



Public Attitudes in Georgia

Results of December 2019 survey



— Carried out for NDI by CRRC Georgia —

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

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WHY WE CONDUCT POLLS?



To foster the development of more responsive policies and governance;

To help stakeholders diagnose and address issues of public concern.

- ❖ Leaders from across the political spectrum have reported that polls are important to their work and encourage continued polling;
- ❖ Inclusive process: the polling instrument was developed in consultation with political parties, government, and civil society leaders.

ABOUT THE POLL

- ❖ Fieldwork dates:
November 19 -
December 13, 2019
- ❖ 2,180 completed
interviews (35%
response rate)
- ❖ The average
margin of error is
+/- 1.9%
- ❖ **Note: the margin
of error is
different for
every response**

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, and
- ❖ **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.

ABOUT THE POLL

Quality control

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



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; and
- ❖ All interviews were conducted face-to-face with 18+ population, using tablets, in Georgian, Armenian, and Azeri.

Country direction and state of democracy

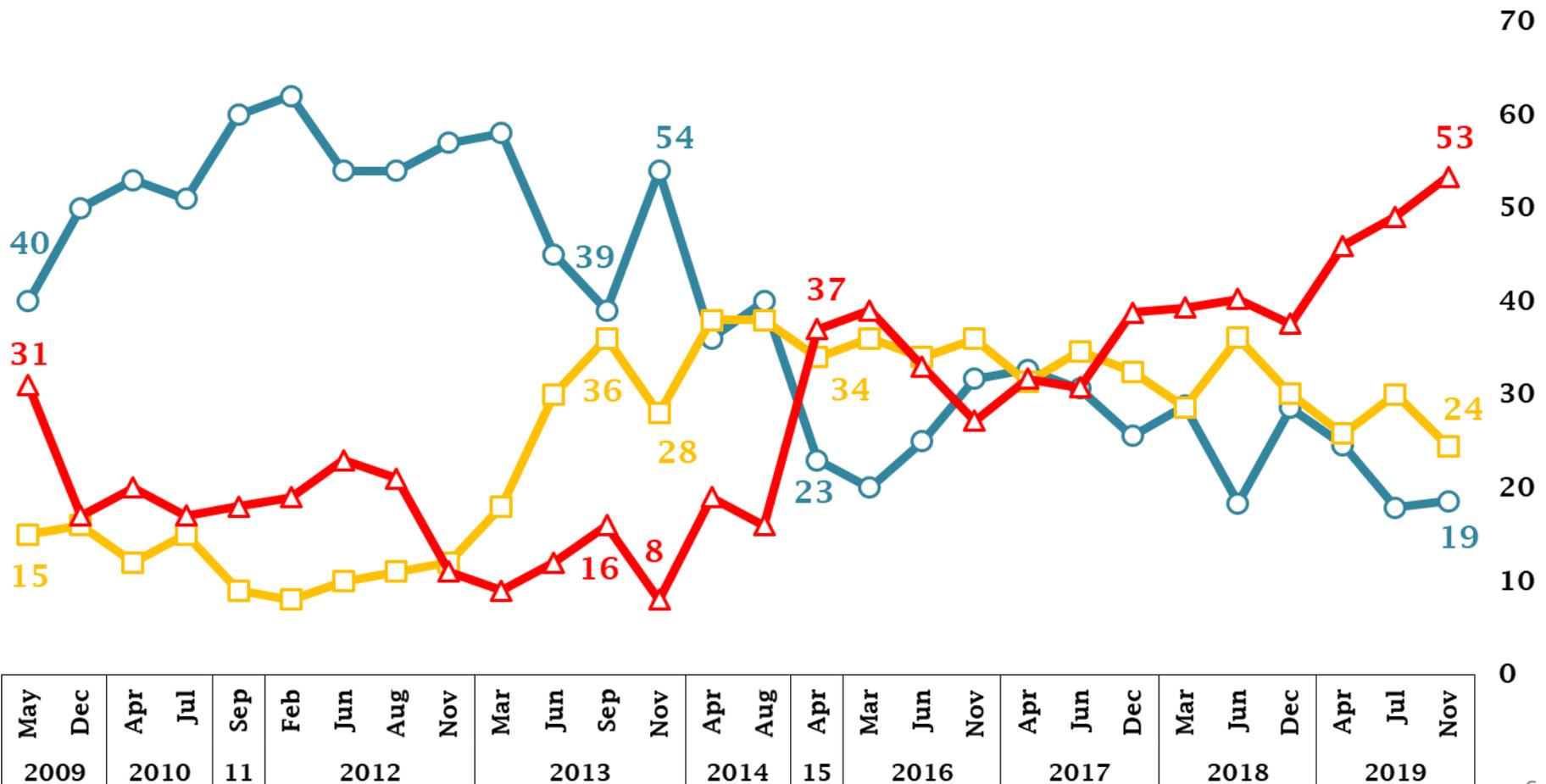
Country direction

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

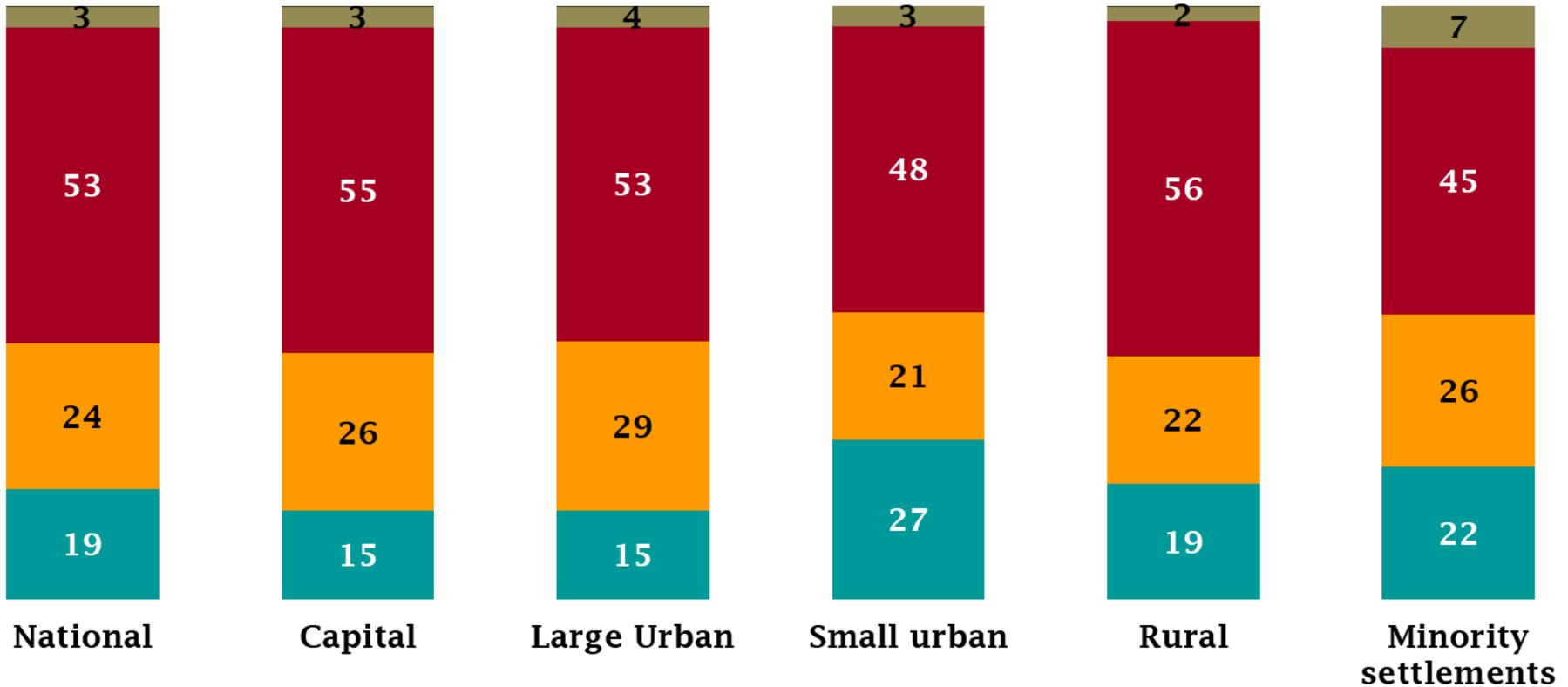
▲ Georgia is going in the wrong direction



Country direction

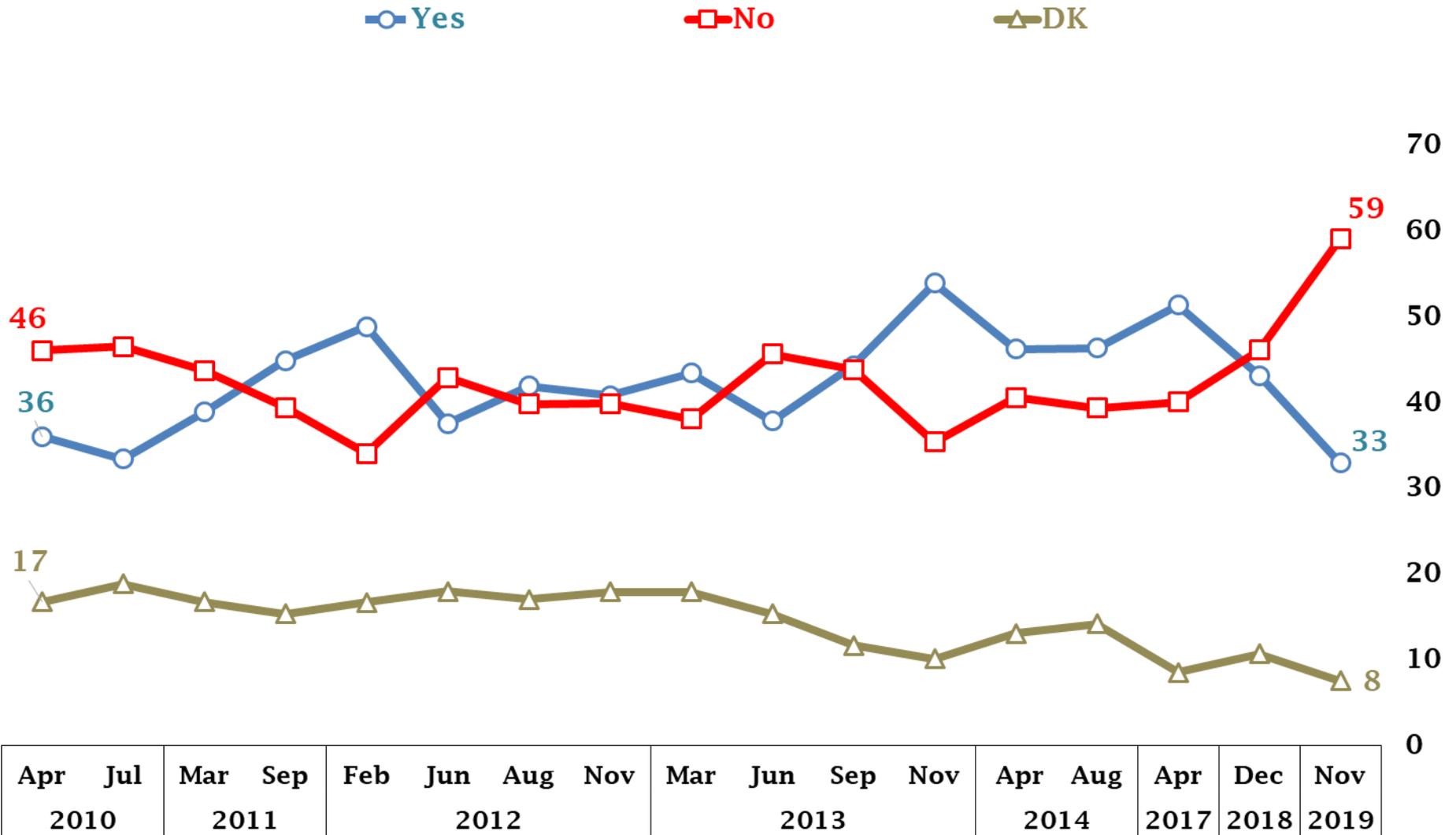
There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Using this card, please, rate your answer. (q1 X Settlement)

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



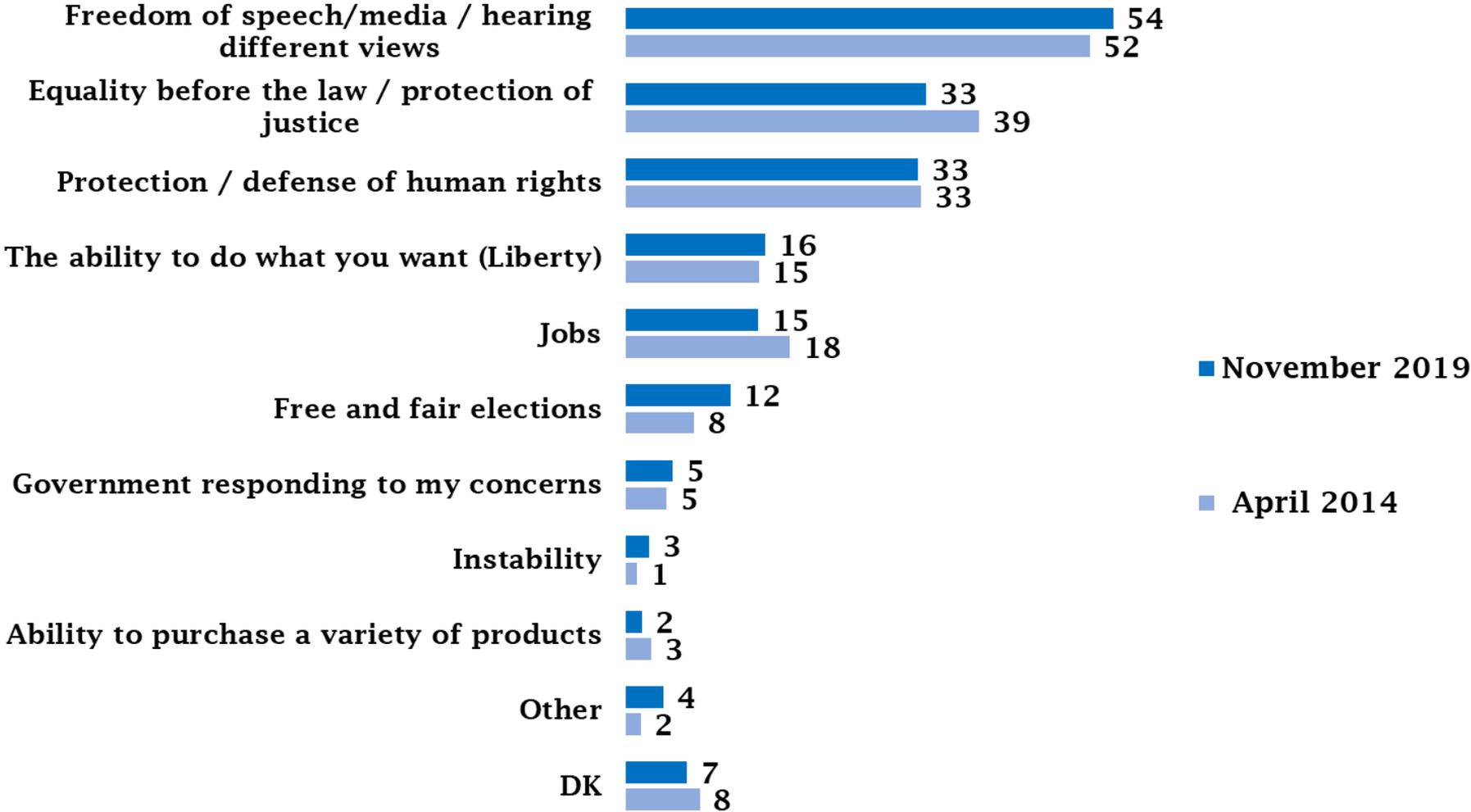
Democracy

In your opinion, is Georgia a democracy now? (q3)



Meaning of democracy

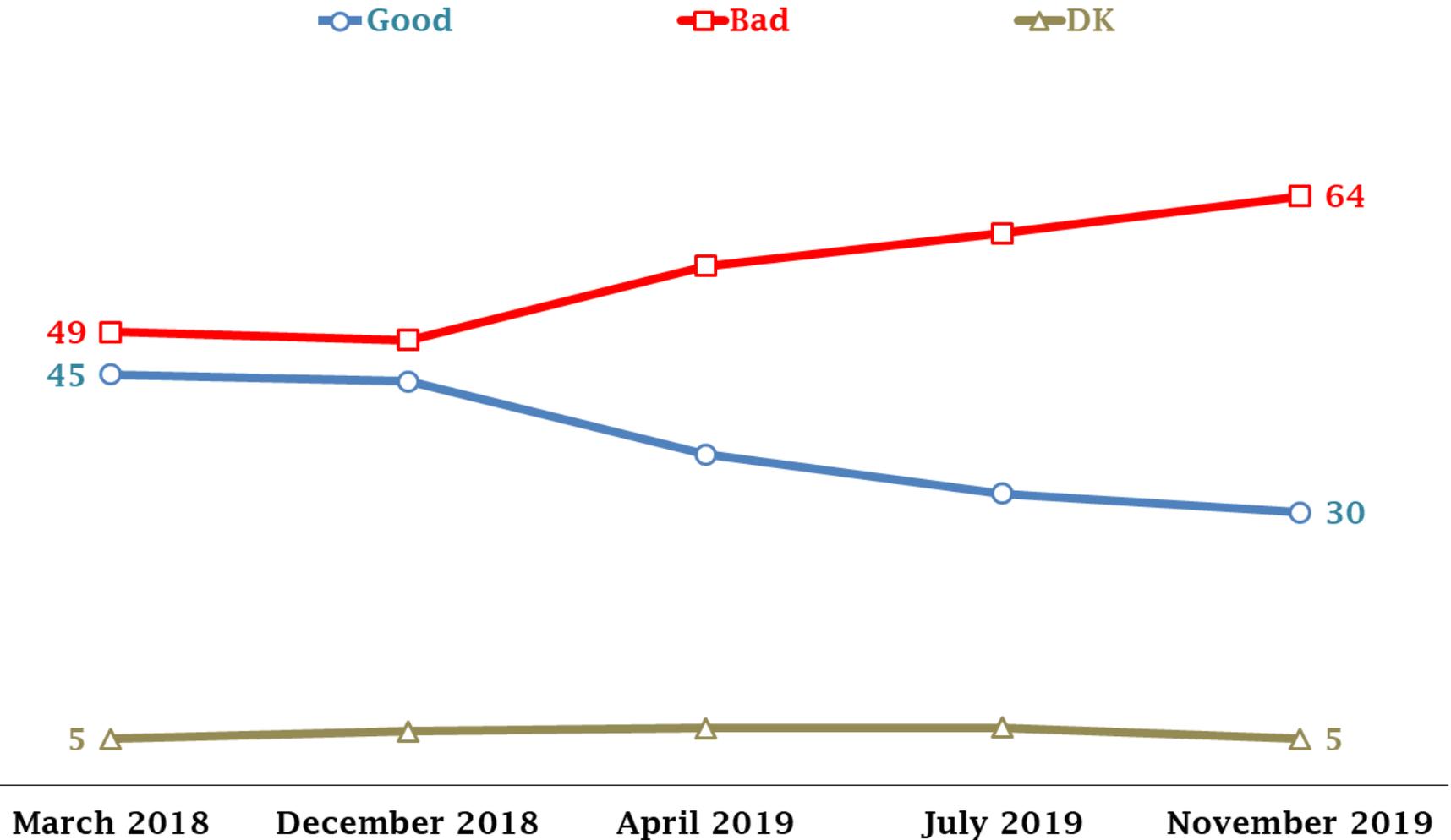
What does democracy mean to you? Please, name up to three things. (q2)



Performance of institutions and politicians

Government performance

Using this card, please tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government? (q4)



Performance of institutions

How would you rate the performance of ...? (q5)

■ Very good ■ Good ■ Average ■ Bad ■ Very bad ■ DK ■ RA

Georgian army



Georgian Orthodox Church



Georgian police



The Courts

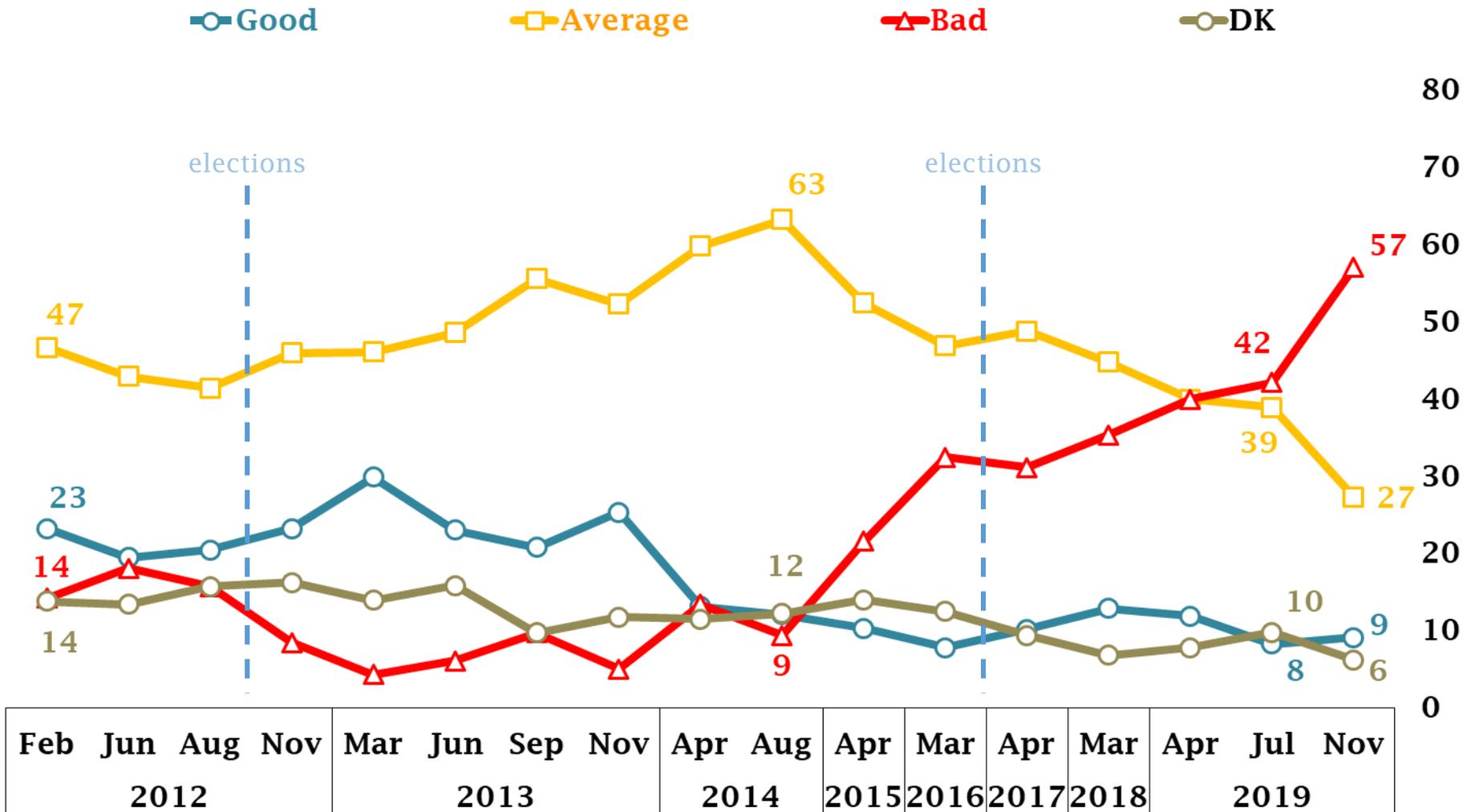


The Parliament



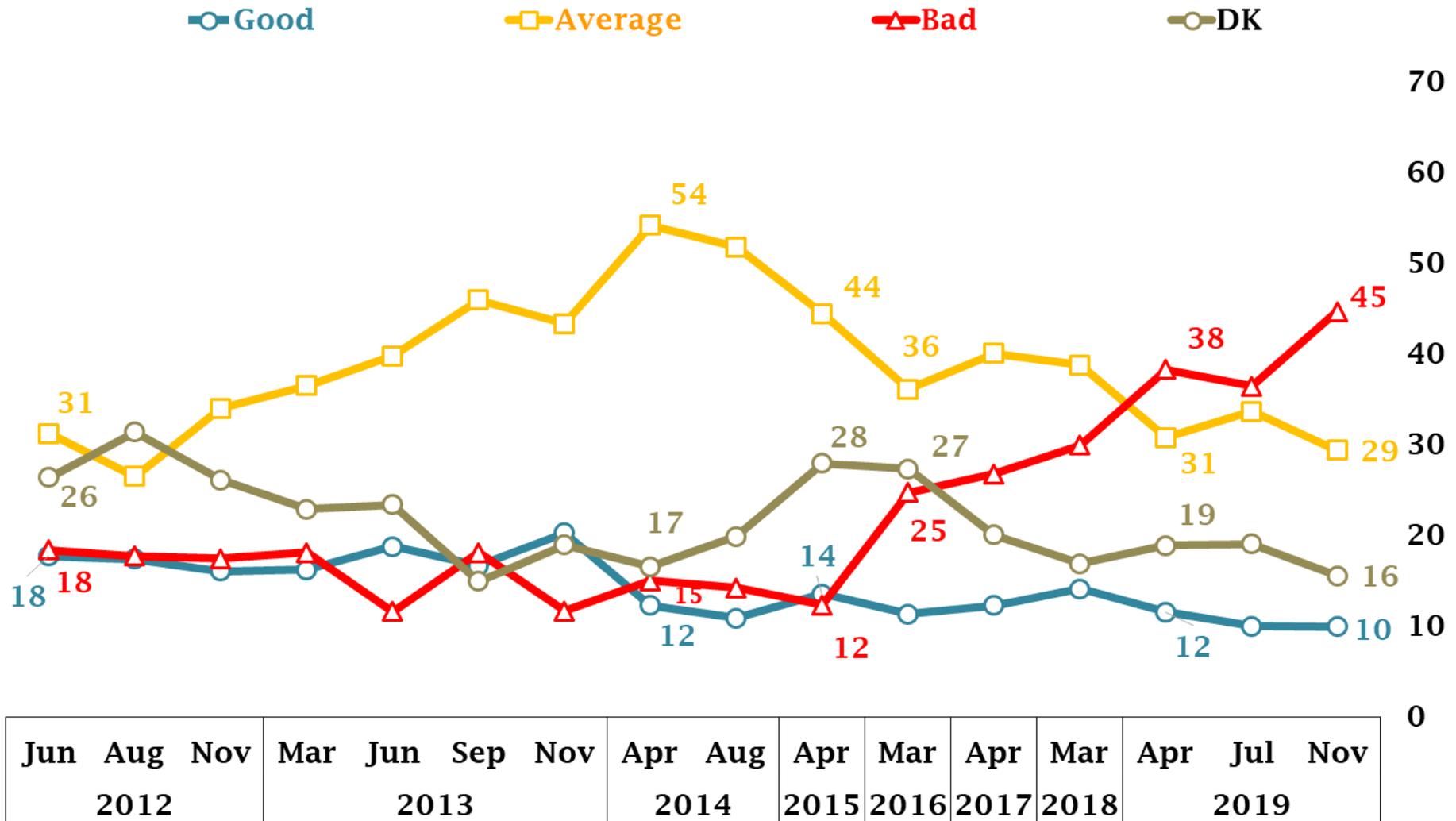
Performance of the parliament

How would you rate the performance of the parliament? (q5_16)



