Public attitudes in Georgia
Results of a November 2015 survey carried out for NDI by CRRC Georgia

This research is funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)

Laura Thornton - NDI 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: November 17 – December 7, 2015
- 1,881 completed interviews
- A nationally representative sample of Georgian speakers including oversampled areas of the Capital, Urban and Rural settlements.
- The average margin of error is +/- 1.8%
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.
National Issues
### Most important national issues. Name up to three (q1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial integrity</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising prices/inflation</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affordable healthcare</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations with Russia</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of speech</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair elections</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoration of justice</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO membership</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court system</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU Membership</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property rights</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media independence</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisons/Prisoners</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority rights</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you consider yourself to be employed? (q34)

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers
Speaking about a monetary income/spending last month, to which of the following groups does your household belong? (q33/q36)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>HH Income Last Month</th>
<th>HH Spending Last Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than GEL 1600</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEL 1201-1600</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEL 801-1200</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEL 401-800</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEL 261-400</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEL 151-260</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to GEL 150</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No income</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In which direction is Georgia going? (q2)

- Georgia is definitely going in the right direction: 3
- Georgia is going mainly in the right direction: 15
- Georgia is not changing at all: 31
- Georgia is mainly going in the wrong direction: 27
- Georgia is definitely going in the wrong direction: 18
- DK: 5
- RA: 1
In which direction is Georgia going? (q2)

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

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers
In which direction is Georgia Going? (q2 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

| Party                              | Percentage
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>9 + 49 + 49 = 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>26 + 22 + 8  = 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>22 + 68 + 13 = 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</td>
<td>35 + 51 + 15 = 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>34 + 39 + 39 = 112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which statement do you agree with the most? (q3)

- Georgia is a democracy already but there is still room for improvement
  - August 2012: 37
  - April 2014: 40
  - November 2015: 35

- Georgia is not a democracy yet, but it is developing in that direction
  - August 2012: 20
  - April 2014: 22
  - November 2015: 24

- Georgia is a democracy for only a specific part of society
  - August 2012: 16
  - April 2014: 16
  - November 2015: 15

- Georgia might become a democracy in the future but it is not developing in that direction now
  - August 2012: 14
  - April 2014: 13
  - November 2015: 17

- Georgia is not a democracy and never will be
  - August 2012: 1
  - April 2014: 3
  - November 2015: 5

- Georgia is a democracy already and no further improvement is needed
  - August 2012: 2
  - April 2014: 1
  - November 2015: 1

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers.
How important or unimportant are the following for Georgia’s democratic development? / How would you assess the condition of the following in Georgia? (q4/q5)

- Protection of human rights: 98% important, 36% condition is good
- Free and fair elections: 98% important, 35% condition is good
- Rule of law: 96% important, 34% condition is good
- Freedom of speech: 96% important, 42% condition is good
- Government responding to citizen concerns: 95% important, 25% condition is good
- Curbing corruption: 95% important, 32% condition is good
- Citizens’ participation in public life: 95% important, 29% condition is good
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Neither good nor bad</th>
<th>Bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How would you assess the condition of rule of law in Georgia?
(q5 X Party closest to you)

- **No party**
  - Good: 23
  - Neither good nor bad: 36
  - Bad: 33

- **Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia**
  - Good: 63
  - Neither good nor bad: 20
  - Bad: 14

- **UNM**
  - Good: 25
  - Neither good nor bad: 53
  - Bad: 20

- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats**
  - Good: 41
  - Neither good nor bad: 31
  - Bad: 33

- **Don't know**
  - Good: 42
  - Neither good nor bad: 13
How would you assess the condition of government responding to citizen concerns in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Neither good nor bad</th>
<th>Bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How would you assess the condition of curbing corruption in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Neither good nor bad</th>
<th>Bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How would you assess the condition of protection of human rights in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

- **Good**
  - No party: 29
  - Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia: 63
  - UNM: 31
  - Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats: 29
  - Don't know: 42

