



September 2022

# Taking Georgians' pulse

Findings from August 2022 face to face 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.

## AUGUST POLL

- ❖ Fieldwork dates: 14 July - 15 August 2022
- ❖ 2,104 completed interviews (28% response rate)
- ❖ The average margin of error is +/- 2%
- ❖ Note: the margin of error is different for every response
- ❖ Shift from face-to-face to telephone method might affect a change on historical slides.

## SAMPLE

- ❖ 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 cities with a population 40K or more: Batumi, Zugdidi, Rustavi, Poti, Gori, and Kutaisi;
- ❖ Small Urban stratum consists of the rest of the cities/dabas holding urban status;
- ❖ Minority stratum consists of settlements, where ethnic minorities (mostly Armenians & Azerbaijani) compose at least 40% of the voters in given settlement. Settlements within this stratum are dispersed throughout Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti & Kakheti regions.

## Methodology

We use random sampling at all stages. We use a complex survey design:

- ❖ Stratification – dividing population in relatively homogenous sub-groups; and
- ❖ 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 with 18+ population, using tablets, in Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani languages.

## Quality control

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

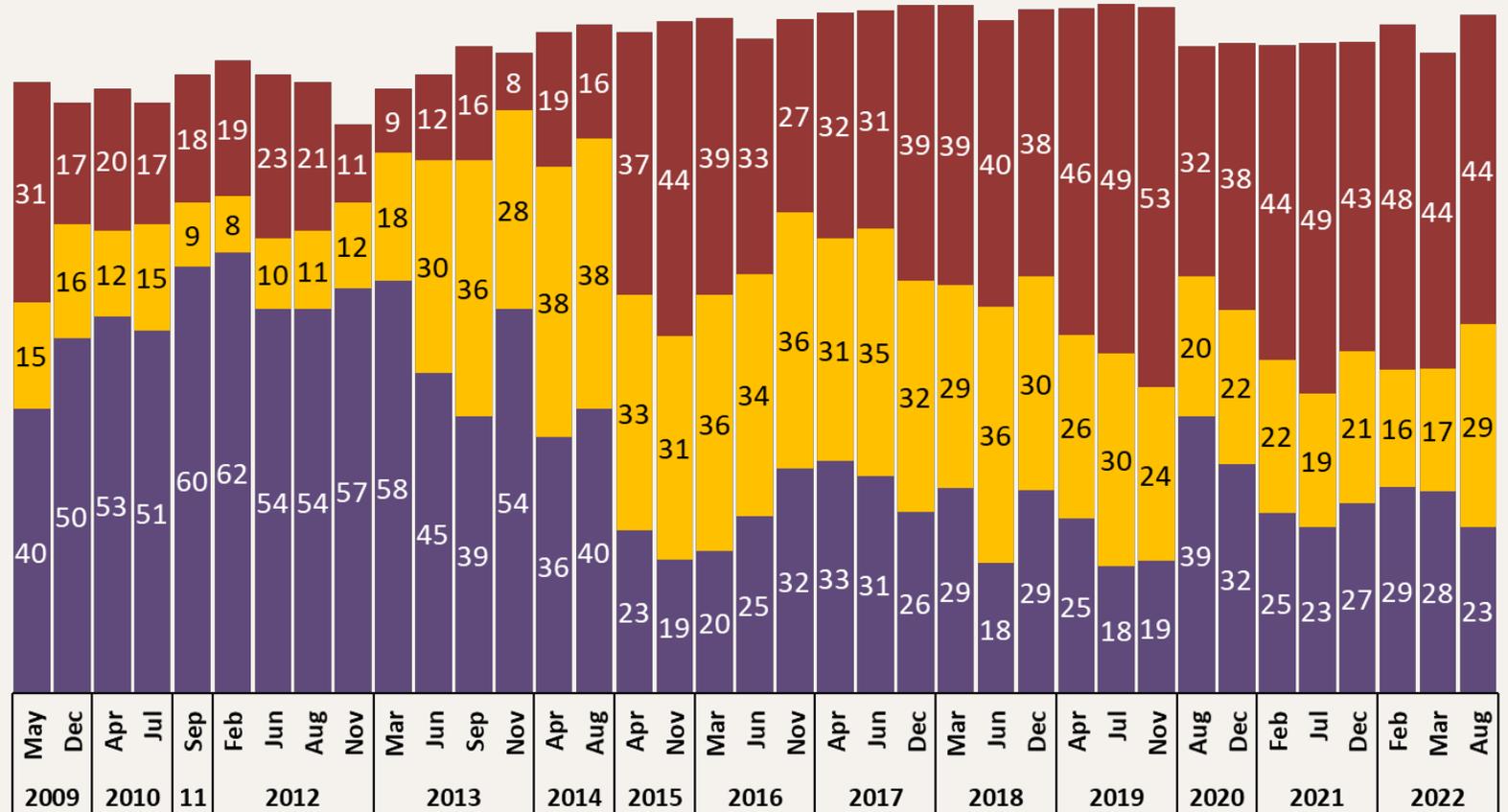
General mood, state of  
democracy

# Plurality say Georgia going in the wrong direction

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. Using this card, please, rate your answer. (q1)

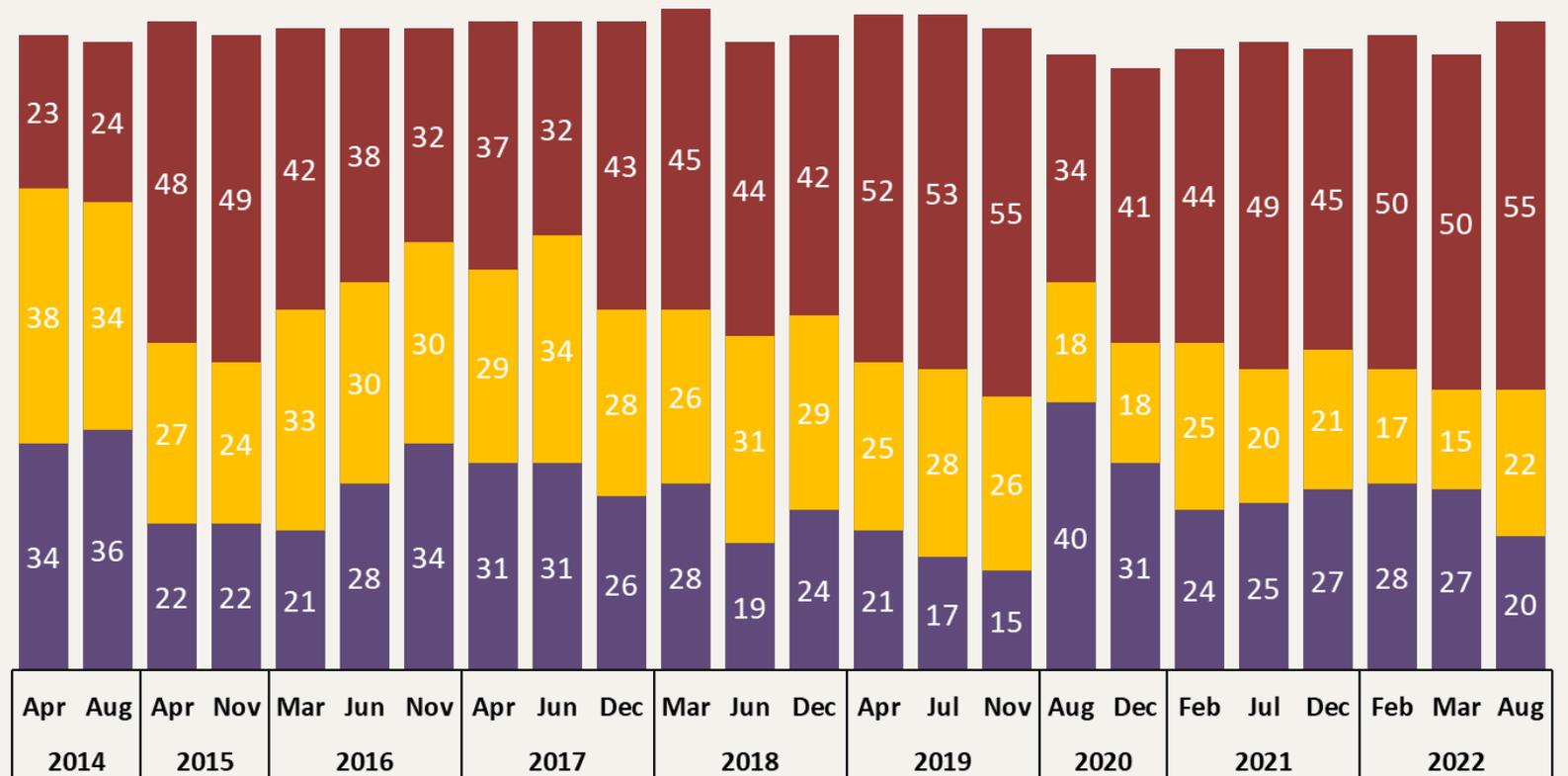
■ Georgia is going in the right direction ■ Georgia is not changing at all ■ Georgia is going in the wrong direction



# Majority of Tbilisi residents not happy about the country direction

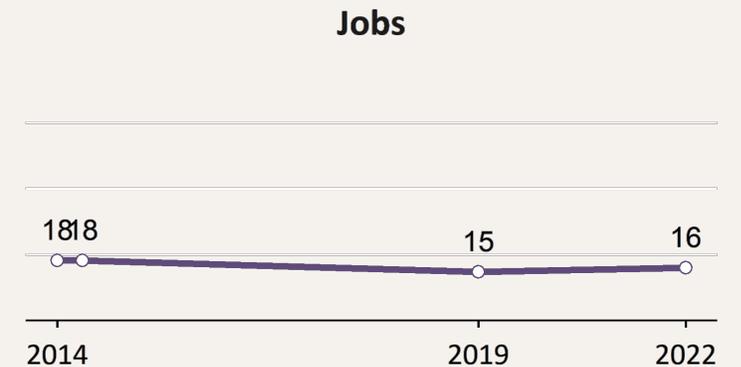
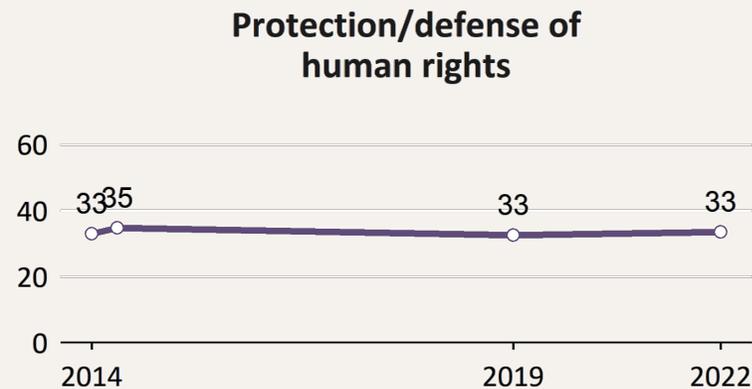
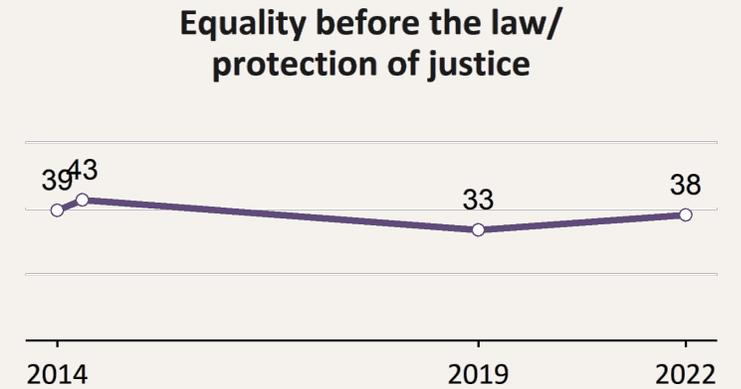
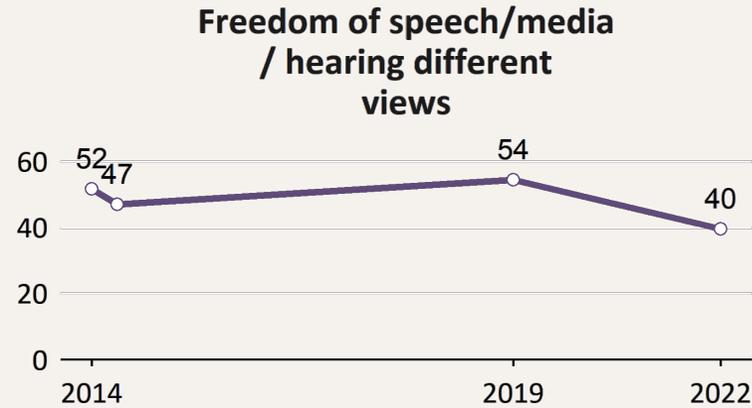
There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Using this card, please, rate your answer. (q1)  
Tbilisi only.

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



Georgians say democracy is, first of all, equality before the law and freedom of speech

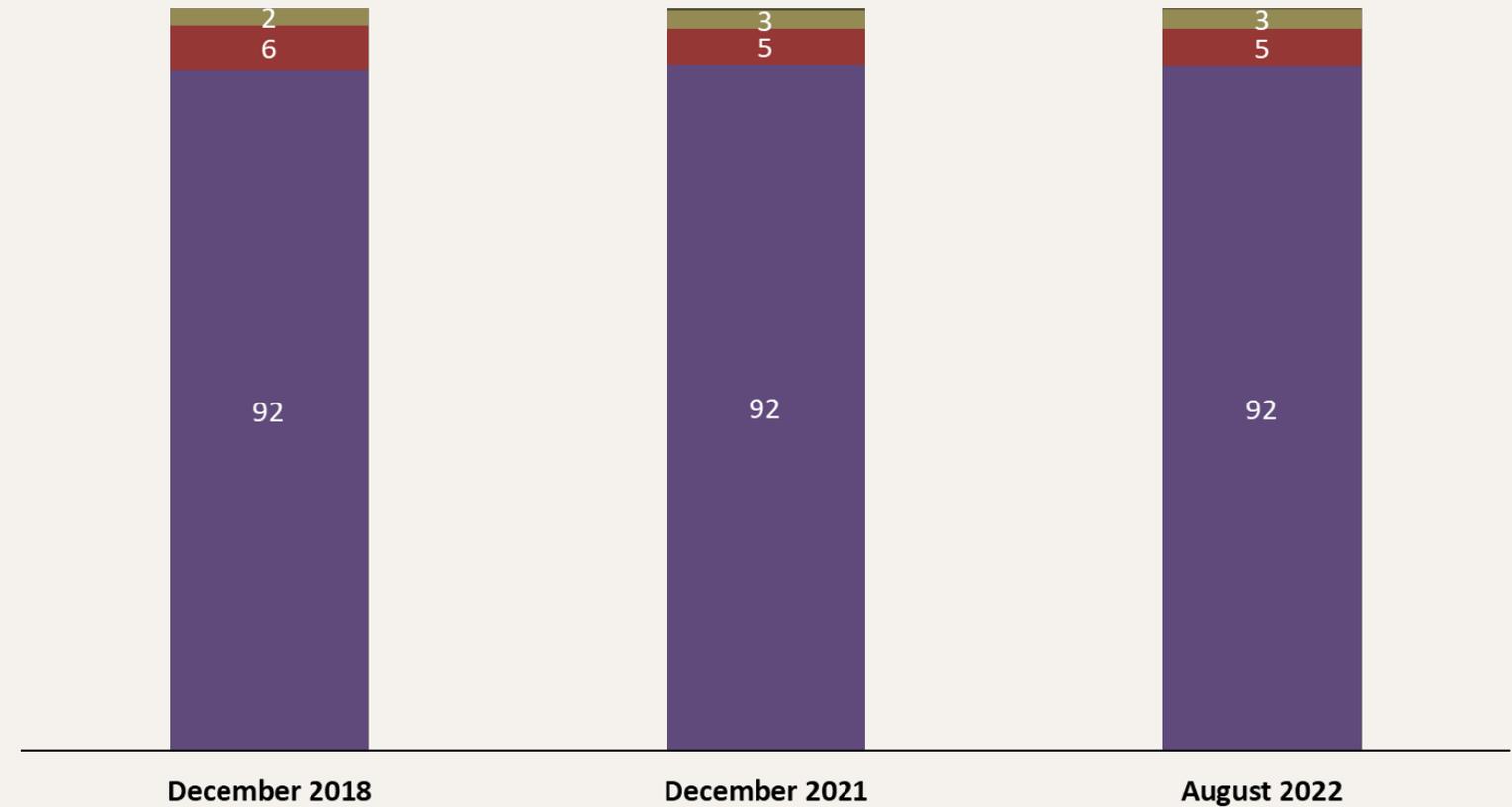
### What does democracy mean to you? Up to three things. Open question. (q8)



Living in a democratic country is important for majority of Georgians

Overall, how important or unimportant is it for you to live in a democratic country? (q9)

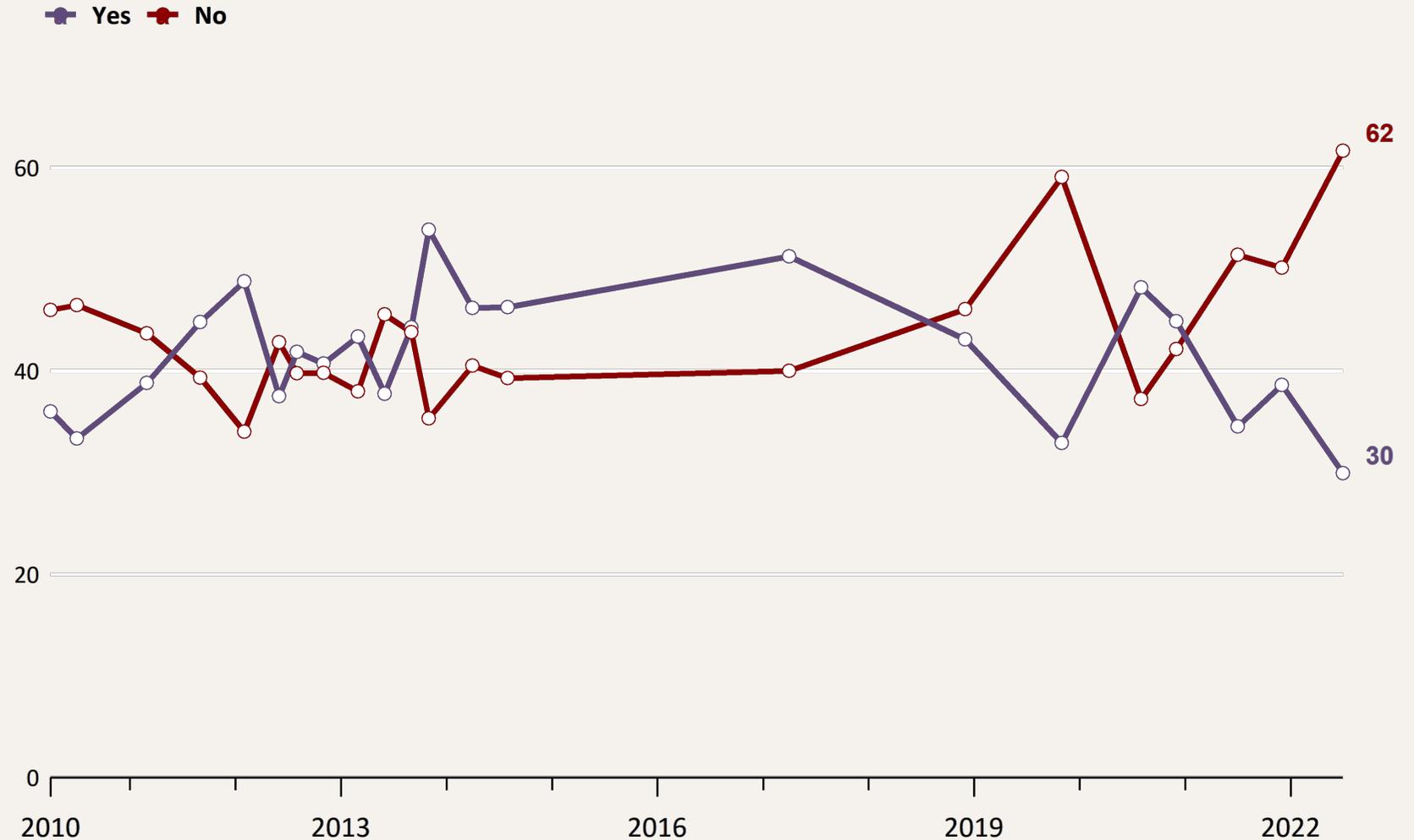
■ Important ■ Not important ■ DK ■ RA



# Majority say Georgia not a democracy

Citizens living in the ethnic minority settlements and supporters of Georgian Dream are more likely to say that Georgia is a democracy.

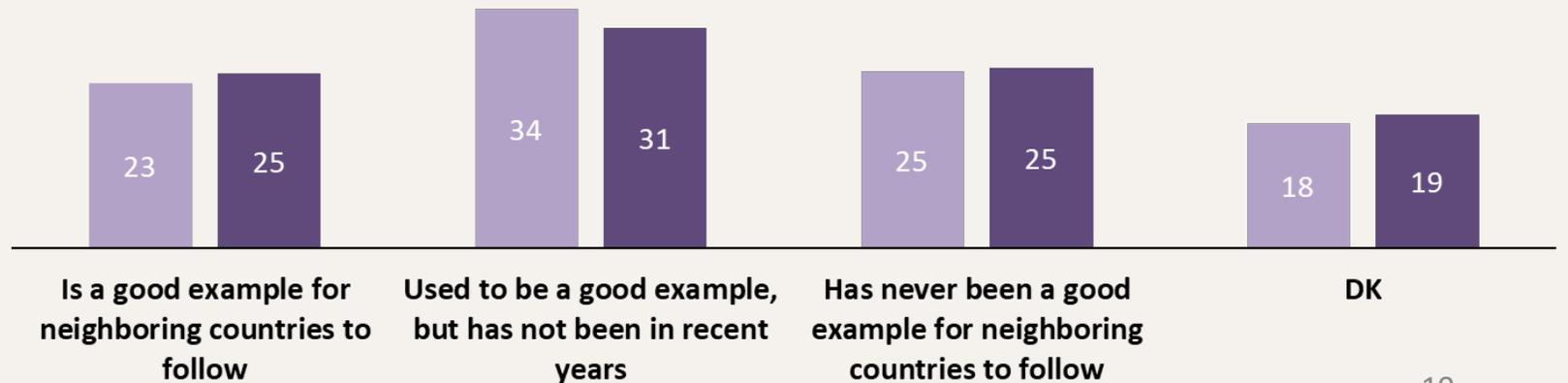
## In your opinion, is Georgia a democracy now? (q10)



Majority:  
Georgia not a  
good example  
for neighbors

Which statement comes closest to your view?  
Democracy in Georgia ... (q11)

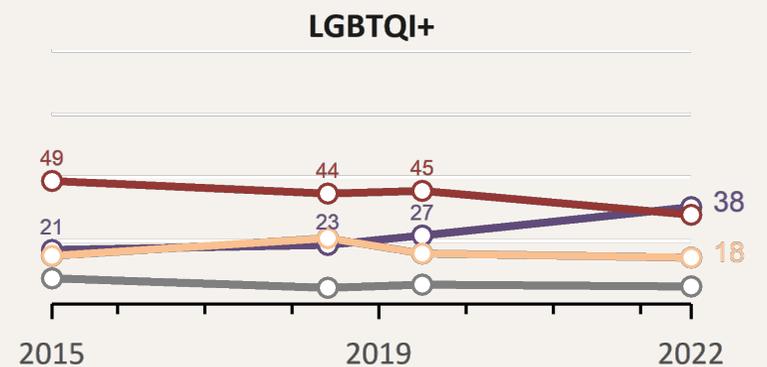
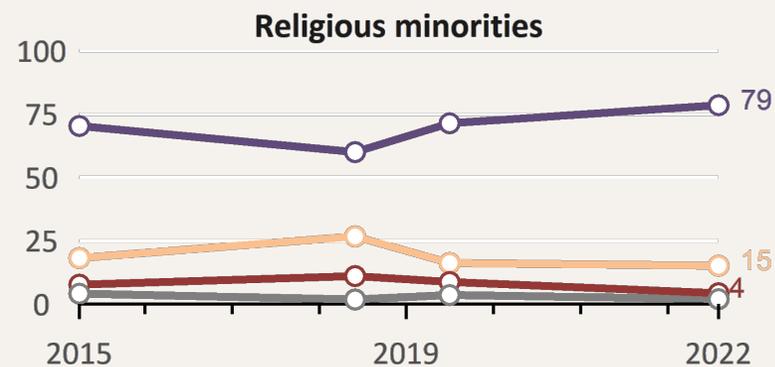
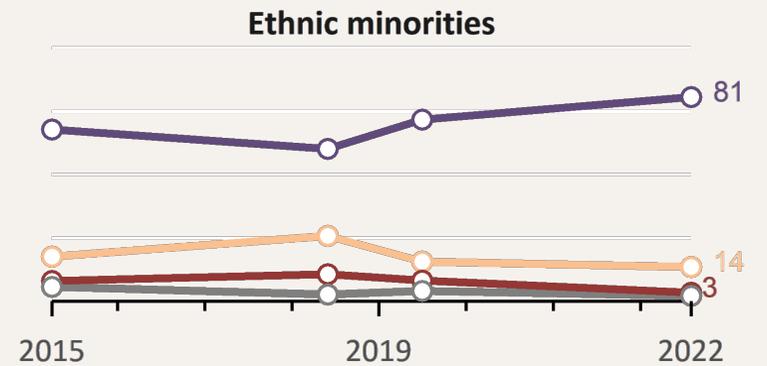
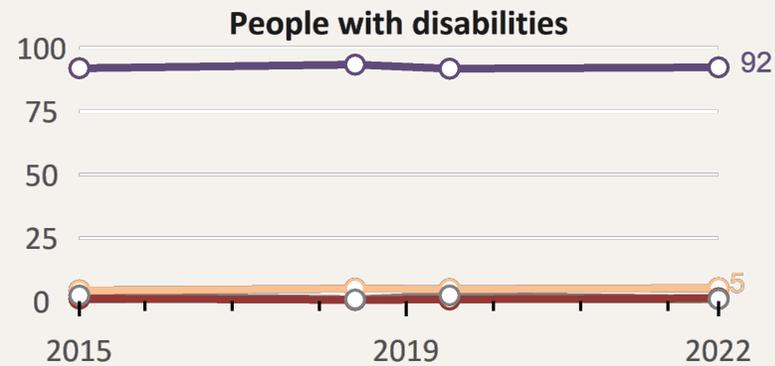
December 2021 August 2022



# Increase in support for protection of LGBTQI+ rights

Please tell me how important or unimportant is the protection of rights of the following minorities? (q42)

● Important ● Neutral ● Not important



National and local issues

# Jobs, rising prices and poverty remain top national concerns

Ethnic minorities are more likely than others to name poverty; unlike the rest of Georgian citizens, ethnic minorities don't name territorial integrity among the most important national issues.

