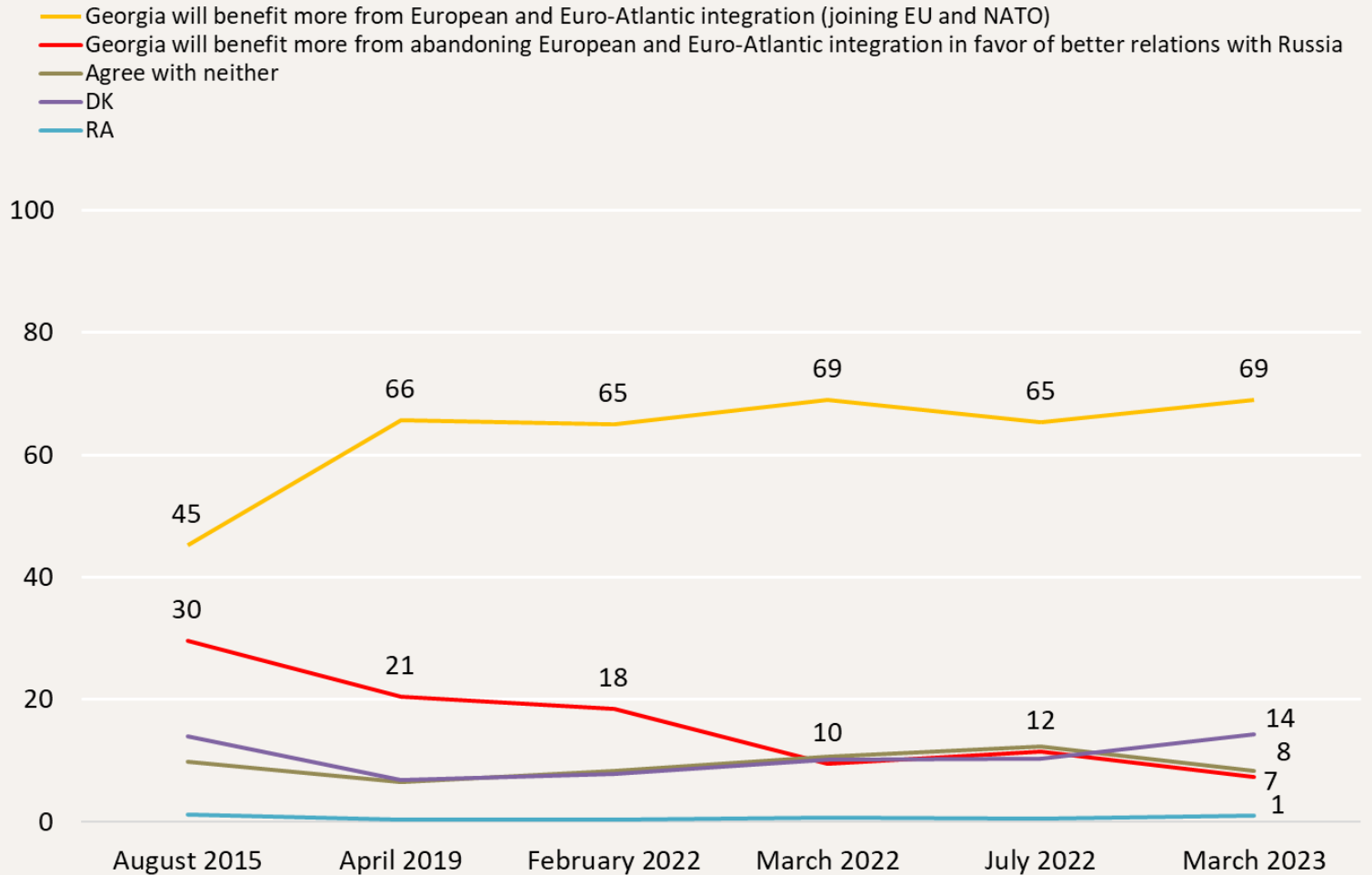
Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the NATO? (q33)