Performance of the courts

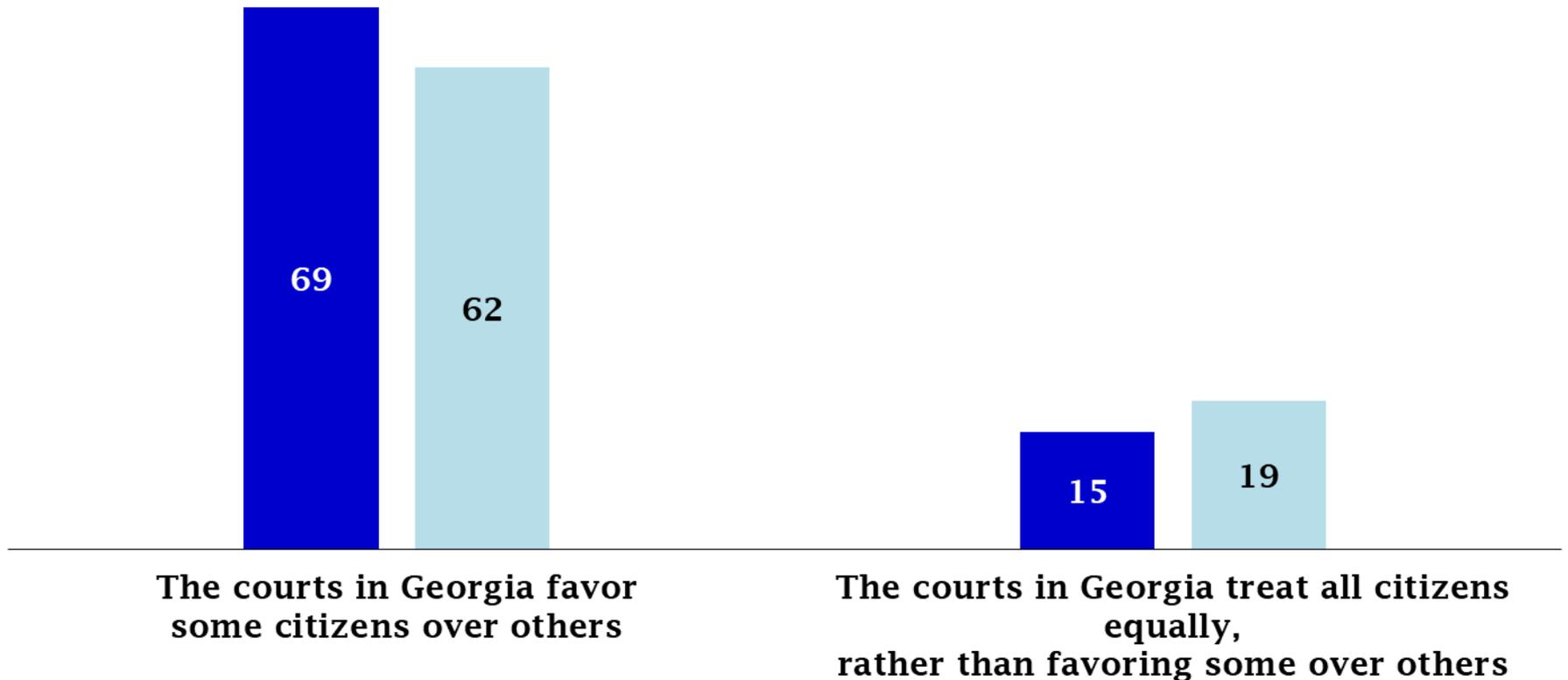
How would you rate the performance of the courts? (q5_17)



Perceptions of the courts

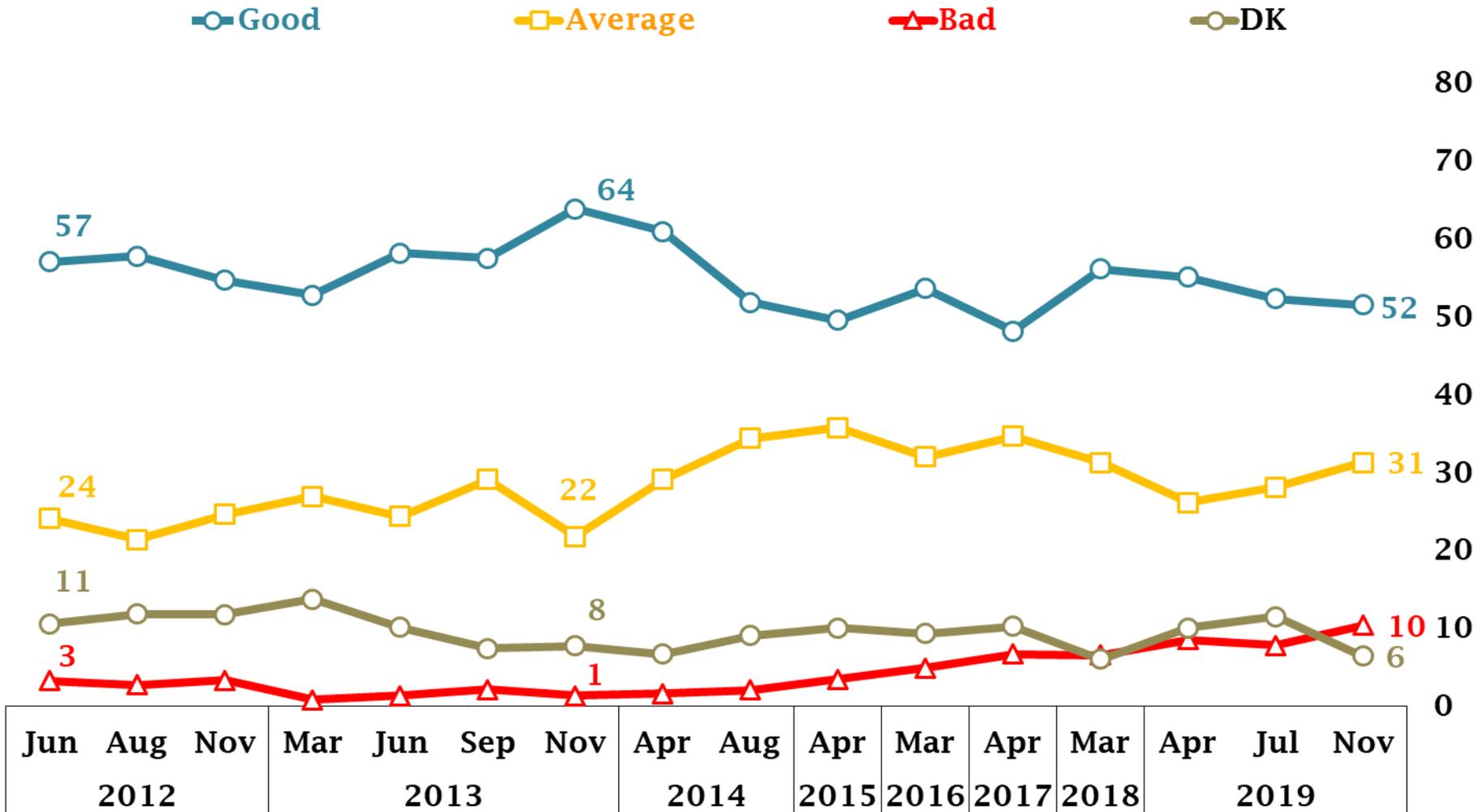
Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with? (q32)

■ June 2018 ■ November 2019



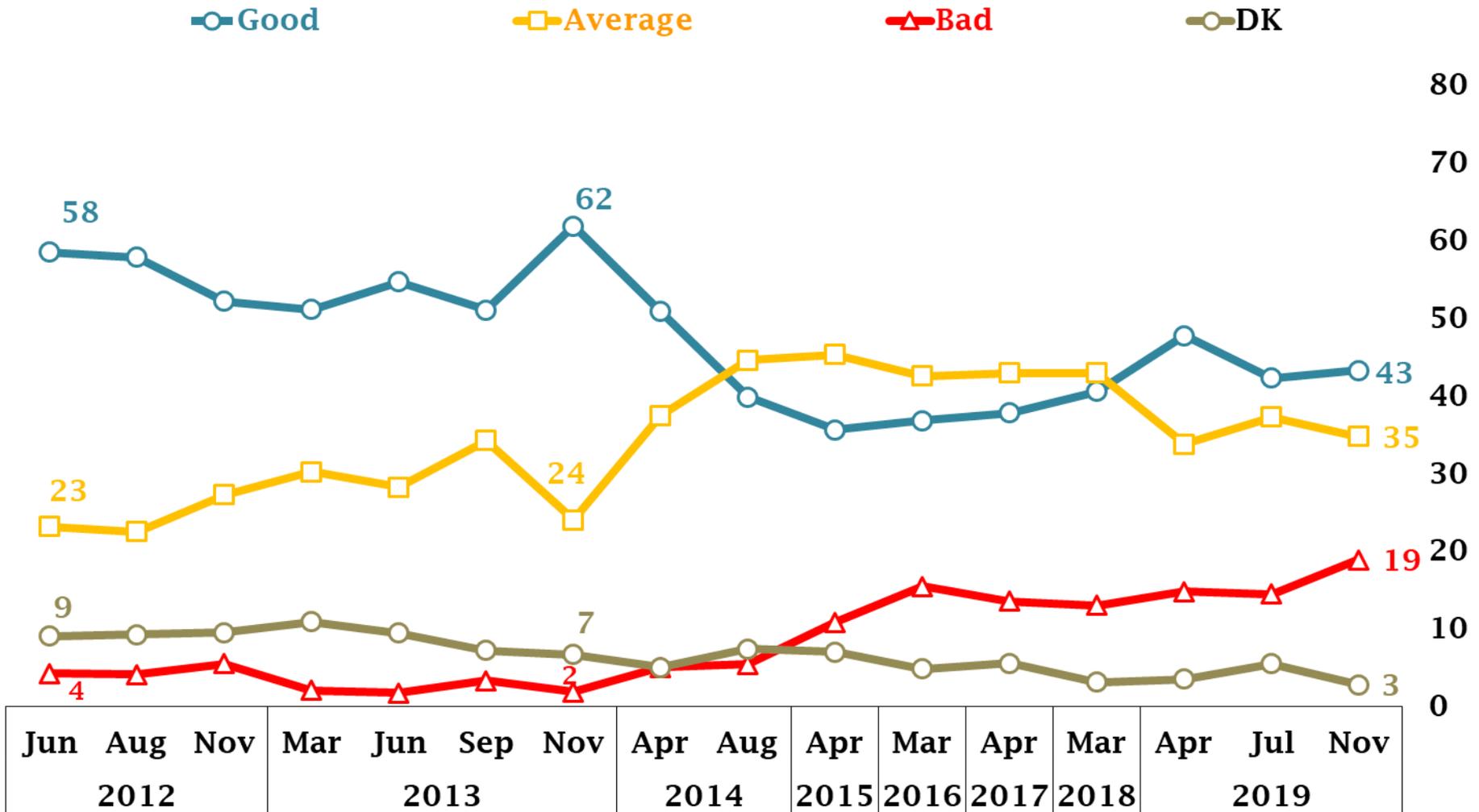
Performance of Georgian army

How would you rate the performance of Georgian army? (q5_18)



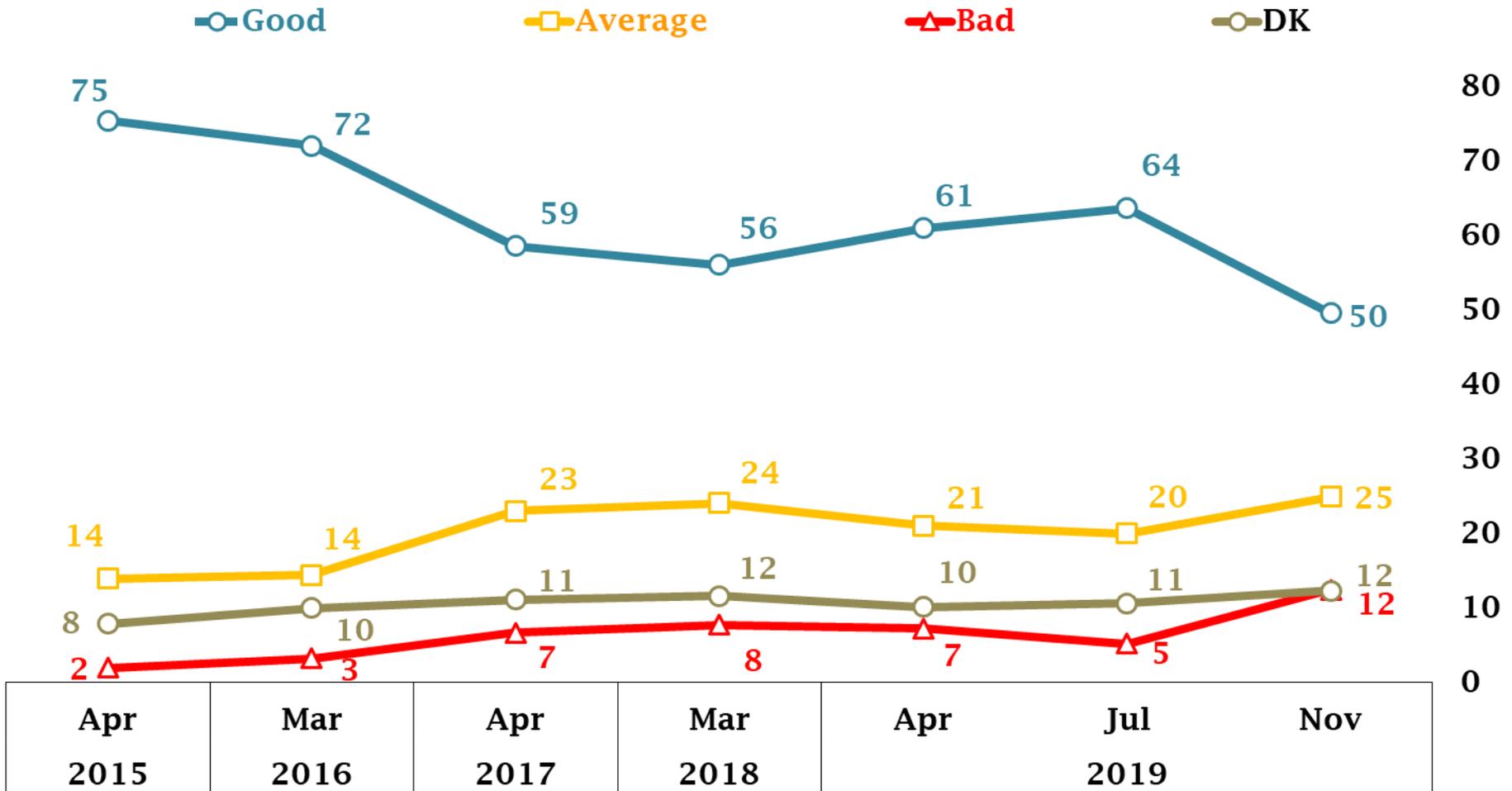
Performance of Georgian police

How would you rate the performance of Georgian police? (q5_19)



Performance of the Georgian Orthodox Church

How would you rate the performance of the Georgian Orthodox Church?
(q5_20)



Performance of ministries

How would you rate the performance of ...? (q5) Part 1

■ Very well ■ Well ■ Average ■ Badly ■ Very badly ■ DK ■ RA

Ministry of Justice (Thea Tsouloukiani)



Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport (Mikheil Chkhenkeli)



Ministry of Defense (Irakli Gharibashvili)



Ministry of Internal Affairs (Vakhtang Gomelauri)



Ministry of Environment Protection and Agriculture (Levan Davitashvili)



Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Davit Zalkaliani)



Performance of ministries

How would you rate the performance of ...? (q5) Part 2

■ Very well ■ Well ■ Average ■ Badly ■ Very badly ■ DK ■ RA

Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure (Maia Tskitishvili)



Ministry of IDPs from Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs (Ekaterine Tikaradze)



Office of the State Minister for Reconciliation and Civic Equality of Georgia (Ketevan Tsikhelashvili)



Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development (Natia Turnava)

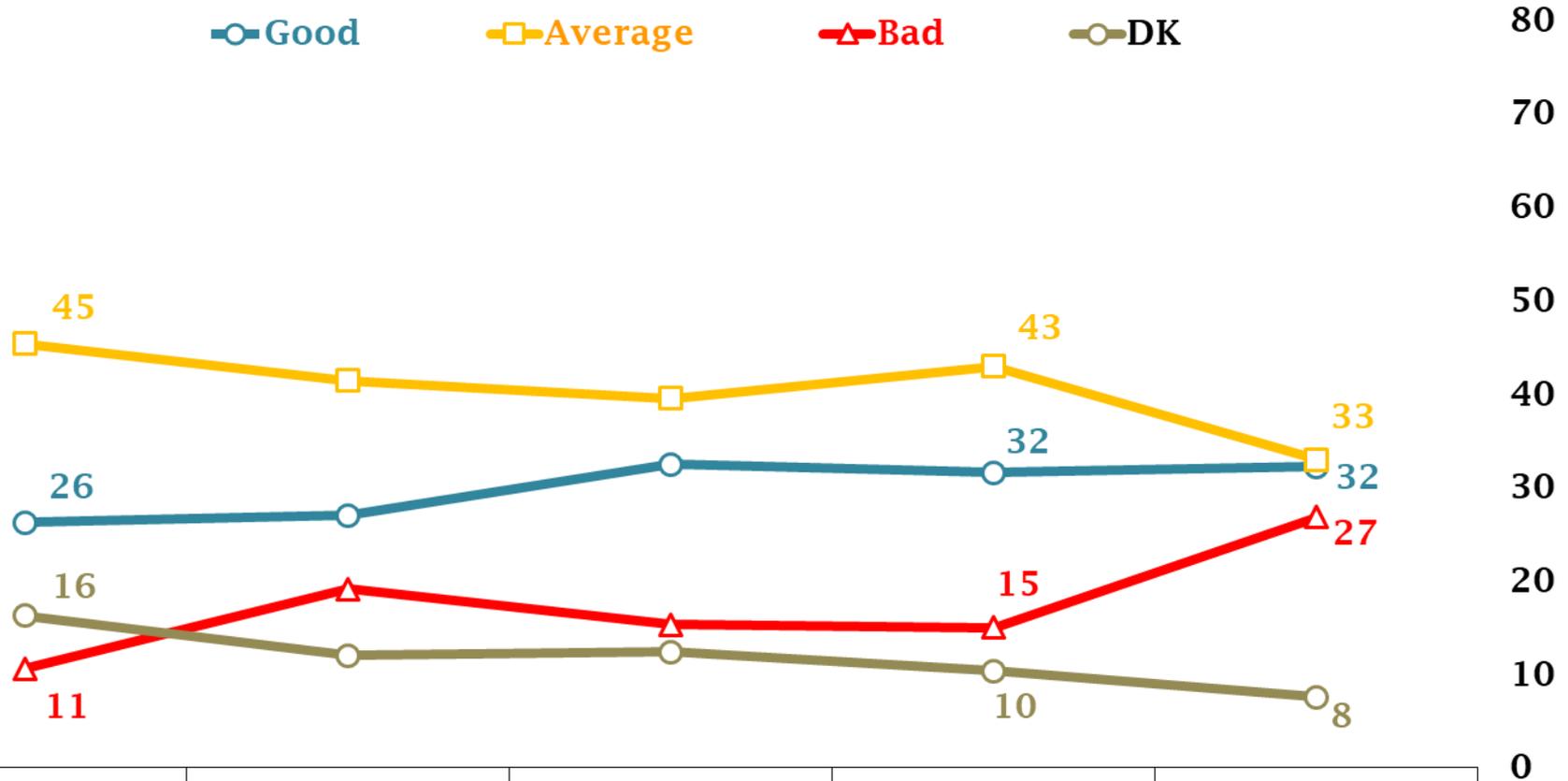


Ministry of Finance (Ivane Machavariani)



Performance of the Ministry of Justice

How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Justice? (q5_9)

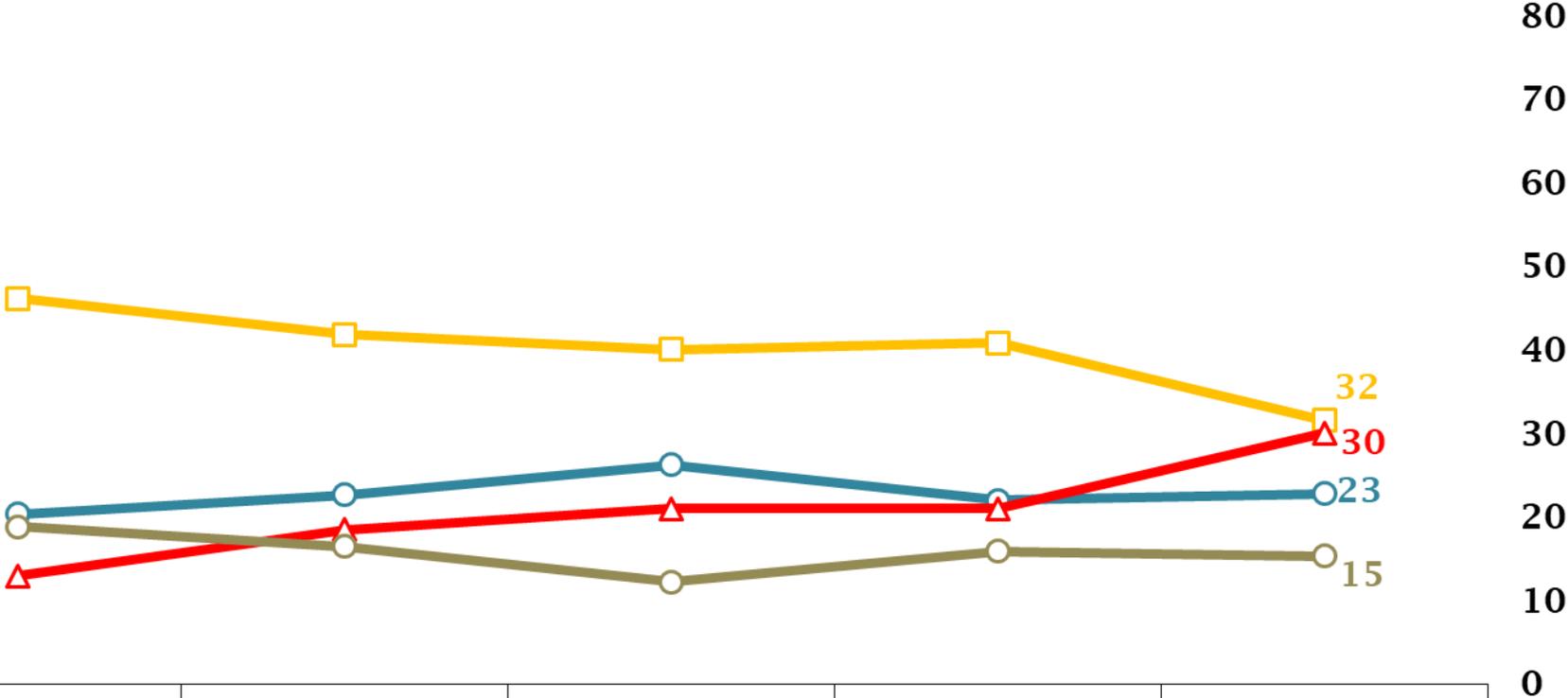


Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Nov 2019
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Performance of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport

How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport? (q5_11)

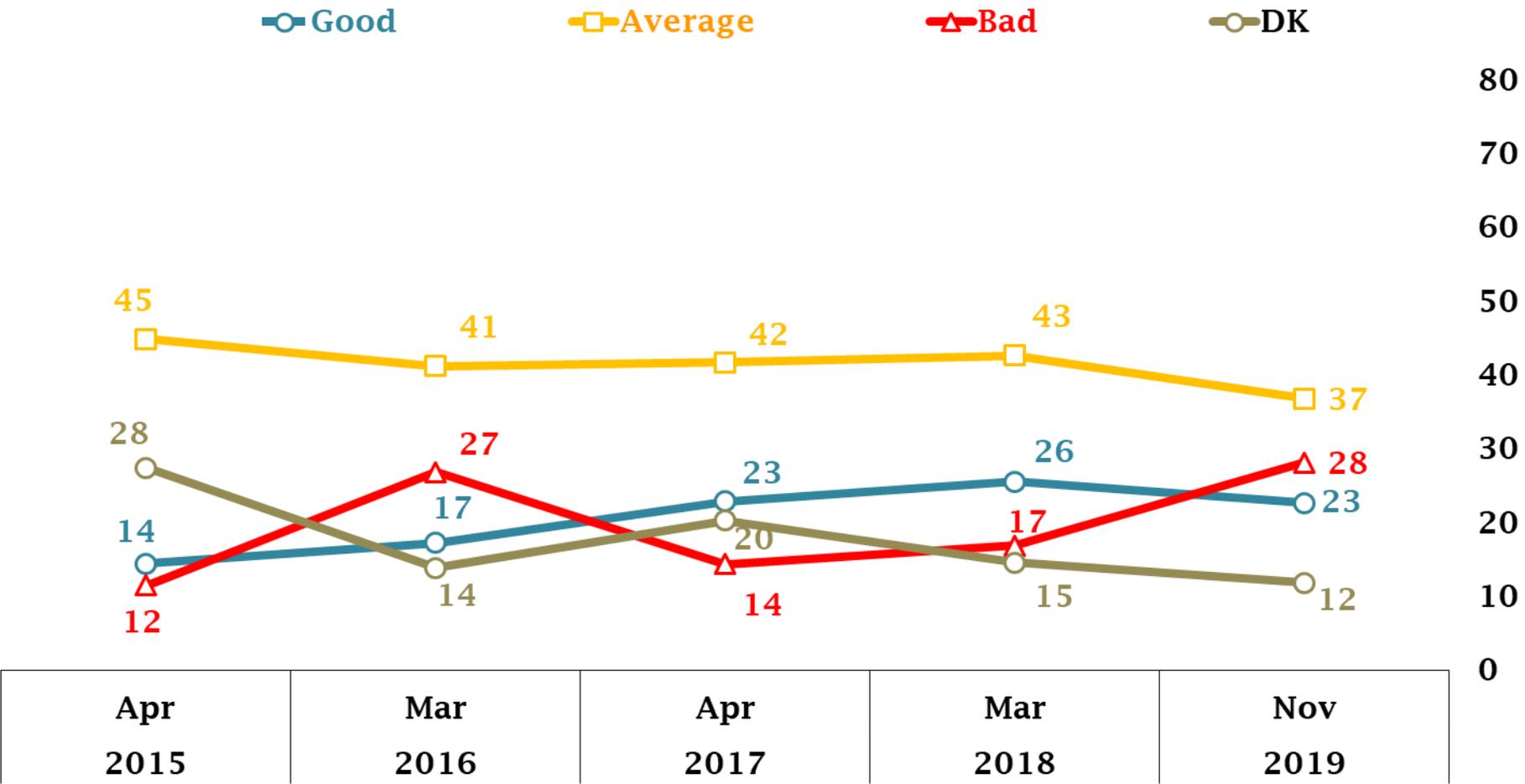
—○— Good
 —□— Average
 —△— Bad
 —○— DK



Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Nov 2019
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Performance of the Ministry of Defense

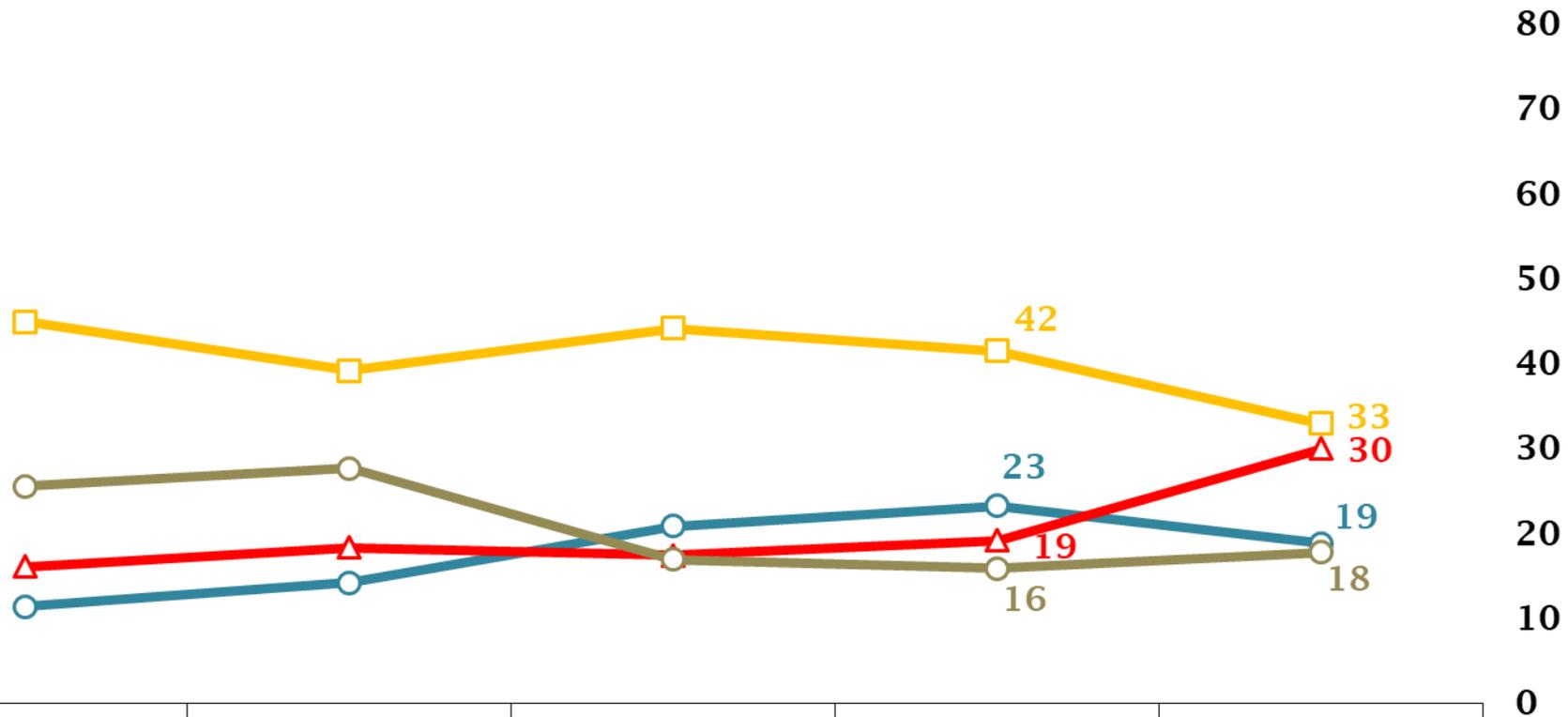
How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Defense? (q5_13)