- **Neither good nor bad**
  - No party: 35
  - Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia: 22
  - UNM: 49
  - Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats: 30
  - Don't know: 20

- **Bad**
  - No party: 33
  - Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia: 14
  - UNM: 18
  - Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats: 41
  - Don't know: 20
How would you assess the condition of free and fair elections in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

- **No party**
  - Good: 28
  - Neither good nor bad: 37
  - Bad: 28

- **Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia**
  - Good: 65
  - Neither good nor bad: 20
  - Bad: 13

- **UNM**
  - Good: 14
  - Neither good nor bad: 30
  - Bad: 50

- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats**
  - Good: 34
  - Neither good nor bad: 25
  - Bad: 39

- **Don't know**
  - Good: 27
  - Neither good nor bad: 39
  - Bad: 24
How would you assess the condition of citizens' participation in public life in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

- **No party**
  - Good: 25
  - Neither good nor bad: 40
  - Bad: 29

- **Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia**
  - Good: 50
  - Neither good nor bad: 33
  - Bad: 14

- **UNM**
  - Good: 14
  - Neither good nor bad: 37
  - Bad: 40

- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats**
  - Good: 26
  - Neither good nor bad: 39
  - Bad: 33

- **Don't know**
  - Good: 29
  - Neither good nor bad: 38
  - Bad: 20
15% of the respondents agree both with the statement that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly politically motivated and that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly motivated by a dispute between two private bodies.
Do you agree or disagree that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly politically motivated and aims at restricting freedom of media? (q7 X Party closest to you)

- **No party**
  - Agree: 51
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 15
  - Disagree: 20

- **Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia**
  - Agree: 30
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 17
  - Disagree: 44

- **UNM**
  - Agree: 82
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 8
  - Disagree: 5

- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats**
  - Agree: 77
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 9
  - Disagree: 10

- **Don’t know**
  - Agree: 50
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 12
  - Disagree: 17
Do you agree or disagree that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly motivated by a dispute between two private bodies and aims at determining a legal owner of the organization? (q8 X Party closest to you)

- **No party**
  - Agree: 33%
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 16%
  - Disagree: 33%

- **Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia**
  - Agree: 13%
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 17%
  - Disagree: 60%

- **UNM**
  - Agree: 22%
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 15%
  - Disagree: 54%

- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats**
  - Agree: 28%
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 9%
  - Disagree: 55%

- **Don't know**
  - Agree: 28%
  - Neither agree nor disagree: 18%
  - Disagree: 31%
Do you feel safe or unsafe to share an opinion about current political events in Georgia with a friend through a phone? (q9)

- Safe: 38
- Unsafe: 50
- DK: 10
- RA: 2
Do you feel safe or unsafe to share an opinion about current political events in Georgia with a friend through a phone? (q9 X Party closest to you)

- **No party**
  - Safe: 31
  - Unsafe: 55

- **Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia**
  - Safe: 61
  - Unsafe: 28

- **UNM**
  - Safe: 18
  - Unsafe: 71

- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats**
  - Safe: 30
  - Unsafe: 66

- **Don’t know**
  - Safe: 43
  - Unsafe: 39
Foreign Affairs
Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government’s stated goal to join NATO? (q14)

- Approve: 69
- Disapprove: 21
- DK: 9
- RA: 1
Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government’s stated goal to join NATO? (q14)

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers
Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government’s stated goal to join NATO? (q14 X Party closest to you)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why do you approve it? - of the 69% who approve Georgian government's stated goal to join NATO (q15)

- It will provide greater security for Georgia: 57%
- It will improve Georgian economy: 49%
- It will lead to visa free travel in member states: 20%
- It will improve the chances to restore territorial integrity: 16%
- It will strengthen democratic development: 14%
- It will strengthen Georgian military system: 12%
- It will protect Georgia from Russia: 9%
- Other: 1%
- DK: 4%
Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17)