■ Approve ■ Disapprove ■ DK



If they had to choose, majority would prefer European and Euro-Atlantic integration over closer relationship with Russia

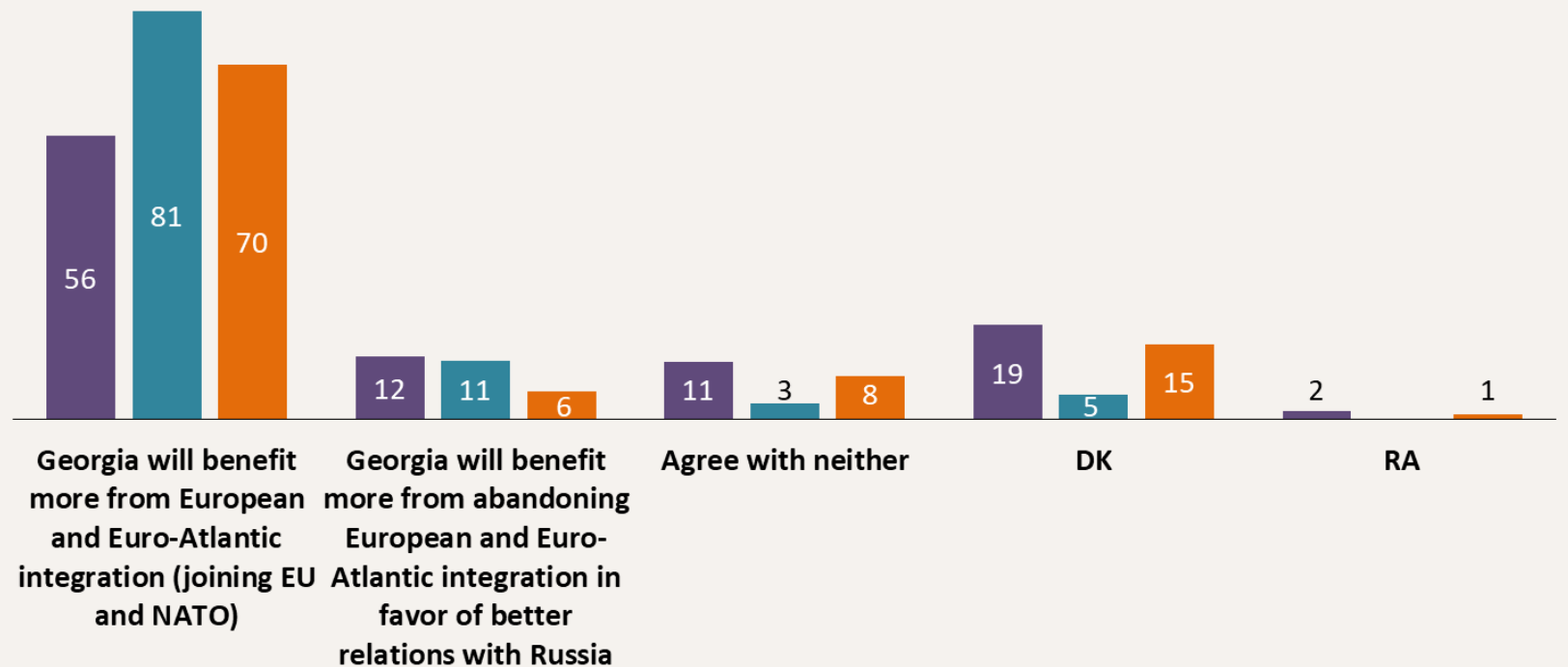
Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with?
(q34)



Compared to other groups, GD supporters are less certain about the European and Euro-Atlantic integration

Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with? (q34 X Party closest to you)