Performance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs

How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs?
(q5_8)

○ Good
 □ Average
 △ Bad
 ○ DK



Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Nov 2019
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Performance of the Ministry of Environment Protection and Agriculture

How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Environment Protection and Agriculture? (q5_15)

■ Good ■ Average ■ Bad ■ DK ■ RA

November 2019



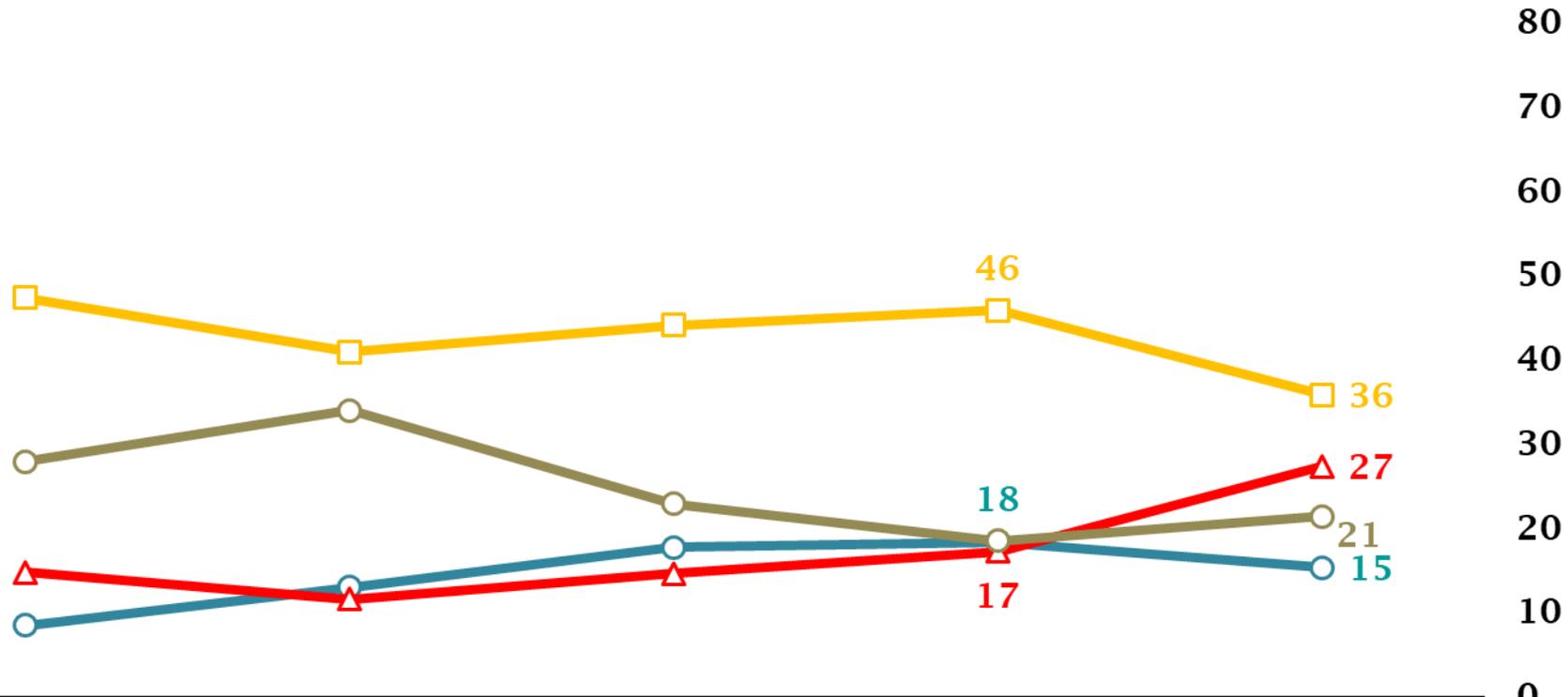
March 2018



Performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
(q5_10)

Well Average Badly DK

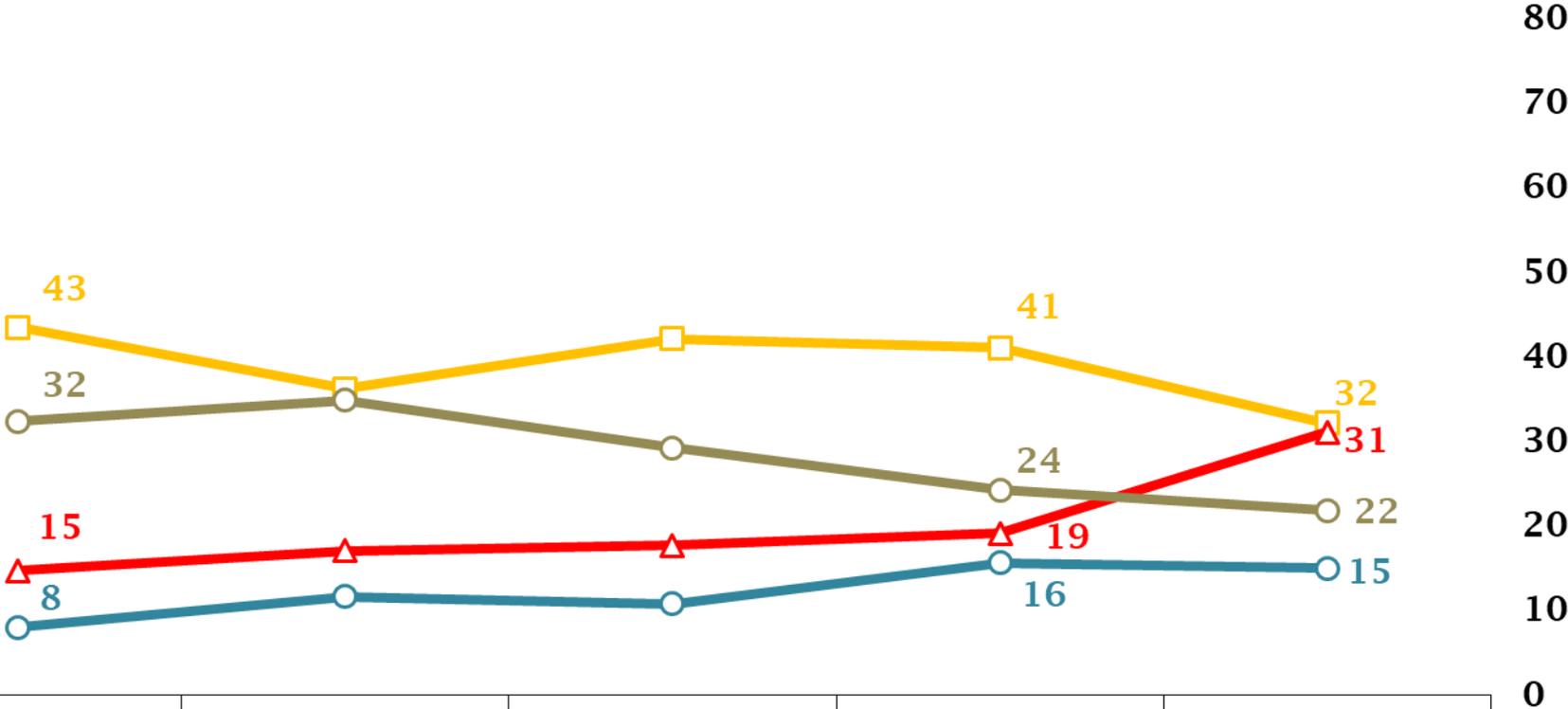


Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Nov 2019
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Performance of the Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure

How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure? (q5_7)

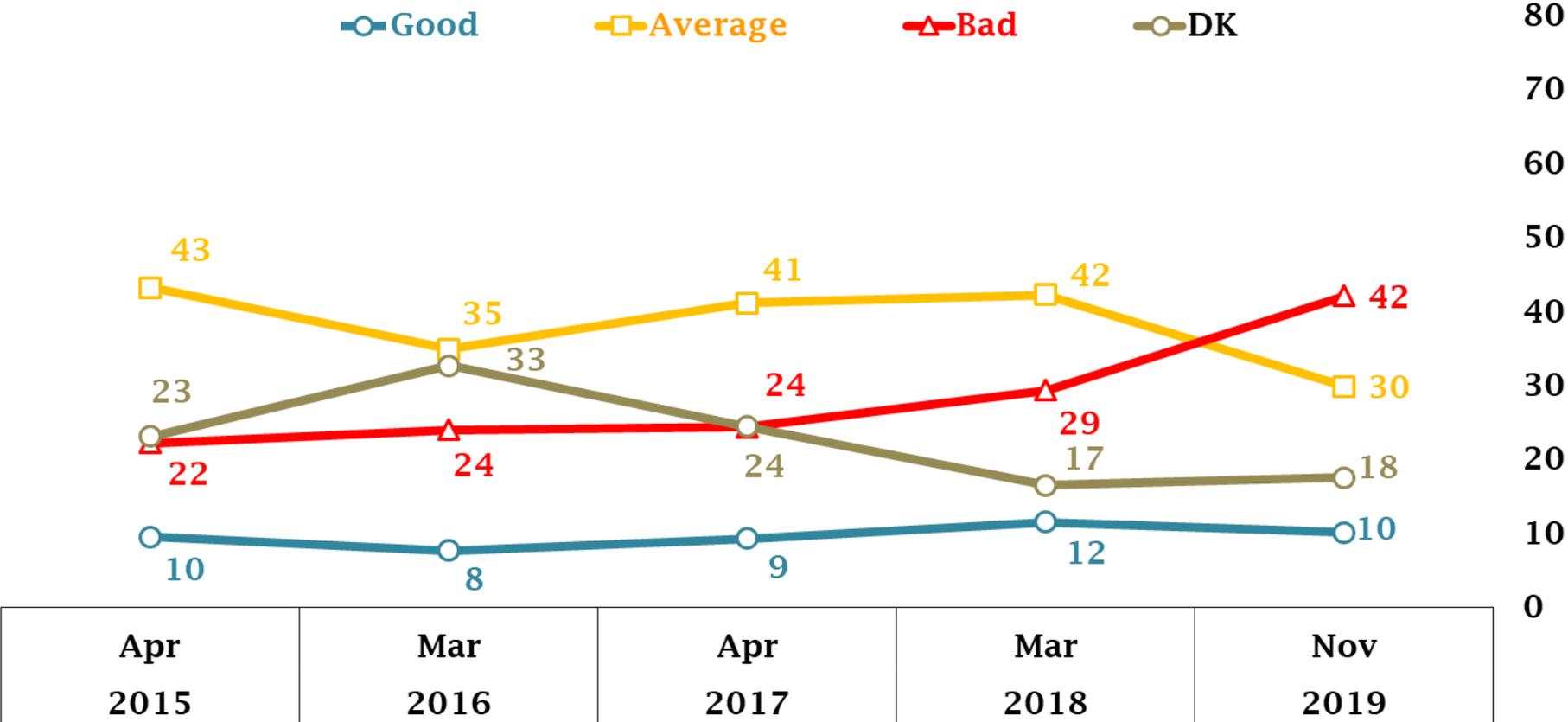
○ Good
 □ Average
 △ Bad
 ○ DK



Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Nov 2019
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Performance of the Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development

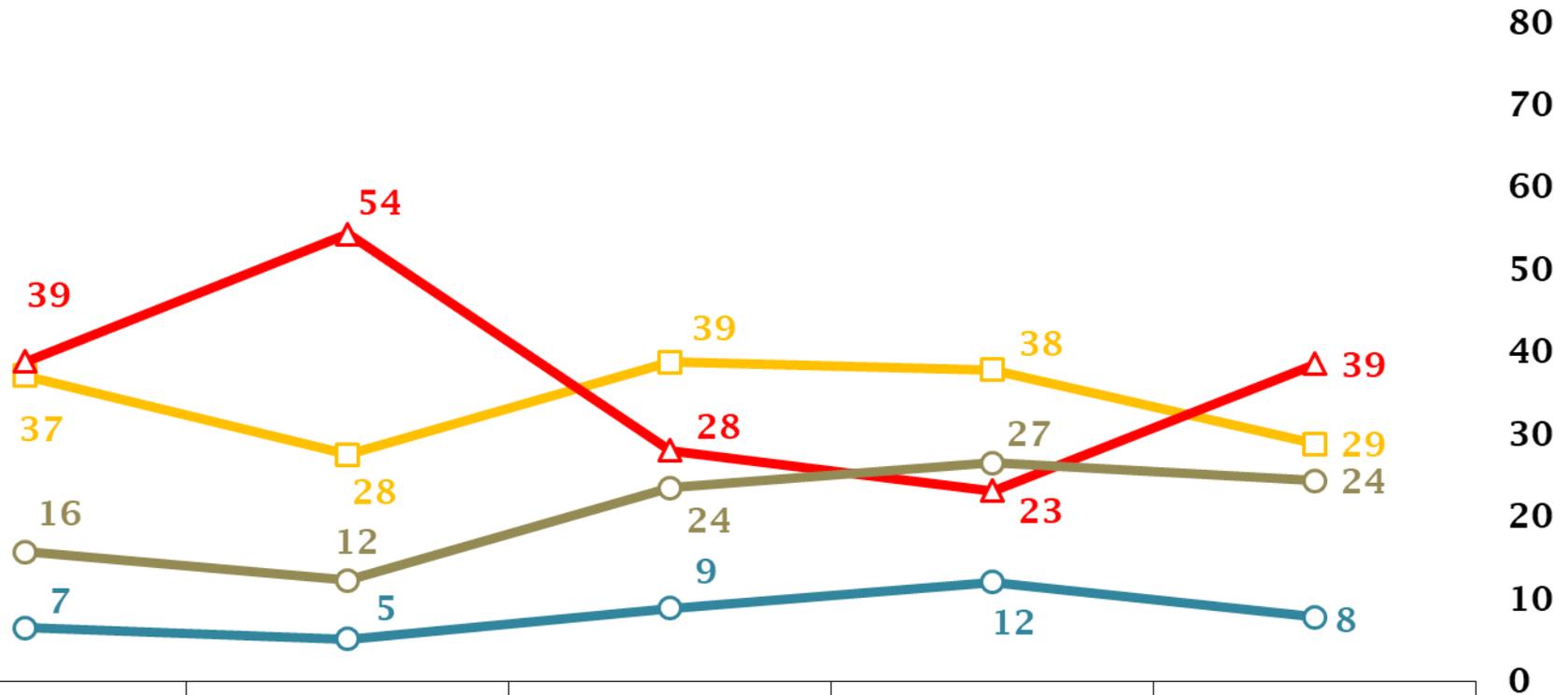
How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development? (q5_14)



Performance of the Ministry of Finance

How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Finance? (q5_5)

○ Good
 □ Average
 △ Bad
 ○ DK



Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Nov 2019
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Performance of leaders

How would you rate the performance of ...? (q5)

■ Very good ■ Good ■ Average ■ Bad ■ Very bad ■ DK ■ RA

Mayor of Tbilisi Kakha Kaladze (Tbilisi only)



Prime Minister Giorgi Gakharia



The speaker of the parliament Archil Talakvadze

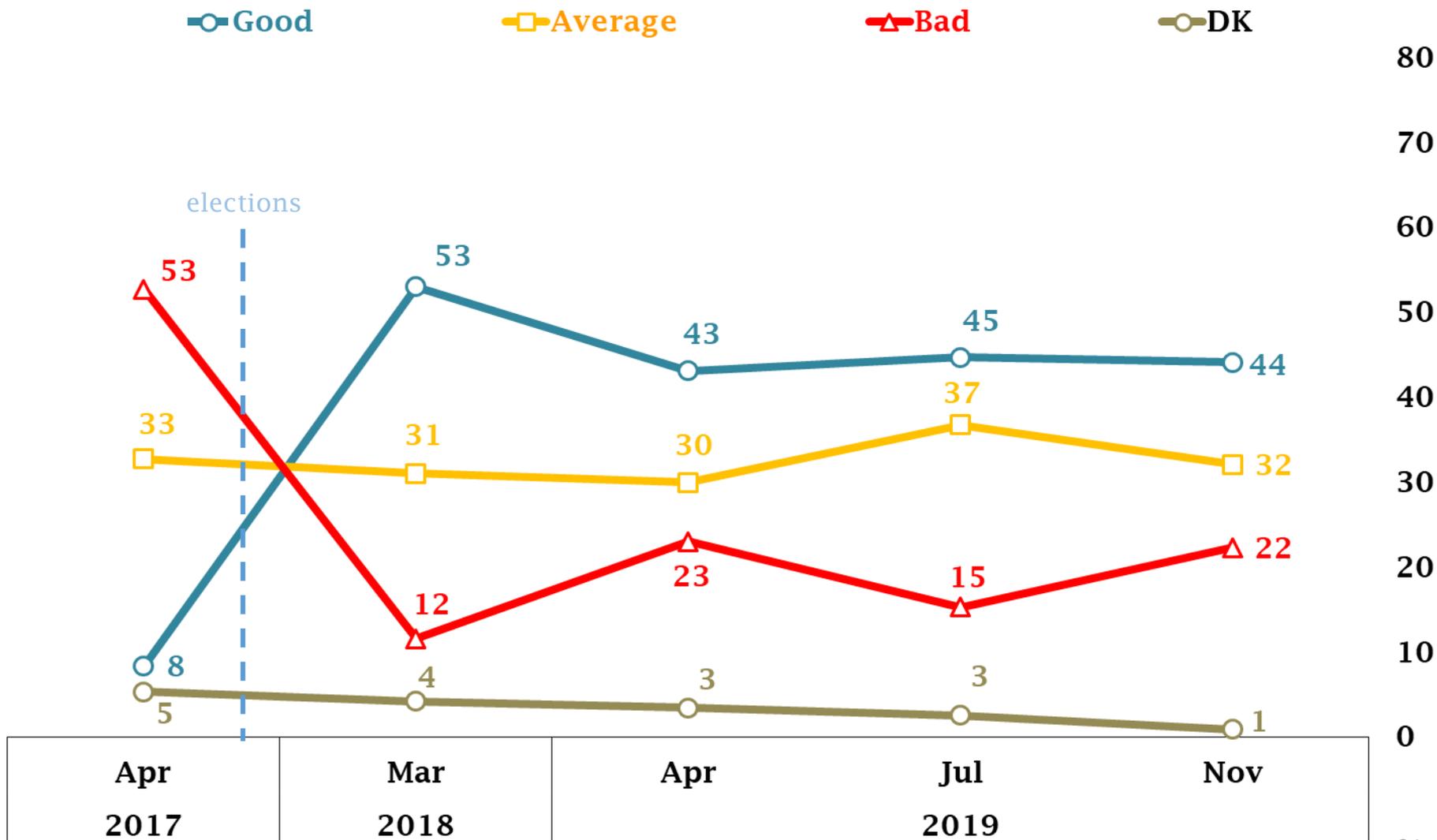


President Salome Zourabichvili



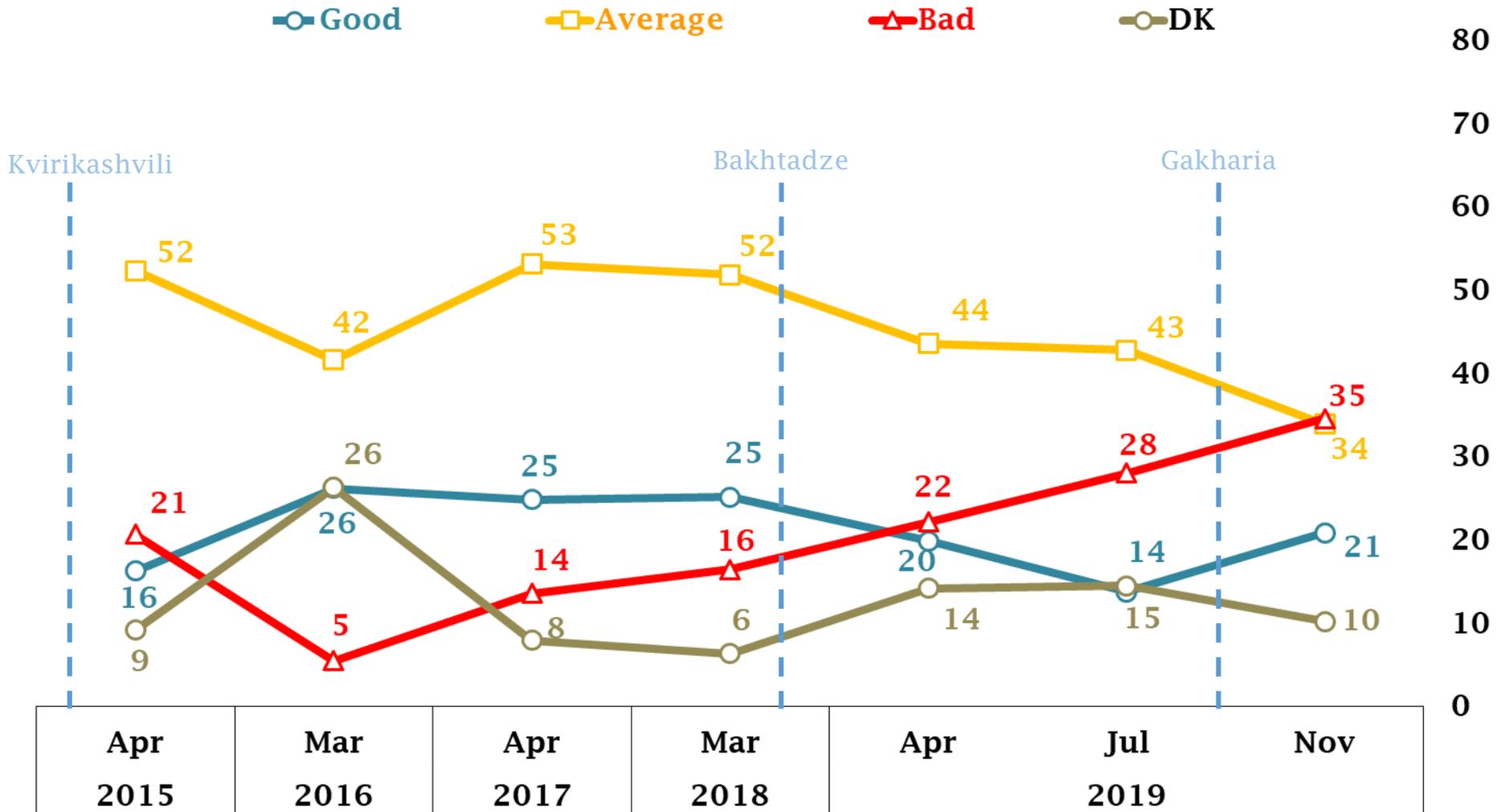
Performance of the mayor of Tbilisi

How would you rate the performance of the mayor of Tbilisi? (q5_4) Tbilisi



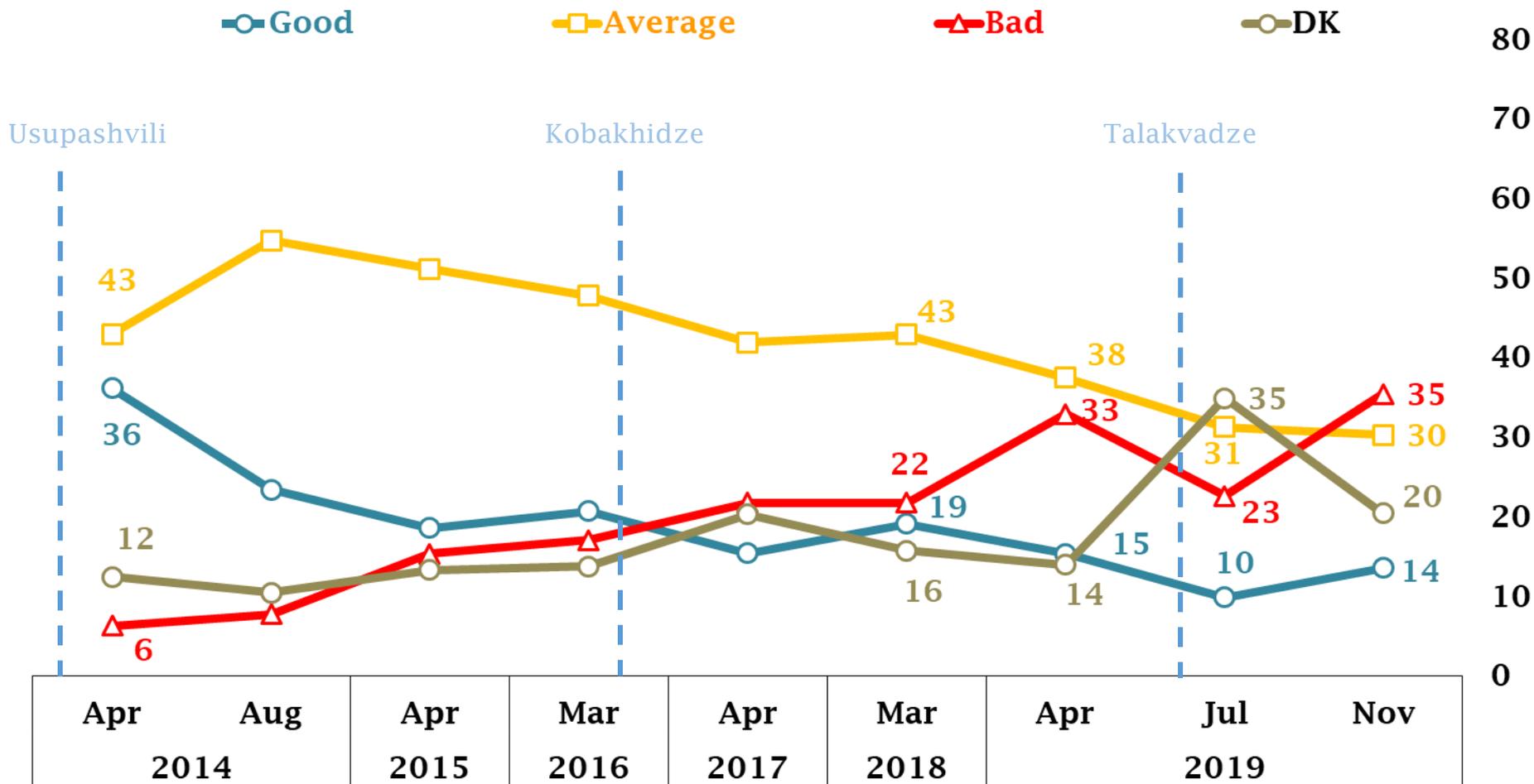
Performance of the prime minister

How would you rate the performance of the prime minister? (q5_1)