National priorities are similar across partisan lines.

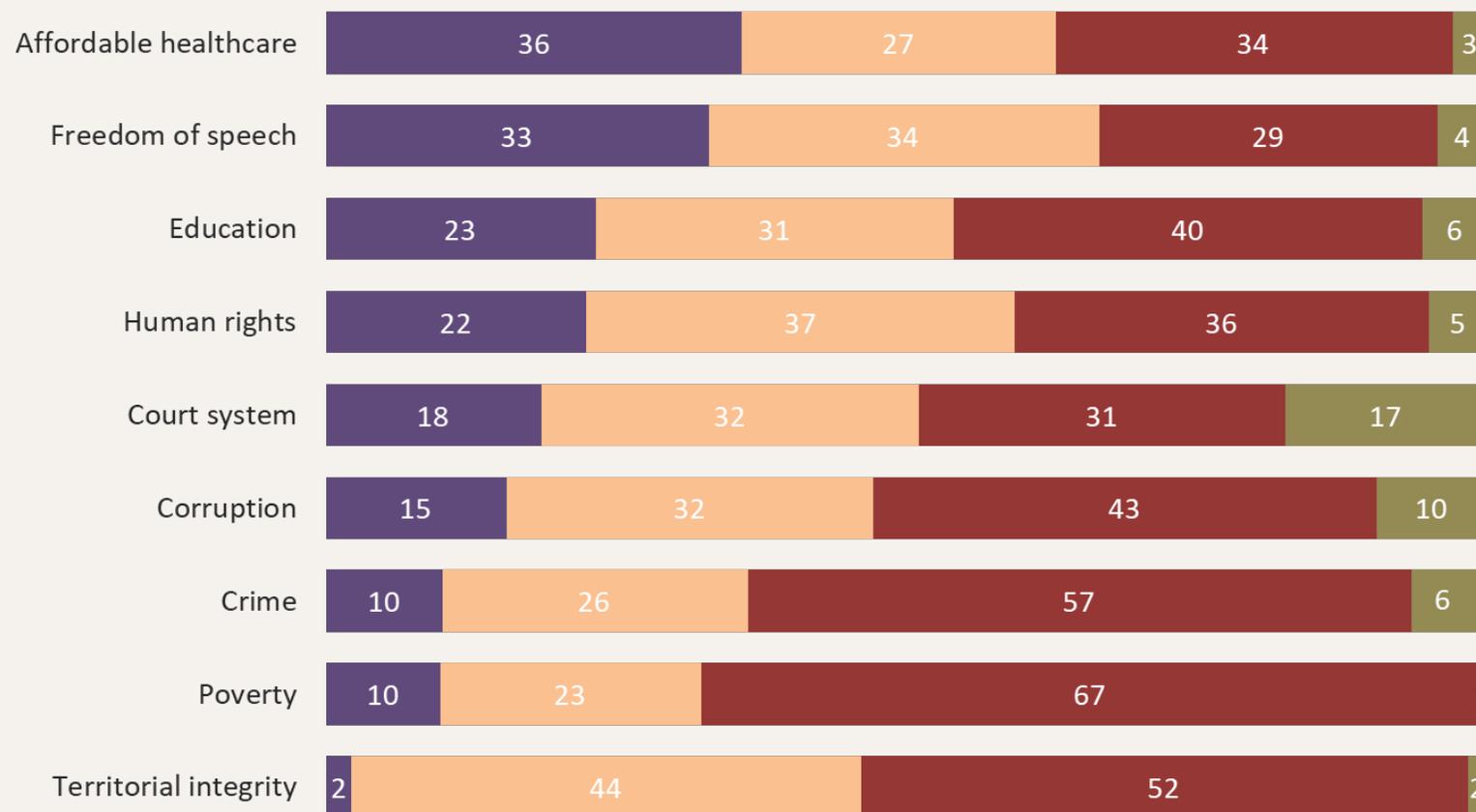
## What are the most important national issues facing you and your family? Please name up to three. (q12)



Majority say  
in the last 10  
years situation got  
worse in regards  
to territorial  
integrity, poverty  
and crime

For each issue, how do you think the situation has changed in Georgia in the last 10 years? Has it gotten worse, stayed the same or gotten better? (q13)

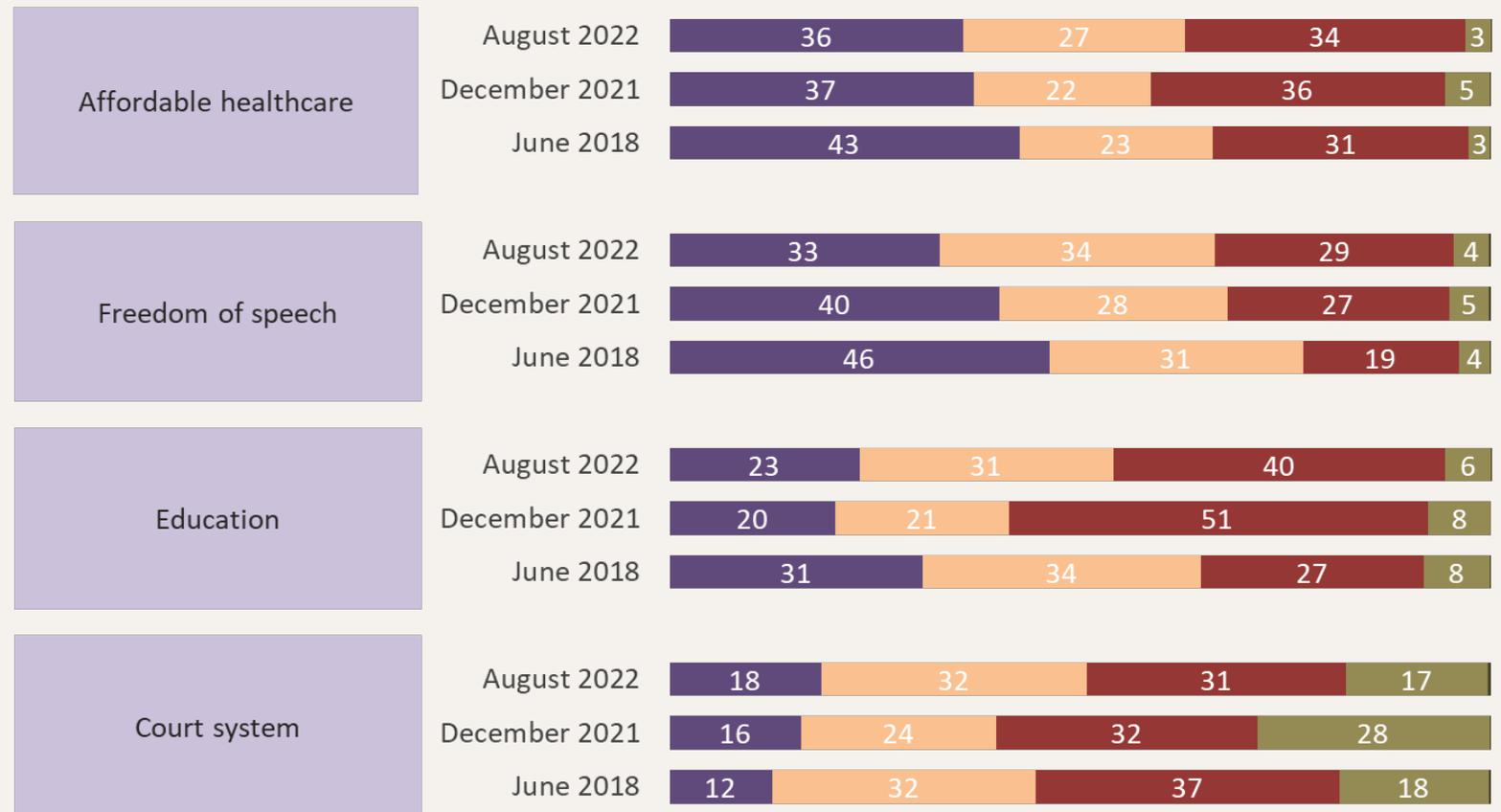
■ Better ■ Same ■ Worse ■ DK



Compared to 2018, now less people say there is progress in regards to affordable healthcare and freedom of speech

**For each issue, how do you think the situation has changed in Georgia in the last 10 years? Has it gotten worse, stayed the same or gotten better? (q13) Part 1**

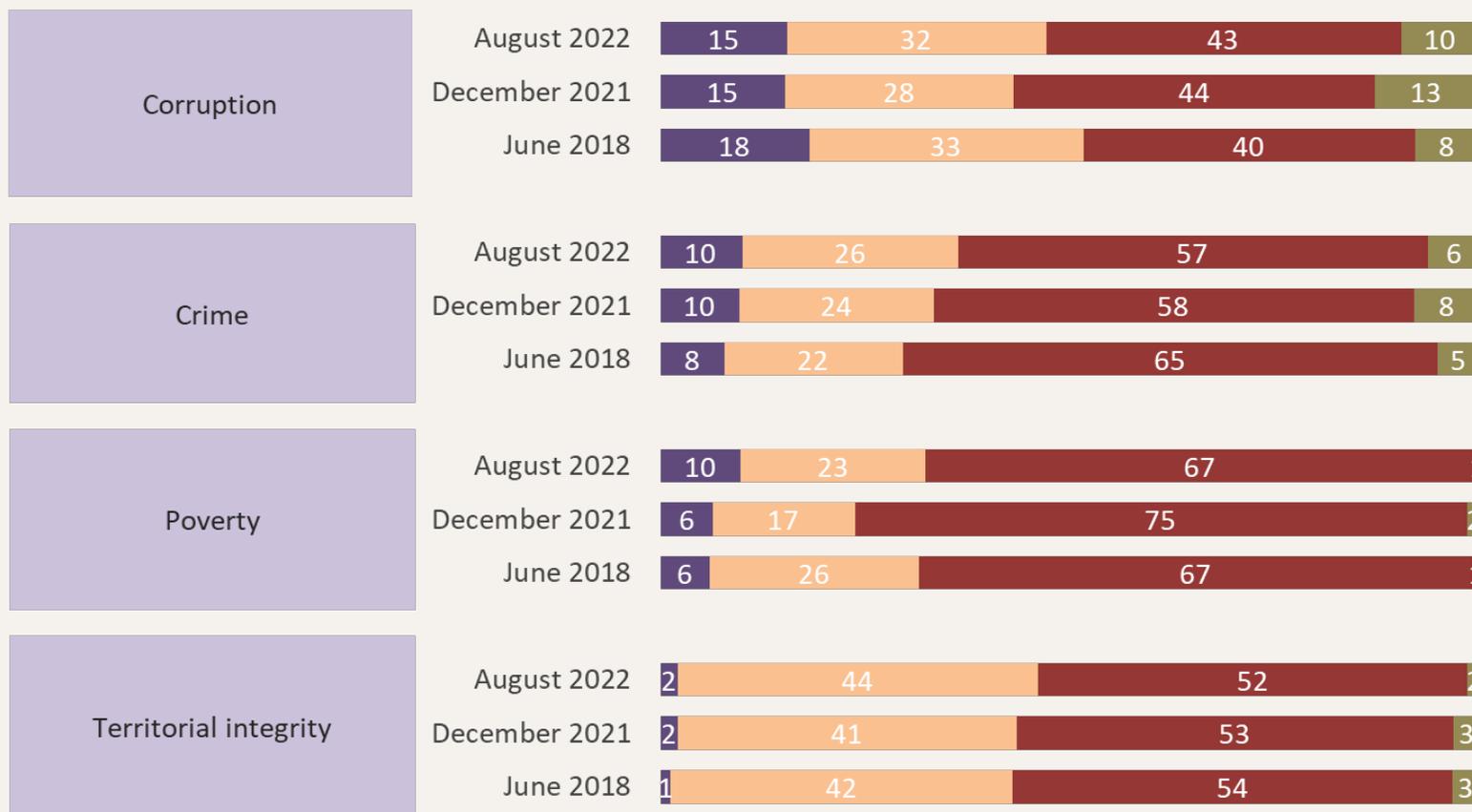
■ Better ■ Same ■ Worse ■ DK ■ RA



Compared to 2018, now less people say there is progress in regards to affordable healthcare and freedom of speech

**For each issue, how do you think the situation has changed in Georgia in the last 10 years? Has it gotten worse, stayed the same or gotten better? (q13) Part 2**

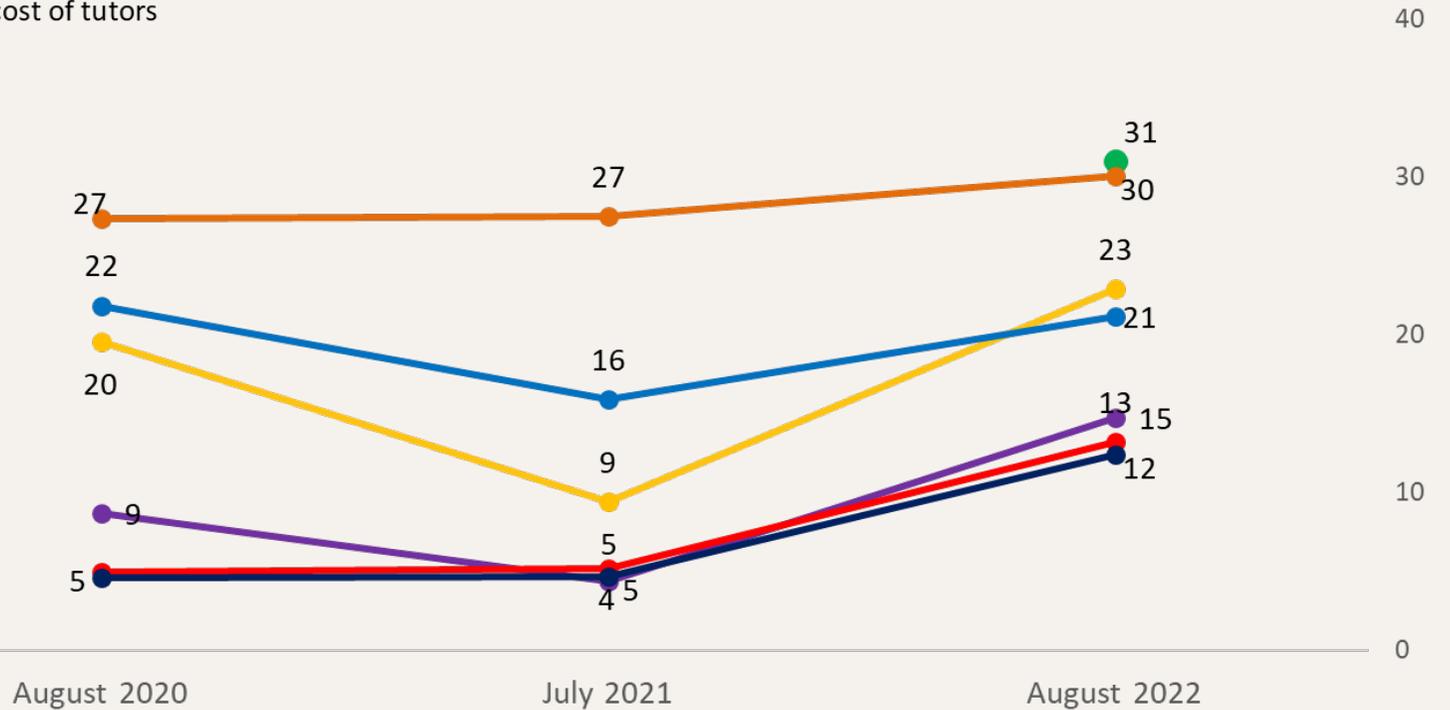
■ Better ■ Same ■ Worse ■ DK ■ RA



Low quality of education and online classes named as top challenges

### What are three biggest issues facing the education system in Georgia today? (q15)

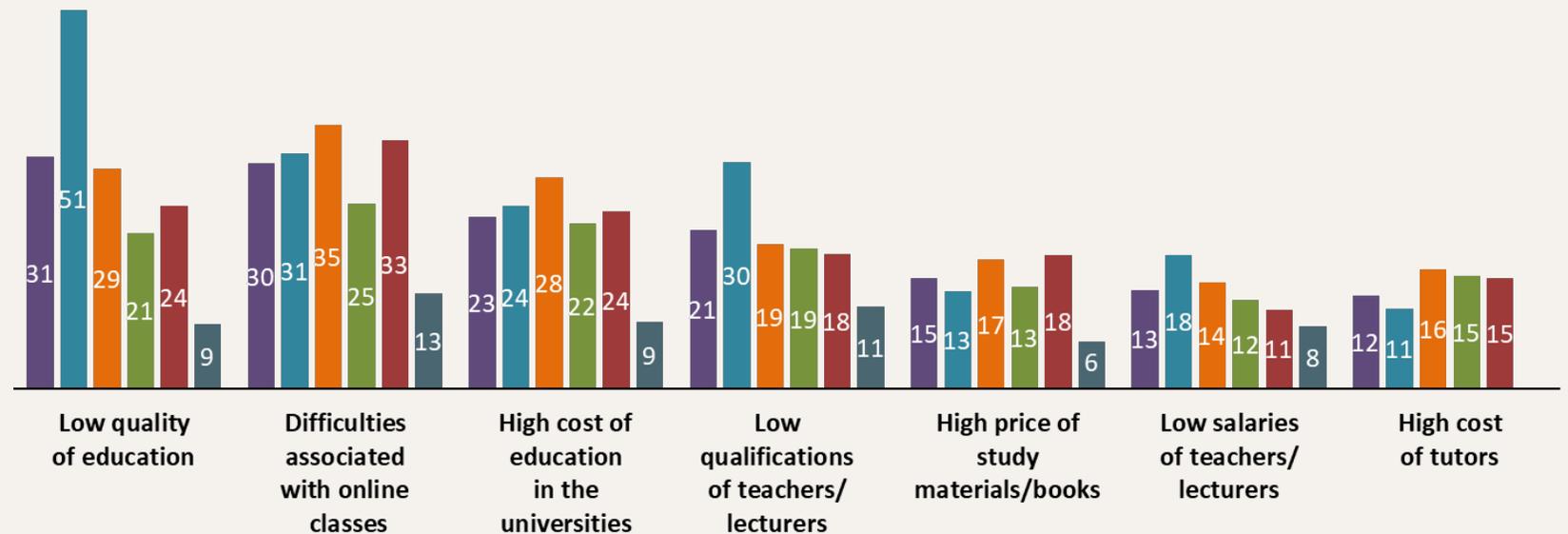
- Low quality of education
- Difficulties associated with online classes
- High cost of education in the universities
- Low qualifications of teachers/lecturers
- High price of study materials/books
- Low salaries of teachers/lecturers
- High cost of tutors



Tbilisi residents are especially concerned about low quality of education and poor qualification of teachers

### What are three biggest issues facing the education system in Georgia today? (q15 X Settlement) Part 1

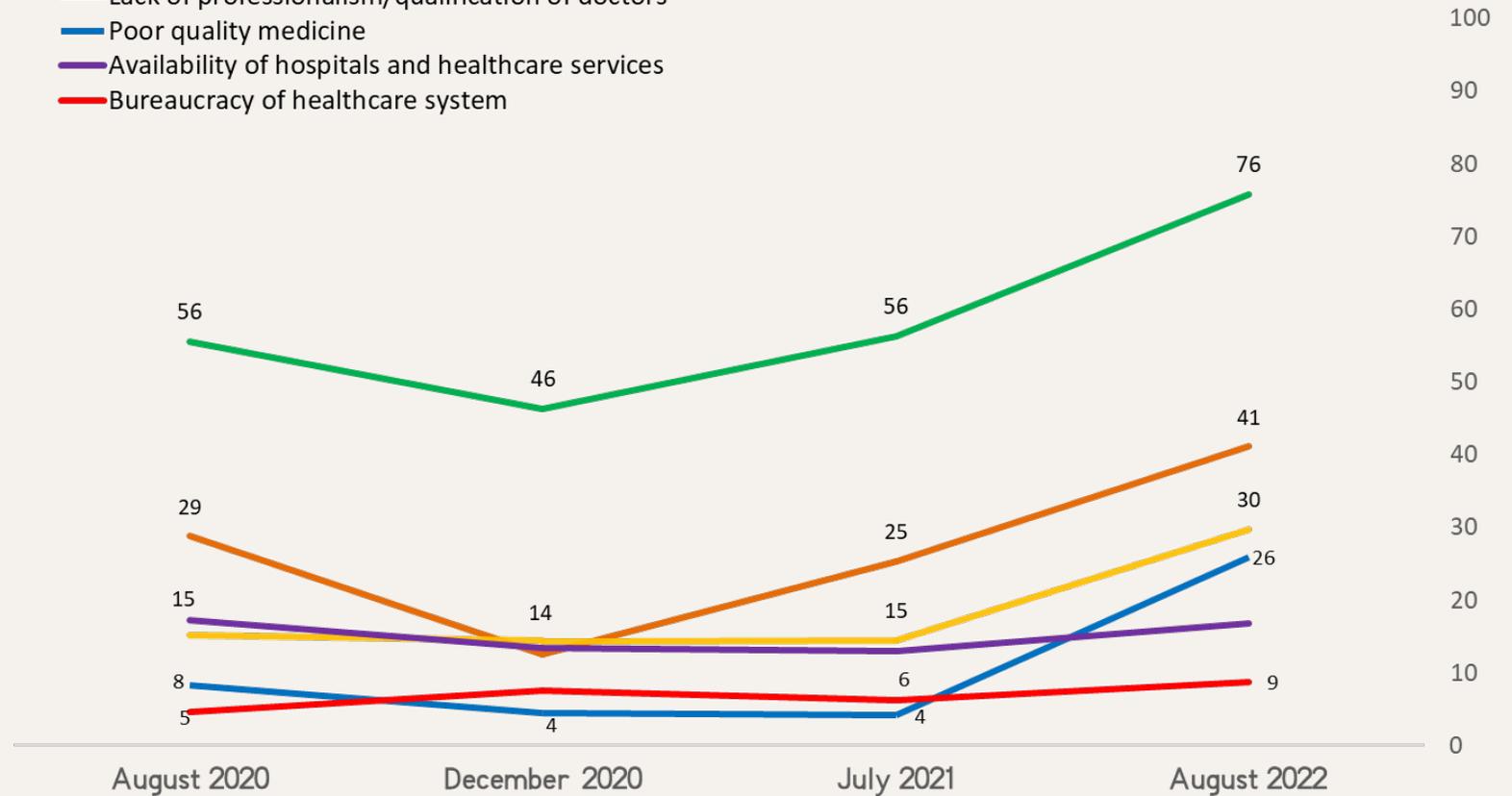
■ National ■ Capital ■ Large urban ■ Small urban ■ Rural ■ Minority settlements