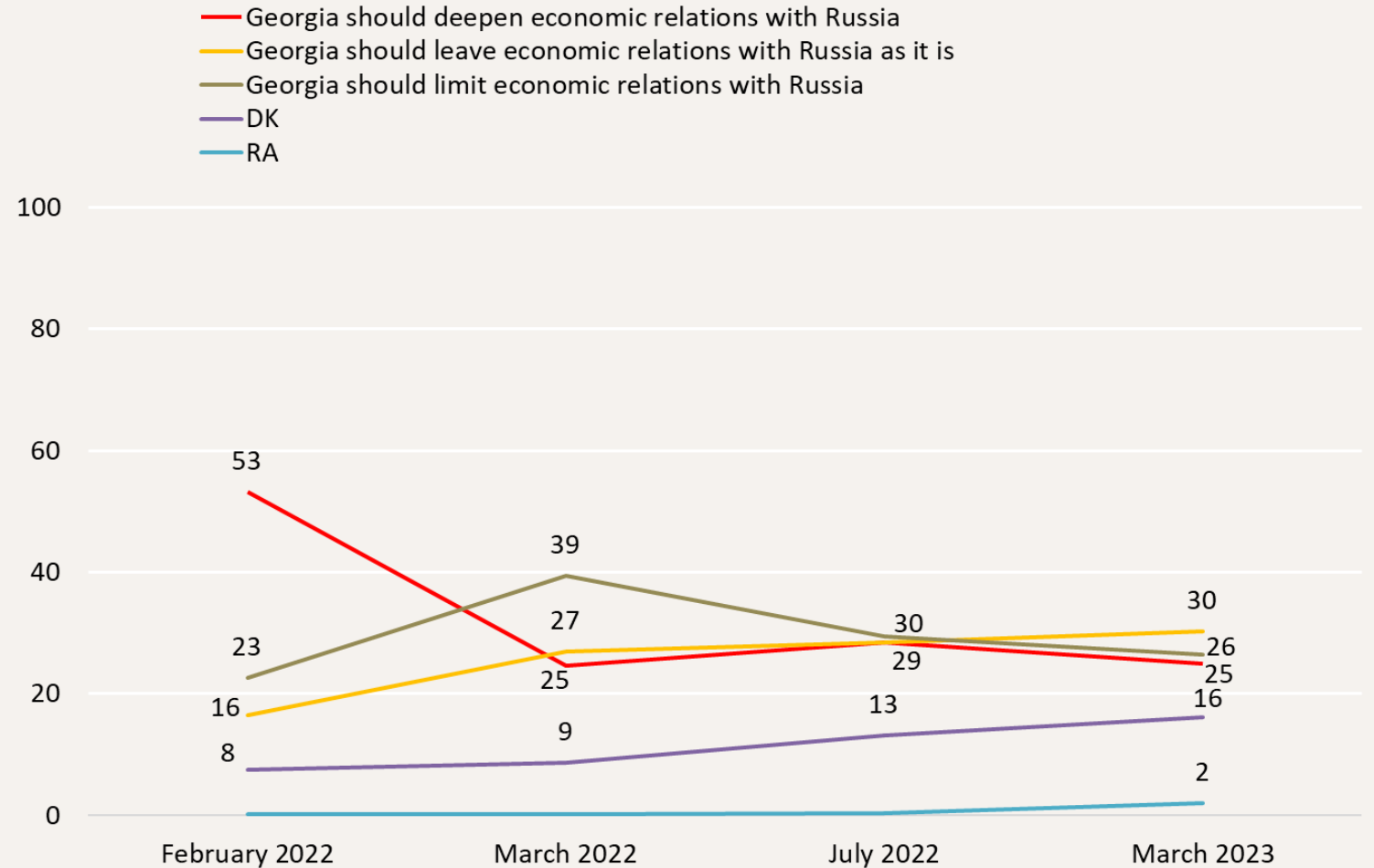
■ GD supporters (17%) ■ Opposition supporters (10%) ■ Did not name a party (73%)



Majority say Georgia should cut economic ties with Russia, or at least keep it as it is

Women, younger citizens and opposition supporters are more supportive of cutting economic ties with Russia.