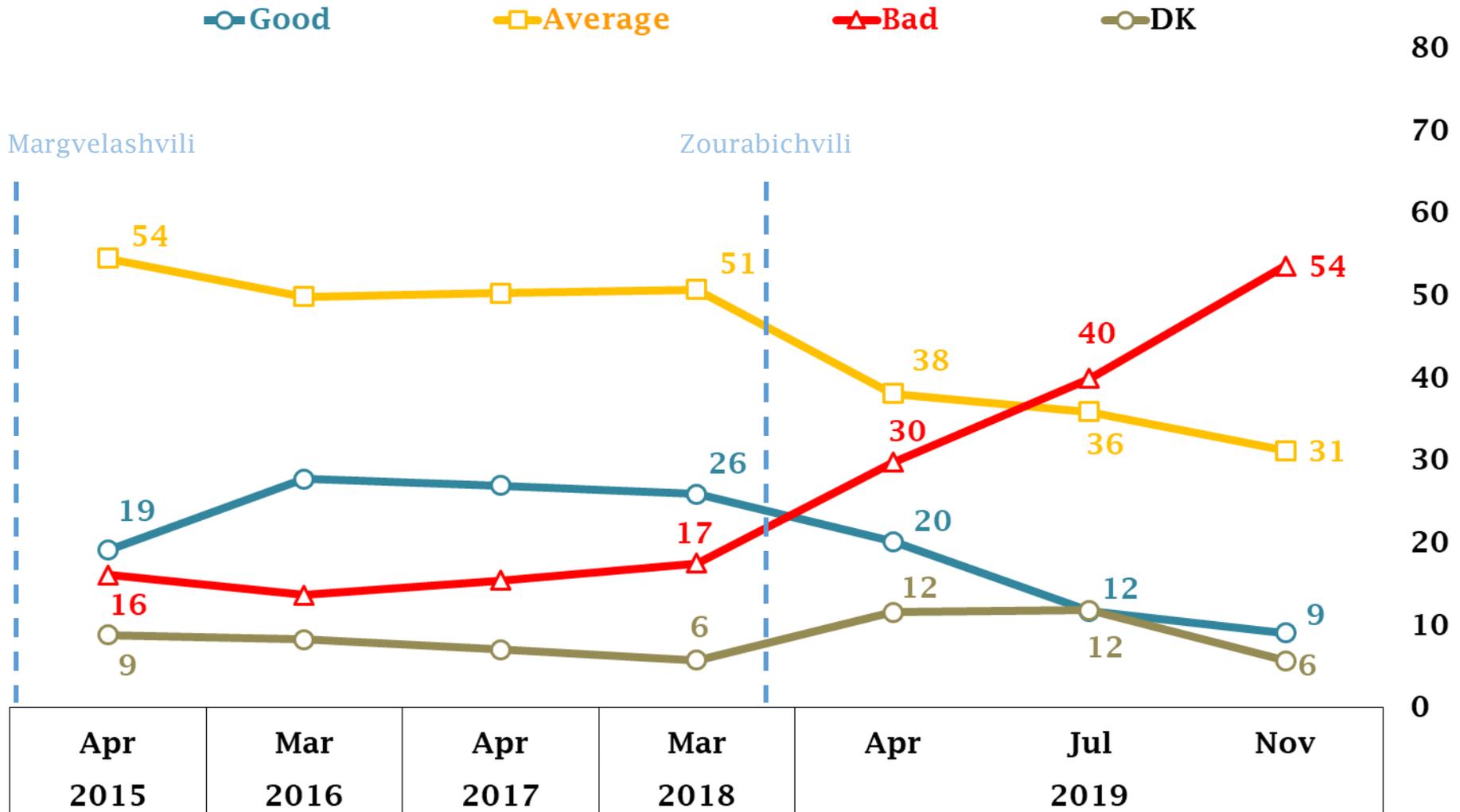
Performance of the speaker of the parliament

How would you rate the performance of the speaker of the parliament?
(q5_3)



Performance of the president

How would you rate the performance of the president? (q5_2)

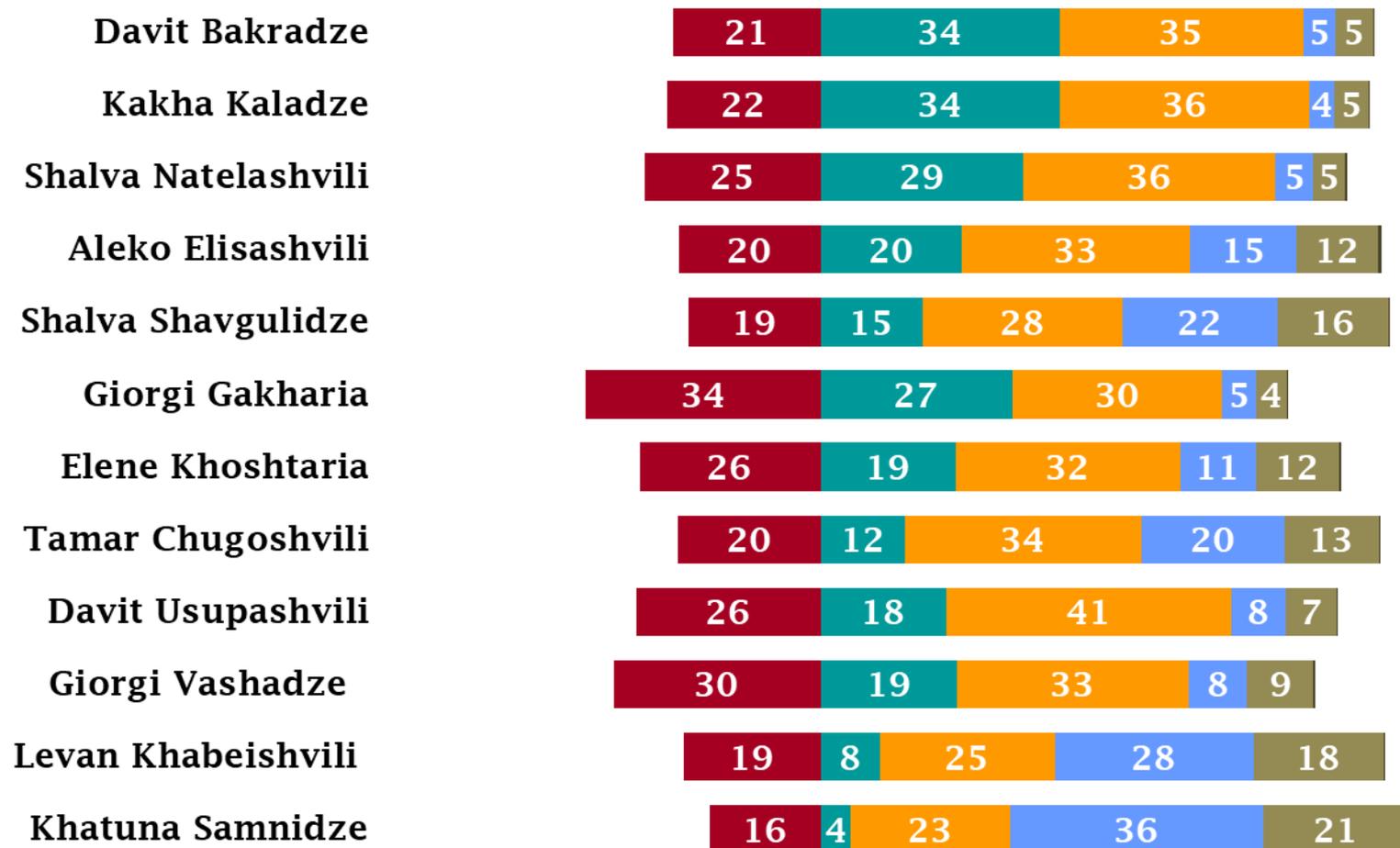


Attitude towards politicians

Ordered by net positive

Do you have a positive or negative attitude about the following leaders and political figures? (q6) Part 1

■ Negative ■ Positive ■ Neither positive nor negative ■ Never heard ■ DK ■ RA

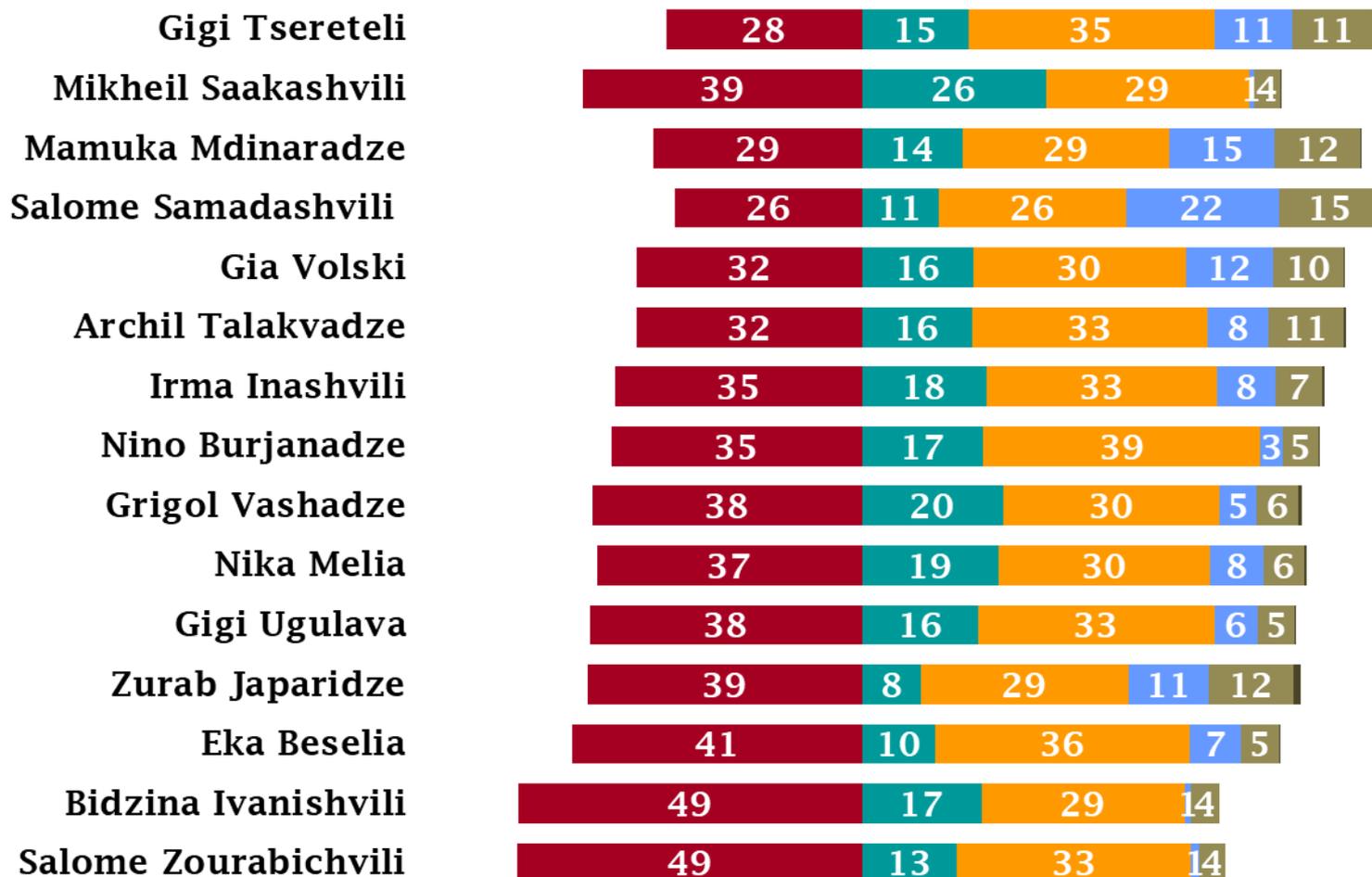


Attitude towards politicians

Ordered by net positive

Do you have a positive or negative attitude about the following leaders and political figures? (q6) Part 2

■ Negative ■ Positive ■ Neither positive nor negative ■ Never heard ■ DK ■ RA

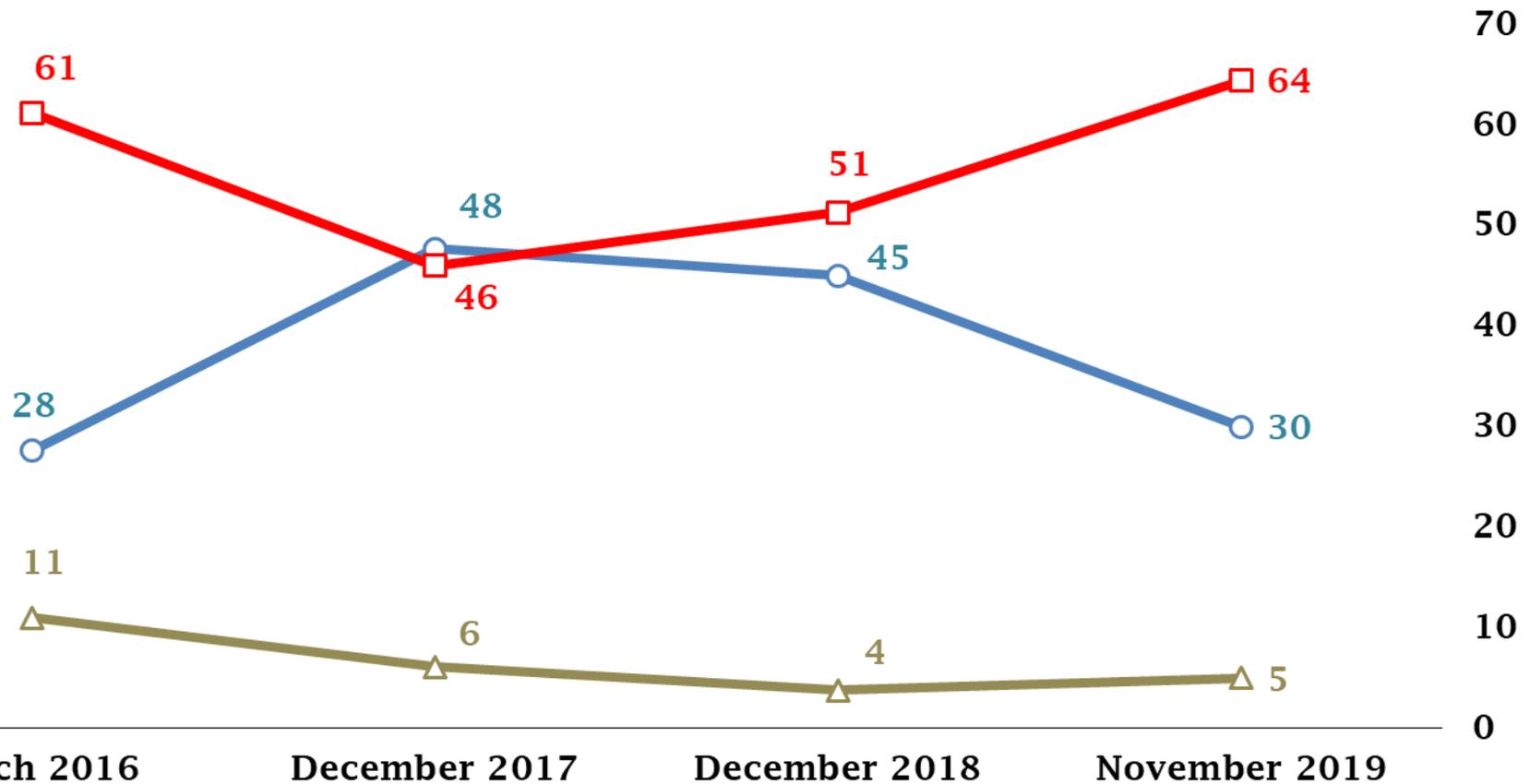


Performance of the parliament

Parliament and the public

Please, tell me how much do you agree or disagree that Members of parliament take into account opinions of people like you? (q22)

—○— Agree —□— Disagree —△— DK



Expectations towards MPs

What do you expect from the member of the Parliament (MP)? (q23)

■ Yes ■ No ■ DK ■ RA

Will do what the party tells him/her to do



Will only serve his/her own interests



He/she will be active

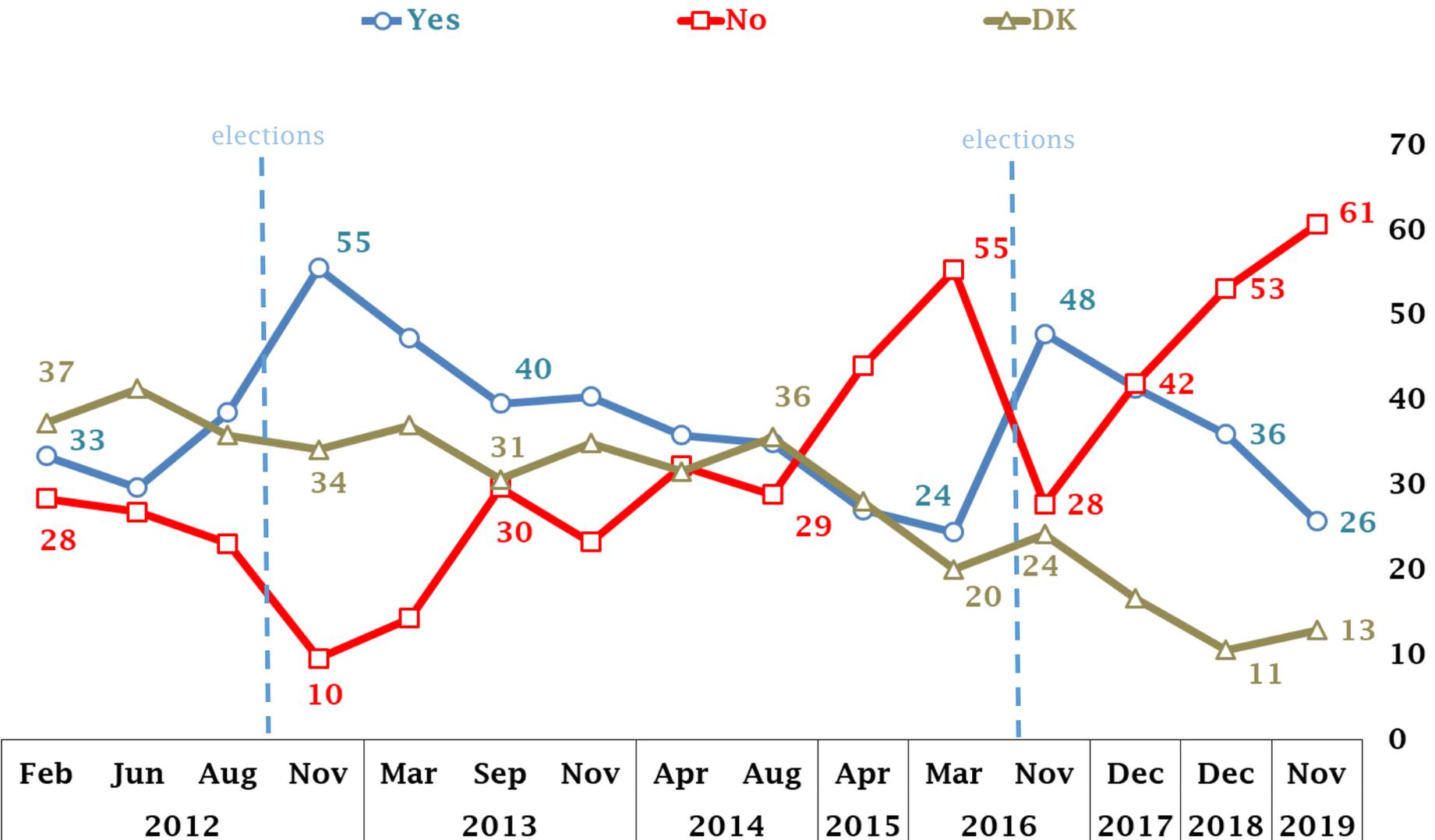


He/she will represent your interests



Expectations towards MPs

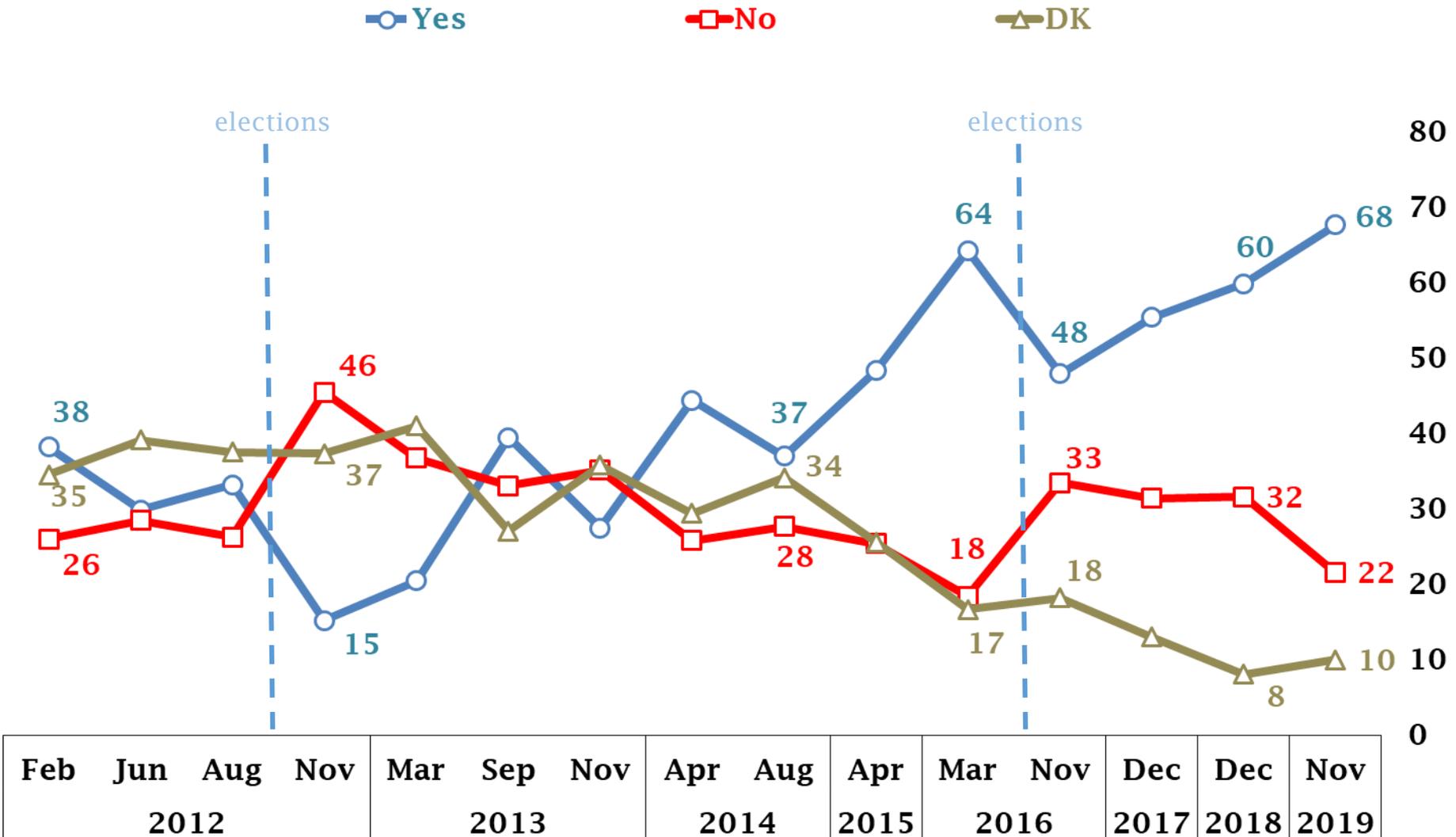
What do you expect from the member of the Parliament (MP)? (q23_1)
He/she will represent your interests



Expectations towards MPs

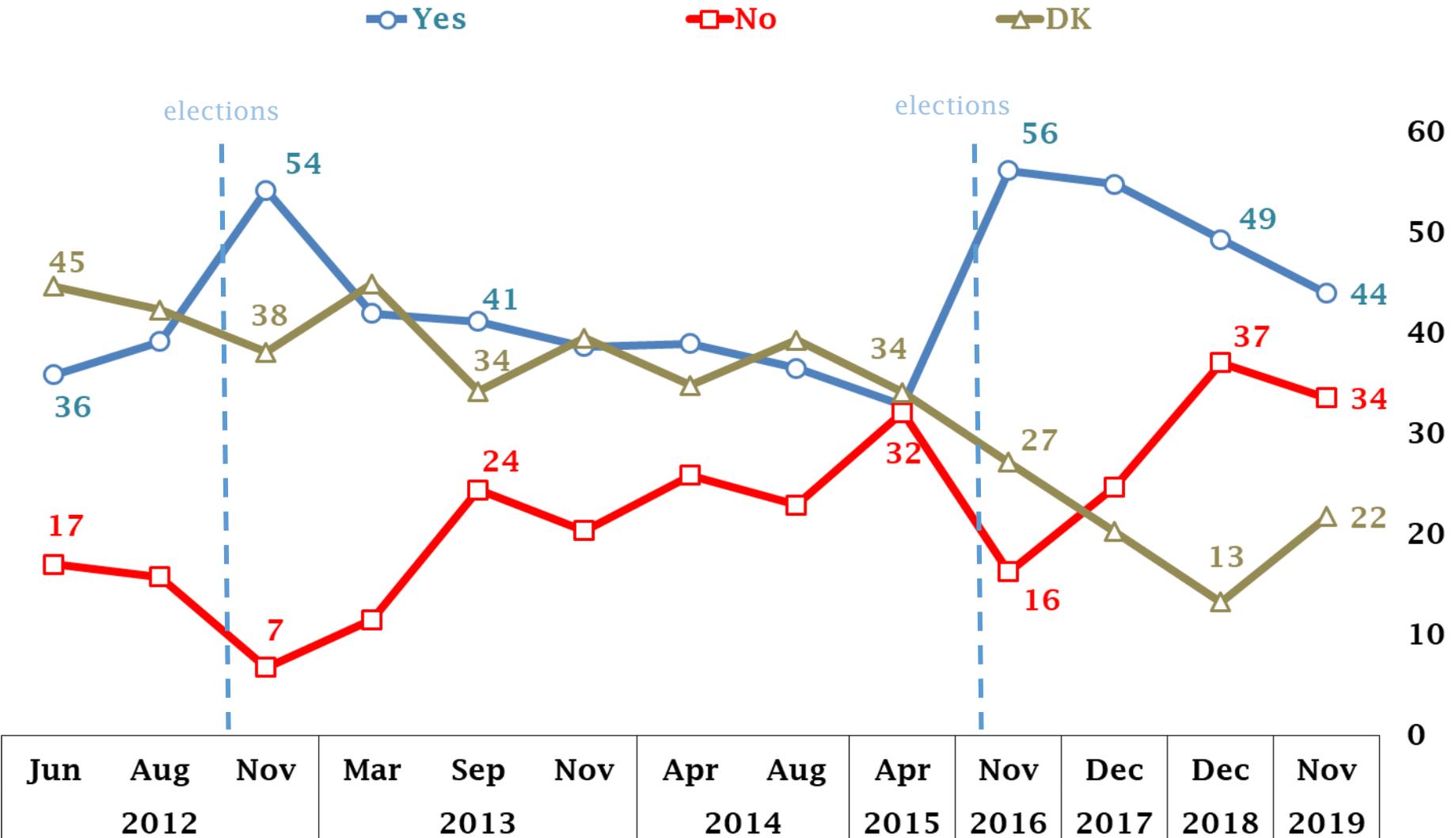
What do you expect from the member of the Parliament (MP)? (q23_2)

Will only serve his/her own interests



Expectations towards MPs

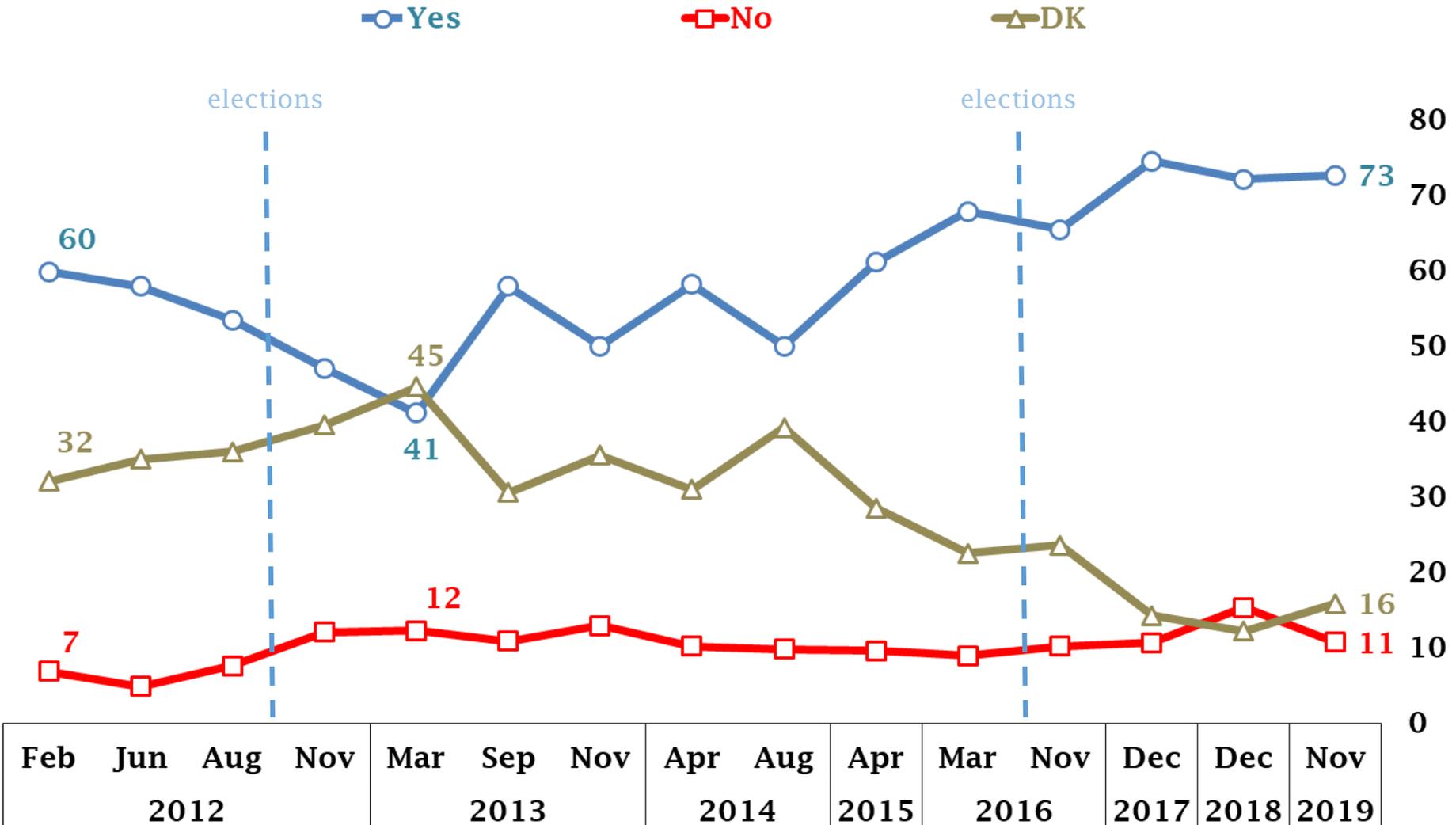
What do you expect from the member of the Parliament (MP)? (q23_3)
He/she will be active