Cost of medicine has become even bigger concern for citizens

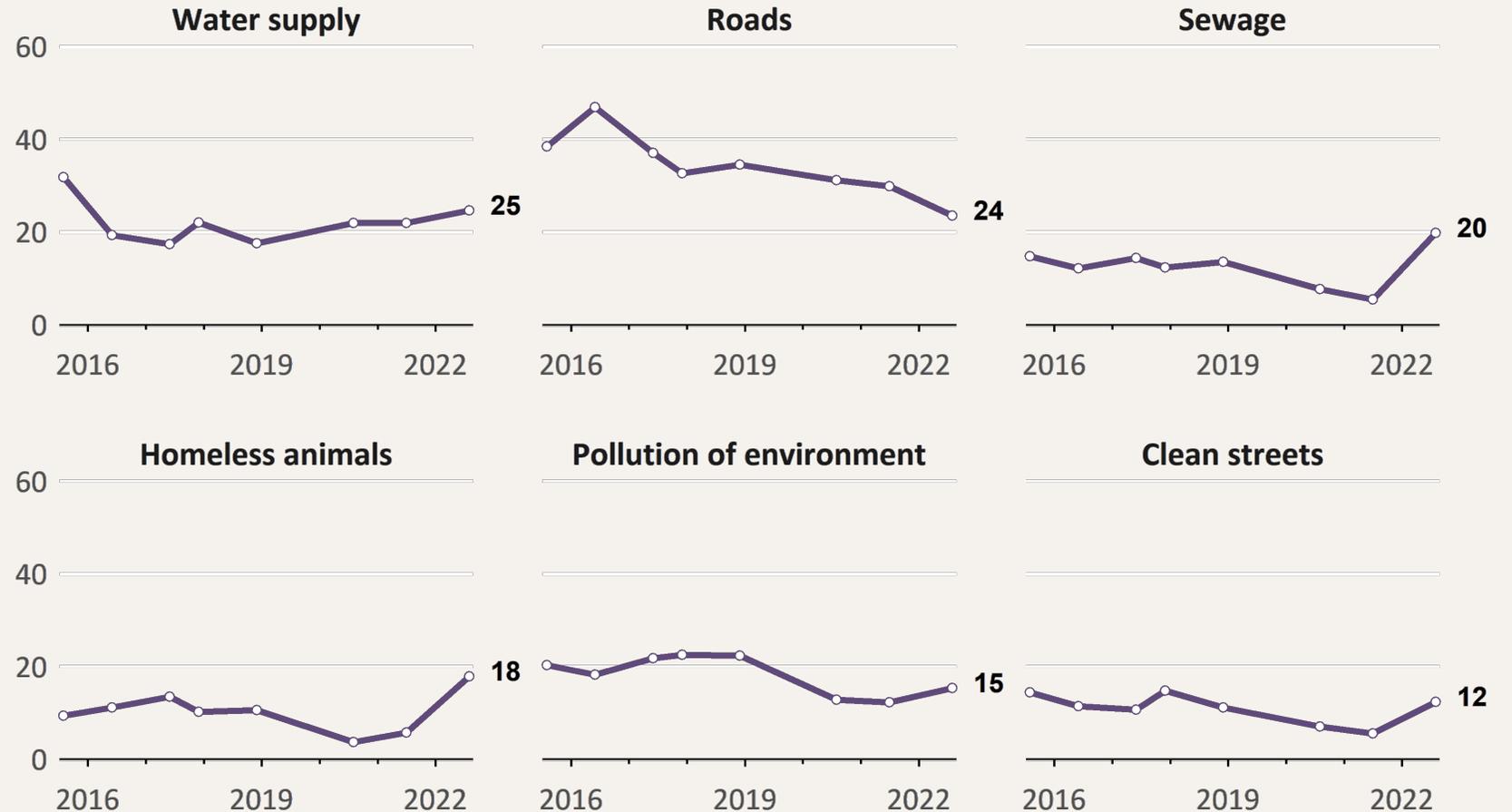
### What are three biggest issues facing the healthcare system today? (q16)

- Cost of medicine
- Cost of medical care/doctor's visits
- Lack of professionalism/qualification of doctors
- Poor quality medicine
- Availability of hospitals and healthcare services
- Bureaucracy of healthcare system



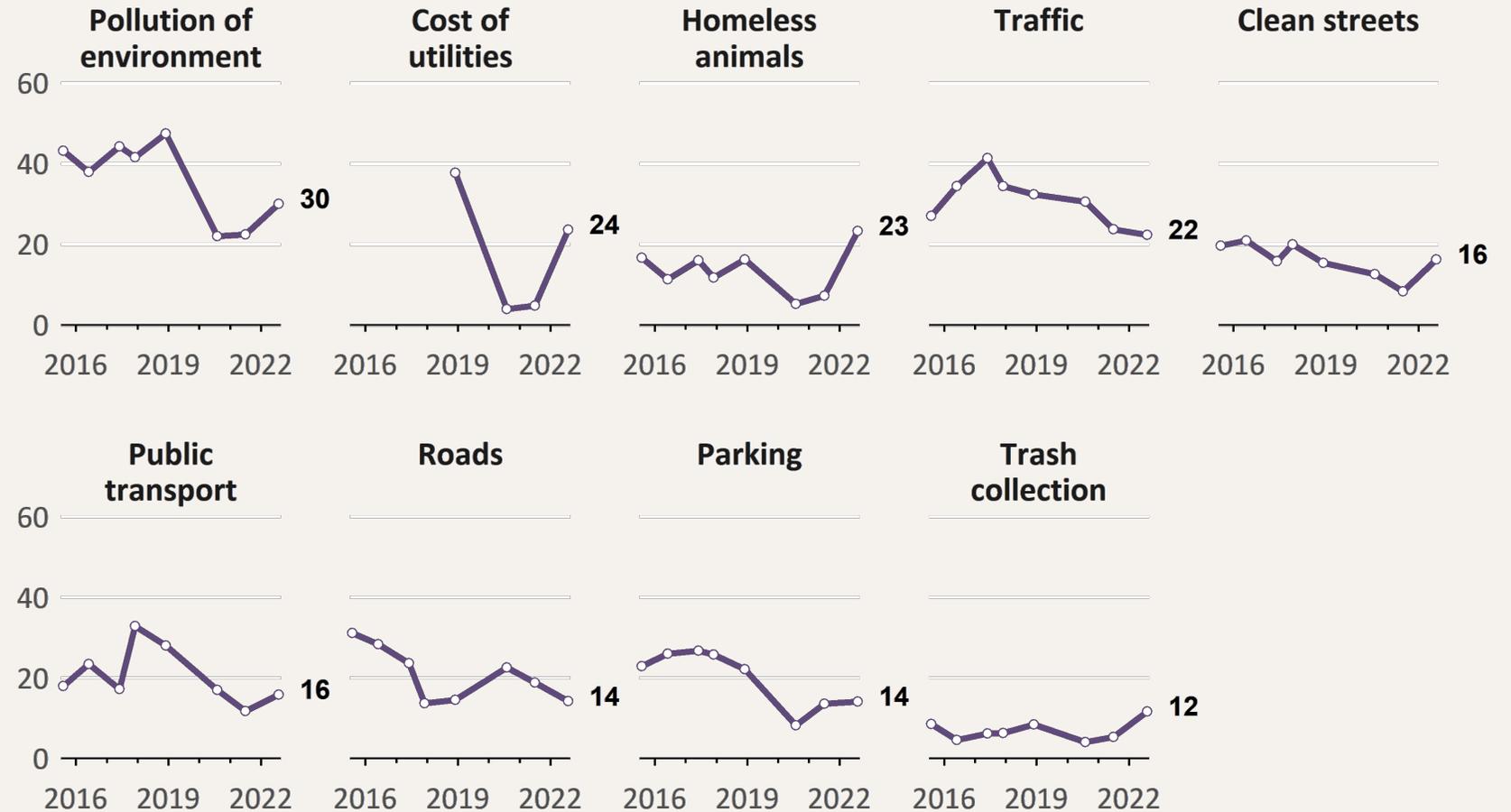
Water supply, roads, sewage, and homeless animals named as the top local concerns

### What are three most important infrastructural issues in your city/village? (q14)



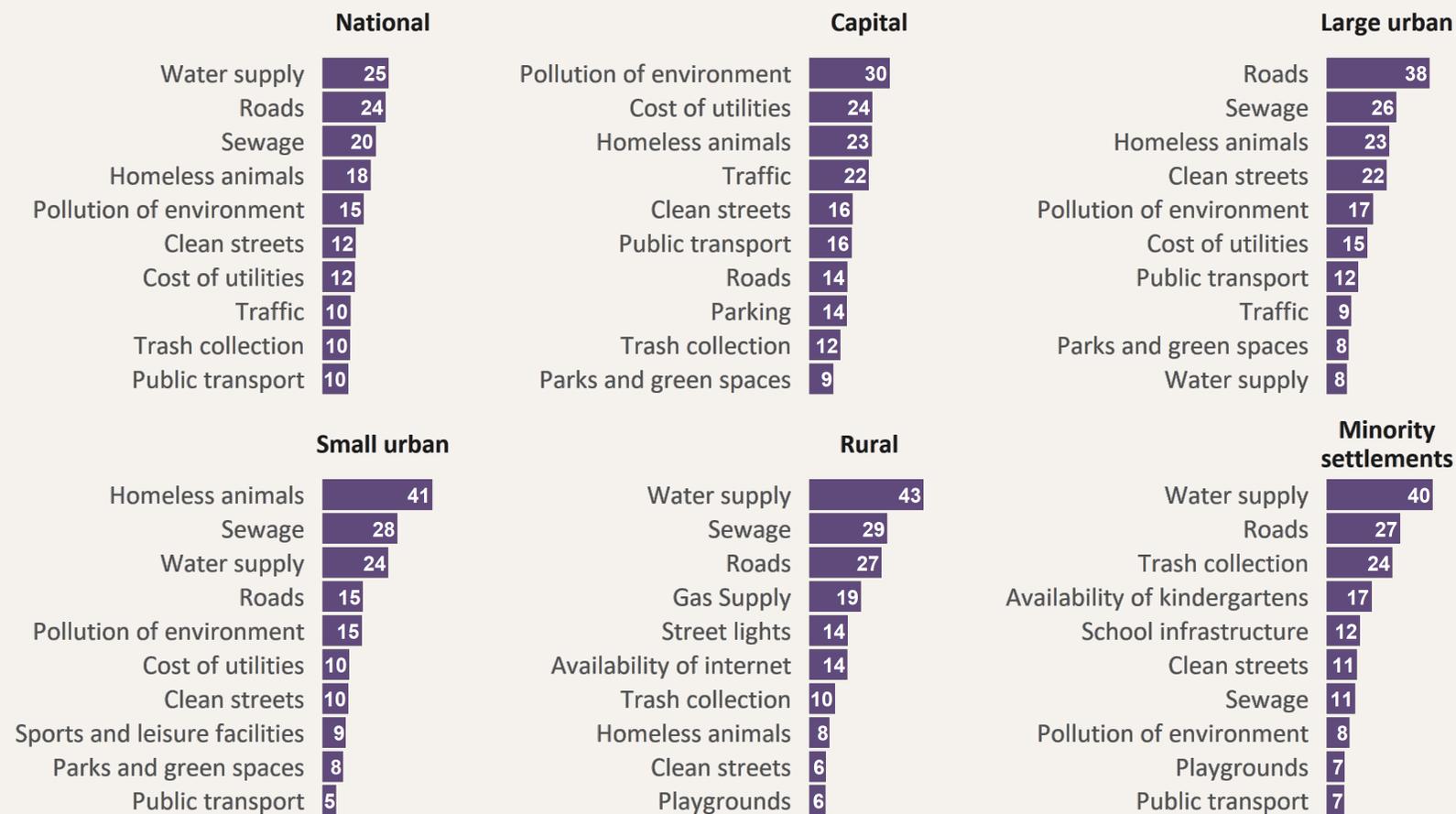
Tbilisi is most concerned about cleanness of streets, cost of utilities, and homeless animals

### What are three most important infrastructural issues in your city/village? (q14). Tbilisi only.



Roads, homeless animals and water supply amongst the leading local issues

## What are three most important infrastructural issues in your city/village? (q14 x Settlement)

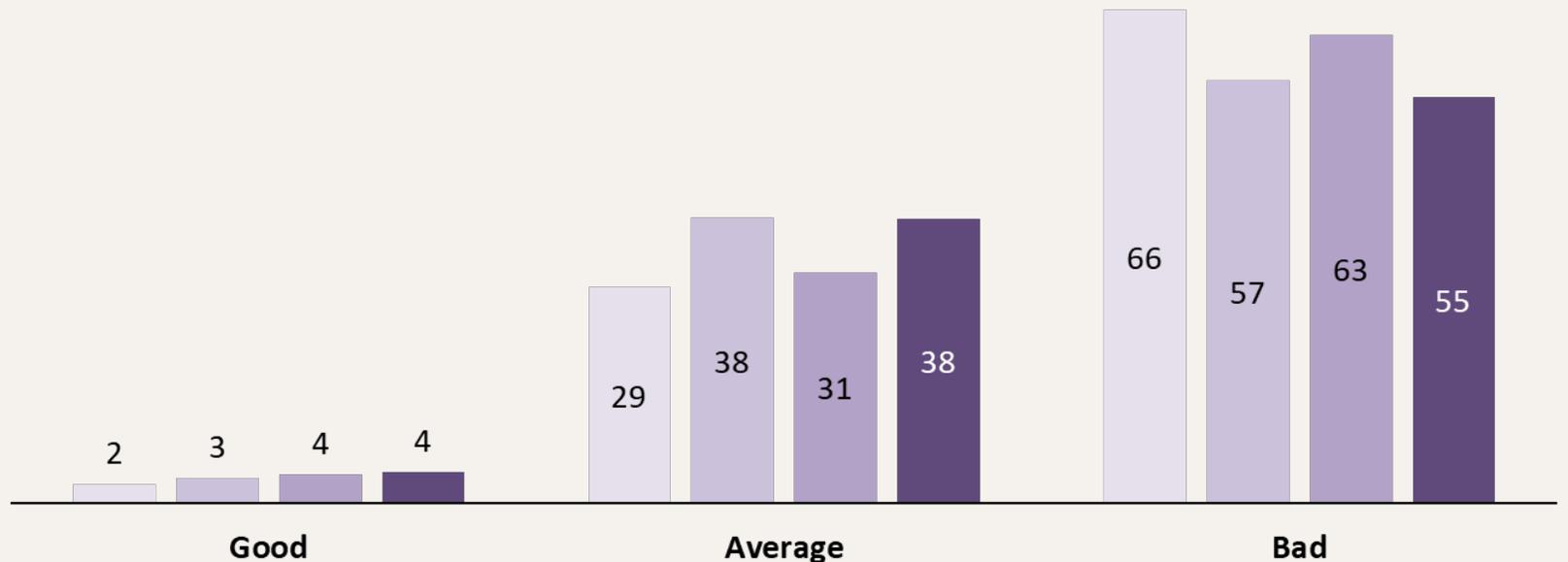


Economy

# State of economy perceived as bad

Using this card, please evaluate the current situation of Georgia's economy. (q18)

March 2016 June 2018 July 2019 August 2022



# Plurality say they can afford less than five years ago

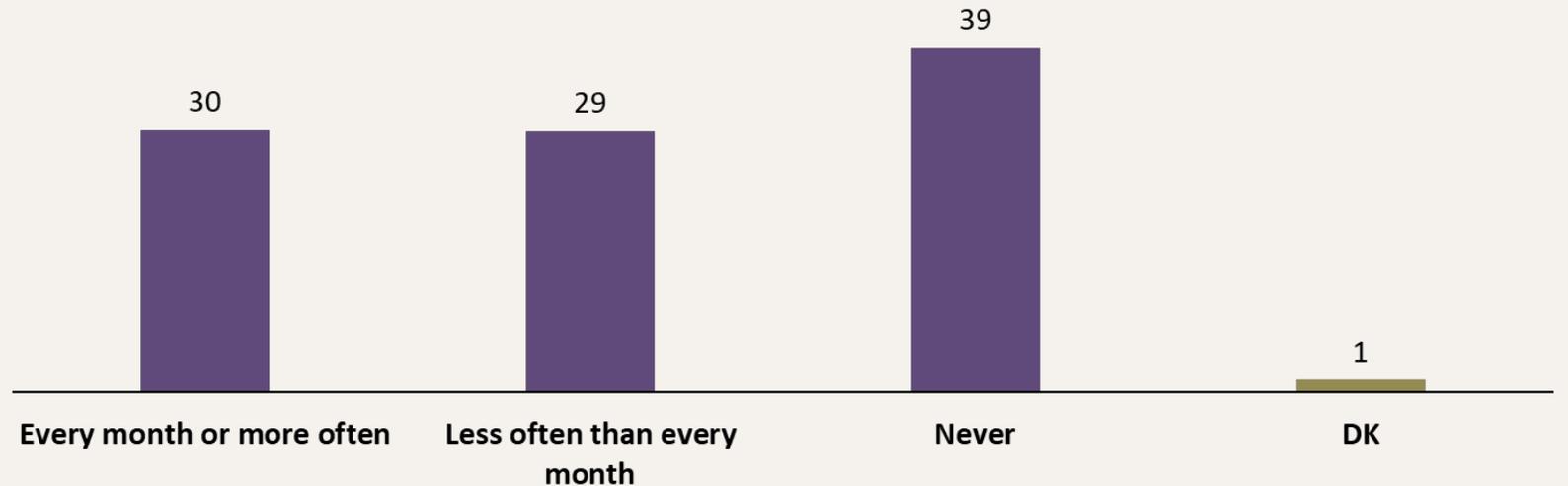
Thinking about your current situation, are you personally able to afford more, the same or less than you could 5 years ago? (q17)

■ July 2019 ■ August 2022



# Every third citizen struggled to buy food

In the last 12 months, how often did it happen that you did not have enough money to buy the food you or your family needed?  
(q19)

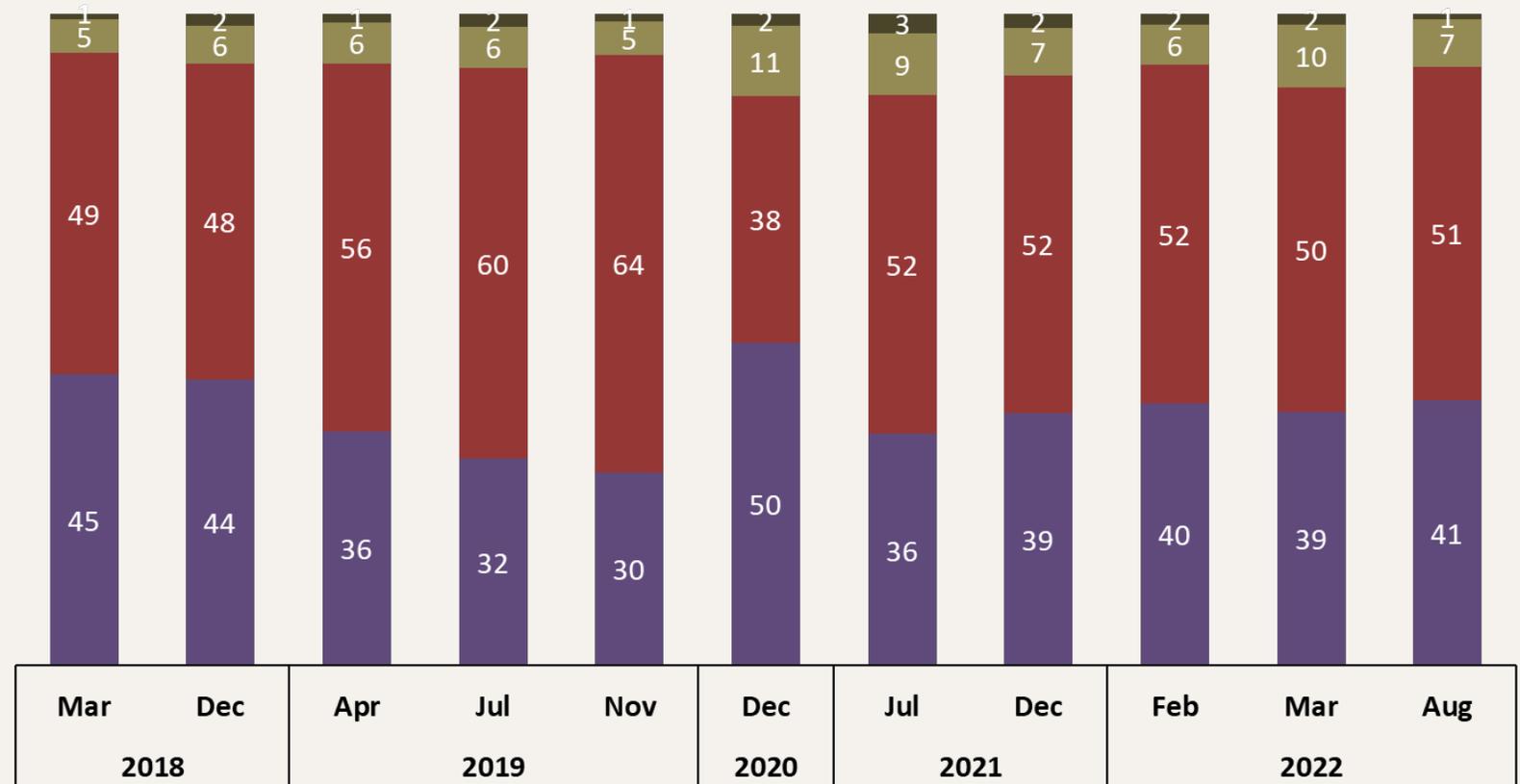


# Institutions and leaders

Performance of the government remains same – half of the population say it's doing a bad job

Please, tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government? (q2)

