Public attitudes in Georgia
Results of a April 2017 survey carried out for NDI by CRRC Georgia

This research project is funded with UK aid from the British people

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Koba Turmanidze – CRRC Georgia
Why We Conduct Polls?

- Foster the development of more responsive policies and governance;
- Help stakeholders diagnose and address issues of public concern;
- Leaders from across the political spectrum have reported that the polls are important to their work and encourage continued polling;
- Inclusive process: the polling instrument was developed in consultation with parties, government, and civil society leaders;
Information about the poll

- Fieldwork dates: 7 – 28 April, 2017
- 2,493 completed interviews (67.38% response rate)

A nationally representative sample (excluding occupied territories) including oversampled areas of the Capital, large Urban, small Urban, Rural and minority settlements.

- Large Urban stratum consists of the cities with 40K and more population: Batumi, Zugdidi, Rustavi, Poti, Gori, Kutaisi.

- Small Urban stratum consists of the rest of the cities/dabas holding urban status.

- Minority stratum consists of population of those settlements, where ethnic minorities (mostly Armenians and Azeri) make at least 40% of the voters in given settlement. Settlements within this stratum are dispersed through Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti and kakheti regions.

- The average margin of error is +/- 2.7%
Methodology

Sample design
NDI and CRRC use a complex survey design:

- **Stratification** – dividing population in relatively homogenous sub-groups
- **Clustering** – randomly selecting small geographic areas for each sub-group (stratum)

- Households are selected via random route sampling
- Respondents are selected using a Kish table
- Randomly selected households and individuals are not substituted
- All interviews were conducted face-to-face, in Georgian, Armenian and Azeri.
How NDI Survey is Conducted

1. At the first stage, CRRC randomly selects voting precincts in Georgia. Interviewers are sent there with given starting point, directions for walking, step size, number of contacts.

2. Interviewer randomly selects households according to the given step size, e.g. every 3rd, 5th, 8th...

3. The respondent is selected randomly, with special method - so called Kish grid. Selected respondent cannot be replaced.

4. Interviewer conducts an interview with the selected household member. Interviewer uses tablet computer and a special software.

5. Interviewer submits the results via the internet to the special server.

6. CRRC cleans and analyses collected data, which later is presented to the public.
Country’s direction and expectations
In which direction Georgia is going? (q1)

- Georgia is definitely going in the right direction: 4%
- Georgia is going mainly in the right direction: 29%
- Georgia is not changing at all: 31%
- Georgia is mainly going in the wrong direction: 18%
- Georgia is definitely going in the wrong direction: 13%
- DK: 4%

These percentages are based on a survey or poll.
In which direction Georgia is going? (q1)

- Georgia is going in the right direction
- Georgia is going in the wrong direction
- Georgia is not changing at all

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015, March 2016, June 2016, November 2016 and April 2017 are also representative for minority regions.
In which direction is Georgia going? (q1 X Party closest to you)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Georgia is going in the right direction</th>
<th>Georgia is not changing at all</th>
<th>Georgia is going in the wrong direction</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in other.
Speaking about a monetary spending/income last month, to which of the following groups does your household belong? (q85, q90)
Do you consider yourself to be employed?
This employment may be part-time or full-time, you may be officially employed, informally employed, or self-employed, but it brings you monetary income (q86)

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015, August 2015, March 2016, June 2016, November 2016 and April 2017 are also representative for minority regions.
Which of the following best describes your situation? (q87) - of the 63% who consider themselves unemployed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed and looking for a job</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired and NOT interested in looking for a job</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed and interested in a job, but currently NOT looking for a job</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed and not interested in looking for a job (if not a housewife)</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired and looking for a job</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired and interested in a job, but currently NOT looking for one</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Is Georgia a better place than 15 years ago? (q2)

- Yes: 72
- No: 24
- DK: 4
Is Georgia a better place than 15 years ago? (q2 X Settlement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tbilisi</td>
<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large urban</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>23</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small urban</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority settlements</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Is Georgia a better place than 15 years ago? (q2 X Age)

- Yes: 79 (18-35), 73 (36-55), 63 (56+)
- No: 16 (18-35), 24 (36-55), 33 (56+)
- DK: 4 (18-35), 3 (36-55), 4 (56+)
Is Georgia a better place than 15 years ago? (q2 X Party closest to you)

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5%
Thinking about 15 years from now, do you agree or disagree that ...
(q41)

Georgia will be more economically stable

- Agree: 74
- Disagree: 10
- DK: 16

Poverty in Georgia will be reduced

- Agree: 66
- Disagree: 17
- DK: 17
Overall, do you expect the next generation to be better off than yours, the same or worse off than yours? (q11)