Expectations towards MPs

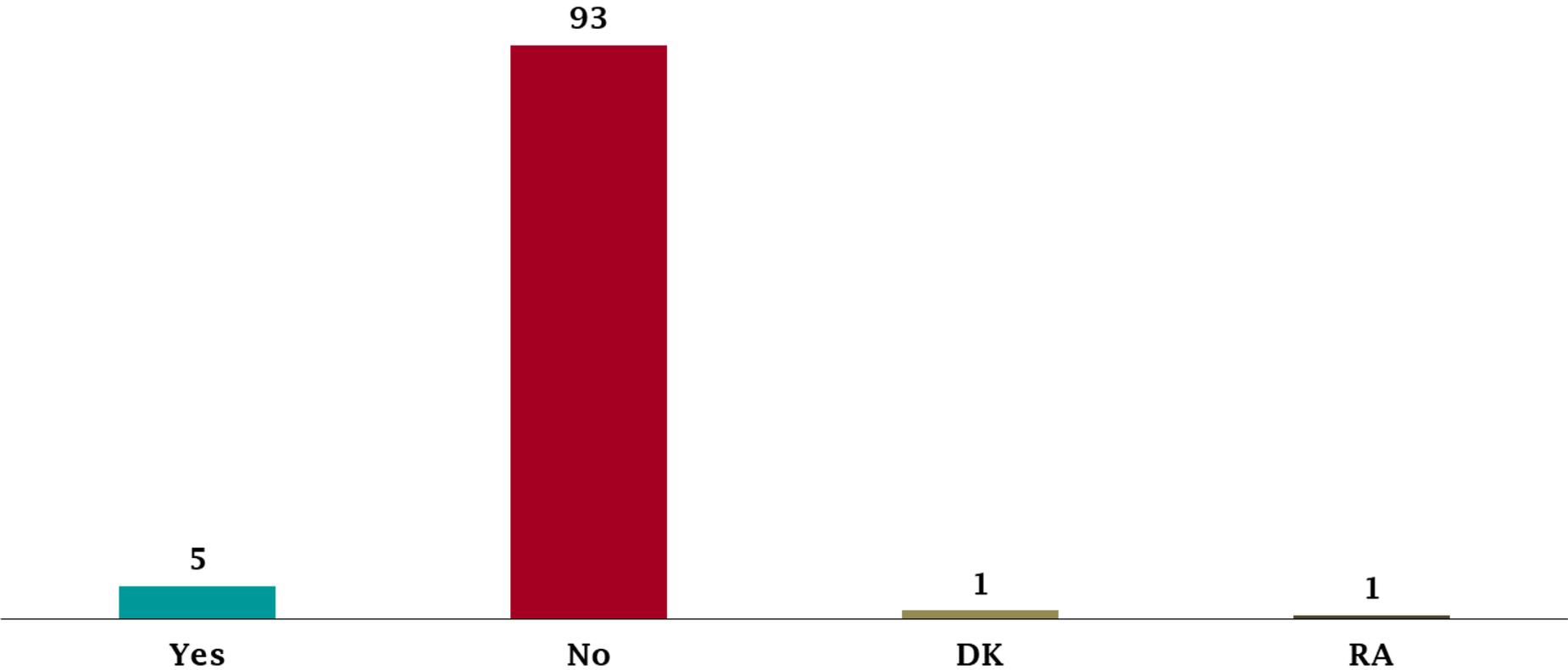
What do you expect from the member of the Parliament (MP)? (q23_4)

Will do what the party tells him/her to do



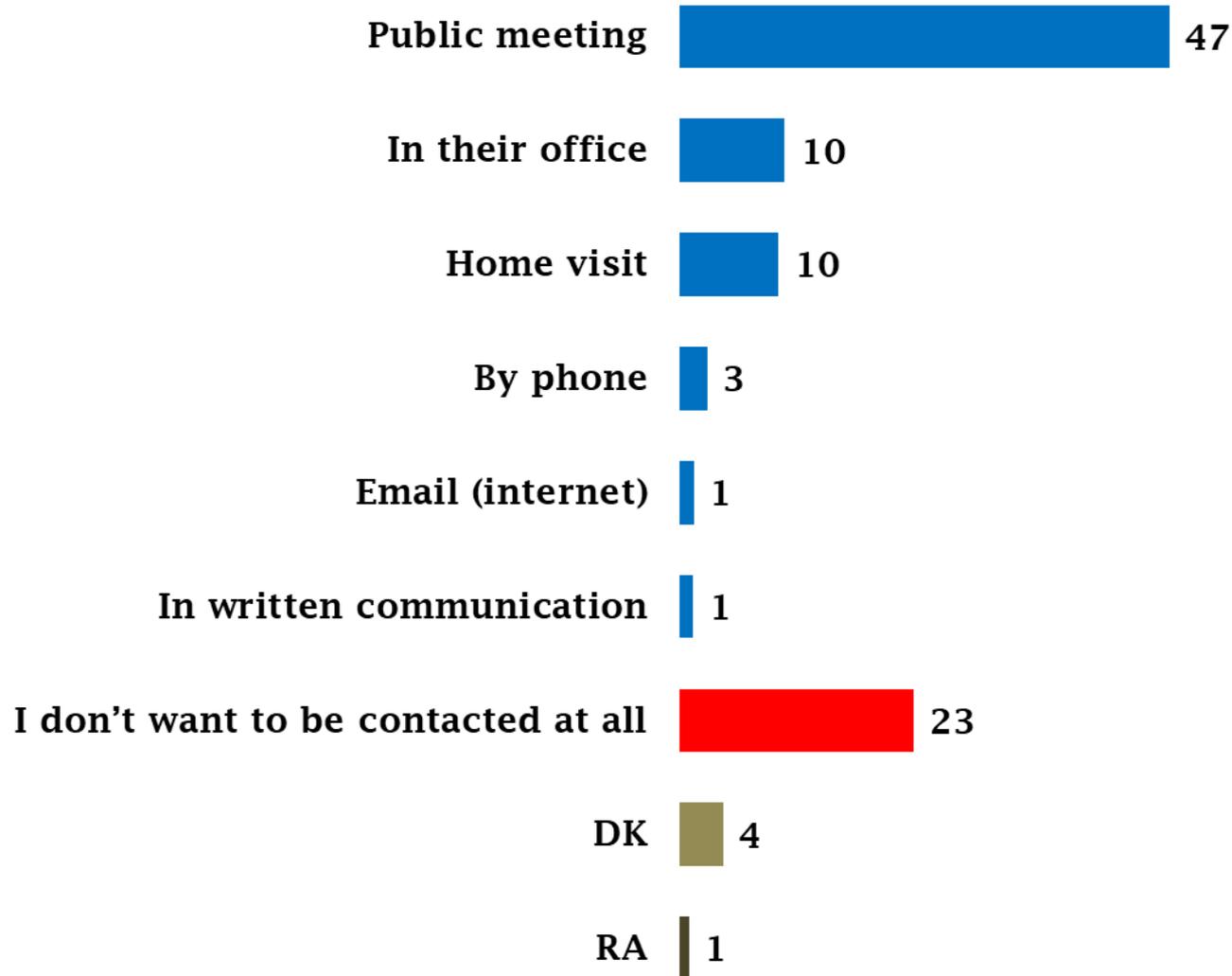
Communication with the Parliament

Have you personally been contacted by MP or his/her bureau during 2019? (q24)



Communication with the Parliament

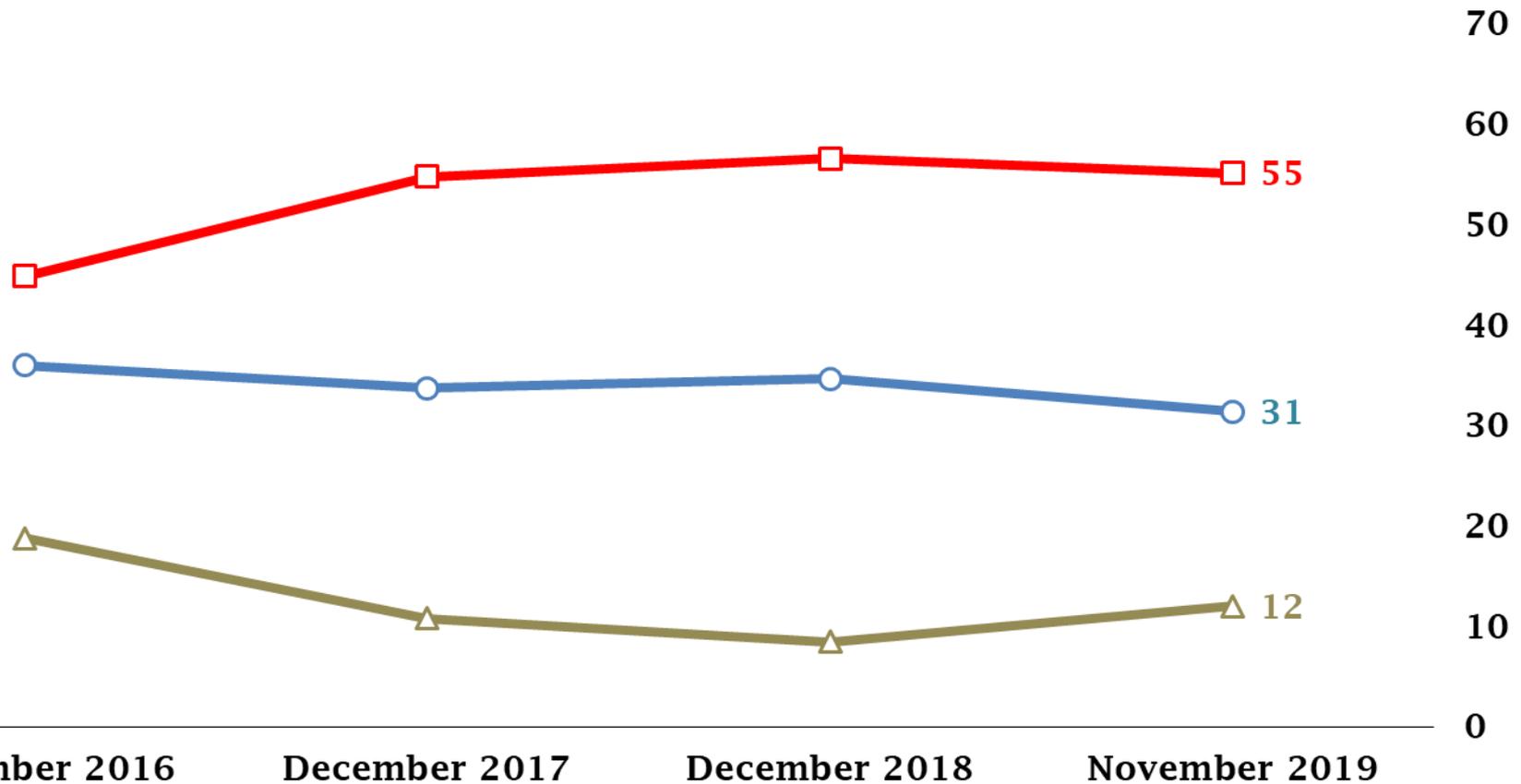
If an MP were to contact you, what would be the best form? (q26)



Parliament and the public

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: If you wanted to, you would be able to easily arrange a meeting with the member of Parliament. (q27)

○ Agree □ Disagree ▲ DK



Participating in Parliament's work

Have you ever been involved in the work of the parliament in following ways...?
(q28)

■ Yes ■ No ■ DK ■ RA

Attended public discussion organized by Parliament/MP



Addressed the parliament/MP with a request



Made a comment on legislation



Attended a committee hearing



Participating in Parliament's work

Why have not you ... (q29) - of those who have not participated in Parliament's work in the following ways

- I am not interested
- I didn't need to
- I did not know I had this opportunity
- I don't have time
- I can't travel to Tbilisi
- Other
- DK
- RA

Made a comment on legislation



Attended public discussion organized by Parliament/MP



Addressed the parliament/MP with a request

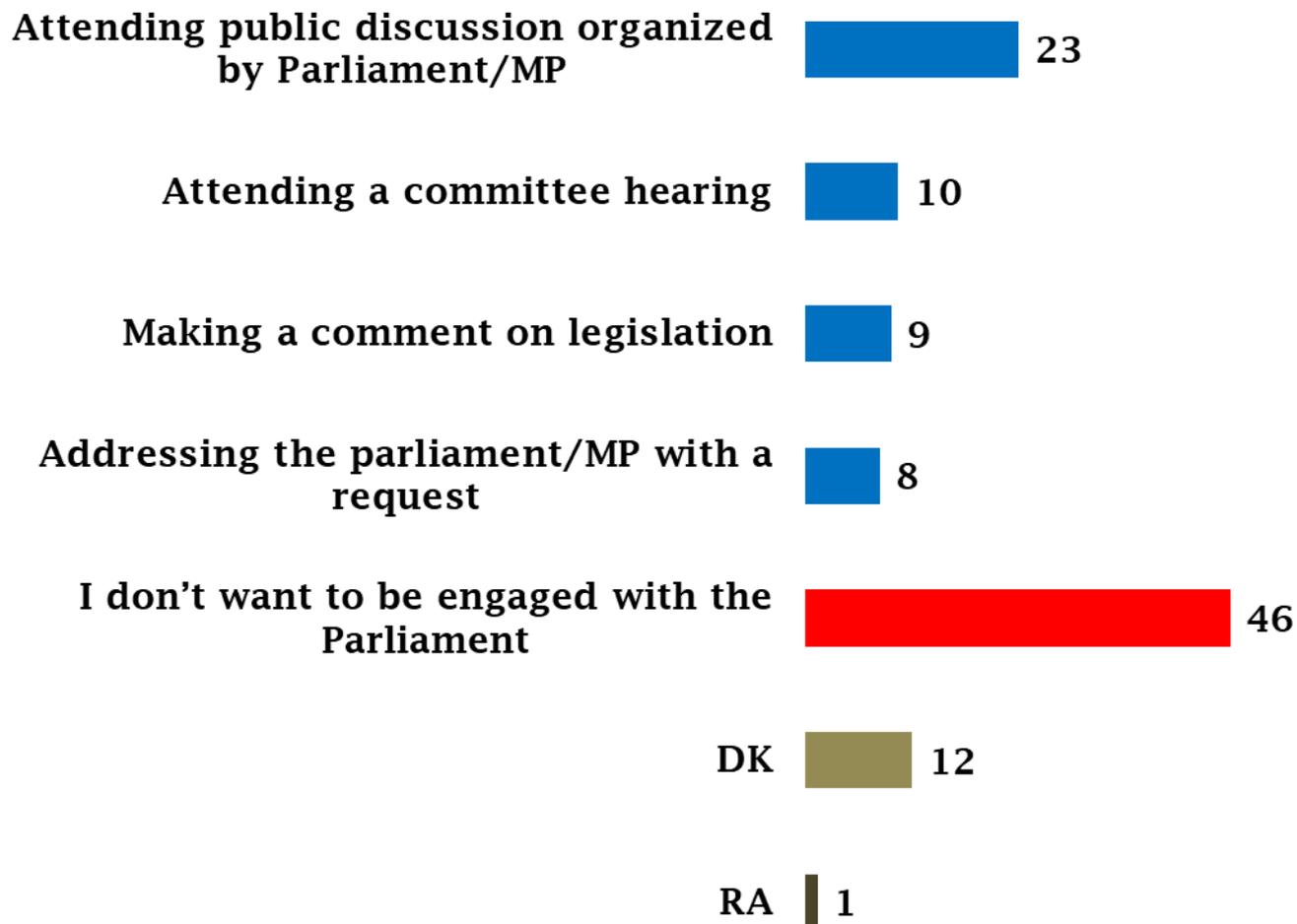


Attended a committee hearing



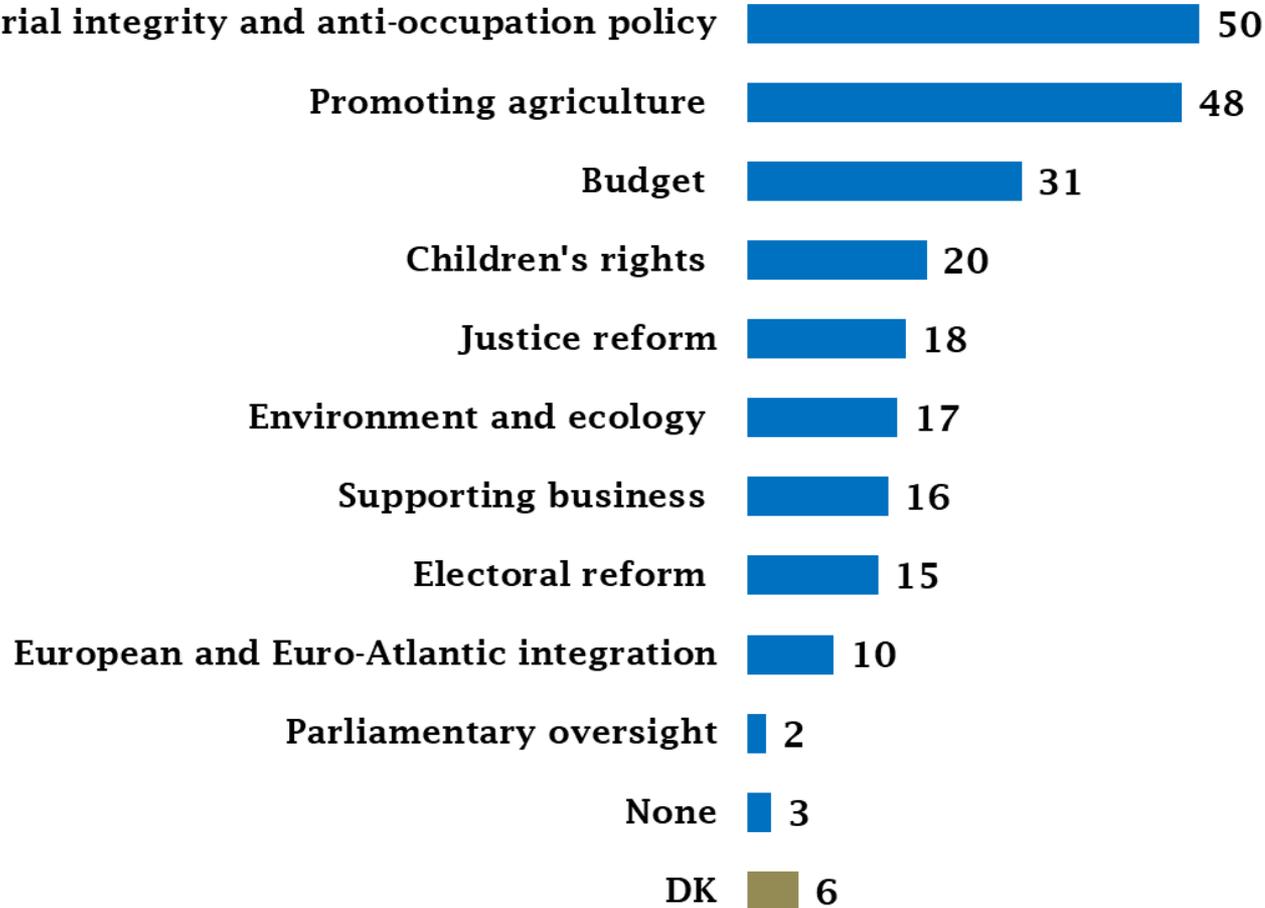
Participating in Parliament's work

Of these four ways, which would be the best for engaging with the parliament? Accept all answers (q30)



Priorities of the Parliament

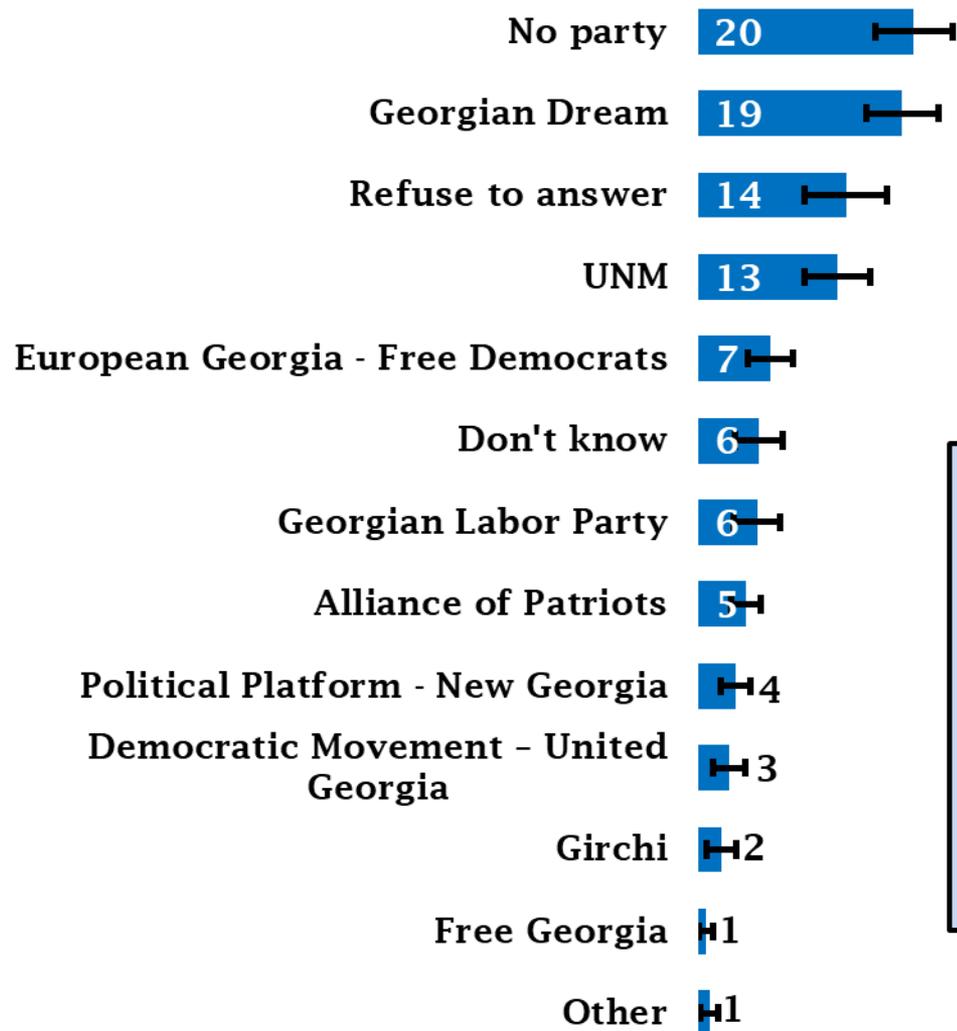
In September, the Parliament published 10 priorities for the next year. Which of these issues, would you say, is the most important for you and your family? Up to 3 answers (q31)



Party support and future vote

Party support - new method

There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? (q7b_1)

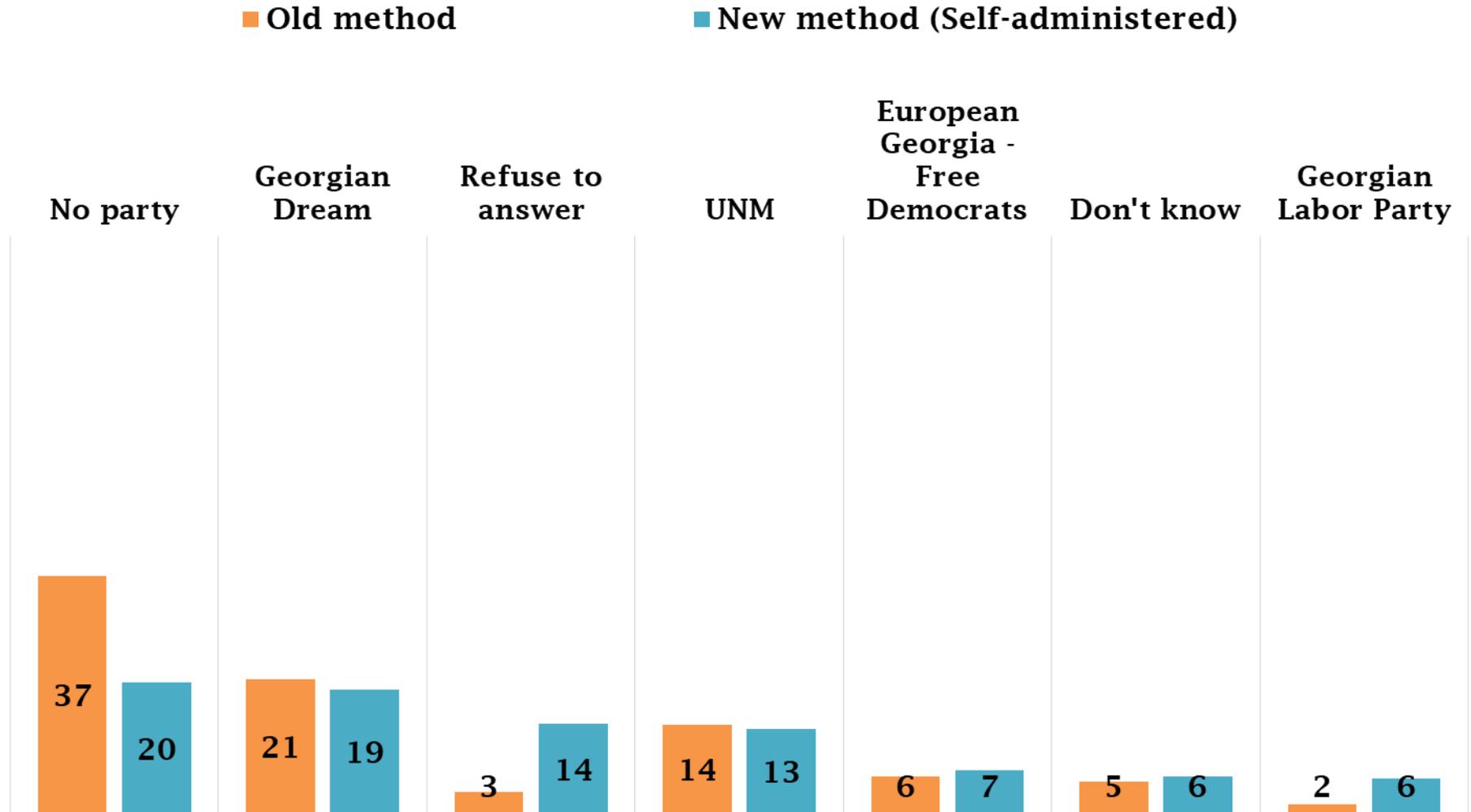


NEW METHOD (split sample)

1. Respondents were given the tablet computer; they selected the answer on their own;
2. Show card included parties with at least 1 percent support in previous poll.