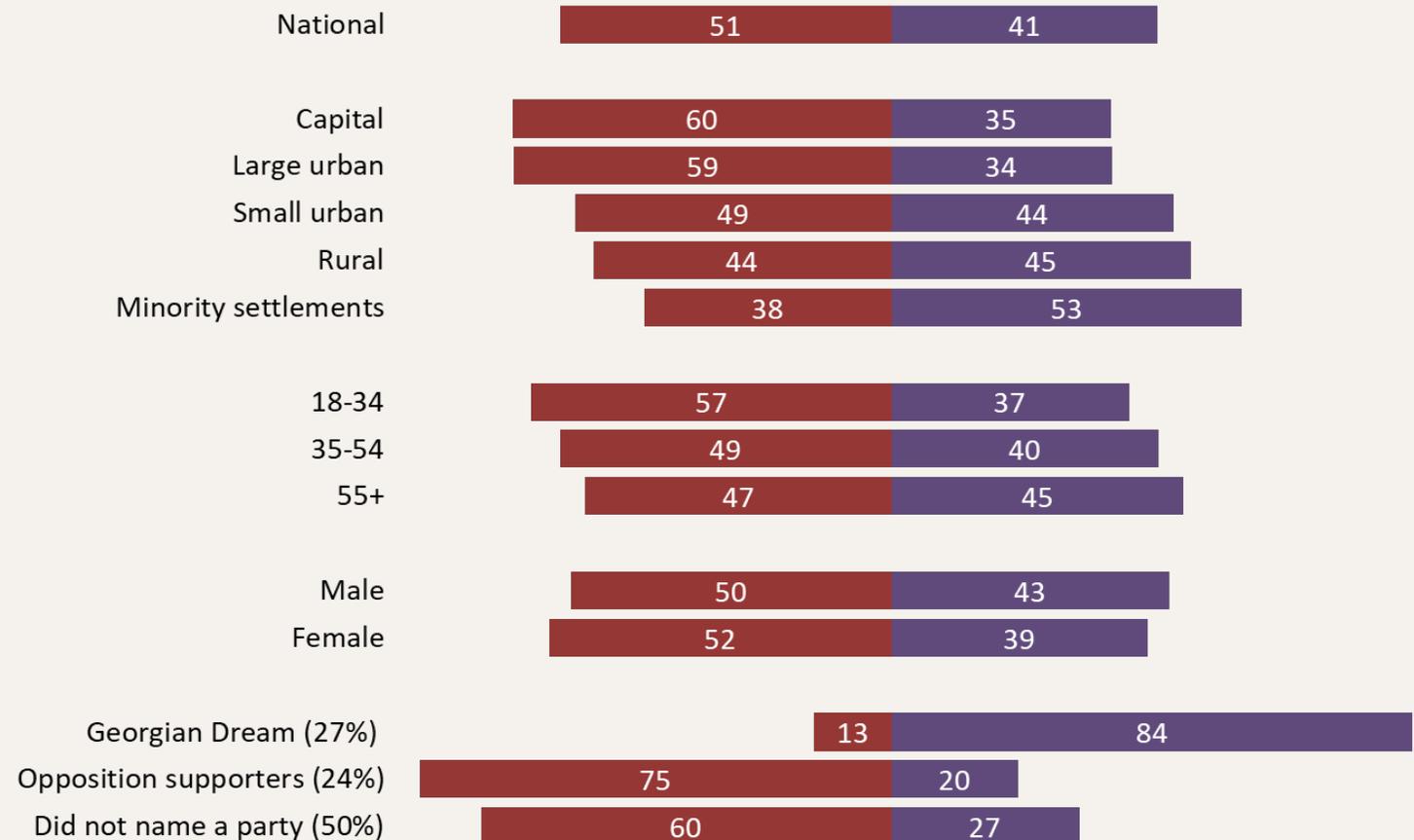
■ Good ■ Bad ■ DK ■ RA



Tbilisi and other large cities are most critical towards the government, so are the younger citizens

Please, tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government? (q2 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

■ Bad ■ Good

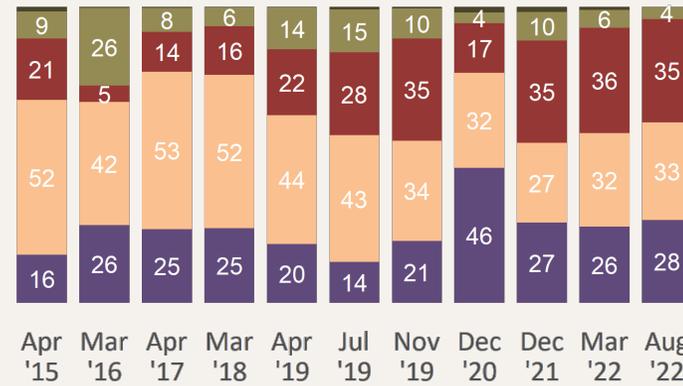


# President's negative job assessment has increased

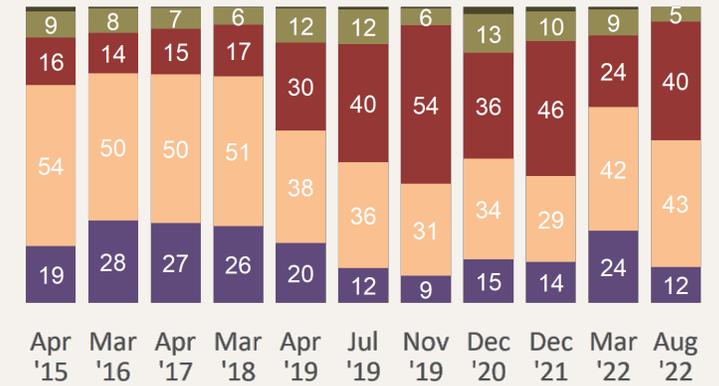
## How would you rate the performance of...? (q4)

■ Good ■ Average ■ Bad ■ DK ■ RA

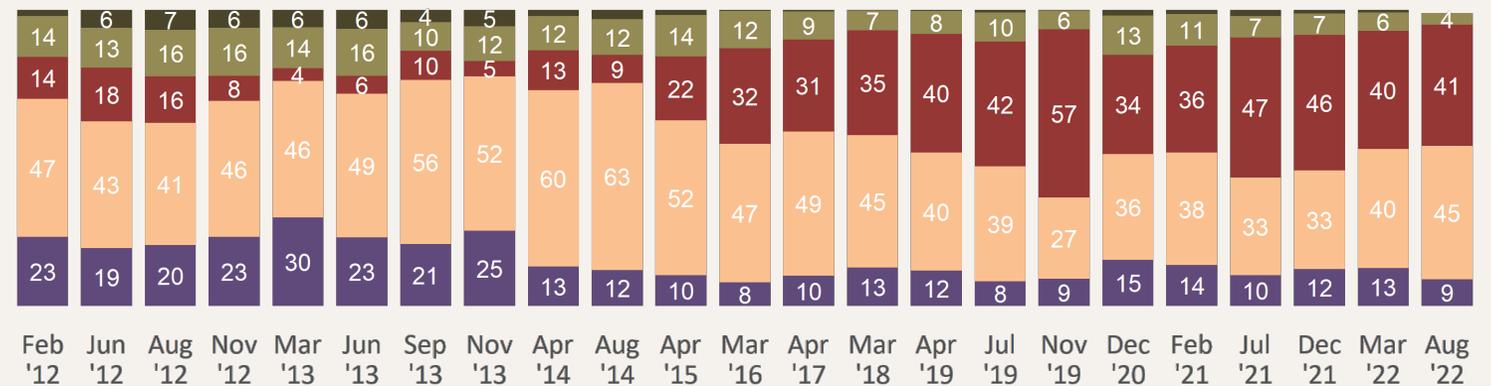
### Prime Minister



### President



### Parliament

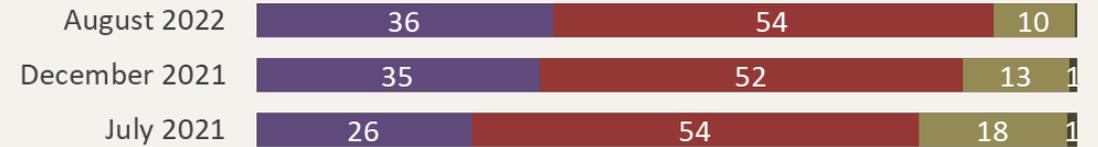


Majority remain skeptical that parliament is responsive to citizens' needs

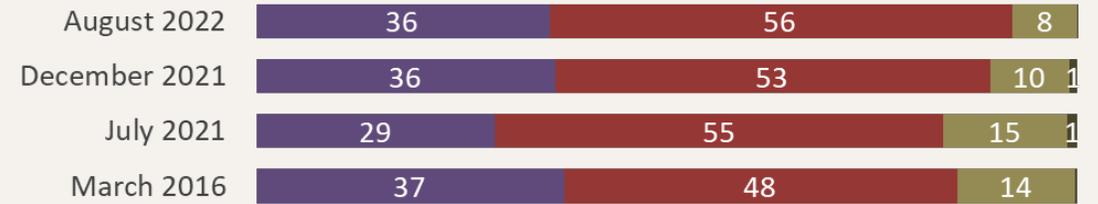
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q5)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA

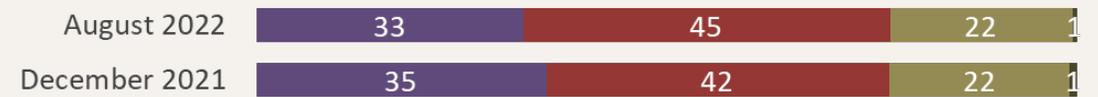
If I tell a member of the Parliament about issues in my community, he/she will take action to help solve the problem



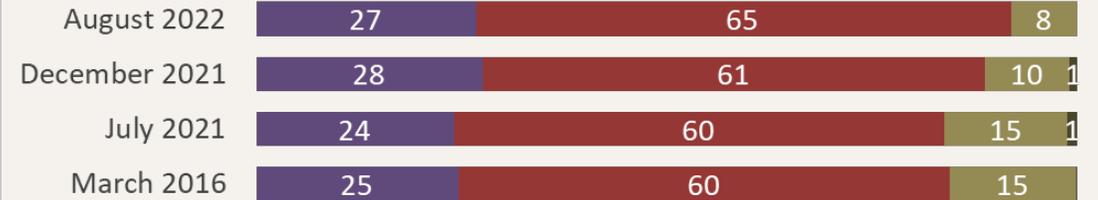
Parliament is passing legislation on issues that matter to me



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



Parliament communicates regularly with citizens



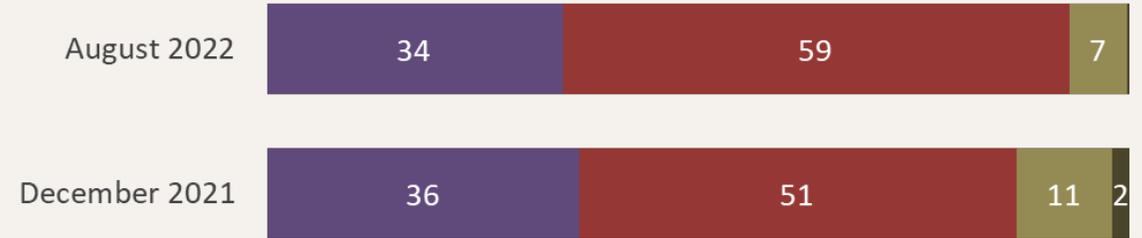
# Majority say neither the ruling party, nor elected opposition parties act in their interest

14 percent increase in people who believe that elected opposition parties do not act in the best interest of the Georgian people.

## Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (q3)

■ 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



Ruling party has the highest confidence in the ethnic minority and rural settlements

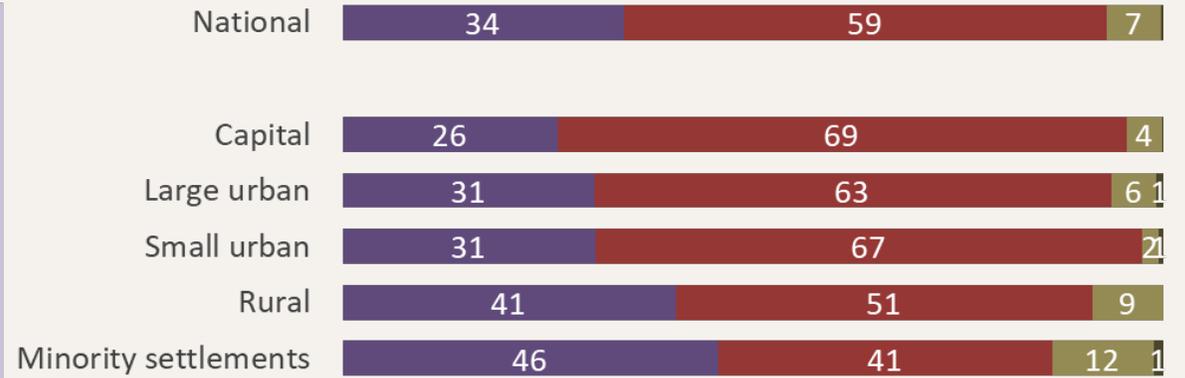
Elected opposition parties, too, have the highest confidence in minority settlements.

**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

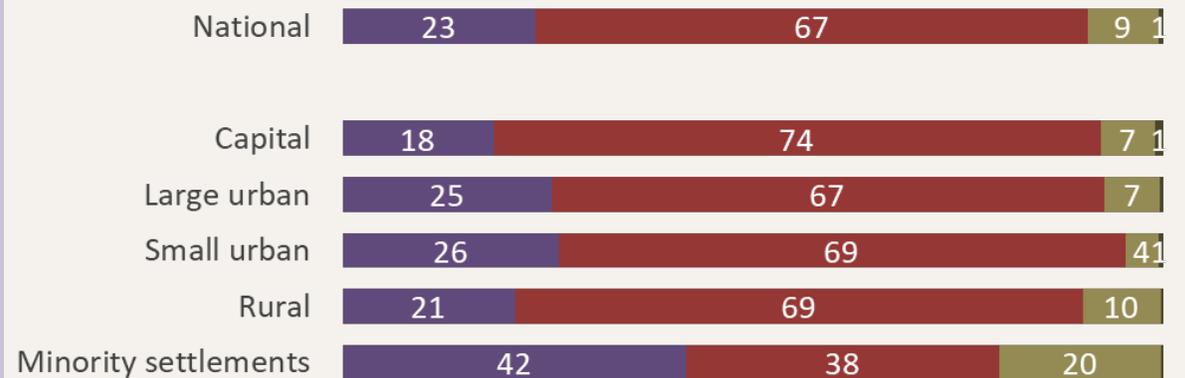
(q3 X Settlement)

■ 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

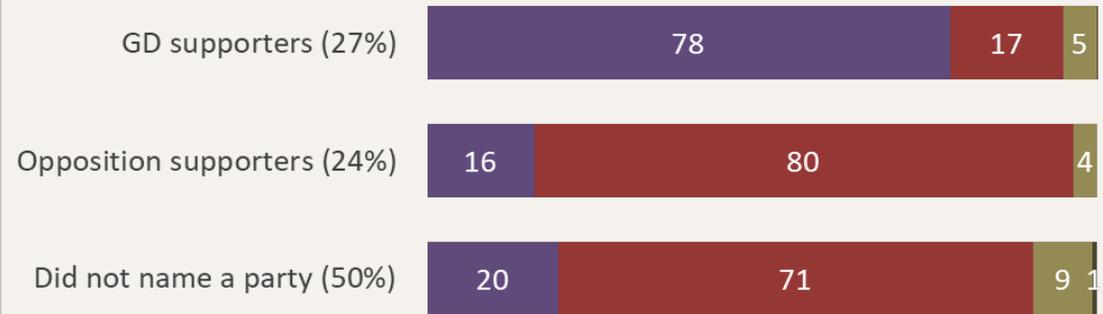


Majority of opposition supporters say opposition parties do not act in their best interest

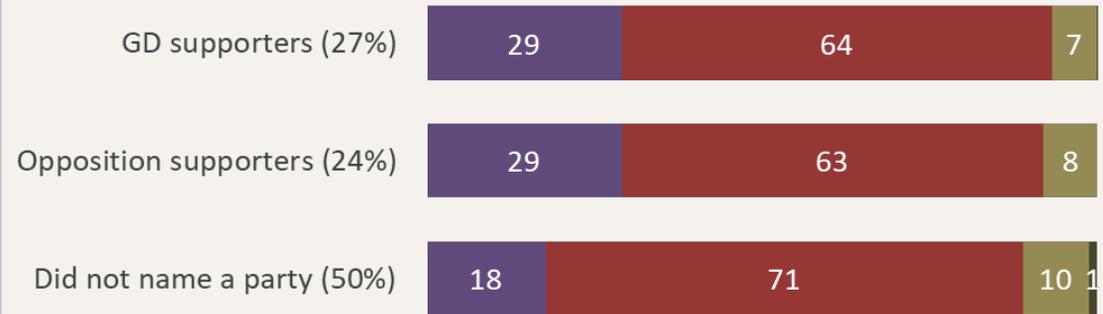
**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**  
(q3 X Party closest to you)

■ 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



# Plurality remain politically undecided

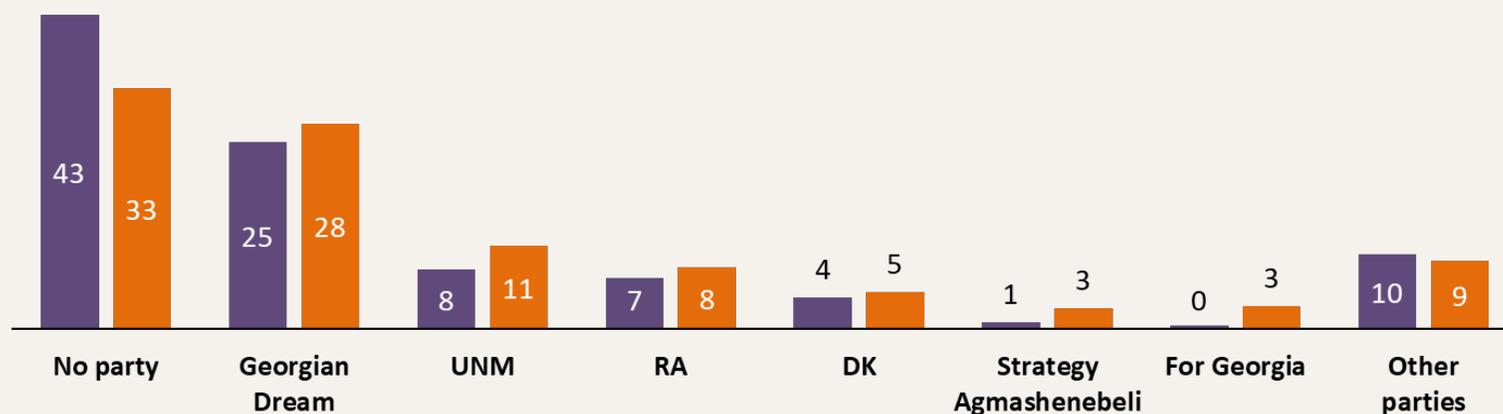
Plurality do not know or do not say which party is closest to them.

Declared support for individual parties is so low that they cannot be taken as a guide to the outcome of future elections.

## Which party is closest to you? (q6a, q6b)

■ Show card ■ Self-administered

Disclaimer: sample was split in two representative samples. Sample 1: respondent was offered a show card with a long list of political parties; response was marked by interviewer. Sample 2: respondent was handed a tablet with a shorter list of political parties, and citizen would mark their answer on their own.



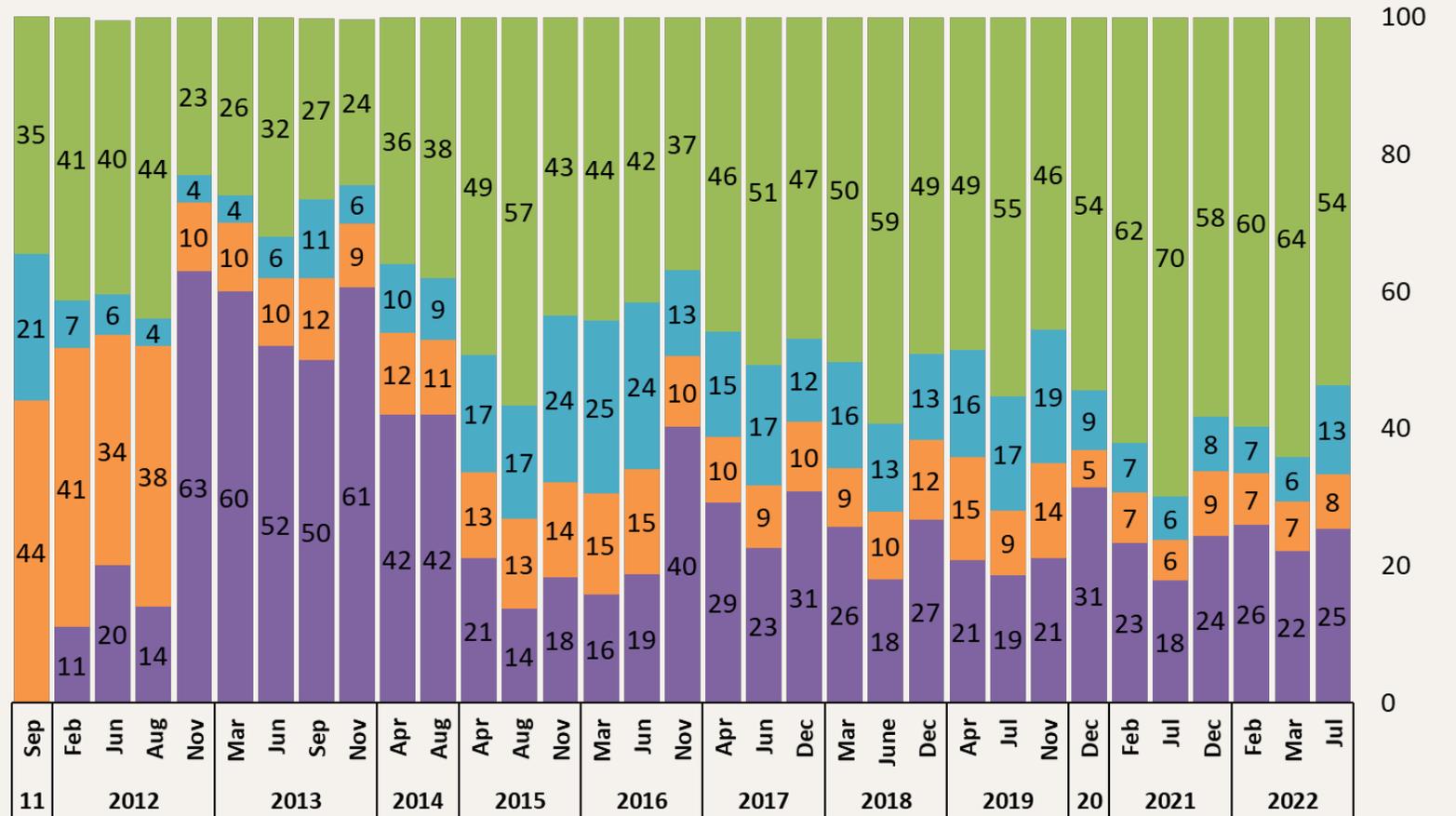
# Most citizens remain politically undecided

Most citizens 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.