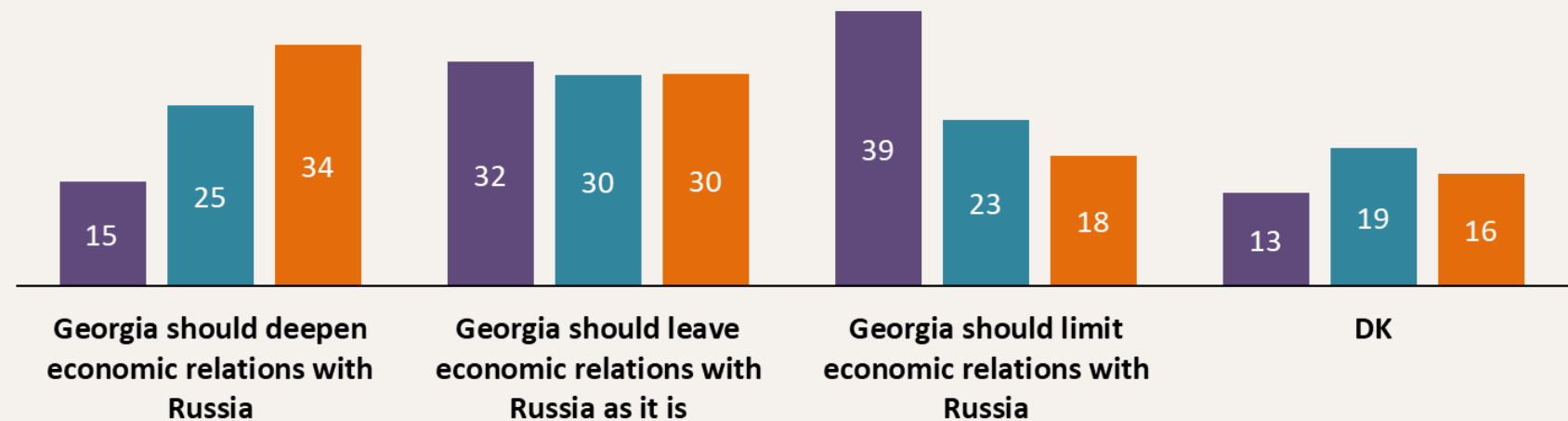
Thinking about Georgia's economic relations with Russia, in your opinion: (q35)