- Georgia should join The Eurasian Union established by the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan: 24%
- Georgia should join The European Union (EU) established by western European countries: 58%
- Agree with neither: 8%
- DK: 8%
- RA: 2%
Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17)

- Georgia should join The Eurasian Union established by the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan
- Georgia should join The European Union (EU) established by western European countries
- Agree with neither
- DK
- RA

Both waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. August 2015 is also representative of minority regions.
Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17 X Age)

- Georgia should join The Eurasian Union established by the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan
- Georgia should join The European Union (EU) established by western European countries
- Agree with neither
- DK
- RA
Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17 X Party closest to you)

- No party
- UNM
- Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats
- Don't know

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>No party</th>
<th>UNM</th>
<th>Georgian Dream</th>
<th>Irakli Alasania</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgia should join the Eurasian Union established by the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia should join the European Union (EU) established by western European countries</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree with neither</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much do you agree or disagree that ...? (q18/q19)

Georgia would benefit economically from closer ties with the United States

- Agree: 56
- Neither agree nor disagree: 13
- Disagree: 19
- DK: 12

Georgia would benefit economically from abandoning closer US relationship

- Agree: 17
- Neither agree nor disagree: 18
- Disagree: 47
- DK: 16
Do you agree or disagree that Georgia would benefit economically from closer ties with the US?  
(q18 X Party closest to you)

- **Agree**
  - No party: 49
  - Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia: 63
  - UNM: 74
  - Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats: 69
  - Don't know: 44

- **Neither agree nor disagree**
  - No party: 14
  - Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia: 10
  - UNM: 6
  - Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats: 13
  - Don't know: 12

- **Disagree**
  - No party: 19
  - Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia: 20
  - UNM: 12
  - Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats: 15
  - Don't know: 7
Do you agree or disagree that Georgia would benefit economically from abandoning closer US relationship? (q19 X Party closest to you)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which political party do you trust **most** and **least** to manage relations with EU? (q11)

- **Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia**
- **UNM**
- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc**
- **United Democratic Movement**
- **Don't know**
- **No party**

### Trust the most to manage
- Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia: 17
- UNM: 19
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc: 11
- United Democratic Movement: 2
- Don't know: 30
- No party: 13

### Trust the least to manage
- Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia: 14
- UNM: 8
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc: 0
- United Democratic Movement: 3
- Don't know: 50
- No party: 9
Which political party do you trust **most** and **least** to manage relations with NATO? (q12)

- **Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia**
- **UNM**
- **Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc**
- **United Democratic Movement**
- **Don't know**
- **No party**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Most Trust</th>
<th>Least Trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Movement</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with Russia? (q10)
Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with USA? (q13)

- Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc
- UNM
- United Democratic Movement
- Don't know
- No party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trust the most to manage</th>
<th>Trust the least to manage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Party Support
Which party is closest to you? (q24)

- **First choice**
- **Second choice**

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

**These parties are**: Free Georgia, Republican Party, Conservative Party, Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia, New Rights, Industrialists, Georgian group and National Forum.
Which party is closest to you? (q24)

Parliamentary elections

Georgian Dream  UNM  Irakli Alasania-Free Alasania  Other  No Party+DK  RA

|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015 and August 2015 are also representative for minority regions.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote? (q26)
Which party is closest to you? First choice
Decided people only (q24)

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

Which party is closest to you? First choice
Undecided people only (q24)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>First choice</th>
<th>Second choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream Democratic Georgia</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pankisi Gdoriland Democratic Gergeti</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to answer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Democratic Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labor Party</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Patriots of Georgia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q27)

- Likely voters: 64%
- Likely abstainers: 36%
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q27)

Likely voters
Likely abstainers

Parliamentary elections

|----------|----------|------|------|------|----------|----------|

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015 and August 2015 are also representative for minority regions.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote? (q26 X If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?)