Which party is closest to you? (q6a)

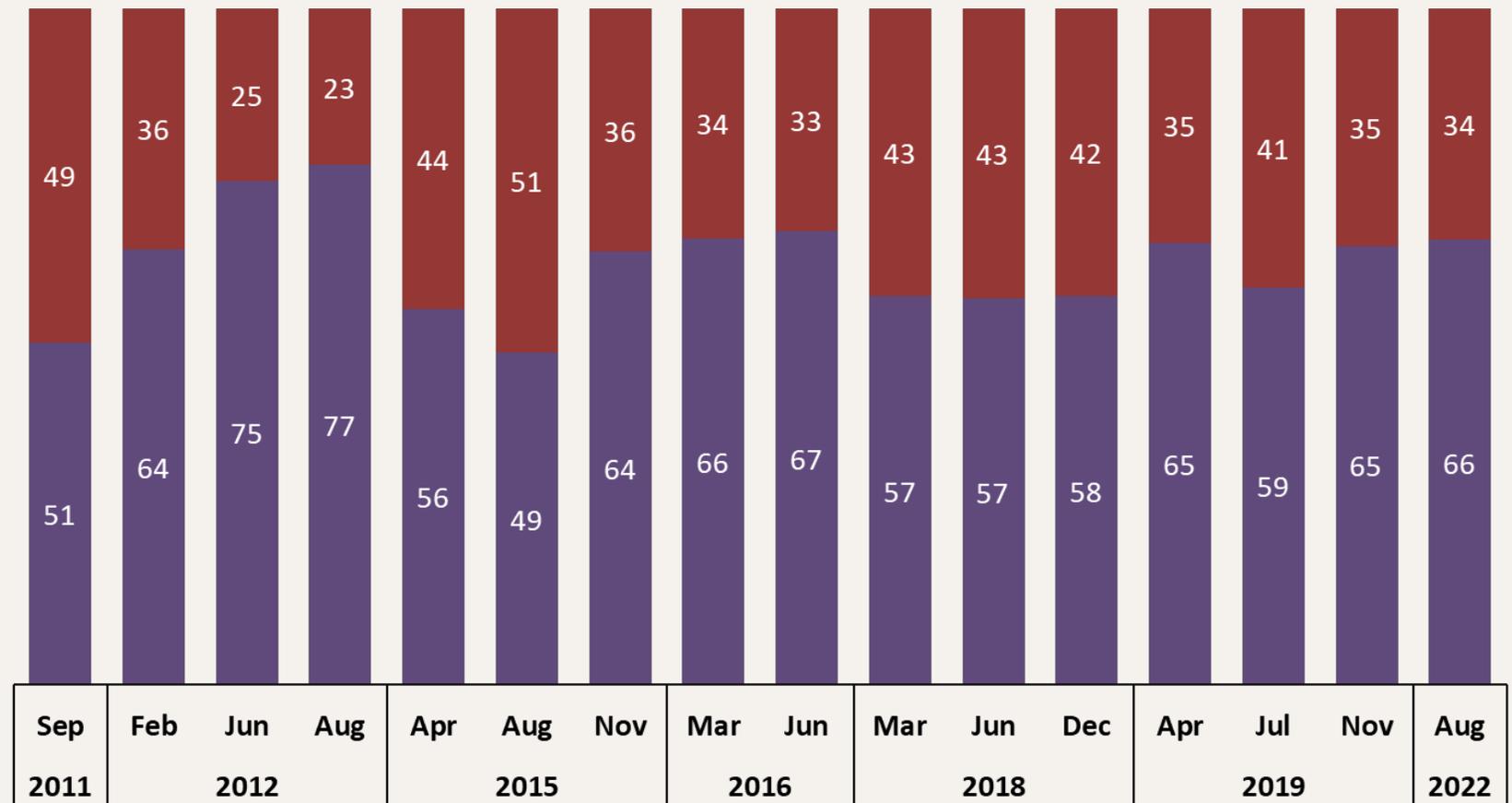
■ Georgian Dream 
 ■ UNM 
 ■ Other 
 ■ No Party+DK+RA



If elections were held tomorrow, majority would vote

If Parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?  
(q7)

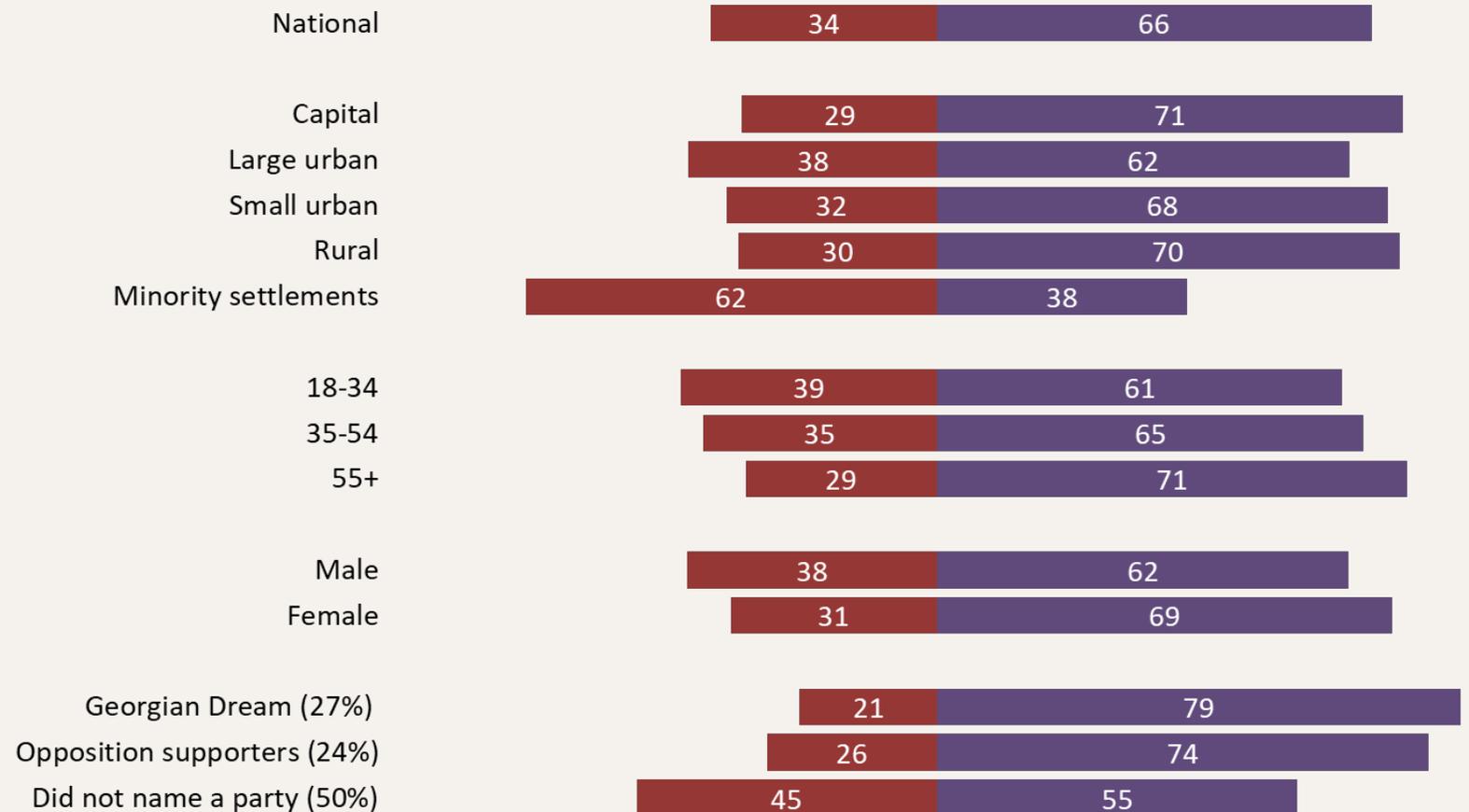
■ Likely voters ■ Likely abstainers



Undecided and ethnic minority settlements are most likely to skip elections

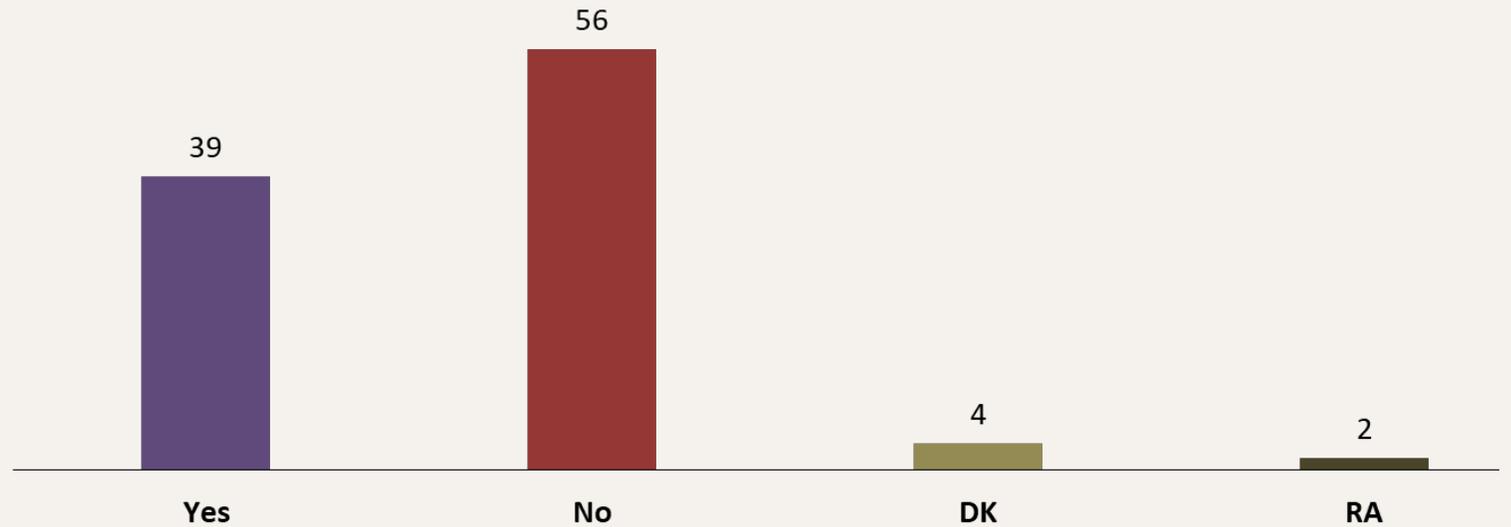
### If Parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q7 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

■ Likely abstainers ■ Likely voters



Majority say  
none of the  
Georgian parties  
represent their  
interests

Do you believe that at least one political party in Georgia that more or less represents your interests? (q21)

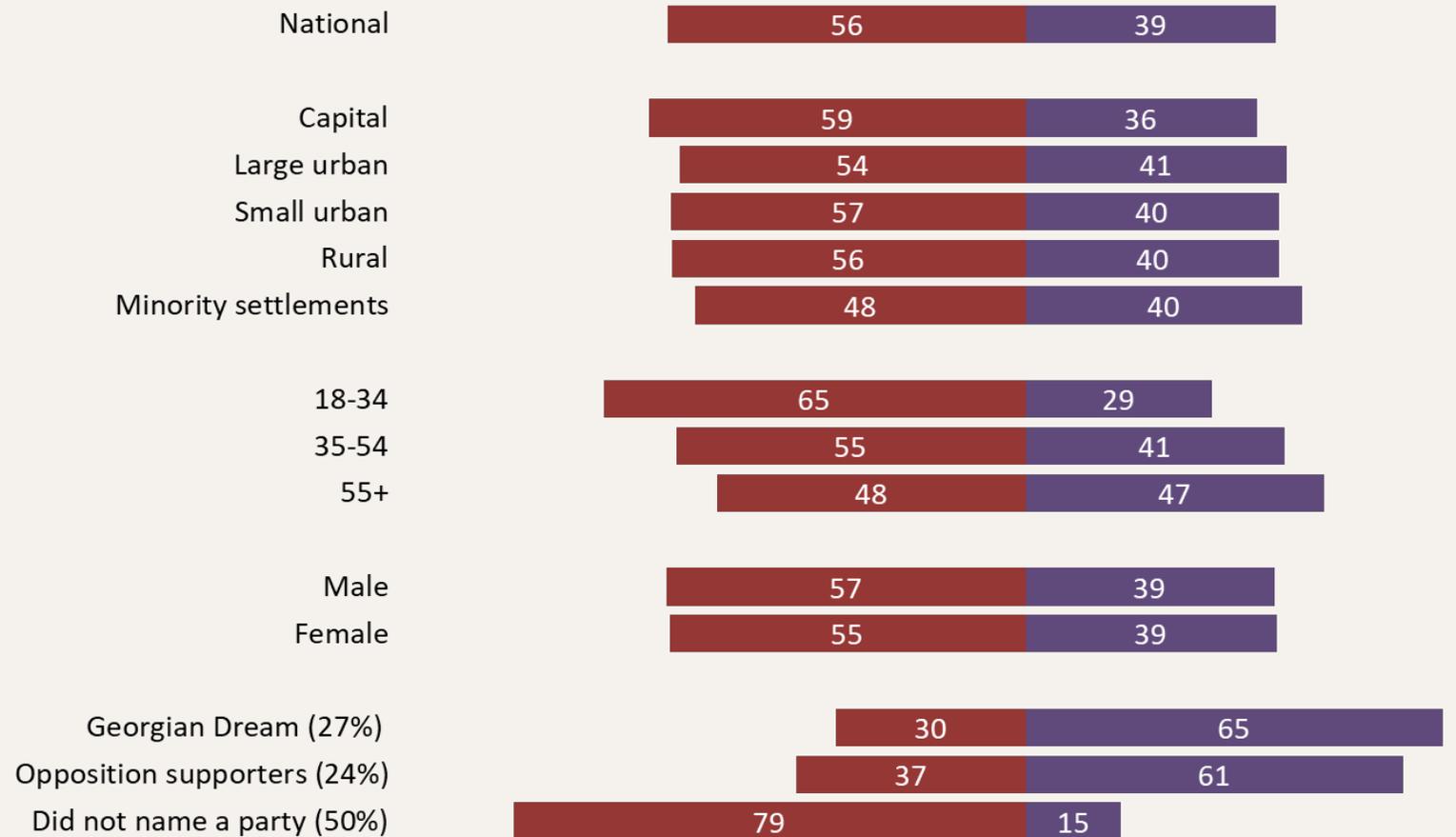


# 65 percent of young citizens say no party represents their interests

30 percent of Georgian Dream supporters and 37 percent of opposition supporters say none of the existing parties represent their interests.

**Do you believe that at least one political party in Georgia that more or less represents your interests? (q21 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)**

■ No ■ Yes

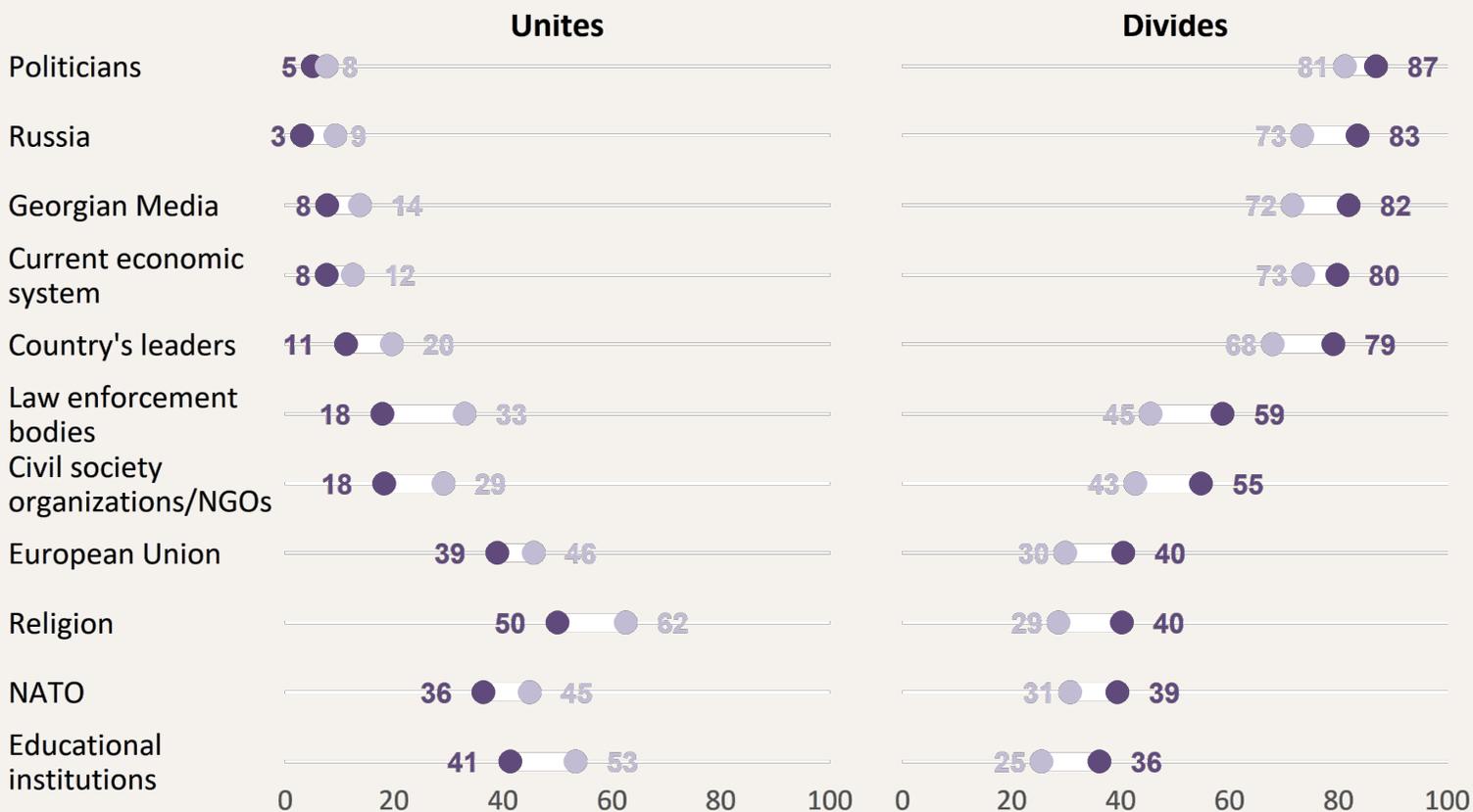


# Absolute majority say politicians and Russia push Georgians apart

Religion, educational institutions, EU and NATO are named as the biggest uniting factors for the Georgian society.

## Please, tell me, do the following push us apart/divide or bring us together/unite us as a society: (q22)

● April 2019 ● August 2022



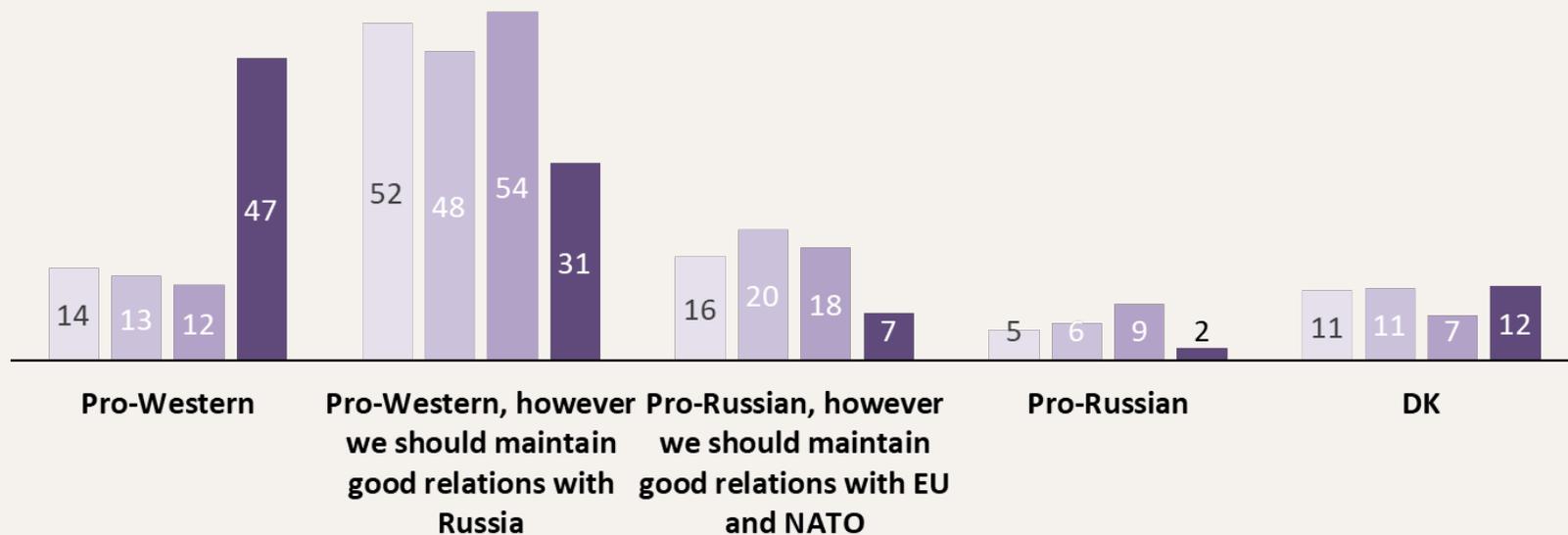
# European and Euro-Atlantic Integration

# Dramatic shift in favor of a pro-western course

Support for a pro-western foreign policy is the highest among young citizens and opposition supporters.

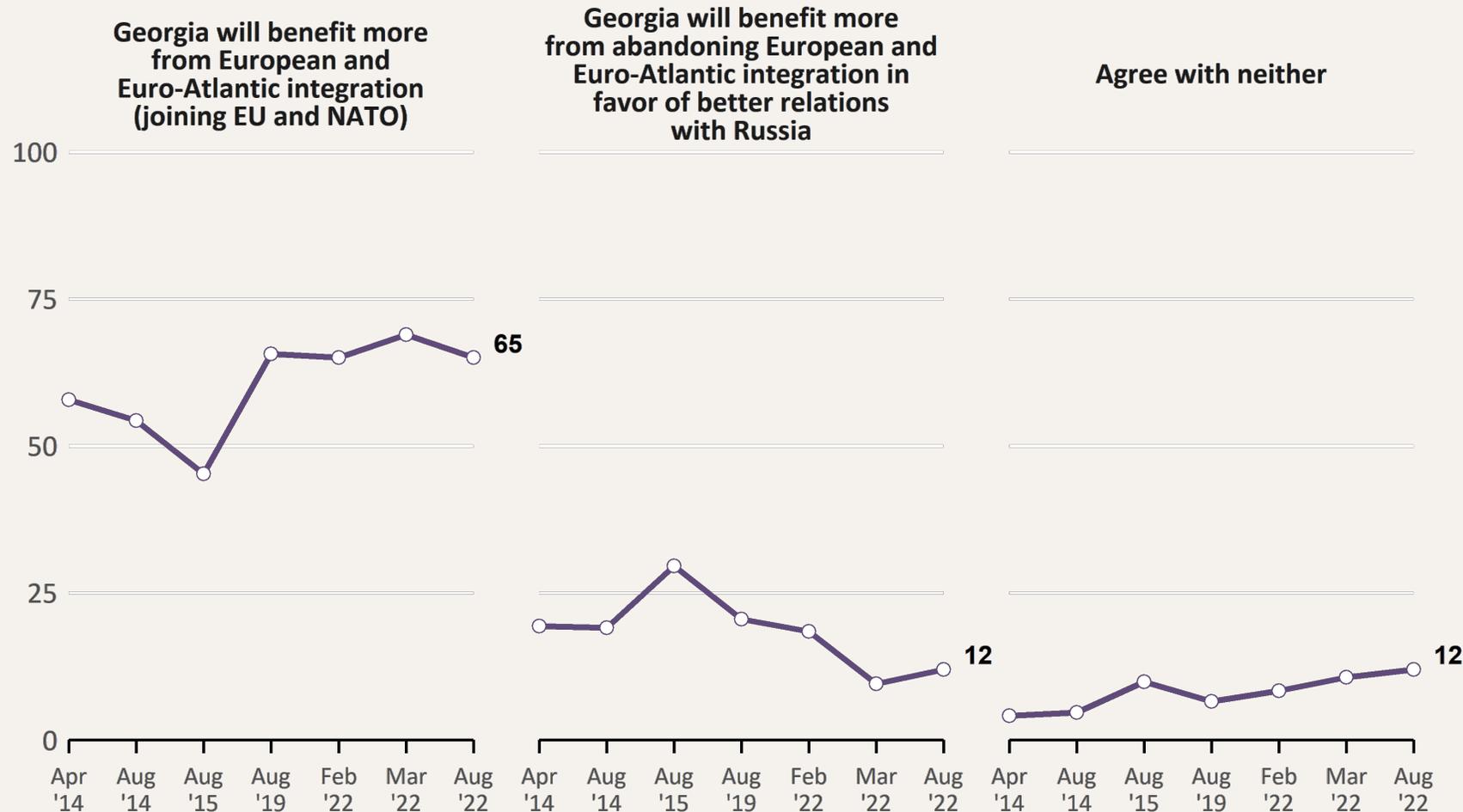
In your opinion, Georgia's foreign policy should be: (q30)

■ March 2016 ■ June 2016 ■ November 2016 ■ August 2022



Majority remain confident that Georgia will benefit more from EU-NATO integration than closer ties with Russia