Younger people
are more
supportive
of cutting
economic ties
with Russia

**Thinking about Georgia's economic relations with Russia,
in your opinion: (q35 X Age)**

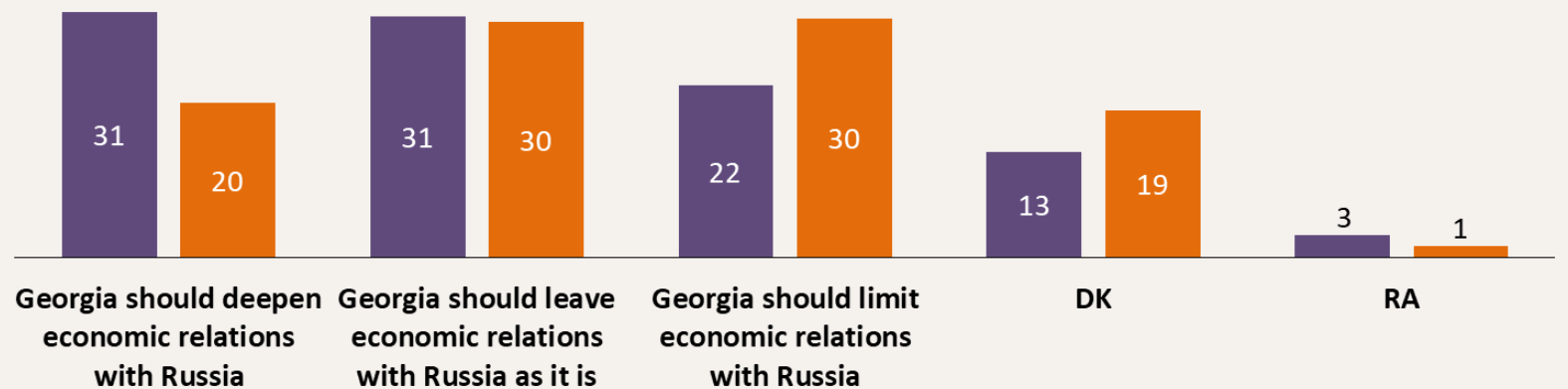
■ 18-34 ■ 35-54 ■ 55+



Women are more supportive of cutting economic ties with Russia

Thinking about Georgia's economic relations with Russia,
in your opinion: (q35 X Gender)

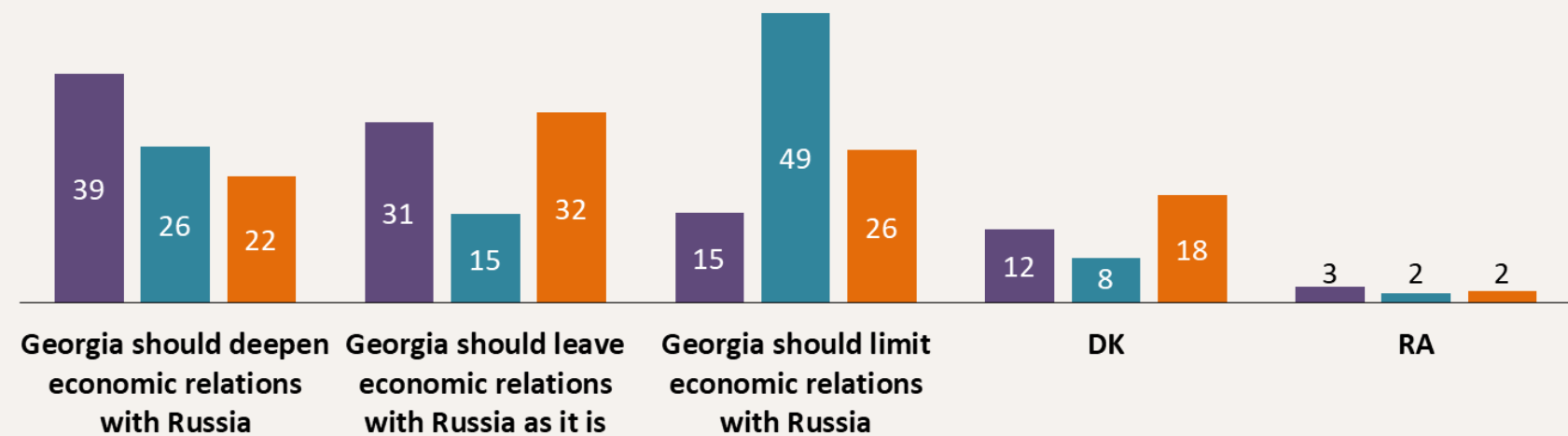
■ Male ■ Female



Opposition supporters are more supportive of cutting economic ties with Russia

Thinking about Georgia's economic relations with Russia, in your opinion: (q35 X Party closest to you)

■ GD supporters (17%) ■ Opposition supporters (10%) ■ Did not name a party (73%)