Party support - old and new methods

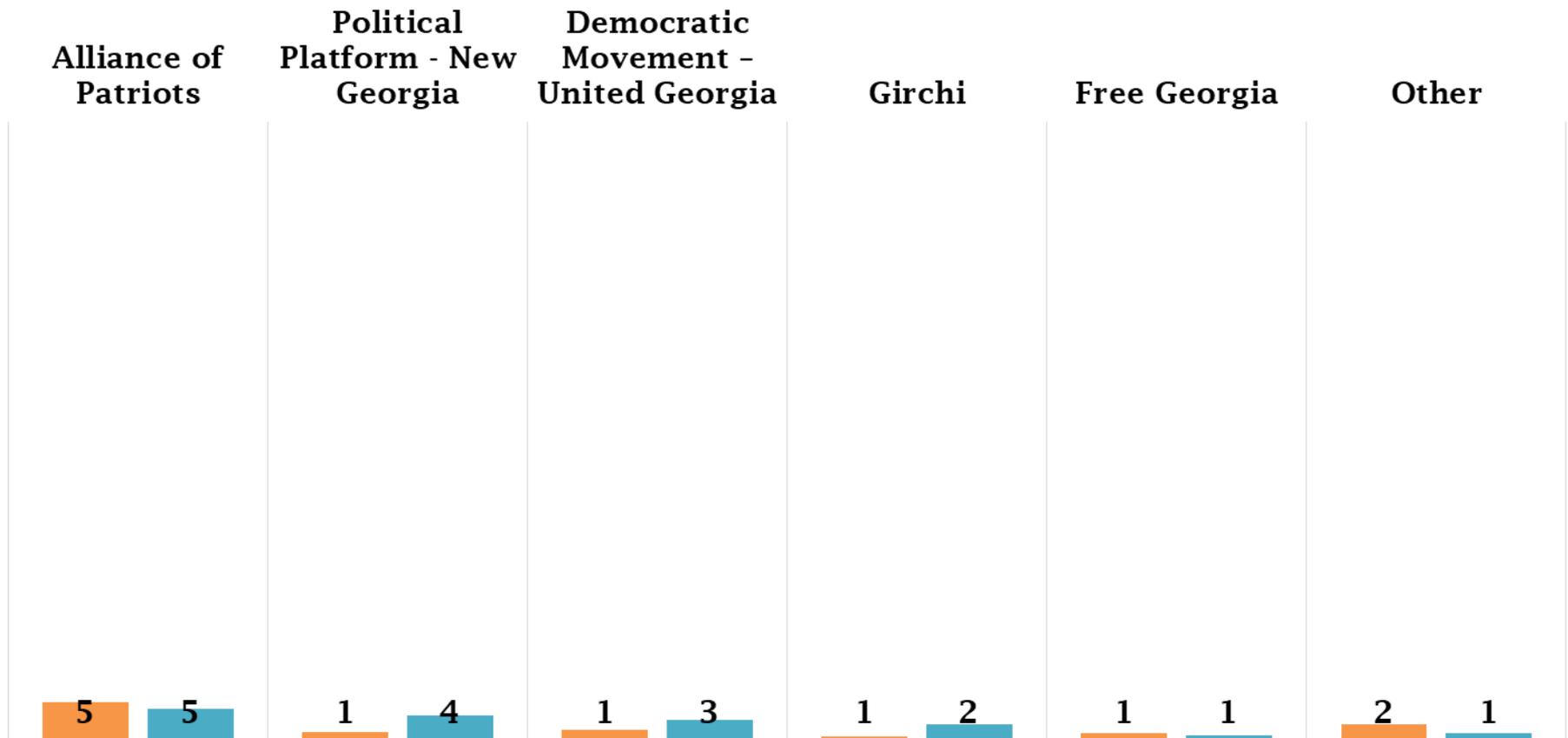
Which party is closest to you? / There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? (q7a_1, q7b_1) Part 1



Party support - old and new methods

Which party is closest to you? / There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? (q7a_1, q7b_1) Part 2

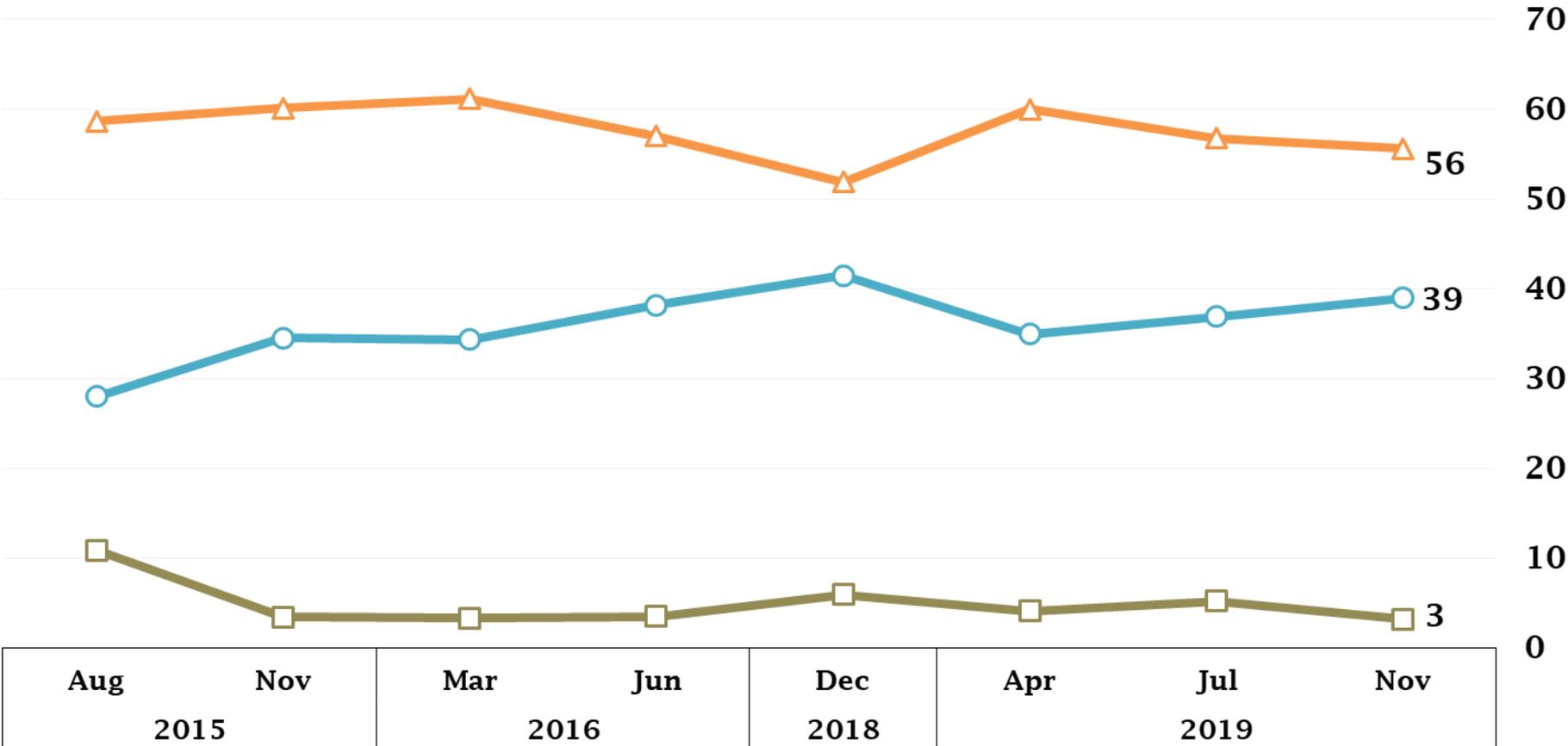
■ Old method ■ New method (Self-administered)



Decided or undecided?

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote? (q8)

Decided Undecided DK



Decided or undecided?

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote?

(q8 X If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?)

■ Decided ■ Undecided ■ DK ■ RA

Likely voters (65%)



Likely abstainers (35%)

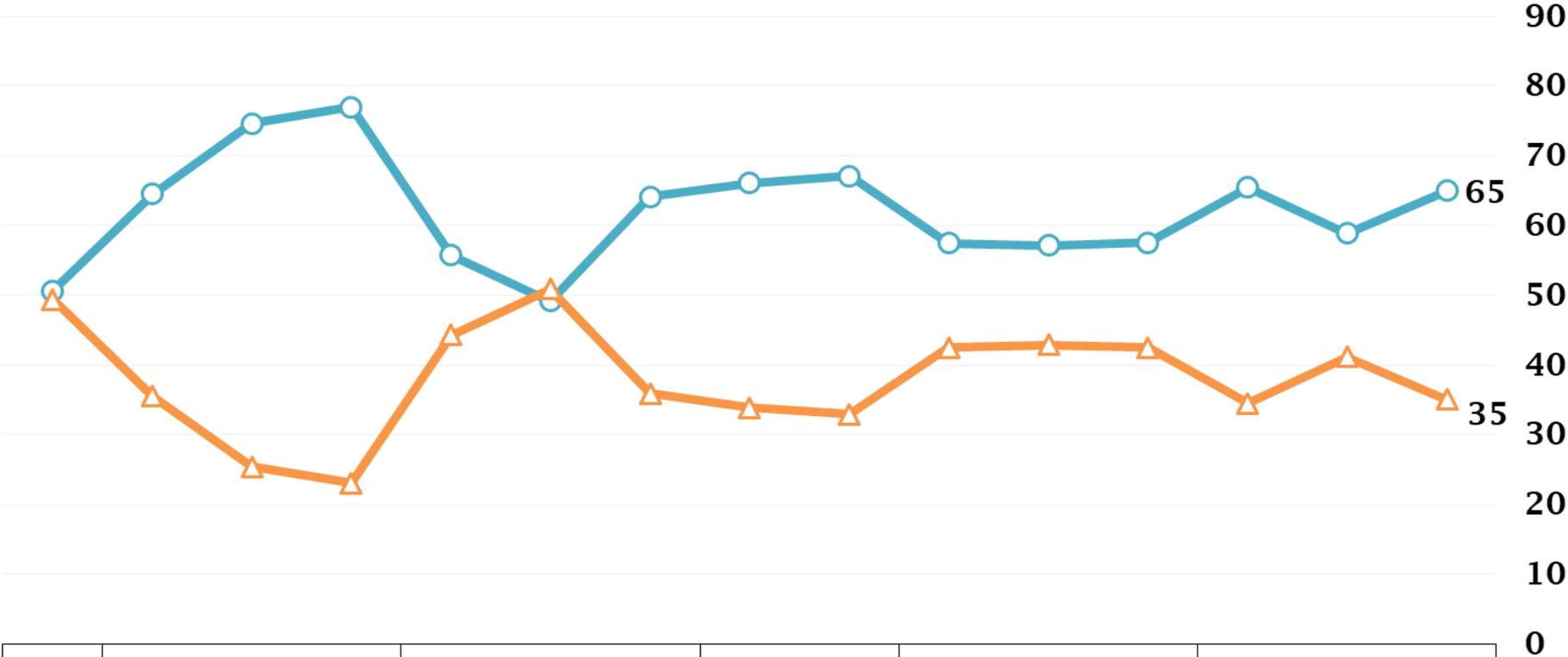


Intention to vote

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q9)

○ Likely voters

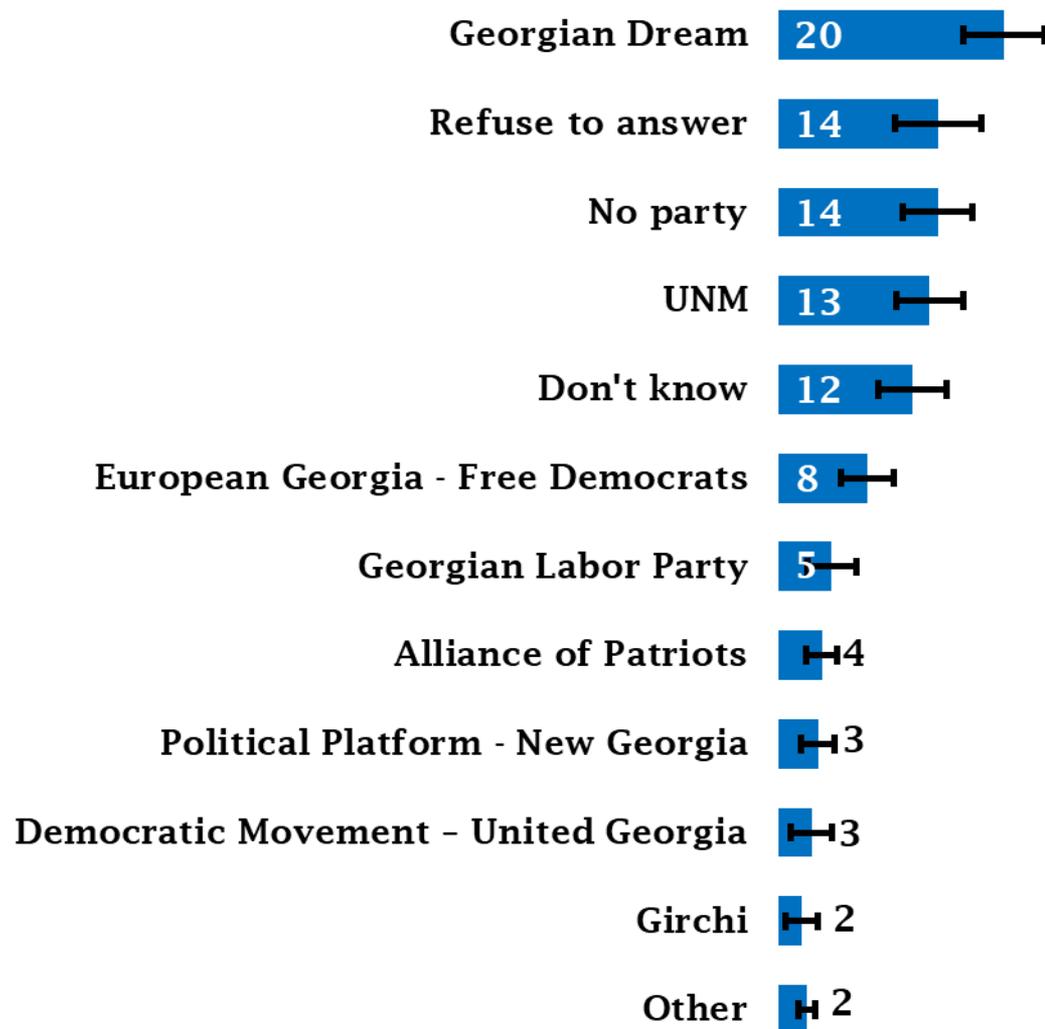
△ Likely abstainers



Sep 2011	Feb	Jun 2012	Aug	Apr	Aug 2015	Nov	Mar	Jun 2016	Mar	Jun 2018	Dec	Apr	Jul 2019	Nov
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Future vote - new method

If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for?
(q10b_1)



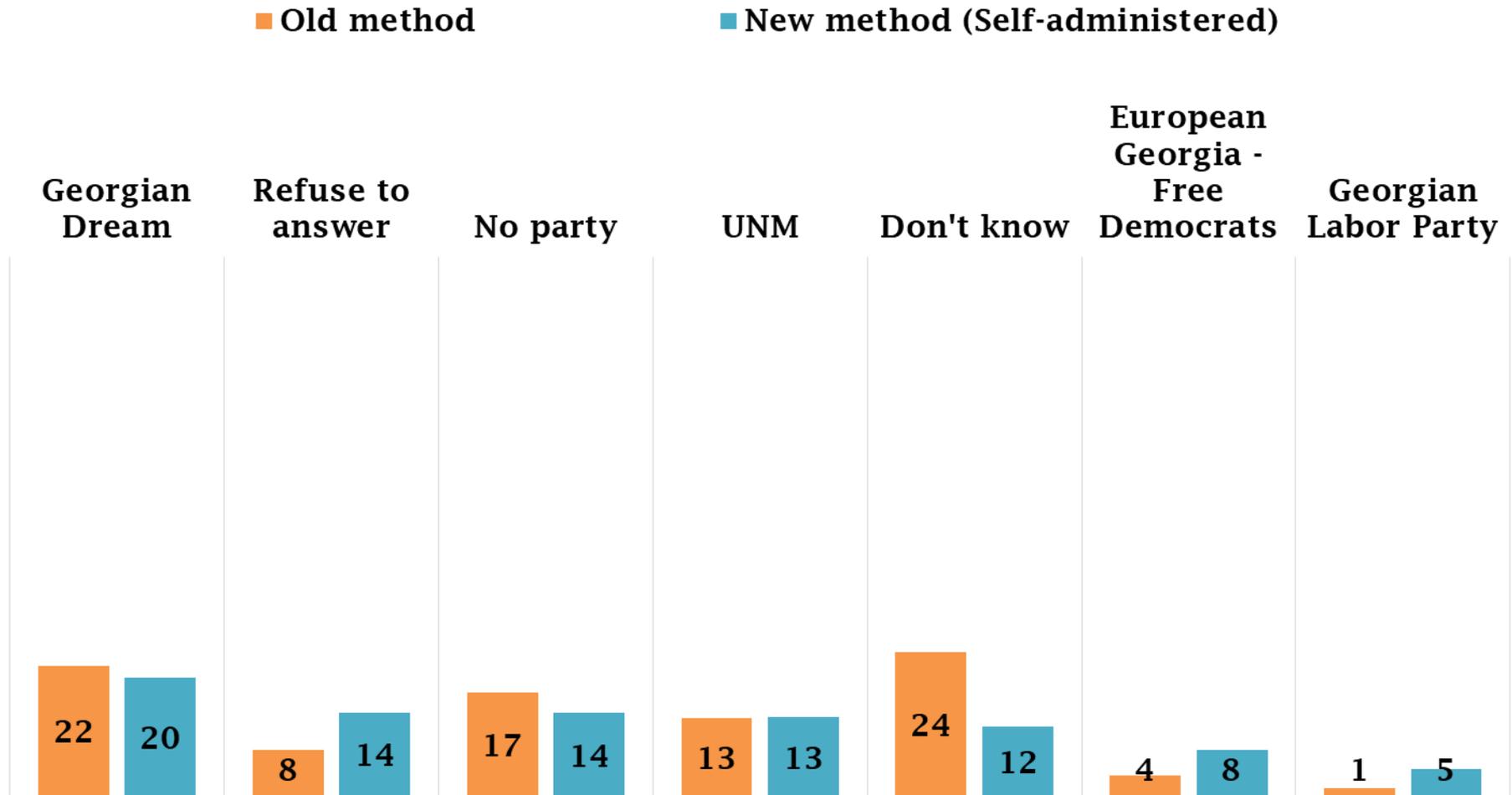
NEW METHOD (split sample)

1. Respondents were given the tablet computer; they selected the answer on their own
2. Show card included parties with at least 1 percent support in previous poll

Future vote - old and new methods

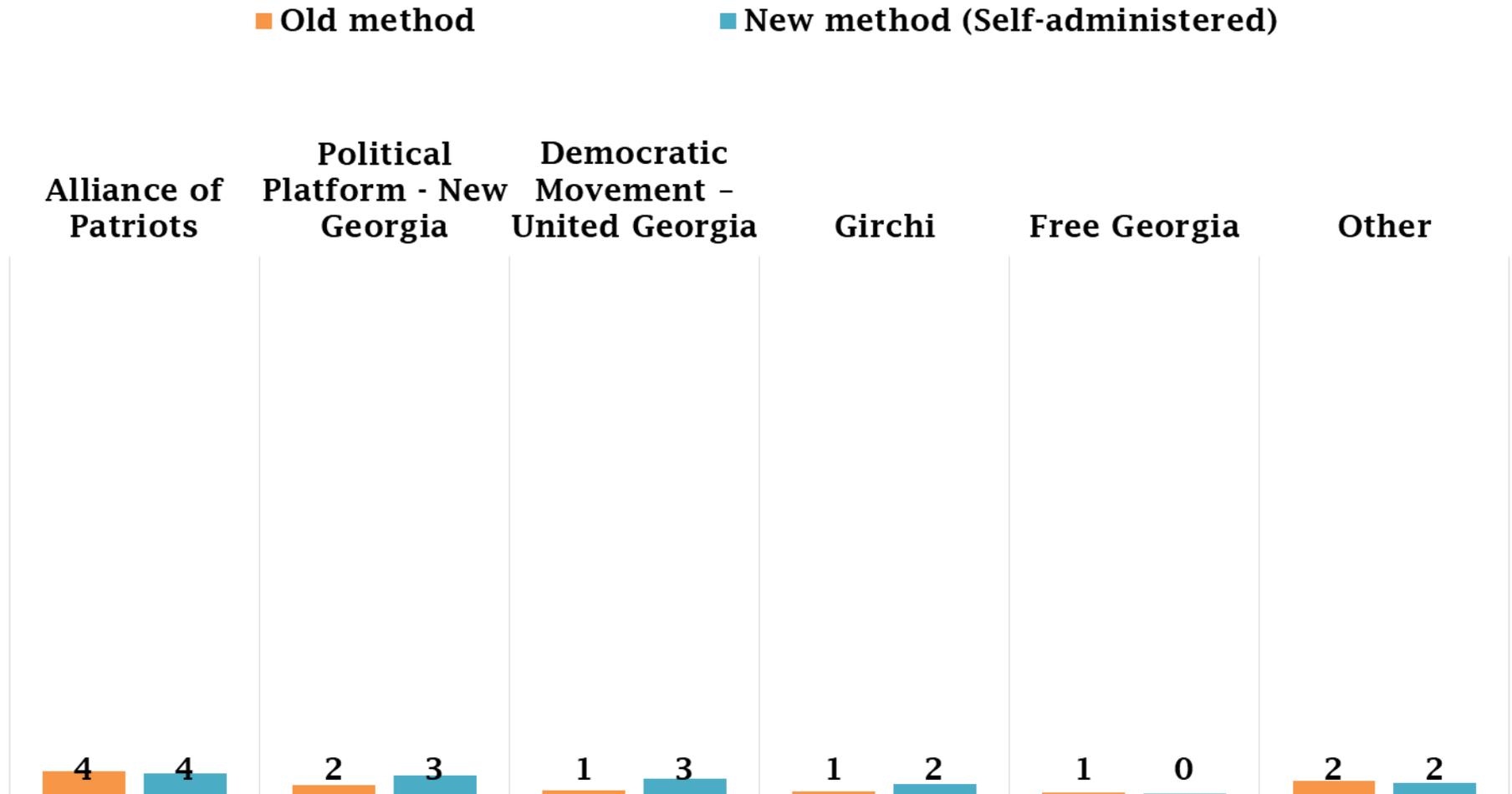
If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for?

(q10a_1, q10b_1) Part 1



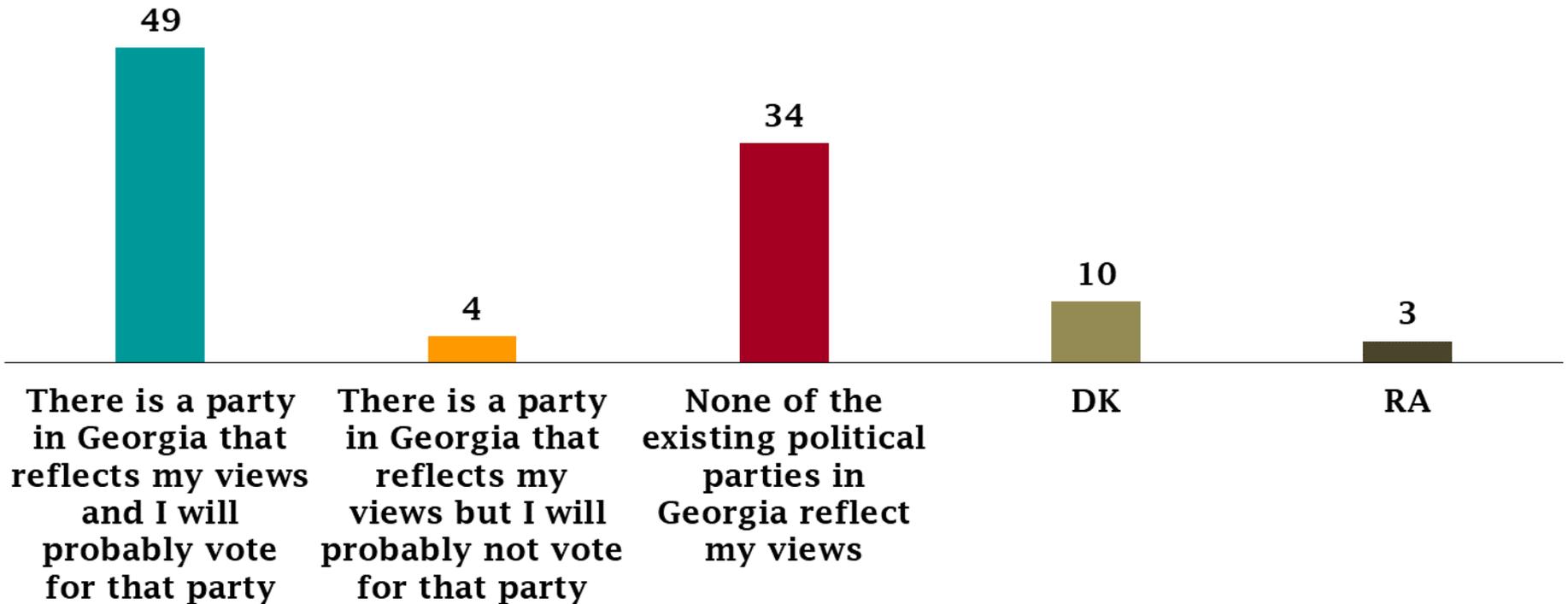
Future vote - old and new methods

If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for?
(q10a_1, q10b_1) Part 1



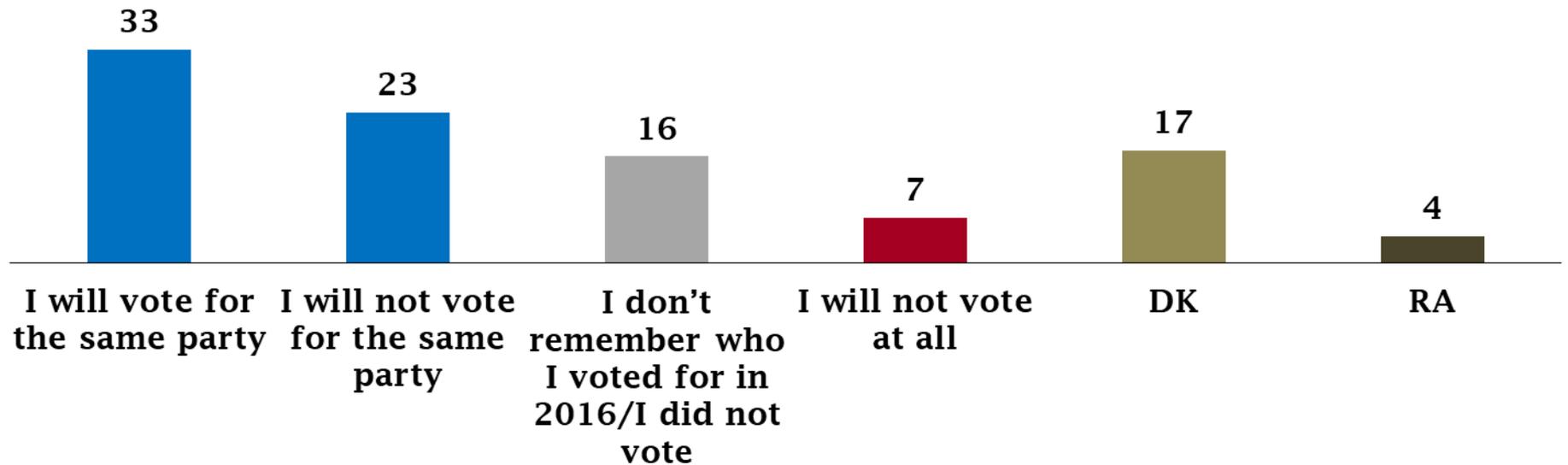
Voting behavior

Which of the following best describes your opinion? (q12)



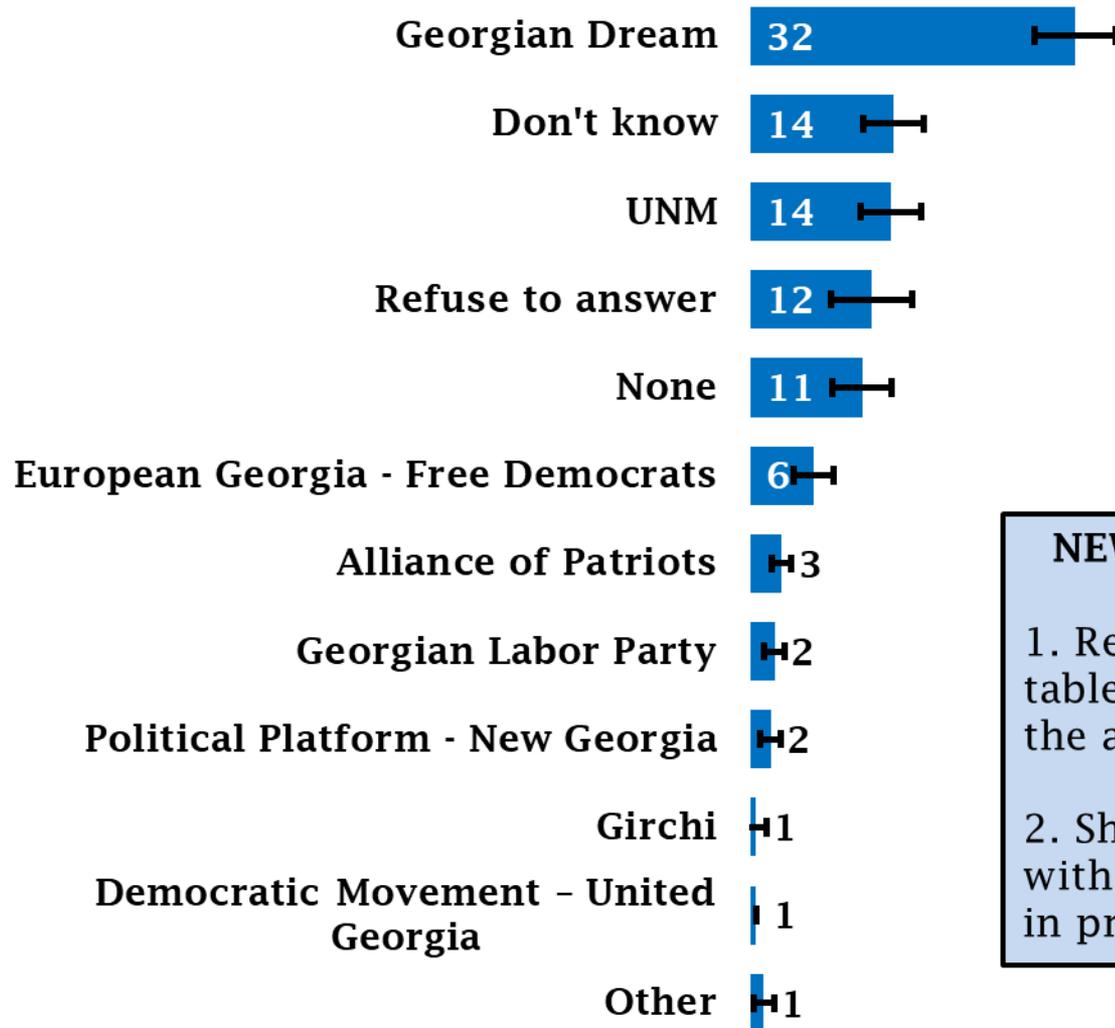
Past and future voting behavior

Will you vote for the same party that you voted for in the last parliamentary elections in 2016? (q14)



Potential winner - new method

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would get the most votes? (q18b)



NEW METHOD (split sample)

1. Respondents were given the tablet computer; they selected the answer on their own;
2. Show card included parties with at least 1 percent support in previous poll.