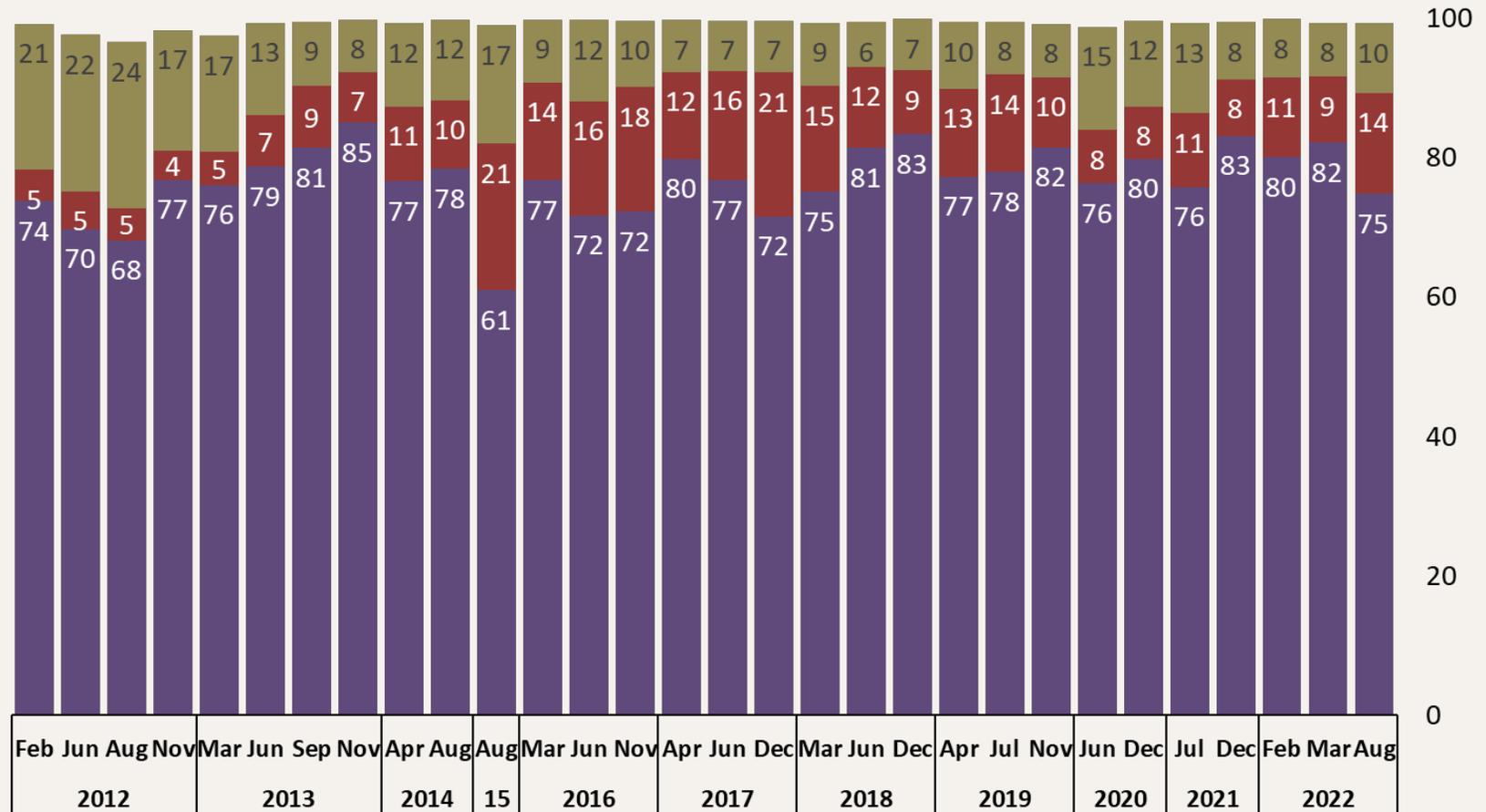
**Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q27)**



EU membership support drops slightly, but remains high

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU? (q23)

■ Approve ■ Disapprove ■ DK

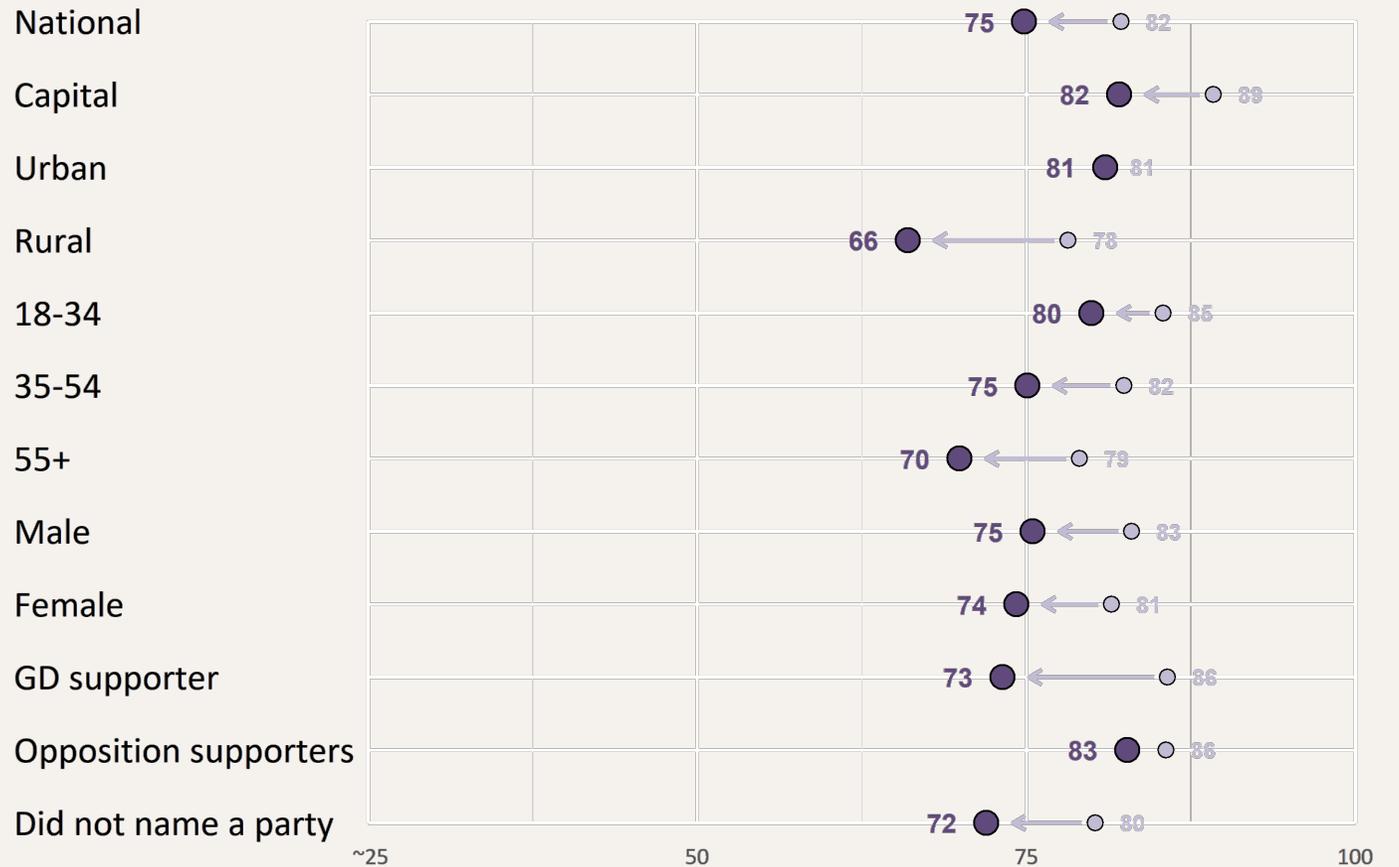


Support is the lowest among ethnic minority groups.

Slight drop in EU membership support is evident across the board

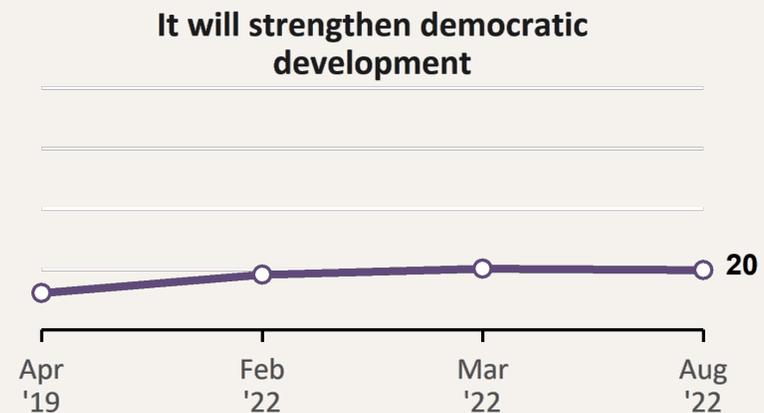
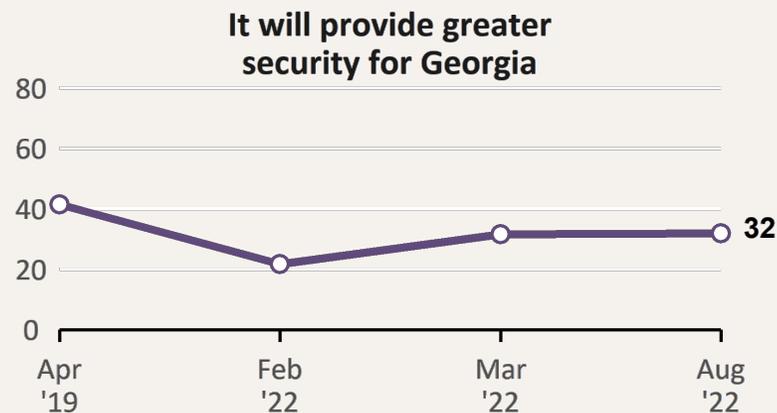
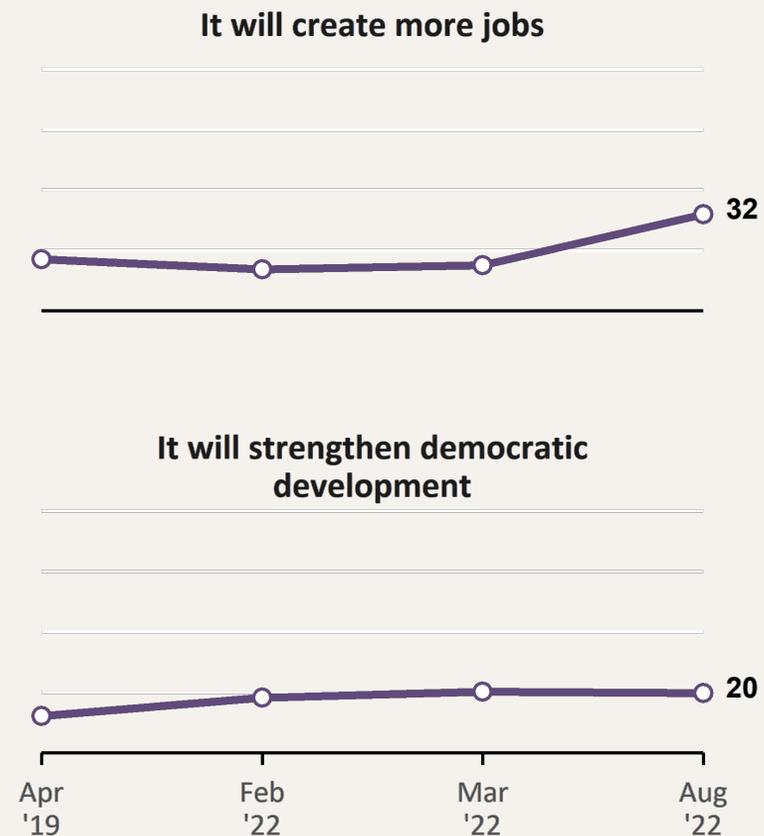
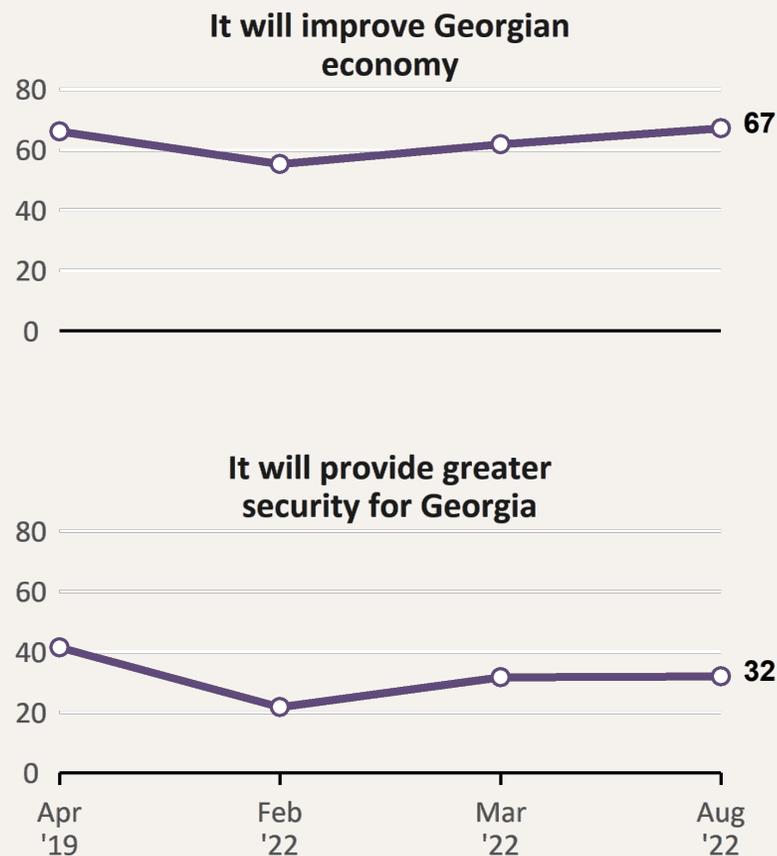
### Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU? (q23)

○ March '22 ● August '22



Jobs and security are the main motivators behind EU support

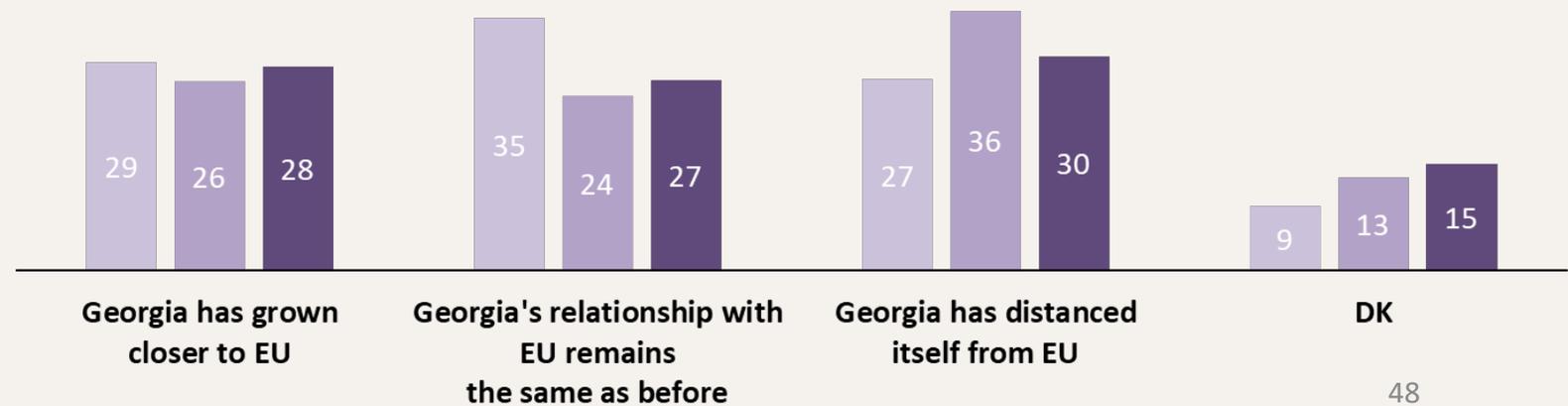
**If Approve, why do you approve it? Open question. (q24)**  
**Of those 75% who approve joining the EU**



# Georgians split on how close is Georgia getting to EU

Which of the following statements do you agree with?  
In the last 5 years ... (q25)

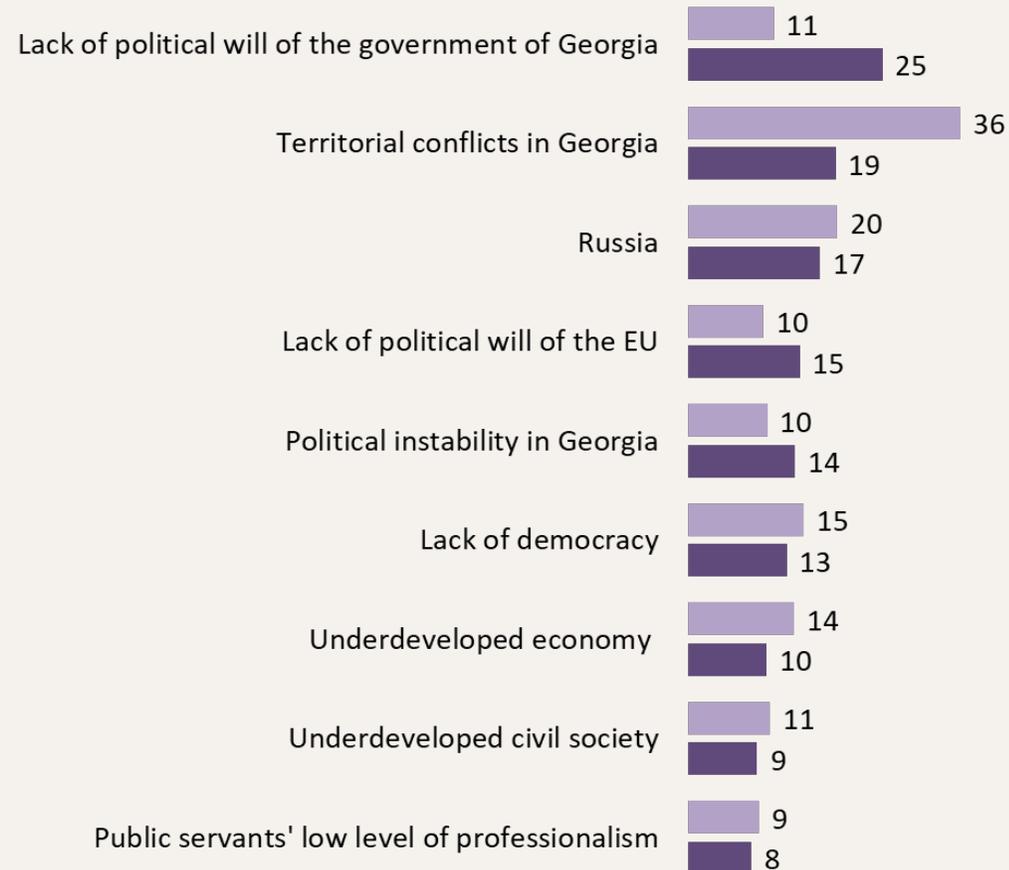
■ February 2022 ■ March 2022 ■ August 2022



Compared to 2019, twice as many people believe that the government's lack of political will is the main factor preventing Georgia from EU membership

### In your opinion, what are the main factors preventing Georgia from EU membership? Up to three answers (q26) Part 1

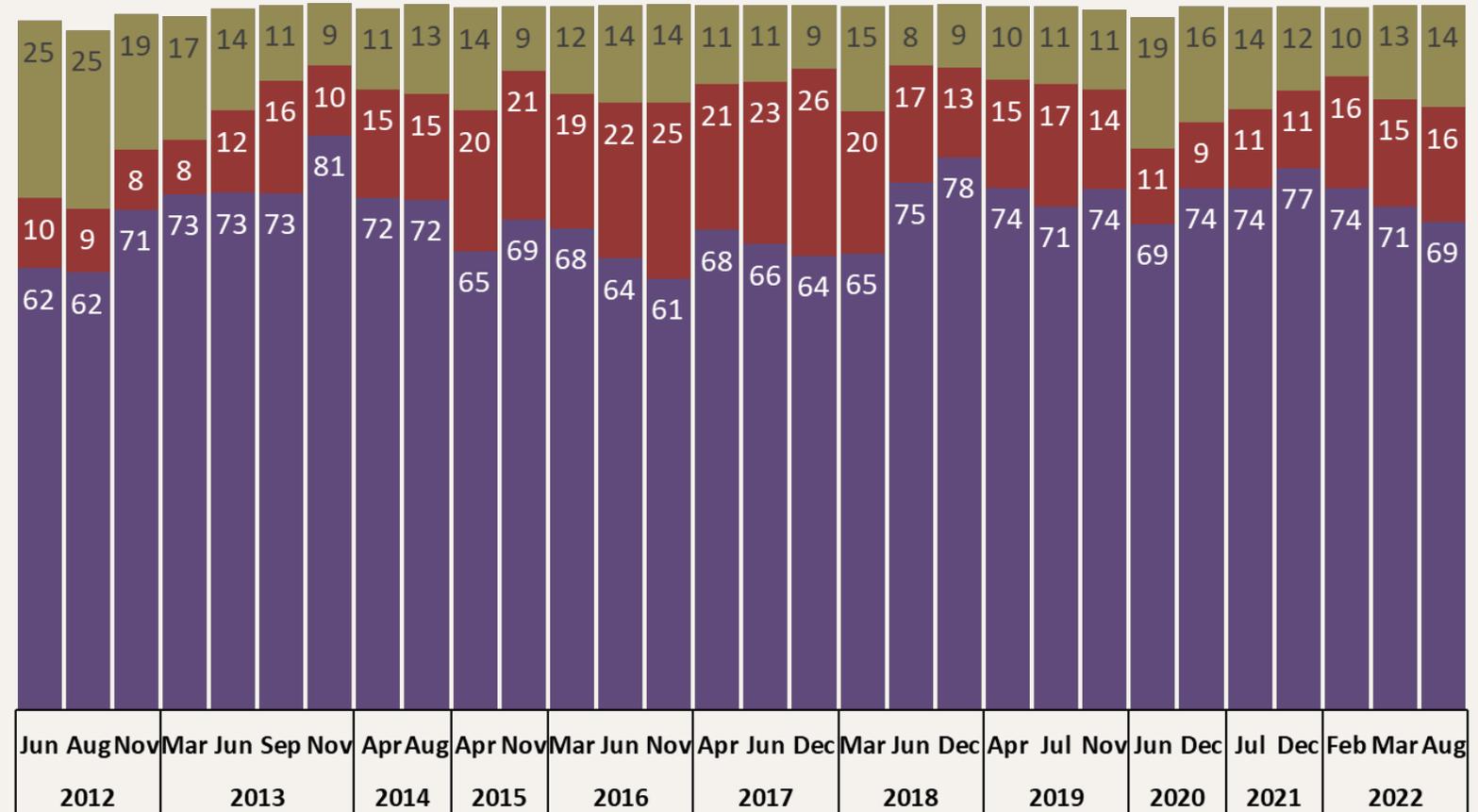
■ April 2019 ■ August 2022



# Support for NATO membership remains solid

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the NATO? (q28)