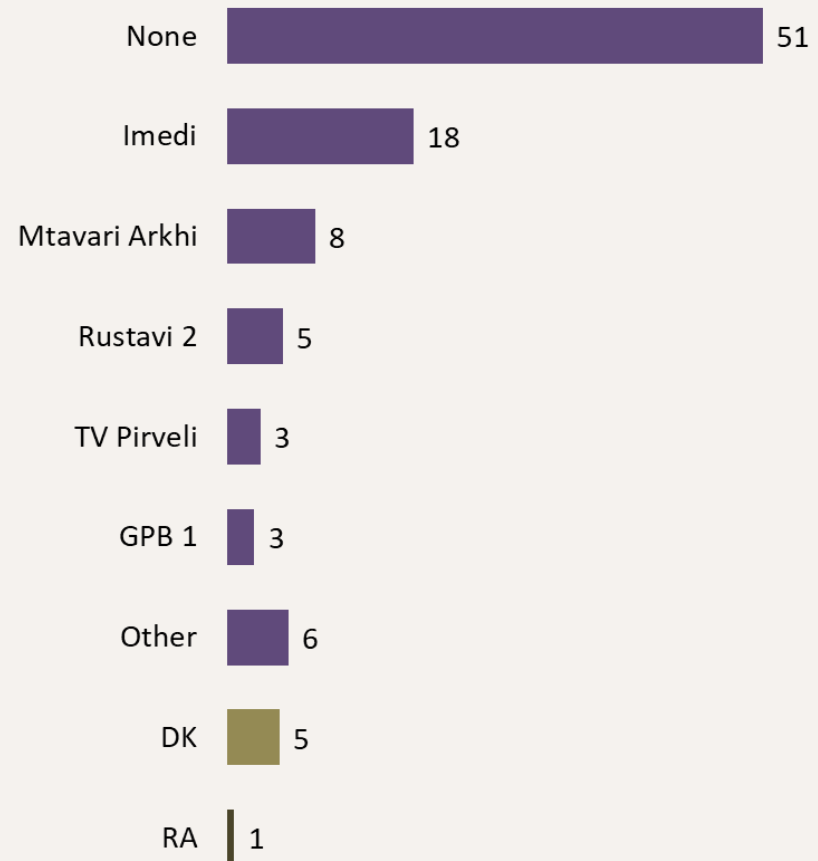


Chapter VII

→ Media consumption

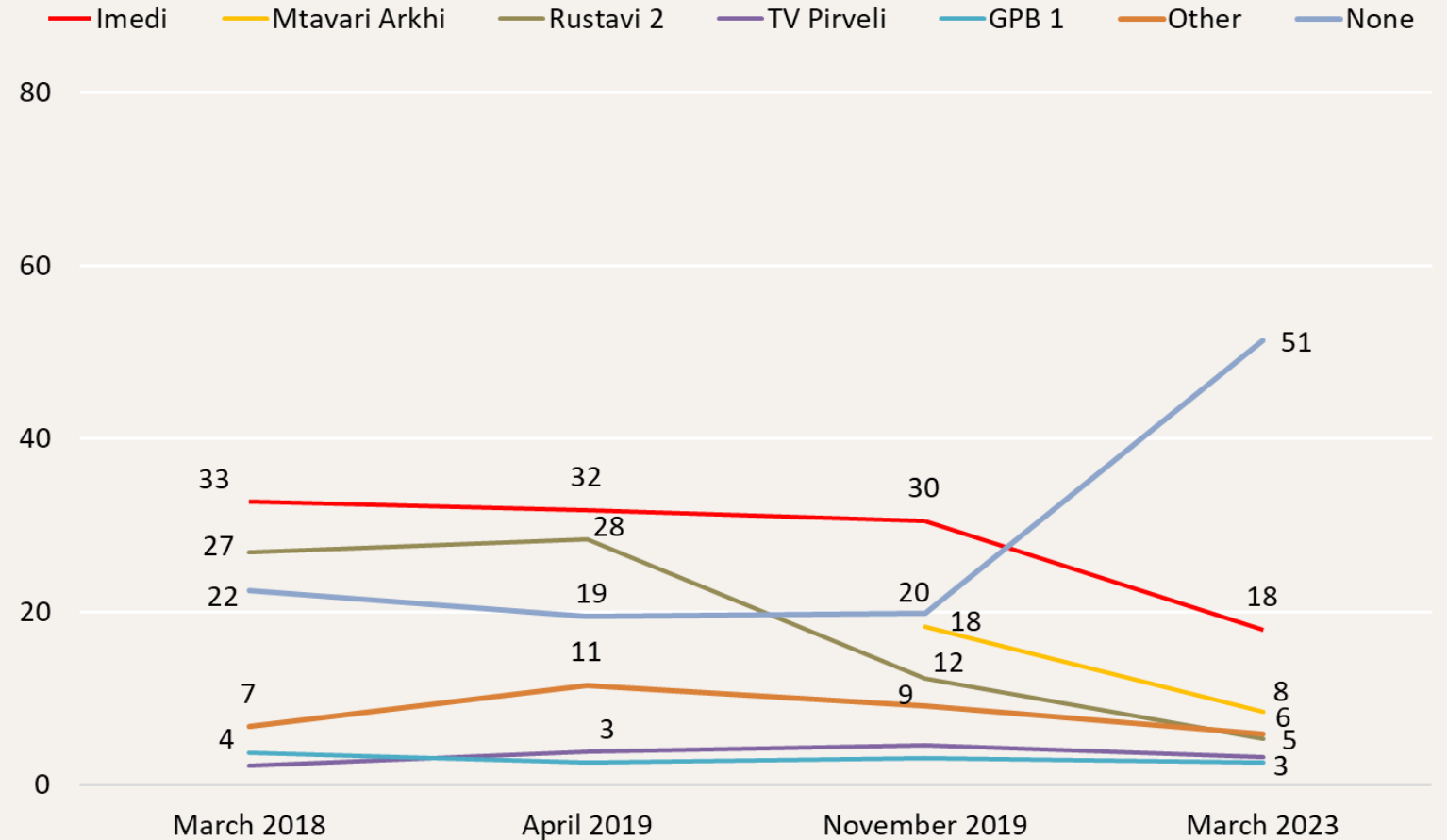
Majority trusts none of the TV channels for accurate information on politics and current events