Potential pluralism

Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q15)

There are many political parties in Georgia. All parties, including those currently not in the parliament, have a chance to get many representatives into the parliament in the next election.

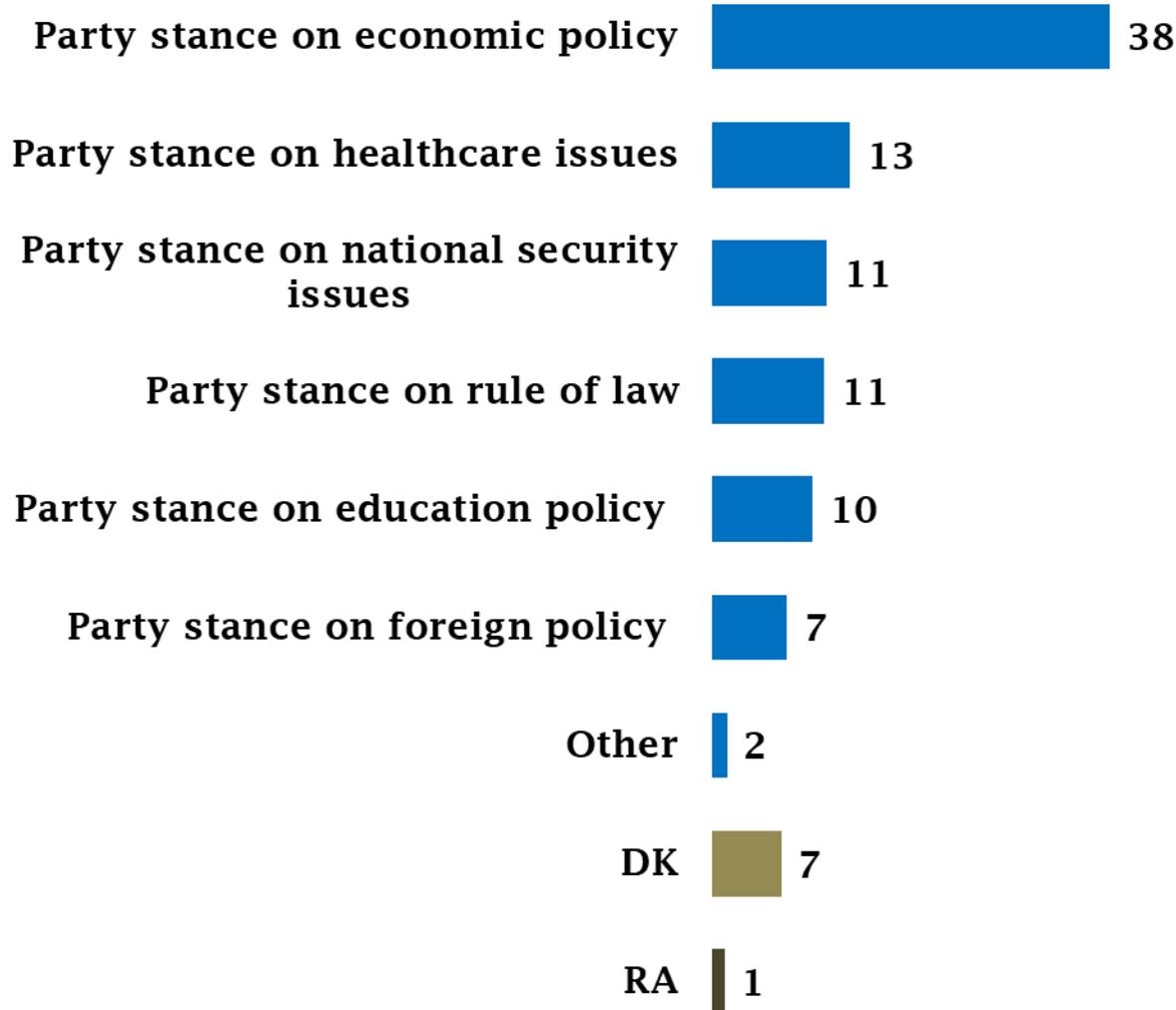


There are many political parties in Georgia, but only two parties United National Movement and Georgian Dream have a chance of getting many representatives in the parliament in the next election.



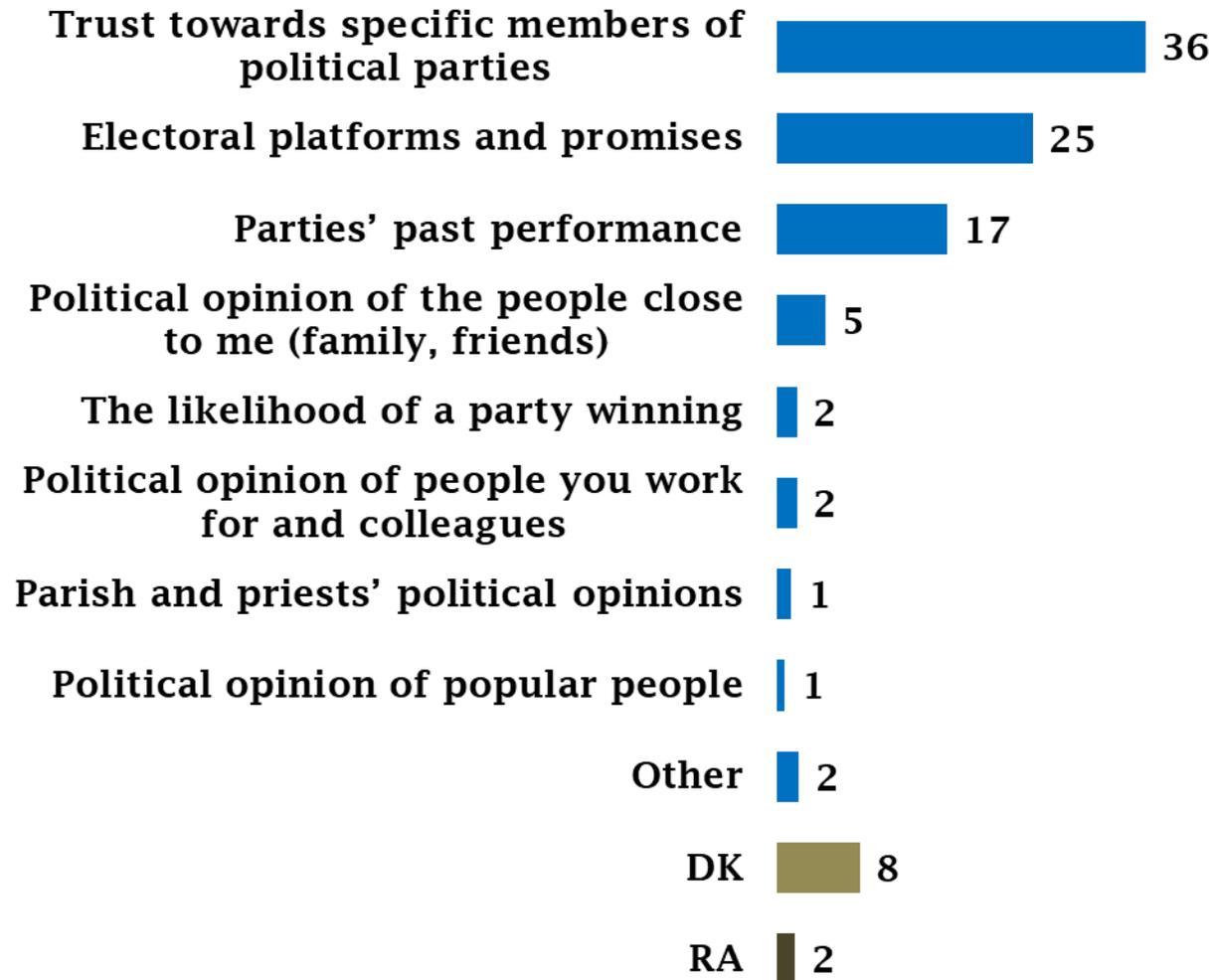
Making decision

Please, tell me, which of the issues listed on this CARD matters the most when voting in parliamentary elections? (q16)



Making decision

There are different reasons which influence people's political choice. Thinking about next parliamentary elections, which is the most important factor in making your decision? (q17)



Issues and political parties

If in charge, which party will do the best job handling the following issues?
(q21) Part 1

- Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia
- European Georgia - Free Democrats
- Other
- DK
- United National Movement
- Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- No party
- RA

Foreign policy



Economy



Human rights



Rule of law



Issues and political parties

If in charge, which party will do the best job handling the following issues?
(q21) Part 2

- Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia
- European Georgia - Free Democrats
- Other
- DK
- United National Movement
- Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- No party
- RA

Healthcare



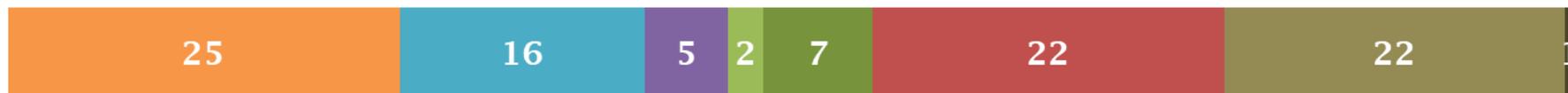
Education



Territorial integrity

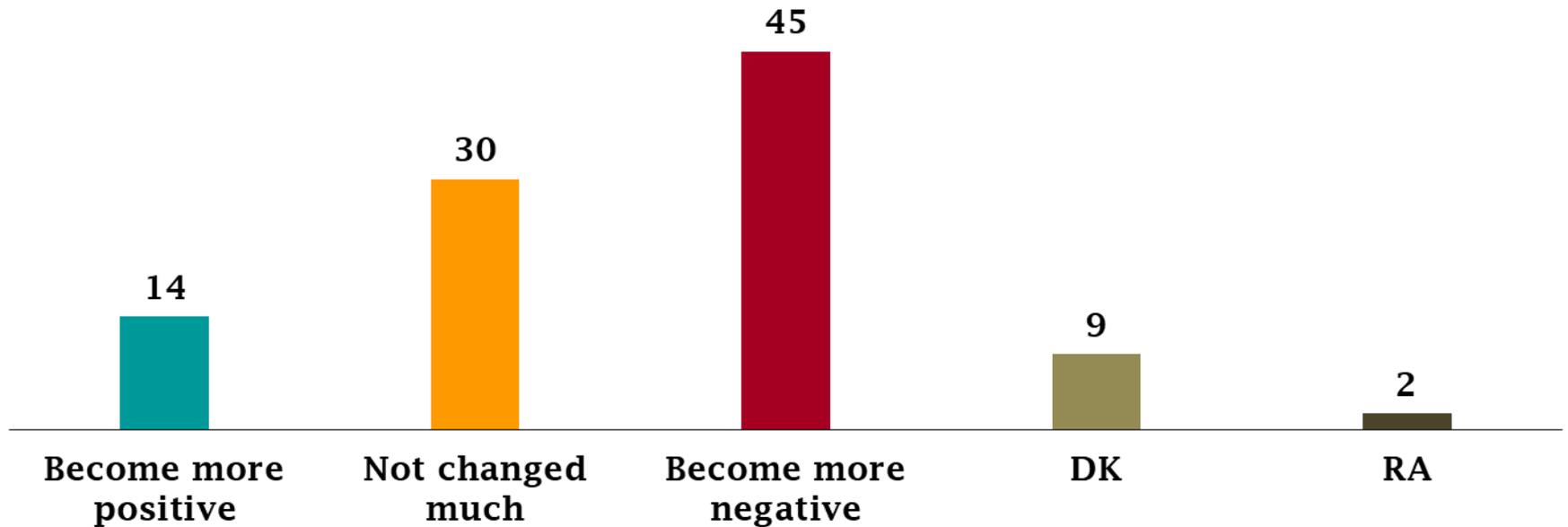


Environment protection



Nature of political discourse

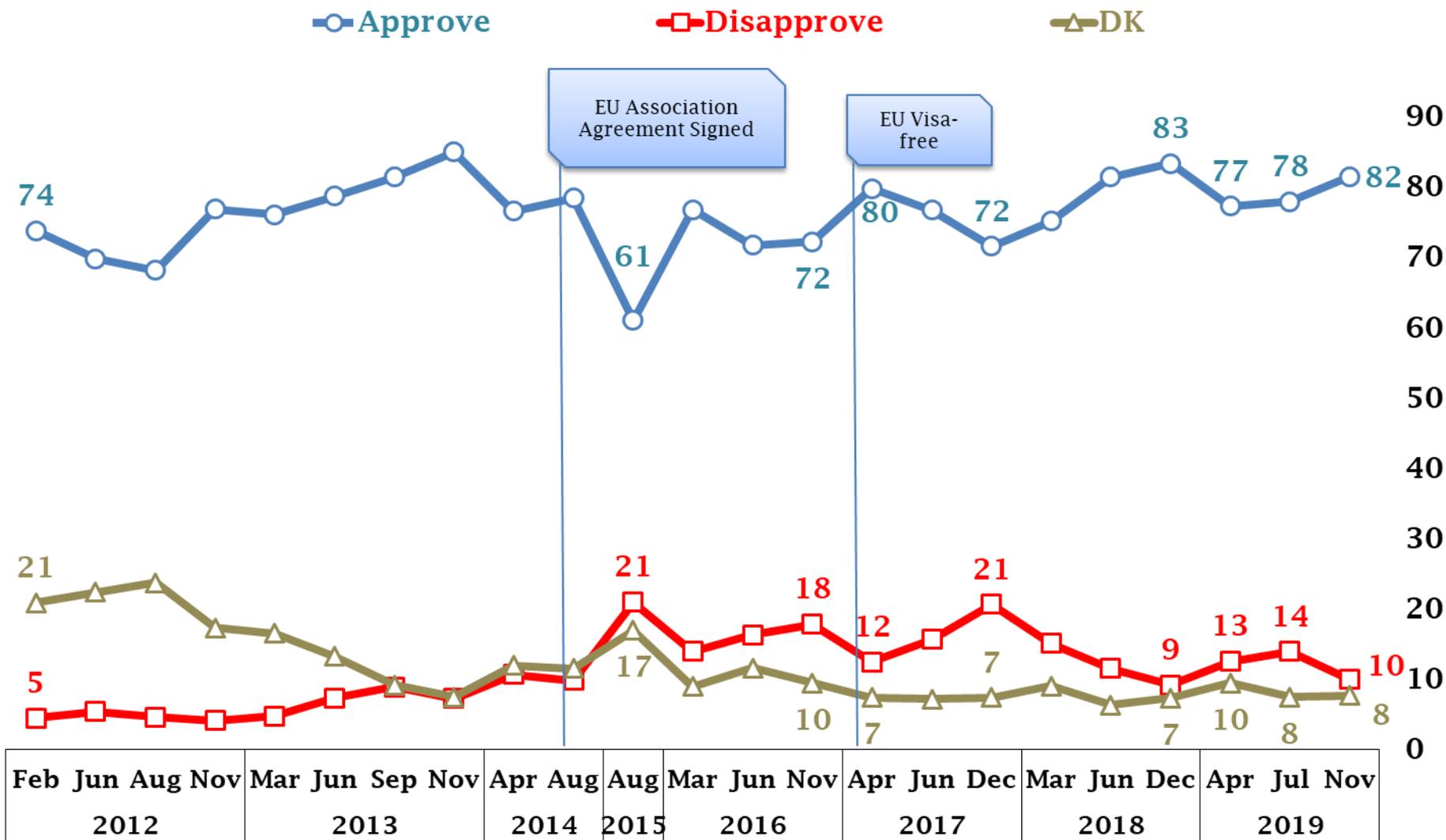
Since 2012, would you say the tone and nature of political debate in this country has... (q19)



EU and NATO support

EU membership support

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



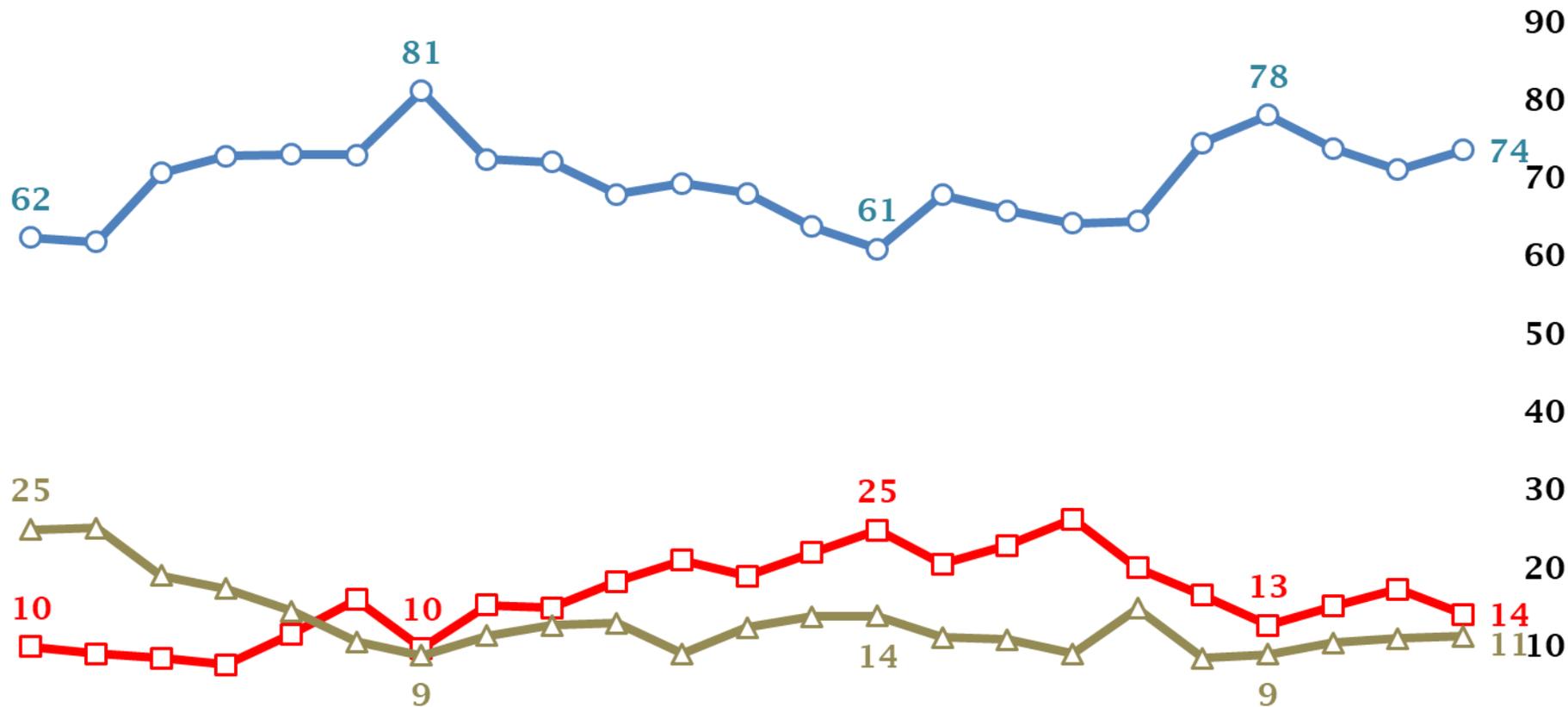
NATO membership support

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the NATO? (q34)

○ Approve

□ Disapprove

△ DK

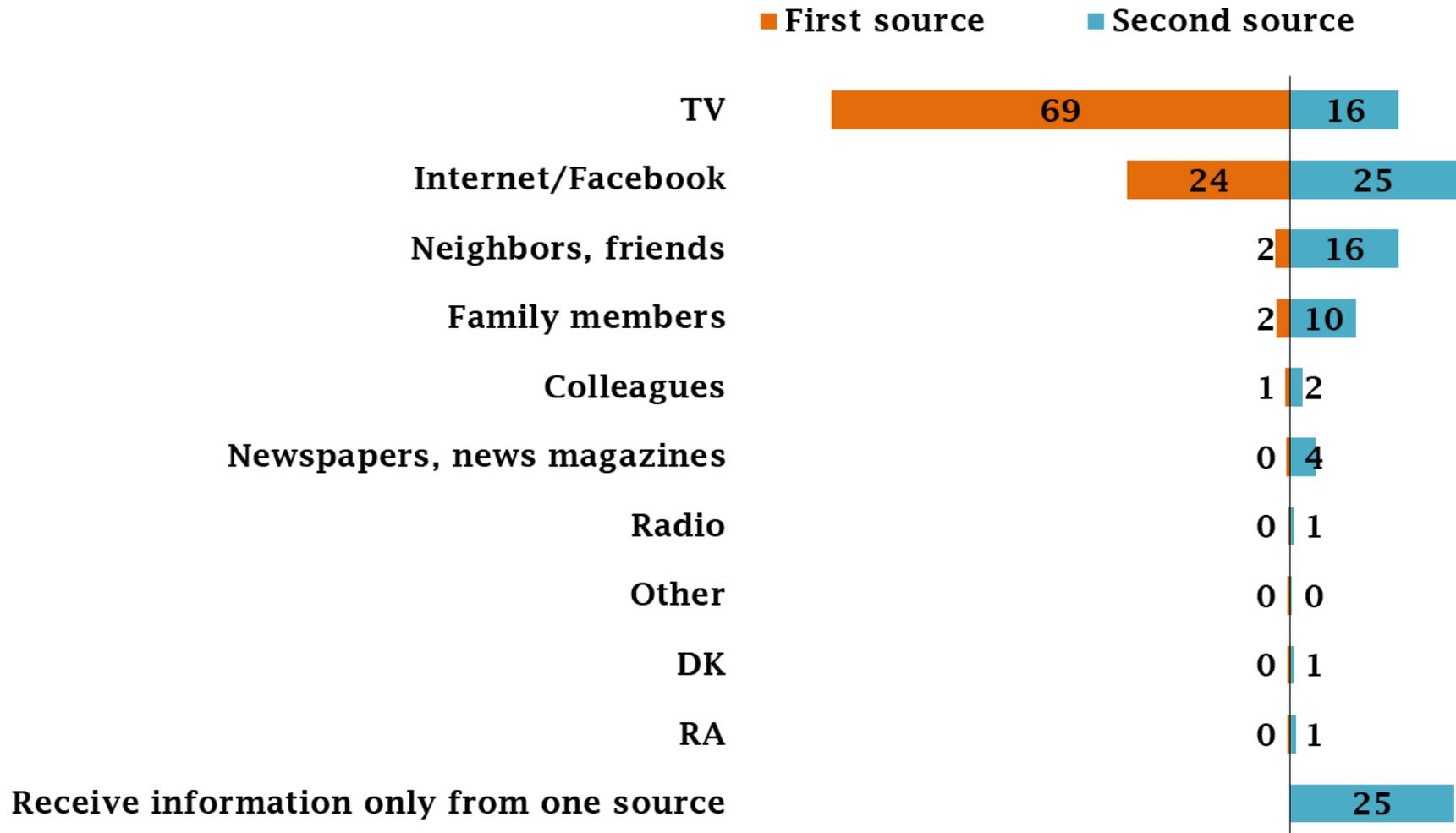


Jun 2012	Aug 2012	Nov 2012	Mar 2013	Jun 2013	Sep 2013	Nov 2013	Apr 2014	Aug 2014	Apr 2015	Nov 2015	Mar 2016	Jun 2016	Nov 2016	Apr 2017	Jun 2017	Dec 2017	Mar 2018	Jun 2018	Dec 2018	Apr 2019	Jul 2019	Nov 2019
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Information space

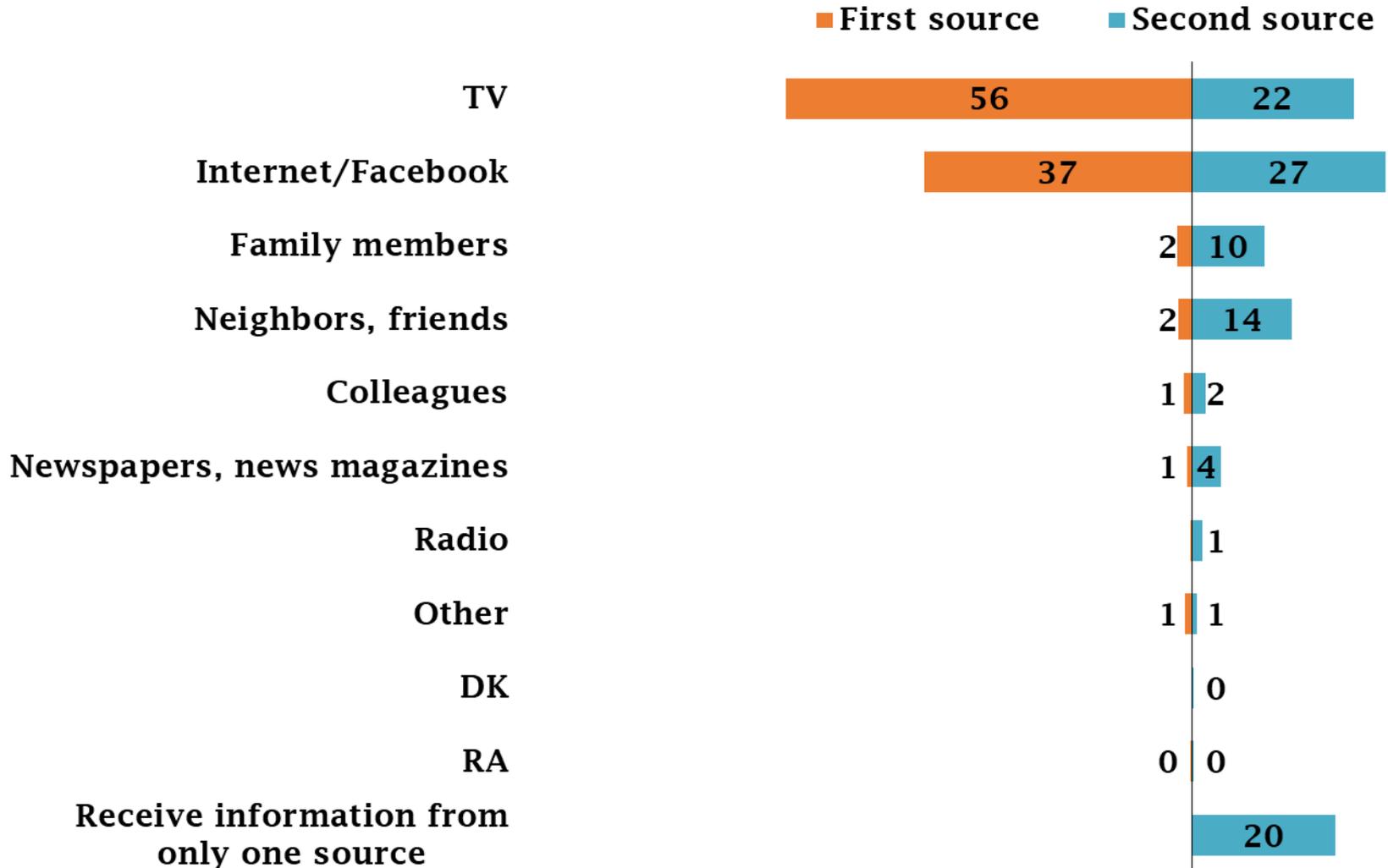
Sources of information

What are your main sources of information for receiving news about Georgian politics and current events? Please tell me, which is your first/second main source of information. (q35, q36)