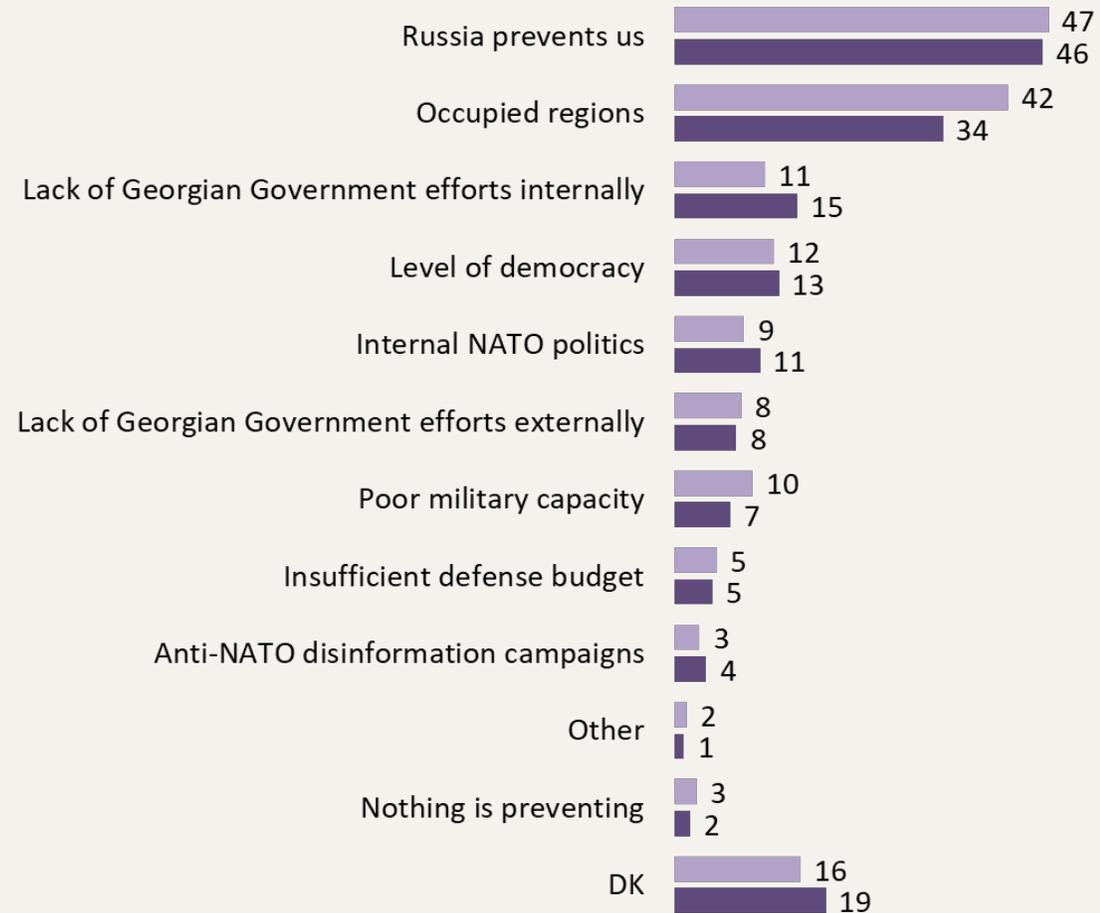
■ Approve ■ Disapprove ■ DK



# Plurality say Russia and occupied regions prevent Georgia from NATO membership

## What factors, if any, are preventing Georgia from joining NATO? Up to three answers (q29)

■ April 2019 ■ August 2022

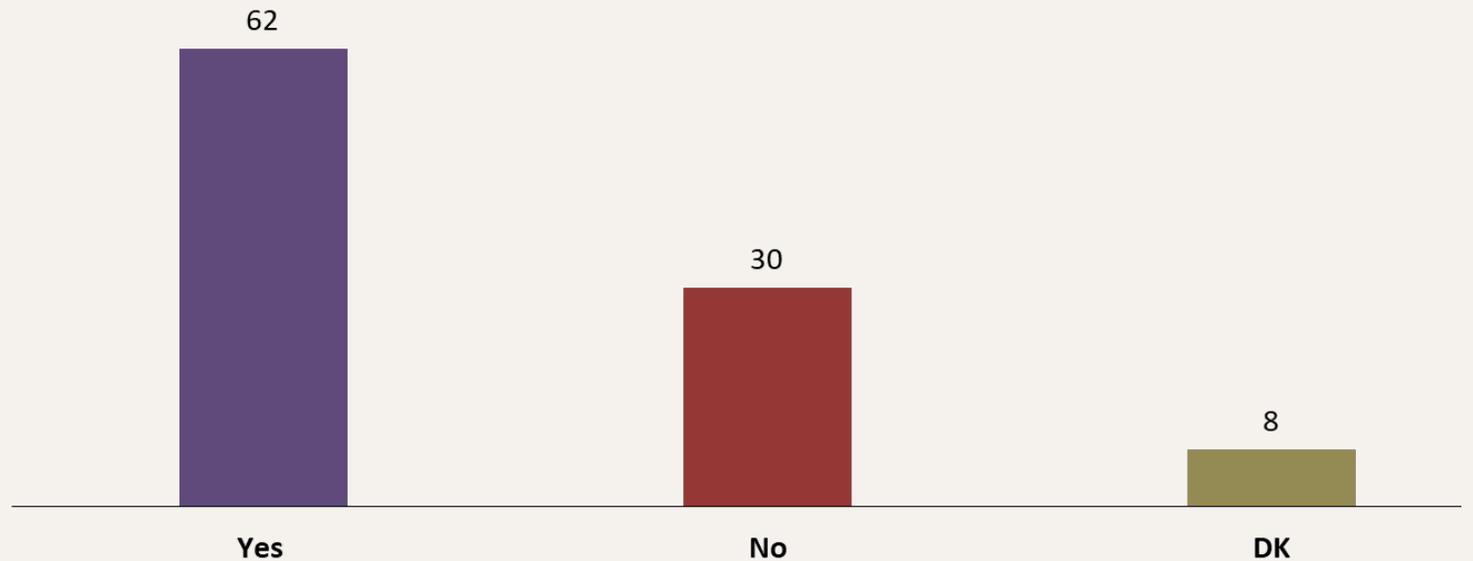


EU candidacy status

# Majority is aware about the European Council's decision

Majority of citizens in the ethnic minority regions (72 percent) and 40 percent of citizens in small cities were not aware about this event.

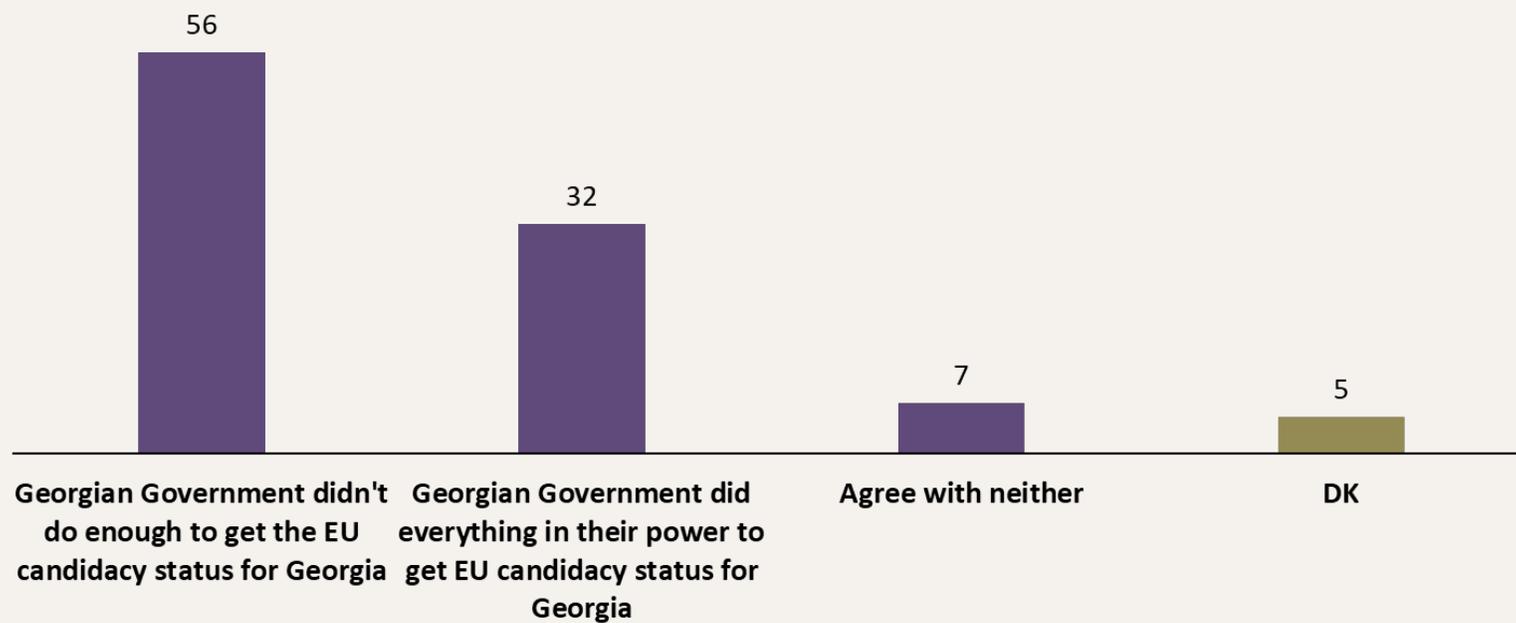
On June 23th, 2022 The European Council recognized the European perspective of Georgia and expressed readiness to grant the status of candidate country to Georgia once the certain conditions are met. Have you heard about this decision? (q35)



Majority of those who was aware about the European Council's decision believe that the Georgian government didn't do enough to get EU candidacy status

Highest number of people believing the government didn't do enough come from Tbilisi, younger demographic and opposition supporters' circle.

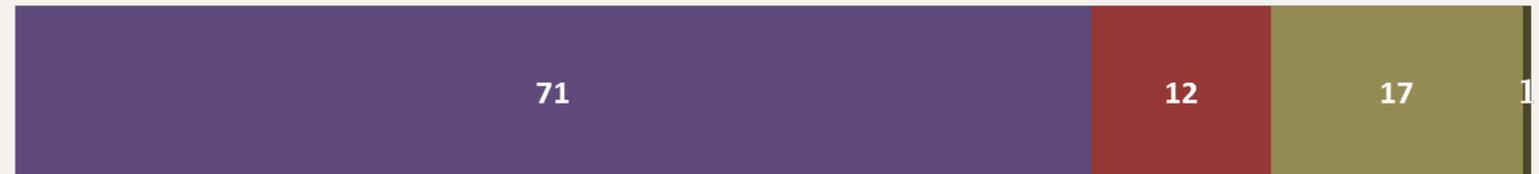
**Which statement do you agree with the most? - Of those 62% who have heard about the European Council decision on June 23, 2022 (q36)**



While meeting the EU candidacy conditions is important for most citizens, they are skeptical that government will fulfill them

How important or unimportant is it for you that Georgia meets all the conditions set out by the European Council for receiving EU candidate country status? (q37)

■ Important ■ Not important ■ DK ■ RA



Do you think that the Georgian government will fulfill conditions laid out by the European Council for EU candidate country status? (q38)

■ Yes, it will ■ No, it won't ■ DK



Wide public consensus on importance of opposition and CSO inclusion, but only a third believe the government will include them

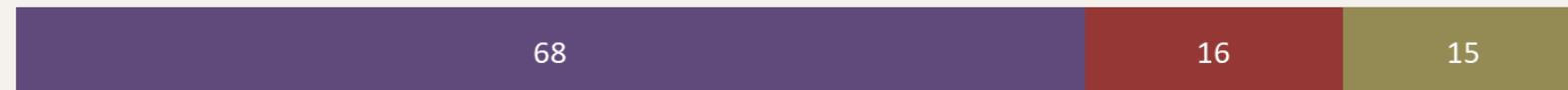
**In your opinion, should the government include the following in the process towards fulfilling the European Council's conditions? (q39)**

■ Yes ■ No ■ DK ■ RA

Opposition parties



CSOs / NGOs



**In your opinion, will the government include the following parties in the process towards fulfilling the European Council's conditions? (q40)**

Opposition parties



CSOs / NGOs



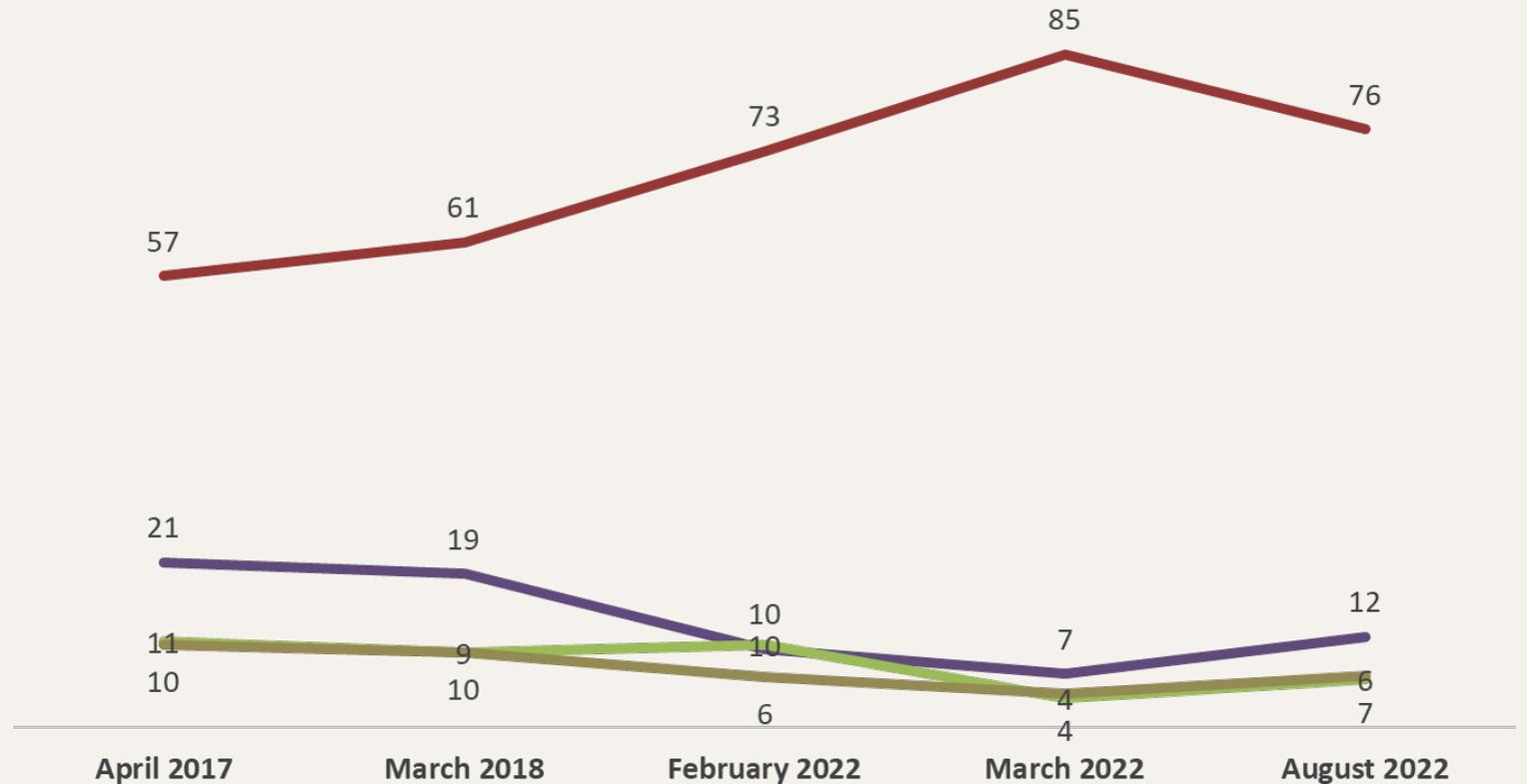
Russia

# Majority say Russia is a threat

Ethnic minority groups less likely to call Russia a threat.

In your opinion, how much of a military threat, if at all, is Russia to its neighboring countries? A major threat, a minor threat or not a threat at all? (q31)

— Major threat — Minor threat — Is not a threat at all — DK

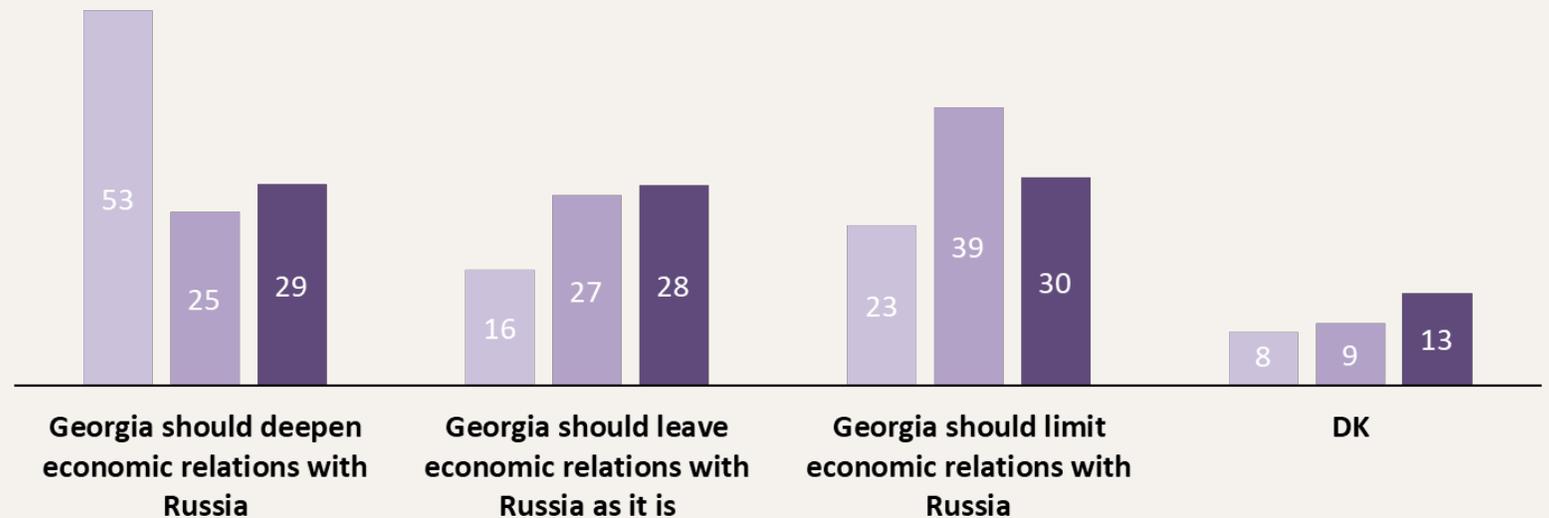


# Majority believe Georgia should cut economic ties with Russia or leave as it is

Support for deepening economic relations with Russia is the highest among male citizens, ethnic minority settlements, and Georgian Dream supporters.

## Thinking about Georgia's economic relations with Russia, in your opinion: (q32)

■ February 2022 ■ March 2022 ■ August 2022



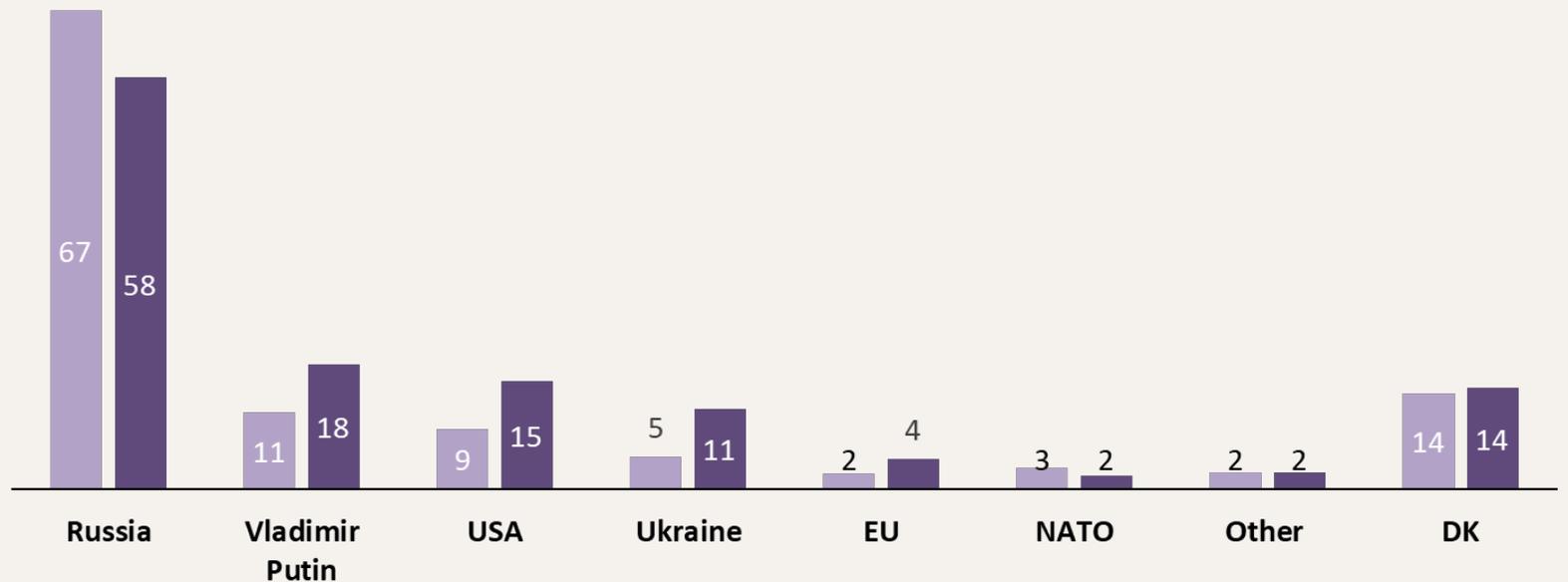
# Russian Invasion into Ukraine

#SlavaUkraini

# Georgians are confident that war is Russia's fault

To the best of your knowledge, whose fault is the War in Ukraine? Up to three answers. Open question. (q33)

■ March 2022 ■ August 2022

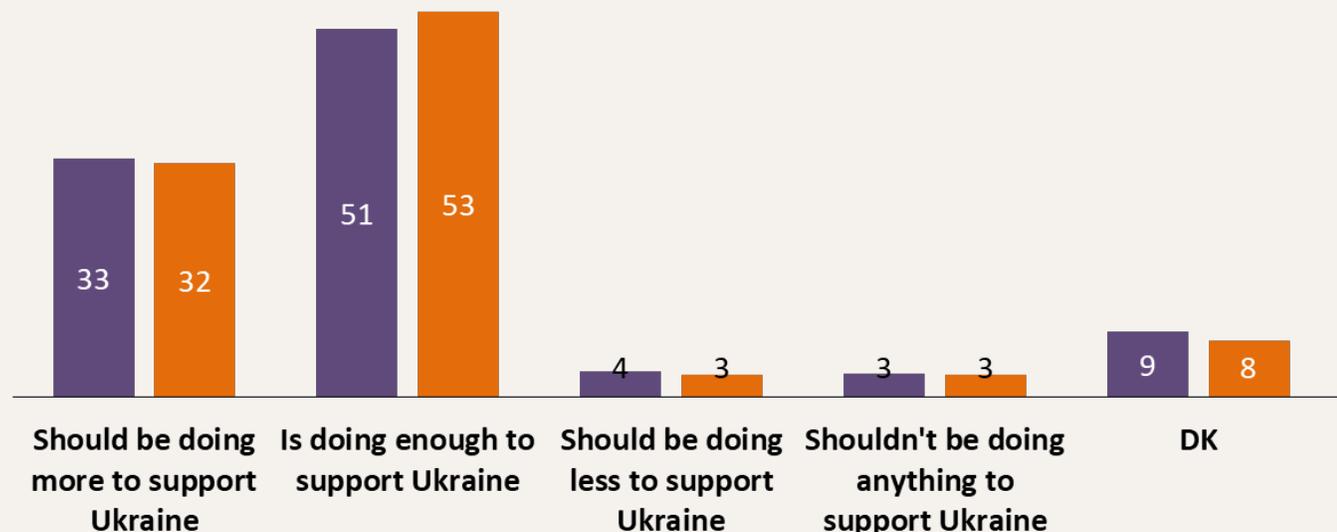


# Majority believe the government and parliament are doing enough to support Ukraine

Younger citizens, Tbilisi residents and opposition supporters are more likely to say that Georgian government and parliament should be doing more to support Ukraine.