- **Decided**: 46
- **Undecided**: 50
- **DK**: 14
- **RA**: 5

Likely voters: 2

Likely abstainers: 4
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party/coalition would you vote for? Whole sample (q28)

- Don't know
- Georgian Dream Coalition
- Refuse to answer
- UNM
- No party
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats
- Nino Burjanadze-United Opposition
- Labor Party
- Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- Other

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

These parties are: Free Georgia, New Rights and Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Likely voters only (q28)

- **First choice**
- **Second choice**

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

**These parties are**: Free Georgia, New Rights and Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Likely voters only (q28)

All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015 and August 2015 are also representative for minority regions.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Decided likely voters only (q28)

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

These parties are: Free Georgia, New Rights and Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would win? (q25)

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

These parties are: Nino Burjanadze - United Opposition, Alliance of Patriots of Georgia, Labor Party, Free Georgia, New Rights and Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would win? (q25)

- Don't know: August 2015 - 38, November 2015 - 37
- Georgian Dream Coalition: August 2015 - 20, November 2015 - 33
- UNM: August 2015 - 10, November 2015 - 9
- No party: August 2015 - 17, November 2015 - 7
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats: August 2015 - 3, November 2015 - 5
- Refuse to answer: August 2015 - 6, November 2015 - 3
- Other: August 2015 - 6, November 2015 - 5

Both waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. August 2015 is also representative for minority regions.
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would win? (q25 X Party closest to you)

- Don't know
- No party
- Georgian Dream Coalition
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats
- UNM
- Refuse to answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>No party (30%)</th>
<th>Georgian Dream Democratic Georgia (18%)</th>
<th>UNM (14%)</th>
<th>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats (9%)</th>
<th>Don't know (8%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>144</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>178</td>
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<td>79</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream Coalition</td>
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<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to answer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which party you would never vote for? (q29)

- Don't know: 25
- United National Movement: 21
- Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia: 16
- No such party: 11
- Refuse to answer: 10
- Labor Party: 6
- United Democratic Movement: 3
- Other: 9

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

Which party you would never vote for?
(q29 X Party closest to you)

- UNM
- Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia
- Labor Party
- United Democratic Movement
- No such party
- Don't know
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats
- Other
- Refuse to answer

Bar chart showing the distribution of responses to the question of which party respondents would never vote for, with categories including the Georgia Dream-Democratic Georgia, UNM, Labor Party, United Democratic Movement, No such party, Don't know, Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats, Other, and Refuse to answer.
Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision? (q30)

- Trust towards specific members of political parties: 65 Important, 14 Neither important nor unimportant, 16 Unimportant
- Party’s past performance: 65 Important, 14 Neither important nor unimportant, 16 Unimportant
- Electoral platforms and promises: 58 Important, 14 Neither important nor unimportant, 24 Unimportant
- Political opinion of the people close to me (family, friends): 43 Important, 17 Neither important nor unimportant, 35 Unimportant
- Parish and priests’ political opinions: 41 Important, 19 Neither important nor unimportant, 33 Unimportant
- The likelihood of a party winning: 41 Important, 21 Neither important nor unimportant, 29 Unimportant
- Political opinion of people you work for and colleagues: 25 Important, 19 Neither important nor unimportant, 42 Unimportant
- Political opinion of popular people: 20 Important, 48 Neither important nor unimportant, 20 Unimportant
Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision?

Undecided people only (q30)

- Party’s past performance: Important 64, Neither important nor unimportant 14, Unimportant 16
- Trust towards specific members of political parties: Important 63, Neither important nor unimportant 15, Unimportant 17
- Electoral platforms and promises: Important 56, Neither important nor unimportant 14, Unimportant 26
- Political opinion of the people close to me (family, friends): Important 43, Neither important nor unimportant 18, Unimportant 36
- Parish and priests’ political opinions: Important 40, Neither important nor unimportant 20, Unimportant 34
- The likelihood of a party winning: Important 39, Neither important nor unimportant 31, Unimportant 21
- Political opinion of people you work for and colleagues: Important 22, Neither important nor unimportant 19, Unimportant 44
- Political opinion of popular people: Important 22, Neither important nor unimportant 20, Unimportant 50
Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision?