- Better off: 69
- The same: 9
- Worse off: 12
- DK: 10
Performance of Institutions
To what extent do you agree or disagree that the current government is making the changes that matter to you? (q3)
Do you agree or disagree that the current government is making the changes that matter to you? (q3)

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015, March 2016, June 2016 and April 2017 are also representative for minority regions.
Do you agree or disagree that the current government is making the changes that matter to you? (q3 X Settlement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tbilisi</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large urban</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small urban</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minority settlements</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you agree or disagree that the current government is making the changes that matter to you? (q3 X Party closest to you)

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in other.
How would you rate the performance of ...? (q13)

President Giorgi Margvelashvili
- Very well: 3
- Well: 24
- Average: 50
- Badly: 12
- Very badly: 3
- DK: 7
- RA: 0

Prime Minister Giorgi Kvirikashvili
- Very well: 3
- Well: 22
- Average: 53
- Badly: 11
- Very badly: 3
- DK: 8
- RA: 0

The Speaker of the Parliament Irakli Kobakhidze
- Very well: 1
- Well: 14
- Average: 42
- Badly: 17
- Very badly: 4
- DK: 20
- RA: 1

Mayor of Tbilisi Davit Narmania (Tbilisi only)
- Very well: 1
- Well: 7
- Average: 33
- Badly: 37
- Very badly: 15
- DK: 5
- RA: 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Ministry</th>
<th>Very well</th>
<th>Well</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Badly</th>
<th>Very badly</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
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<td>Ministry for Labor, Healthcare and Social Affairs</td>
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<td>(Davit Sergeenko)</td>
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<td>Ministry of Justice (Thea Tsouloukiani)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry of Defense (Levan Izoria)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry of Energy (Kakha Kaladze)</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Ministry of Internal Affairs (Giorgi Mgebrishvili)</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry</td>
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<td>Well</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Badly</td>
<td>Very badly</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>RA</td>
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<td>Ministry of IDPs from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia (Sozar Subari)</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Institution</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Badly</td>
<td>Very badly</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>RA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgian Orthodox Church</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgian army</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgian police</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office of the Ombudsman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Office of the Chief Prosecutor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Courts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tbilisi Sakrebulo (Tbilisi only)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How would you rate the performance of Georgian Orthodox Church? (q13)

April 2017
- Very Well: 14
- Well: 44
- Average: 23
- Badly: 6
- Very Badly: 1
- DK: 11
- RA: 1

March 2016
- Very Well: 32
- Well: 40
- Average: 14
- Badly: 2
- Very Badly: 1
- DK: 10
- RA: 0

April 2015
- Very Well: 43
- Well: 32
- Average: 14
- Badly: 11
- Very Badly: 8
- DK: 1
- RA: 1
How would you rate the performance of Georgian Army? (q13)

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015, March 2016, and April 2017 are also representative for minority regions.
How would you rate the performance of Georgian Police? (q13)

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015, March 2016, and April 2017 are also representative for minority regions.
Current Events
Georgian Orthodox Church receives 25 million Gel annually from the central budget. Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q61)

- The state should continue funding the Church in the same manner: 43%
- The State should increase funding for the Church: 14%
- The State should decrease funding for the Church: 20%
- The state shouldn't be funding the Church at all: 8%
- DK: 13%
- RA: 1%
Do you agree or disagree that the state should audit the spending of these state funds by the Georgian Orthodox Church? (q62)

- Agree: 67
- Disagree: 22
- DK: 11
- RA: 1
Are you aware or not of the verdict by the Supreme Court of Georgia giving ownership of "Rustavi 2" to Kibar Khalvashi? (q59)

- Yes: 79
- No: 16
- DK: 4
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q60) - of the 79% who are aware of the verdict

- There was government interference in the Rustavi 2 case
  - Agree: 56
  - Disagree: 17
  - DK: 27

- This verdict will restrict media freedom in Georgia
  - Agree: 46
  - Disagree: 33
  - DK: 21

- Judges were pressured during deliberations
  - Agree: 46
  - Disagree: 20
  - DK: 34

- Rustavi 2 case was solely a business ownership dispute that was not related to politics
  - Agree: 35
  - Disagree: 41
  - DK: 23

- Rustavi 2 trial was a fair trial
  - Agree: 44
  - Disagree: 28
  - DK: 28
Are you aware that part of the UNM leadership left the party and formed a new party European Georgia - Movement for Freedom? (q63)

- Yes: 79
- No: 16
- DK: 4
Do you think that establishment of the new party by the former leaders of the United National Movement will make opposition in Georgia ...? (q64)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Stronger</th>
<th>Nothing will change</th>
<th>Weaker</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in other.
The subject for how Georgia should elect its president has been a topic of recent political discussions. Which statement do you agree with the most? (q65)