Thinking of the Georgian Government's/Parliament's response towards the war in Ukraine. Do you believe that the Government of Georgia/The Parliament of Georgia: (q34-34b)

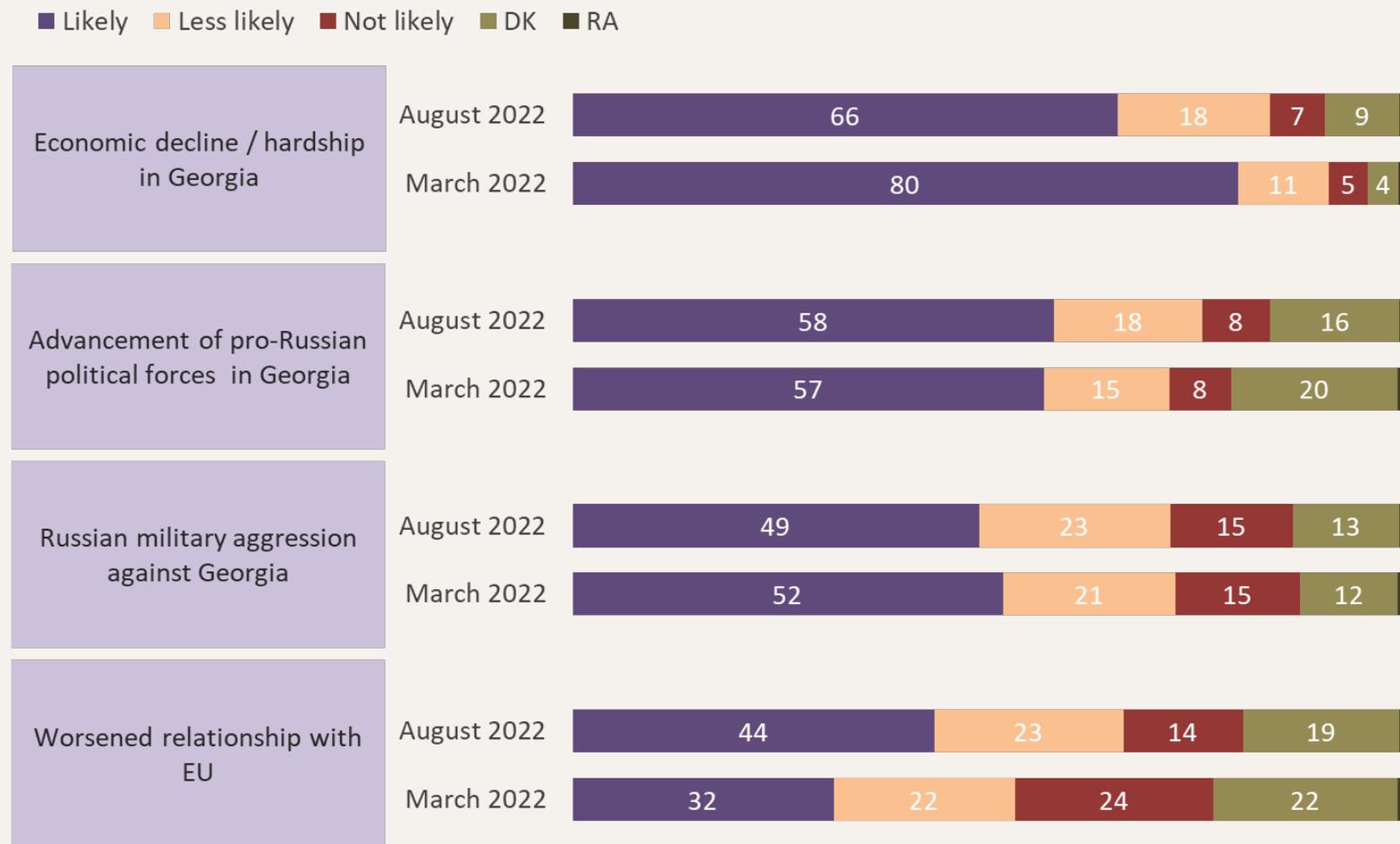
■ The Parliament of Georgia ■ The Government of Georgia



Future

Citizens expecting economic decline, advancement of pro-Russian forces, Russian military aggression, and worsened relationship with EU

**Considering the current situation, please tell me how likely or unlikely it is that the following scenarios will unfold in Georgia during the next year? (q41)**

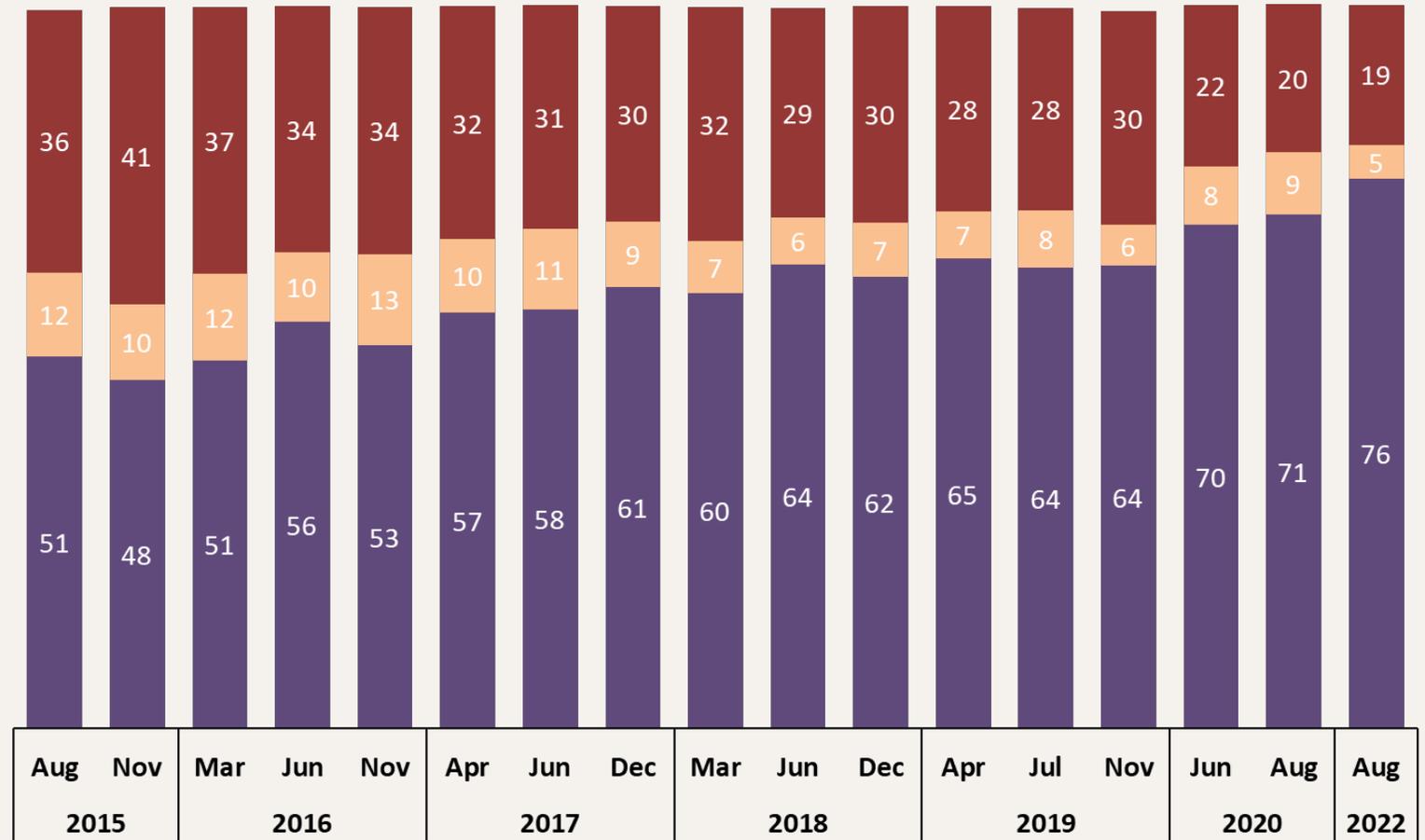


Demographic

# Dramatic rise of internet

How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet...  
(q46)

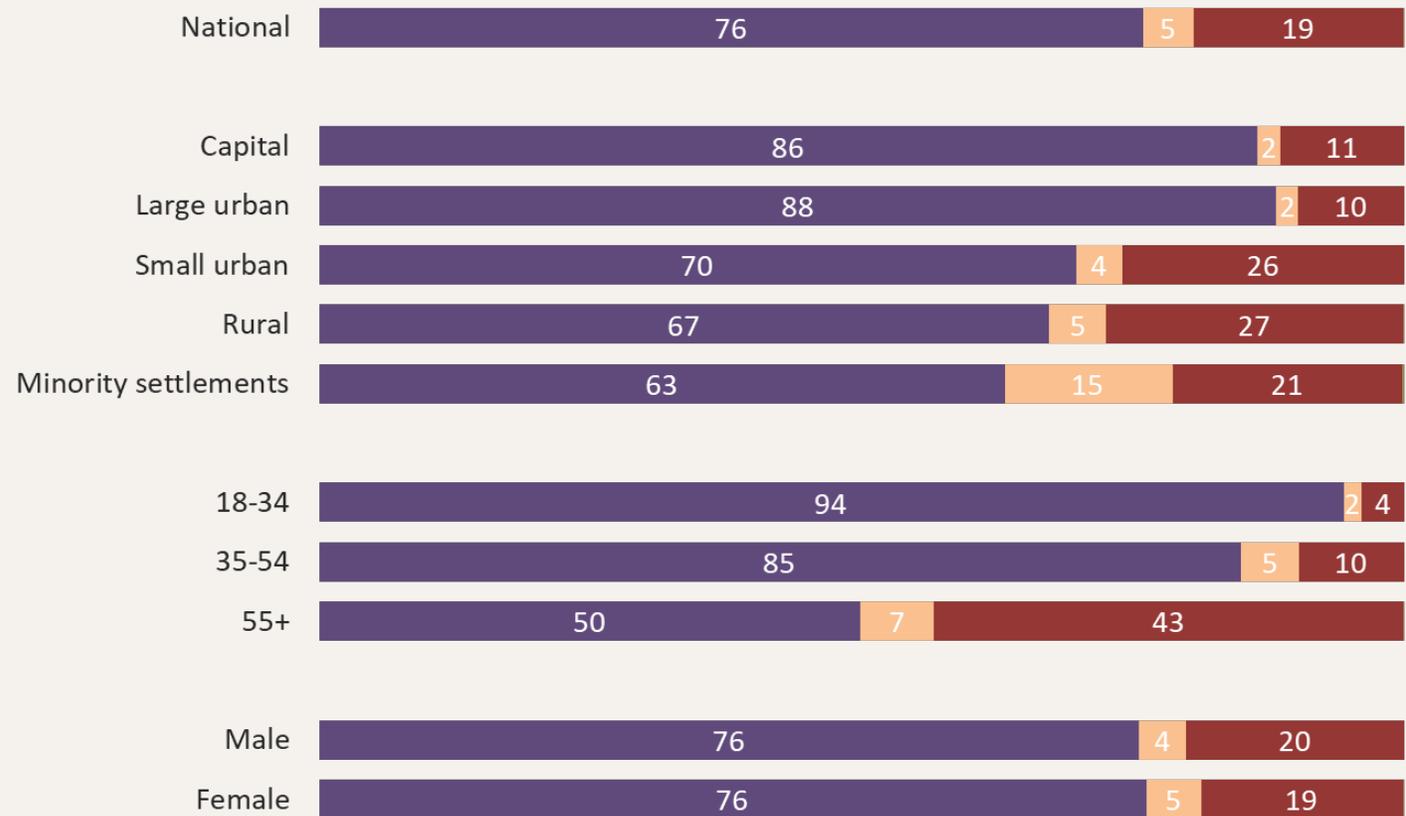
■ At least once a week ■ Less often ■ Never



Internet usage remains lower in rural and minority settlements, and older citizens

### How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ... (q46 X Settlement, Age, Gender)

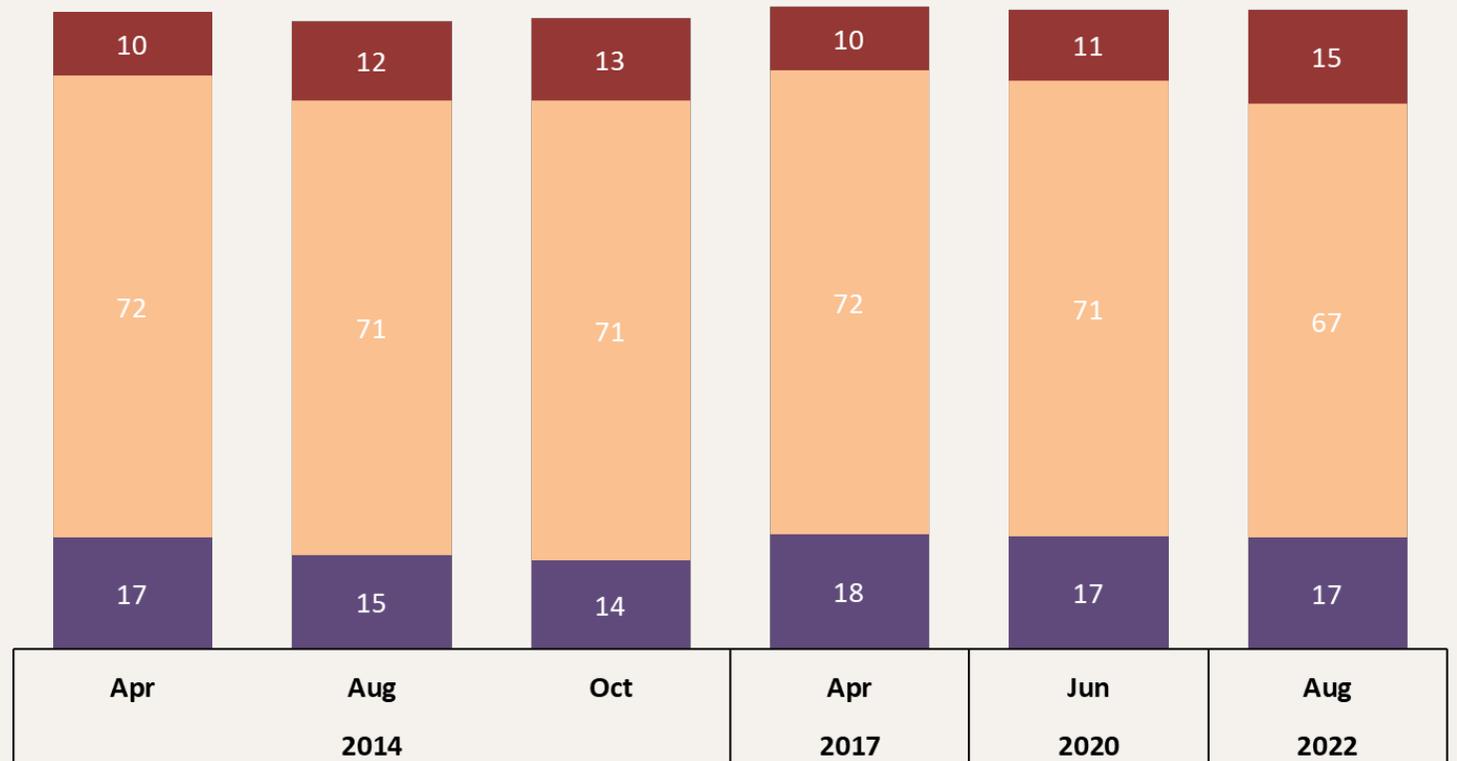
■ At least once a week ■ Less often ■ Never ■ DK



Only 17 percent of Georgian citizens attend religious services at least once a week

Using this card, apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services? (q47)

■ At least once a week ■ Less often ■ Never



Majority understands Russian language.

Knowledge of English is limited.

Using this card, please tell me which one of these levels best describes your ability in the following: (q48)

■ Advanced ■ Intermediate ■ Beginner ■ No basic knowledge ■ DK

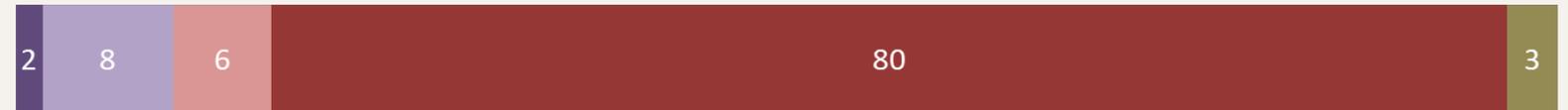
**Russian**



**English**



**Turkish**



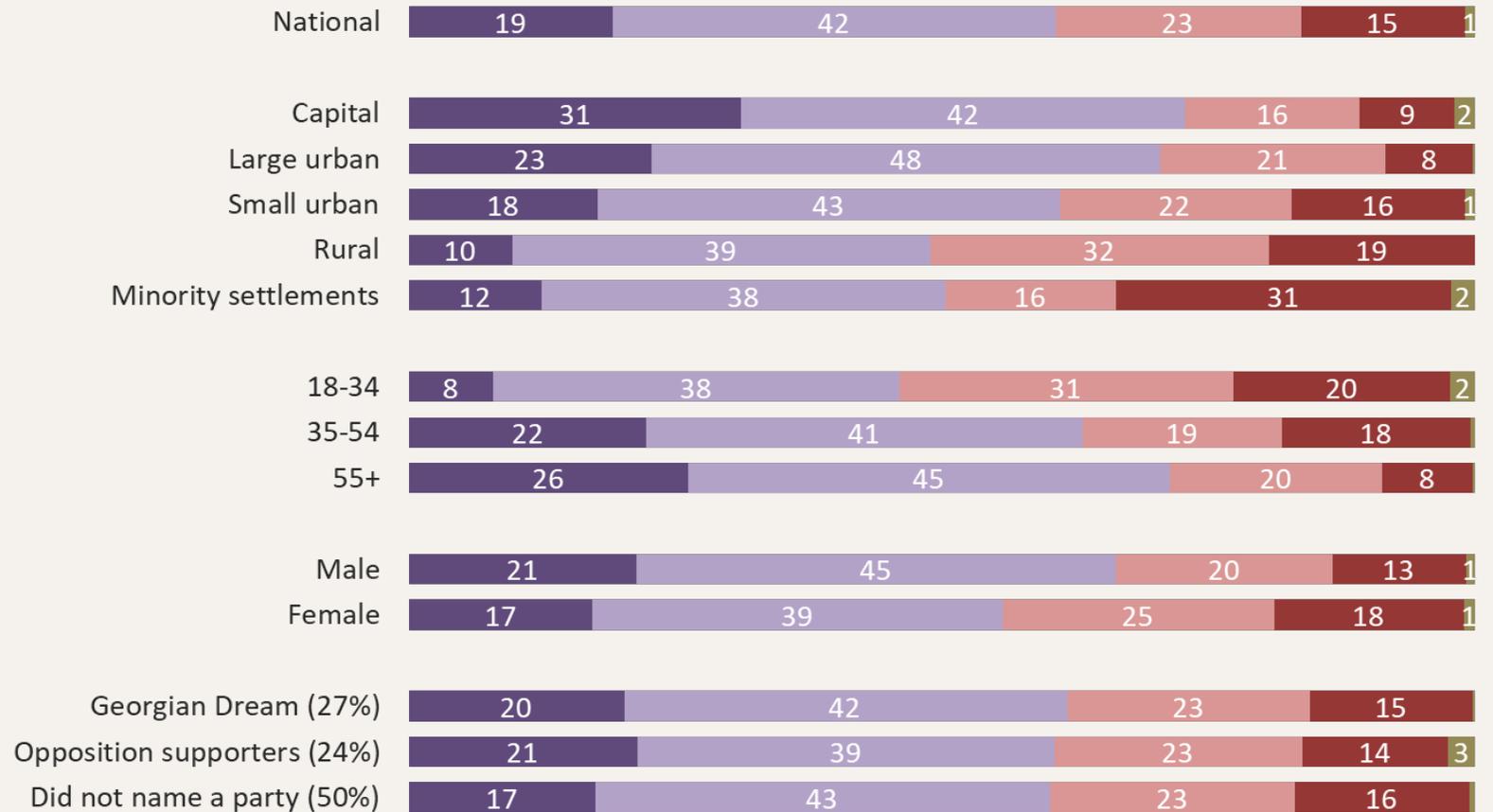
**Georgian (asked only when interview was in Armenian or Azerbaijani)**



Knowledge of Russian is highest in Tbilisi and large cities, and amongst 55+ citizens

Using this card, please tell me which one of these levels best describes your ability in Russian: (q48\_1 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

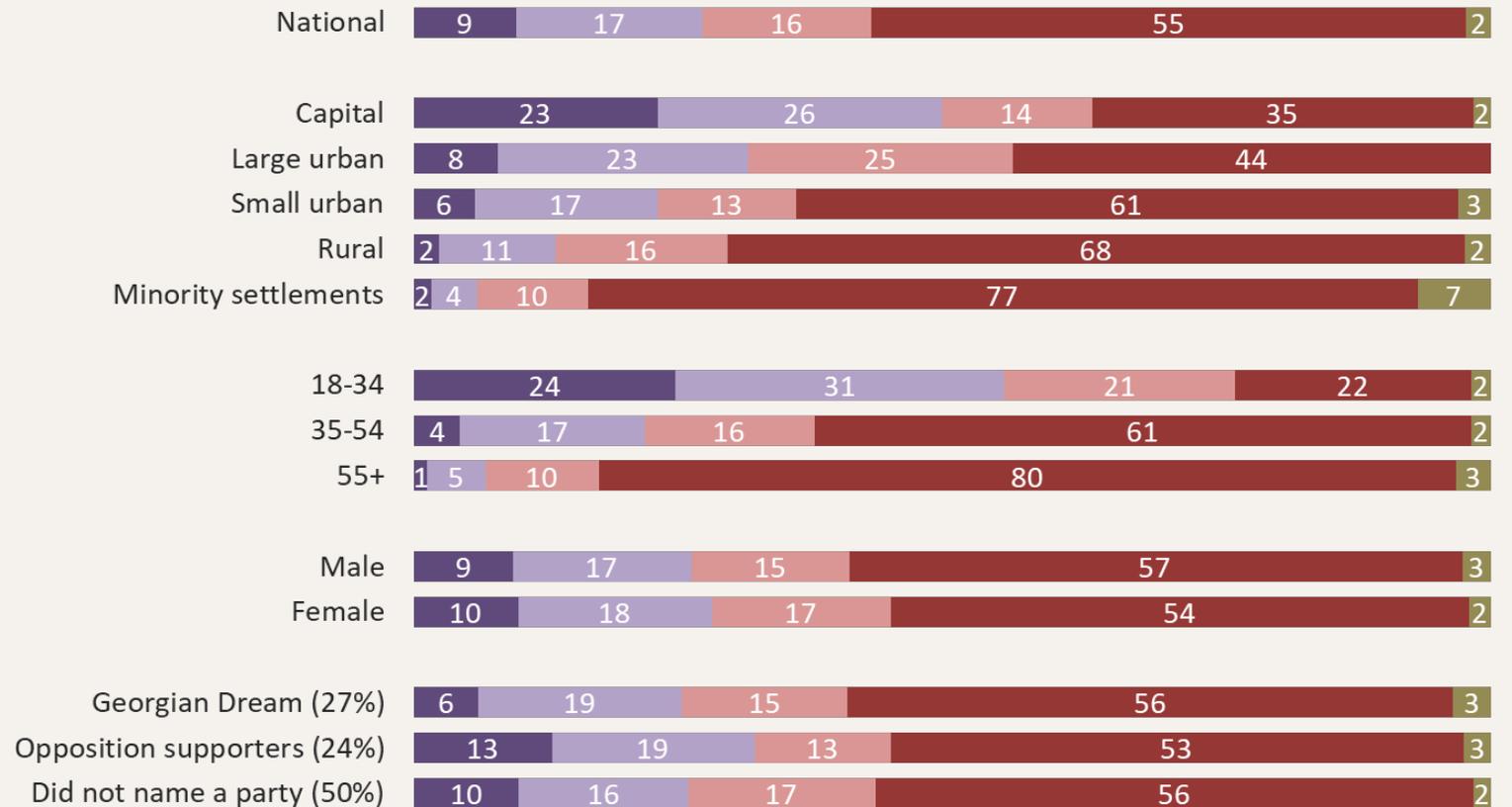
■ Advanced ■ Intermediate ■ Beginner ■ No basic knowledge ■ DK



Knowledge of English is highest in Tbilisi and large cities, as well as amongst younger citizens

Using this card, please tell me which one of these levels best describes your ability in English: (q48\_2 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

■ Advanced ■ Intermediate ■ Beginner ■ No basic knowledge ■ DK



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

## **NDI-CRRC POLLS AVAILABLE AT:**

→ [WWW.NDI.ORG/GEORGIA-POLLS](http://WWW.NDI.ORG/GEORGIA-POLLS)

→ [WW.CAUCASUSBAROMETER.ORG](http://WW.CAUCASUSBAROMETER.ORG)