Decided people only (q30)

- **Trust towards specific members of political parties**
  - Important: 73%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 12%
  - Unimportant: 12%

- **Party’s past performance**
  - Important: 69%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 12%
  - Unimportant: 16%

- **Electoral platforms and promises**
  - Important: 63%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 13%
  - Unimportant: 21%

- **The likelihood of a party winning**
  - Important: 48%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 21%
  - Unimportant: 26%

- **Political opinion of the people close to me (family, friends)**
  - Important: 46%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 15%
  - Unimportant: 36%

- **Parish and priests’ political opinions**
  - Important: 45%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 16%
  - Unimportant: 34%

- **Political opinion of people you work for and colleagues**
  - Important: 30%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 18%
  - Unimportant: 40%

- **Political opinion of popular people**
  - Important: 30%
  - Neither important nor unimportant: 19%
  - Unimportant: 47%
Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision?
(q30 X Party closest to you) Part 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Neither important nor unimportant</th>
<th>Unimportant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party’s past performance</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust towards specific members of political parties</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral platforms and promises</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust towards specific members of political parties</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party’s past performance</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral platforms and promises</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust towards specific members of political parties</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party’s past performance</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electoral platforms and promises</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision? (q30 X Party closest to you) Part 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party's past performance</th>
<th>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither important nor unimportant</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust towards specific members of political parties</th>
<th>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither important nor unimportant</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Electoral platforms and promises</th>
<th>Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither important nor unimportant</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust towards specific members of political parties</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither important nor unimportant</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Electoral platforms and promises</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>Neither important nor unimportant</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>17</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party's past performance</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither important nor unimportant</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unimportant</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Foreign policy - Experiment
Foreign policy - Experimental section

**Method:** We divided our respondents into three, equal, representative groups. All three groups were asked the same questions about foreign policy, specifically about Georgia’s policy toward Russia and Georgia’s benefits from joining EU and NATO. However, prior to asking the questions, we exposed the groups to three different narratives, one for each group.

**Purpose:** The goal of the experiment was to determine, whether a specific narrative about foreign policy would change the way people respond to questions. By comparing the answers of those groups we will be able to see, whether the exposure to specific attitudes/opinions about certain foreign policy issues changes respondent’s perception.

**NOTE:** The results of the experiment only relates to the narrative that was provided in the survey. Any other narrative could have different effect on the respondents.
Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and Russia. Some people believe that Georgia should pursue assertive policy towards Russia: while military confrontation is not an option, Georgia should cut off trade relations and use every possible occasion to demonstrate to international community that Russia is the occupant. This will strengthen Georgia’s relations with the western countries and improve our economy: increase tourism and flow of Georgian products in the western market.

1) First group, called the “Control group” was not given any specific narrative, just the general description of the topic

2) Group #2, which we called “Cautious policy treatment group” was exposed to a narrative in favor of cautious policy towards Russia

3) Group #3, which we called “Assertive policy treatment group” was exposed to a narrative in favor of assertive policy towards Russia
How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the government of Georgia should pursue cautious policy towards Russia? (q20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Control group (33%)</th>
<th>Cautious policy treatment group (33%)</th>
<th>Assertive policy treatment group (34%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree nor disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the government of Georgia should pursue assertive policy towards Russia? (q21)

I - Control group (33%)
II - Cautious policy treatment group (33%)
III - Assertive policy treatment group (34%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia will benefit economically from European and Euro-Atlantic integration (joining EU and NATO)? (q22)

I - Control group (33%)
II - Cautious policy treatment group (33%)
III - Assertive policy treatment group (34%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia will benefit economically from abandoning European and Euro-Atlantic integration in favor of better relations with Russia? (q23)

- I - Control group (33%)
- II - Cautious policy treatment group (33%)
- III - Assertive policy treatment group (34%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
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<td>31</td>
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