Which TV channel do you trust the most for accurate information on politics and current events? Open question (q5)



Compared to 2019, twice as many people say that they don't trust any TV channels

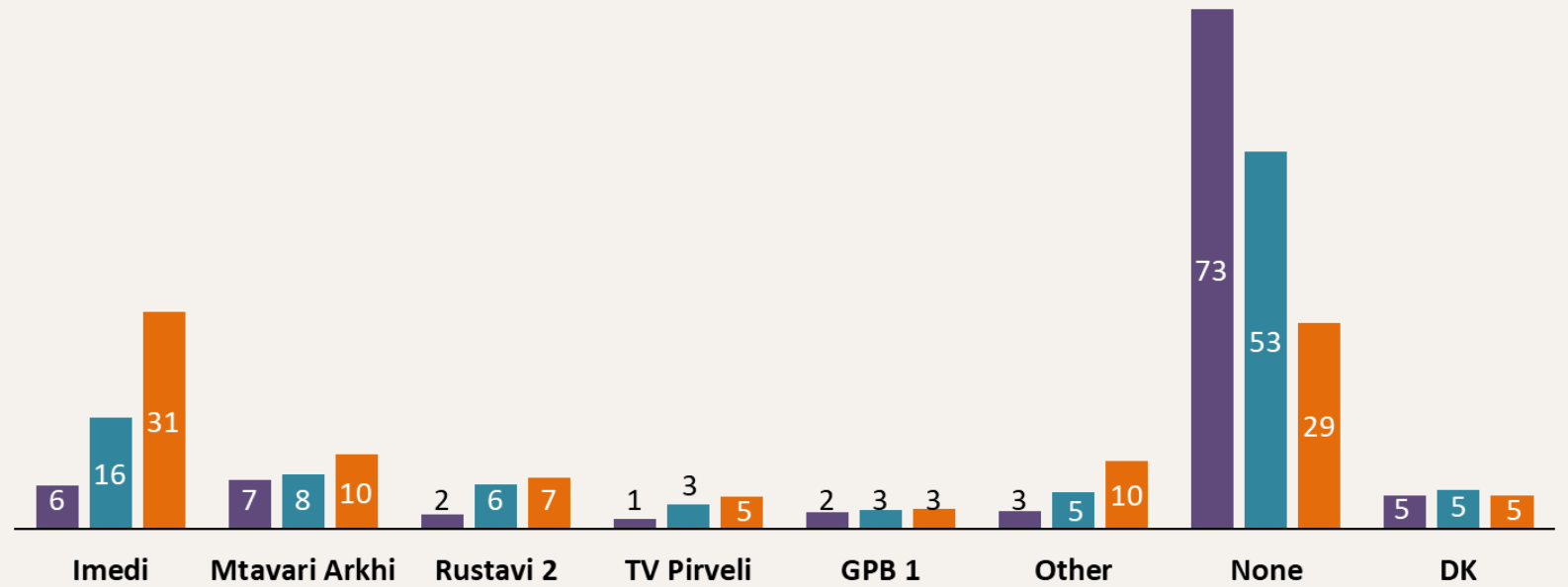
Which TV channel do you trust the most for accurate information on politics and current events? Open question (q5)