- The president should be directly elected by Georgian citizens: 84
- The president should be elected by those who are elected by people (for example, Sakrebulo members, parliamentarians): 9
- Agree with neither: 2
- DK: 4
The subject for how Georgia should elect its president has been a topic of recent political discussions. Which statement do you agree with the most? (q65 X Settlement)

- The president should be directly elected by Georgian citizens
- The president should be elected by those who are elected by people (for example, Sakrebulo members, parliamentarians)
- Agree with neither
- DK
The subject for how Georgia should elect its president has been a topic of recent political discussions. Which statement do you agree with most? (q65 X Party closest to you)

- The president should be directly elected by Georgian citizens
- The president should be elected by those who are elected by people (for example, Sakrebulo members, parliamentarians)
- Agree with neither
- DK

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5%
Should we keep majoritarian MPs in the parliament or not? (q66)

Original question: Currently, there are 150 members of the parliament. 77 from 150 are elected by the citizens by voting for political parties and another 73 by voting for individual majoritarian candidates. In your opinion, should we keep majoritarian candidates in the parliament or not?
Should we keep majoritarian MPs in the parliament or not? (q66 X Settlement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tbilisi</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large urban</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>20</td>
</tr>
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<td>Rural</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minority settlements</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Should we keep majoritarian MPs in the parliament or not? (q66 X Party closest to you)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>UNM</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in other.
Who understands the needs of people better, majoritarian MPs or MPs elected by the party list? (q67)
Who contributes more to the work of the parliament, majoritarian MPs or MPs elected by the party list? (q68)

- Majoritarian MPs: 22
- MPs elected by the party list: 15
- Both equally: 15
- Neither: 29
- DK: 19
- RA: 1
Are you aware that recently Georgian government signed a new deal with Gazprom? (q69)

Yes: 58
No: 36
DK: 7
Do you think that you have enough information about this deal between Gazprom and Government of Georgia? (q70) - of the 58% who are aware of the new deal

- Yes: 18
- No: 78
- DK: 4
Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q71) - of the 58% who are aware of the new deal

- Deal between Georgian government and Gazprom is a commercial deal that will have no political implications for Georgia: 27%
- Deal between Georgian government and Gazprom is a commercial deal that will have political implications for Georgia: 39%
- Agree with neither: 8%
- DK: 26%
Party Support
Which party is closest to you? (q14)

Other: Parties that were named by less than 3% of the respondents.
Which party is closest to you? (q14)
### Which party is closest to you? (q14 X Settlement) Part 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Large urban</th>
<th>Small urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Minority settlements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Patriots of Georgia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Labour Party</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other:** Parties that were named by less than 3% of the respondents.

Which party is closest to you? (q14 X Age)

Other: Parties that were named by less than 3% of the respondents.

Is Georgia a democracy now? (q4 X Party closest to you)

- No party (38%)
- Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (29%)
- UNM (10%)
- Other (23%)

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in other.
Is Russia a democracy? (q6 X Party closest to you)

- No party (38%)
  - Yes: 12
  - No: 50
  - DK: 38

- Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (29%)
  - Yes: 49
  - No: 31
  - DK: 21

- UNM (10%)
  - Yes: 55
  - No: 25
  - DK: 13

- Other (23%)
  - Yes: 53
  - No: 34
  - DK: 13

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in other.
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: In terms of national security Georgia is a secure country? (q12 X Party closest to you)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party (38%)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (29%)</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM (10%)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (23%)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in Other.
In general, do you think the dissolution of the Soviet Union has been a good thing or a bad thing for Georgia? (q46 X Party closest to you)

- No party (38%)
- Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (29%)
- UNM (10%)
- Other (23%)

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5%

- A good thing:
  - No party: 47
  - Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia: 53
  - UNM: 45
  - Other: 43

- A bad thing:
  - No party: 40
  - Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia: 40
  - UNM: 41
  - Other: 46

- DK:
  - No party: 12
  - Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia: 7
  - UNM: 13
  - Other: 11
Do you agree or disagree that there is a Russian propaganda in Georgia? (q72 X Party closest to you)

**No party (38%)**
- Agree: 45
- Disagree: 25
- DK: 29

**Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia (29%)**
- Agree: 43
- Disagree: 34
- DK: 21

**UNM (10%)**
- Agree: 56
- Disagree: 18
- DK: 25

**Other (23%)**
- Agree: 49
- Disagree: 24
- DK: 26

**Original question:** Propaganda is an attempt to spread information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, to promote a positive image of a specific country, justify its actions and create a negative image of the opposing countries. Do you agree or disagree that there is a Russian propaganda in Georgia?

Party crosstabs include only those parties whose numbers are statistically high enough for analysis. Parties that were named by less than 5% of the respondents are grouped in other.