Young are more likely to distrust broadcasters, while plurality of 55+ favors Imedi TV over other channels

Which TV channel do you trust the most for accurate information on politics and current events? Open question (q5 X Age)

■ 18-34 ■ 35-54 ■ 55+

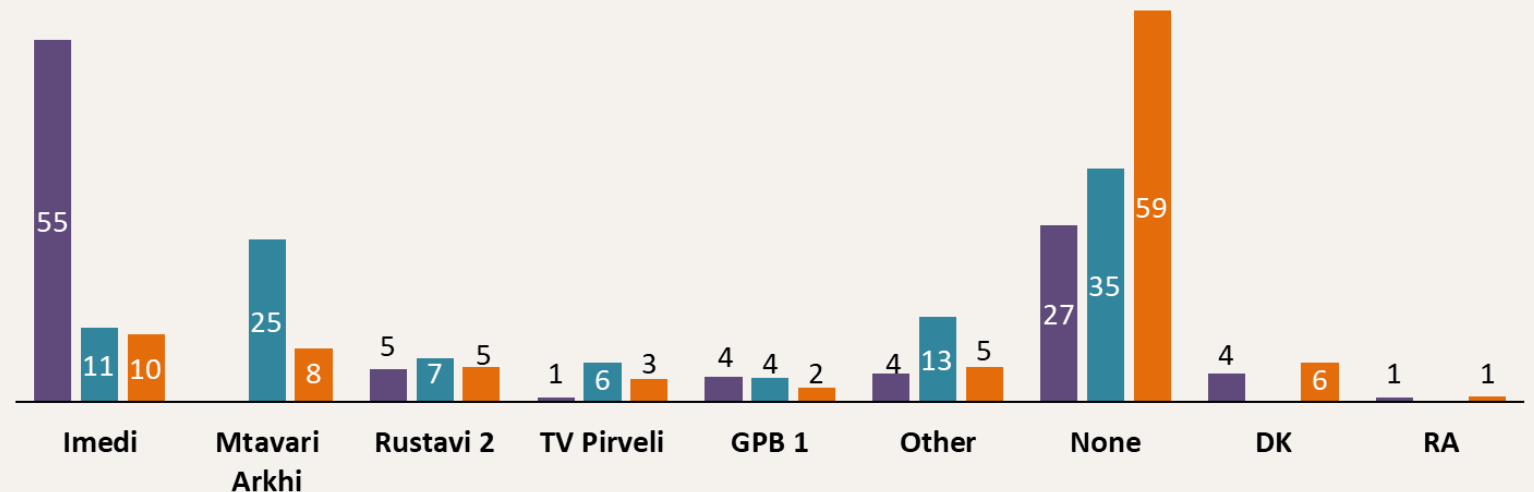


Half of GD supporters prefer Imedi TV, while the rest of them watches other broadcasters or trusts no one

Majority of undecided and over a third of opposition supporters do not trust any broadcasters.

Which TV channel do you trust the most for accurate information on politics and current events? Open question (q5 X Party closest to you)

■ GD supporters (17%) ■ Opposition supporters (10%) ■ Did not name a party (73%)



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