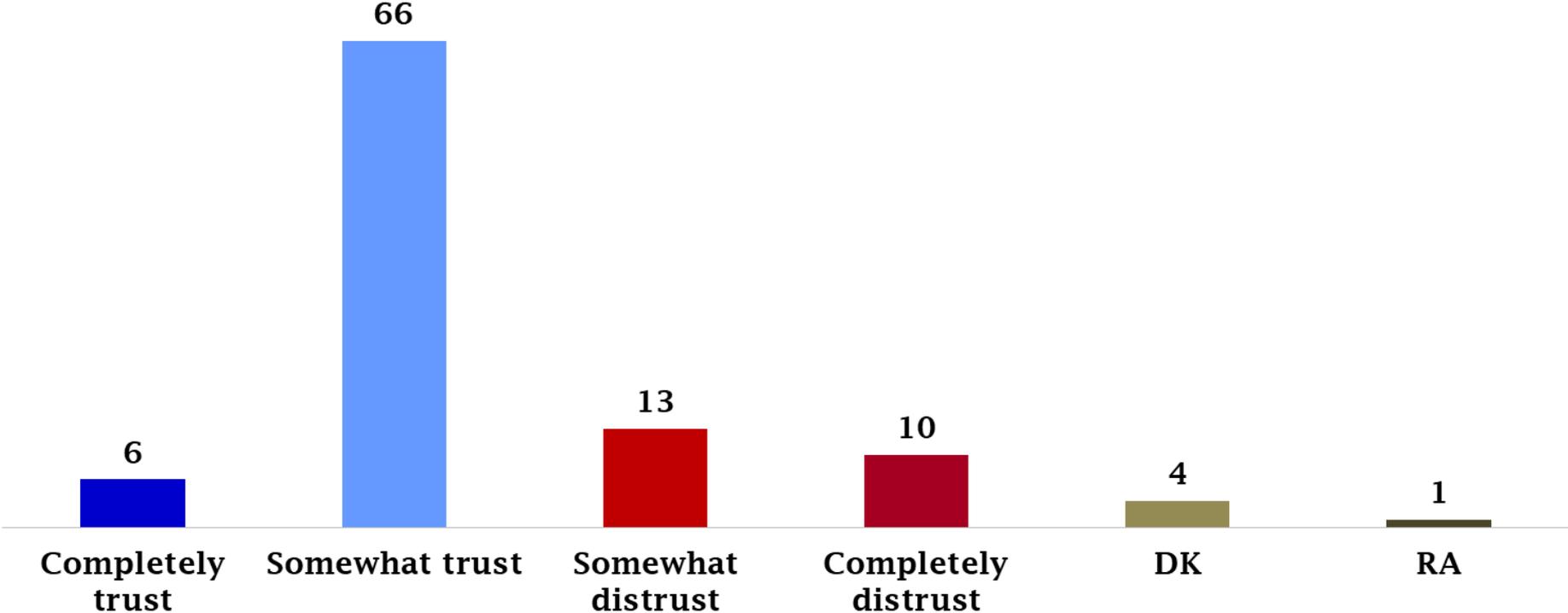
Sources of information - Tbilisi

What are your main sources of information for receiving news about Georgian politics and current events? Please tell me, which is your first/second main source of information (q35, q36)



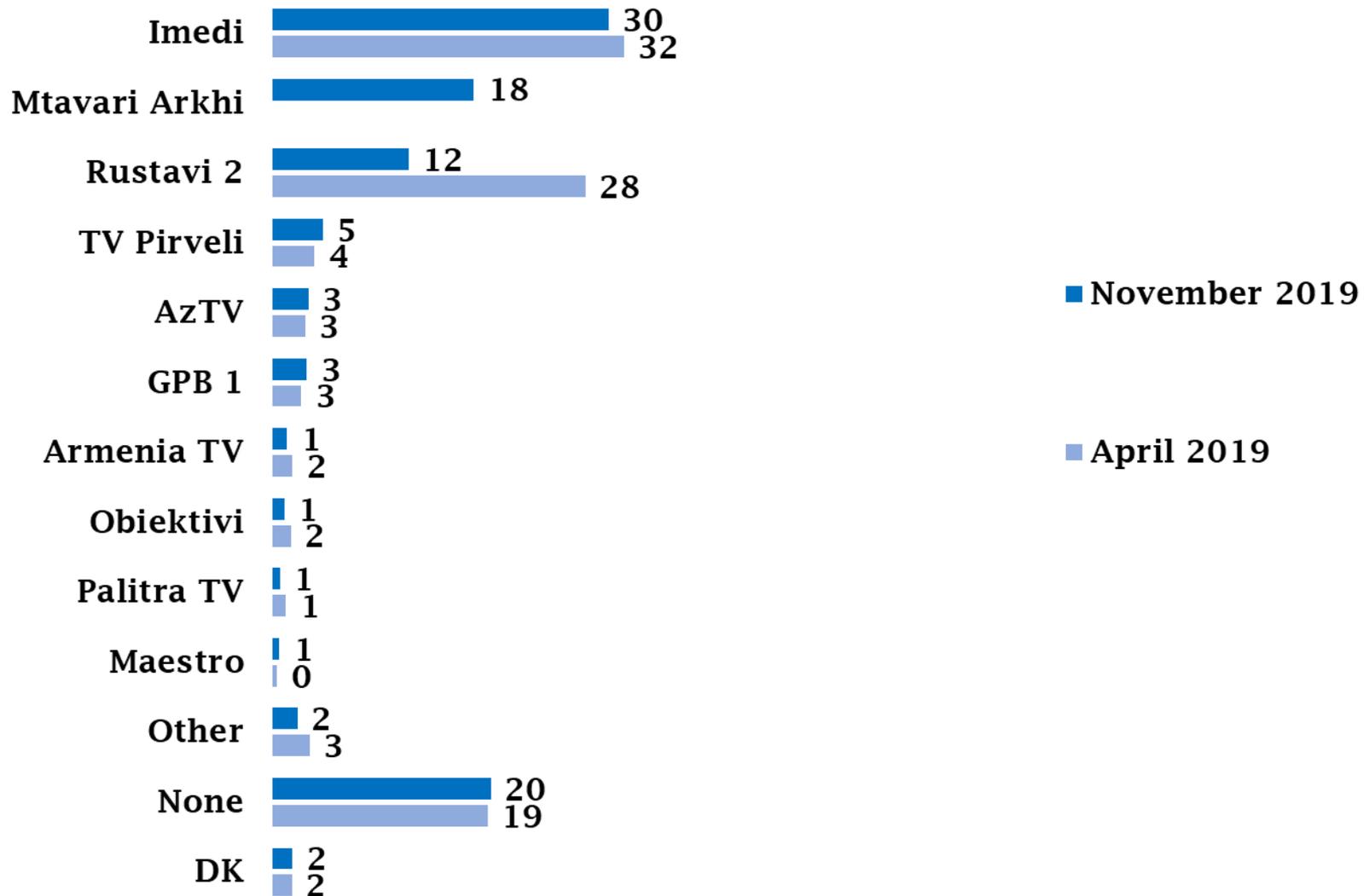
Trust in Georgian media

Generally speaking, how much do you trust or distrust news media in Georgia?
(q37)



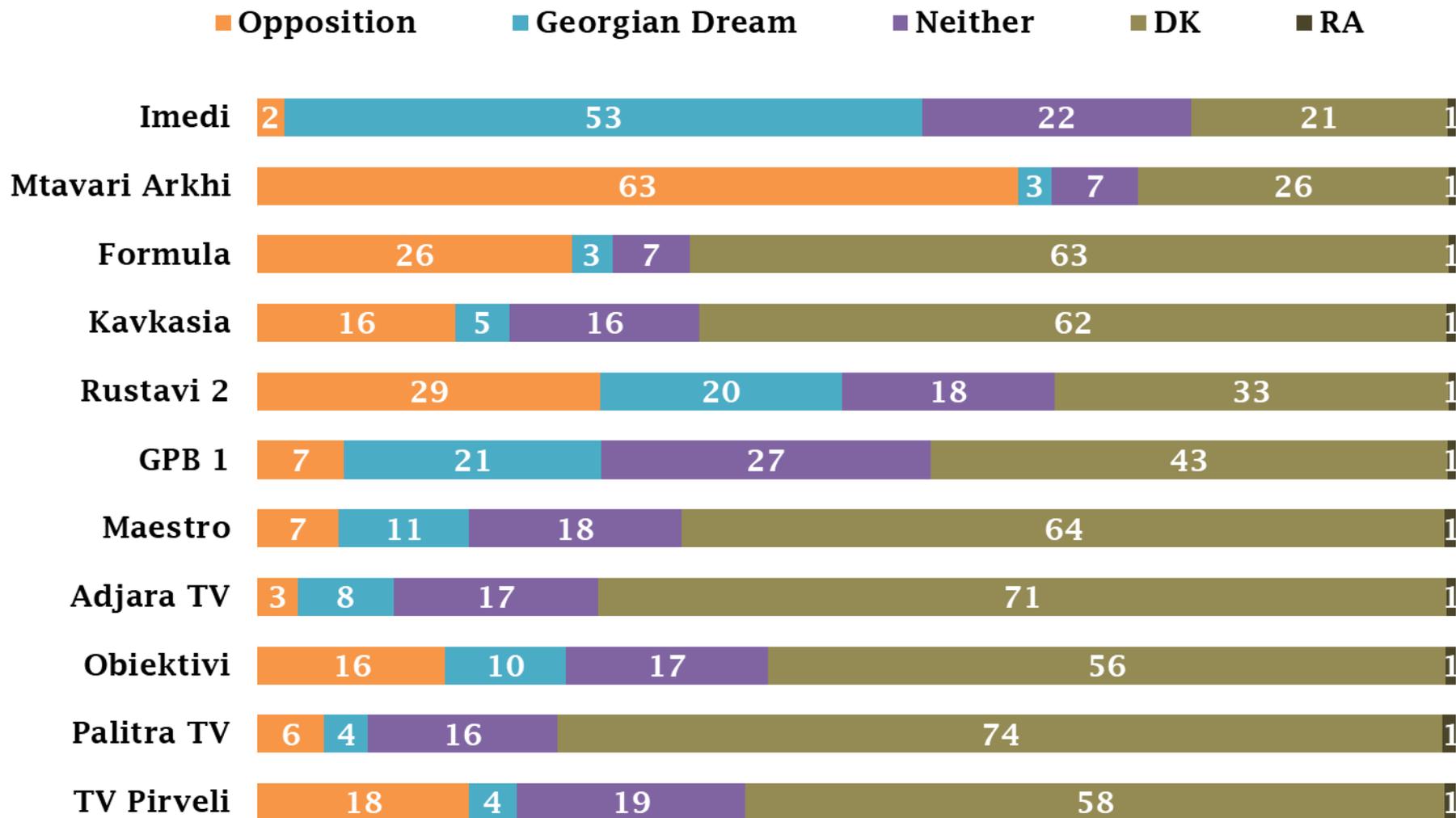
Trust towards TV channels

Which TV channel do you trust the most for accurate information on politics and current events? (q38)



Perception of partisanship

Do you think that news about Georgian politics and current affairs on the following Georgian TV channels mostly reflect the interests of the Opposition, Georgian Dream or neither? (q39)

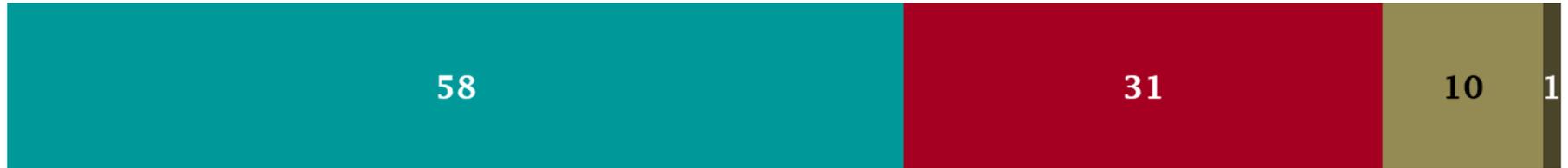


Assessment of media's work

Thinking about Georgian media, do you agree or disagree that generally Georgian TV stations ...? (q40)

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ DK ■ RA

Cover news stories important for you



Conduct investigative reporting on issues that are important to you



Present unbiased coverage of events



Media partisanship

Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q41)

Favoring one political party affects the quality of reporting in media outlets



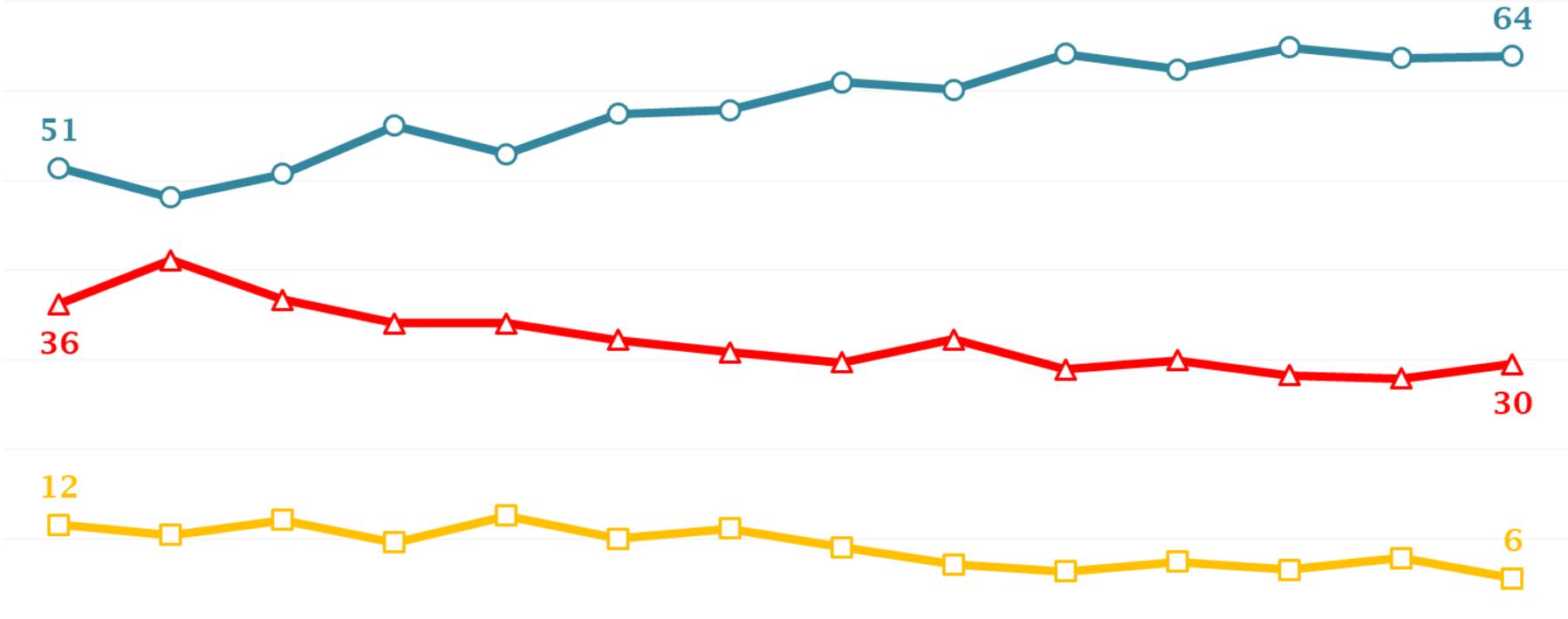
Favoring one political party does not affect the quality of reporting in media outlets



Internet usage

How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ... (q42)

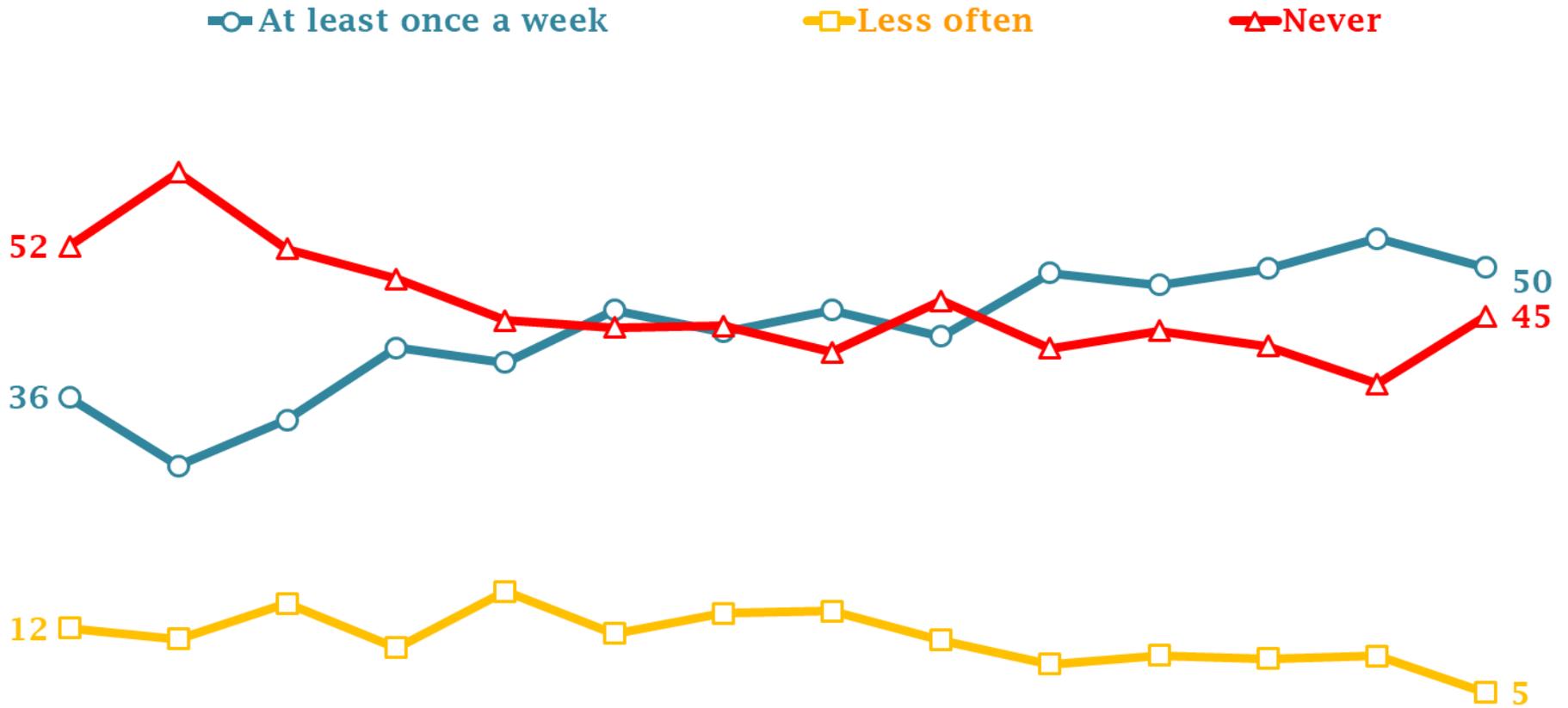
○ At least once a week
 □ Less often
 △ Never



Aug	Nov	Mar	Jun	Nov	Apr	Jun	Dec	Mar	Jun	Dec	Apr	Jul	Nov
2015			2016			2017			2018			2019	

Internet usage - rural

How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ... (q42) Rural

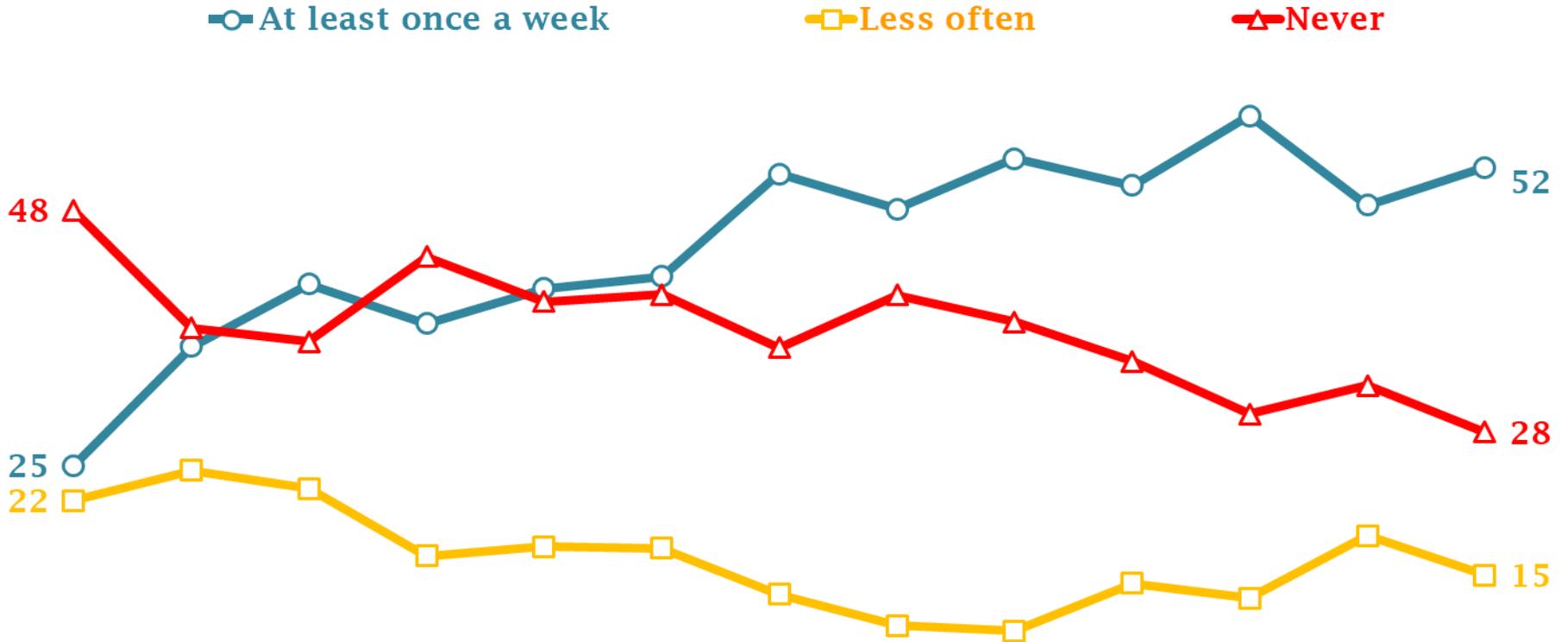


Aug	Nov	Mar	Jun	Nov	Apr	Jun	Dec	Mar	Jun	Dec	Apr	Jul	Nov
2015			2016			2017			2018			2019	

Internet usage - minority settlements

How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ... (q42)

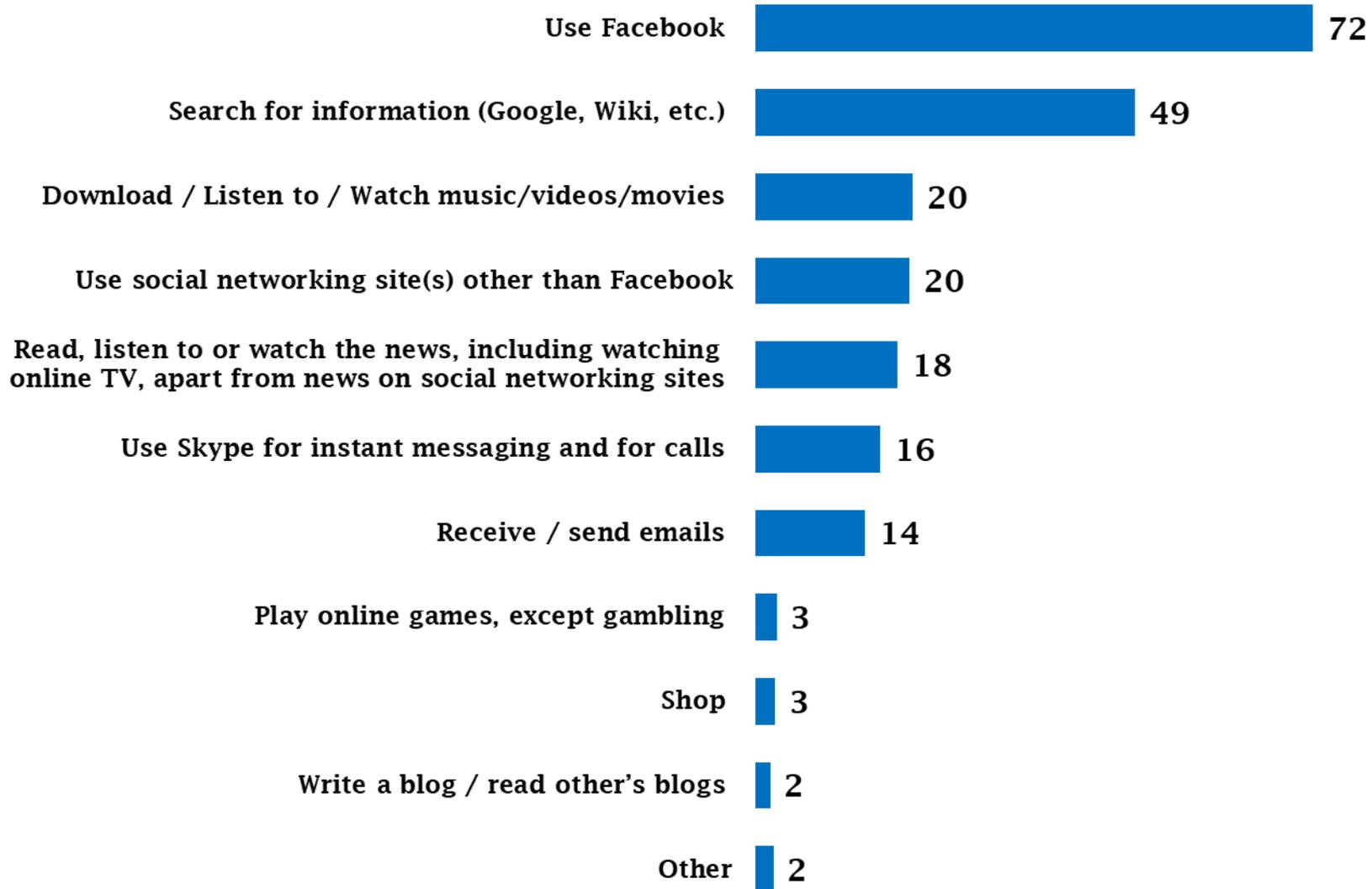
Minority settlements



Aug	Mar	Jun	Nov	Apr	Jun	Dec	Mar	Jun	Dec	Apr	Jul	Nov
2015		2016		2017		2018		2018		2019		2019

Internet usage

Which of the following do you do most frequently when you are browsing the Internet? Please name three most frequent activities. (q43) - **of the 69% who use the internet**



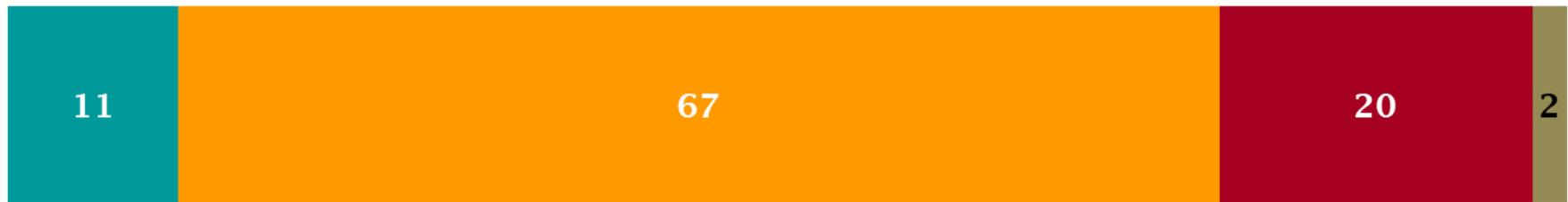
Facebook and News

How often do you encounter political news on Facebook? (q44) - **of the 69% who use the internet**



■ Often ■ Sometimes ■ Never ■ I don't use Facebook ■ DK ■ RA

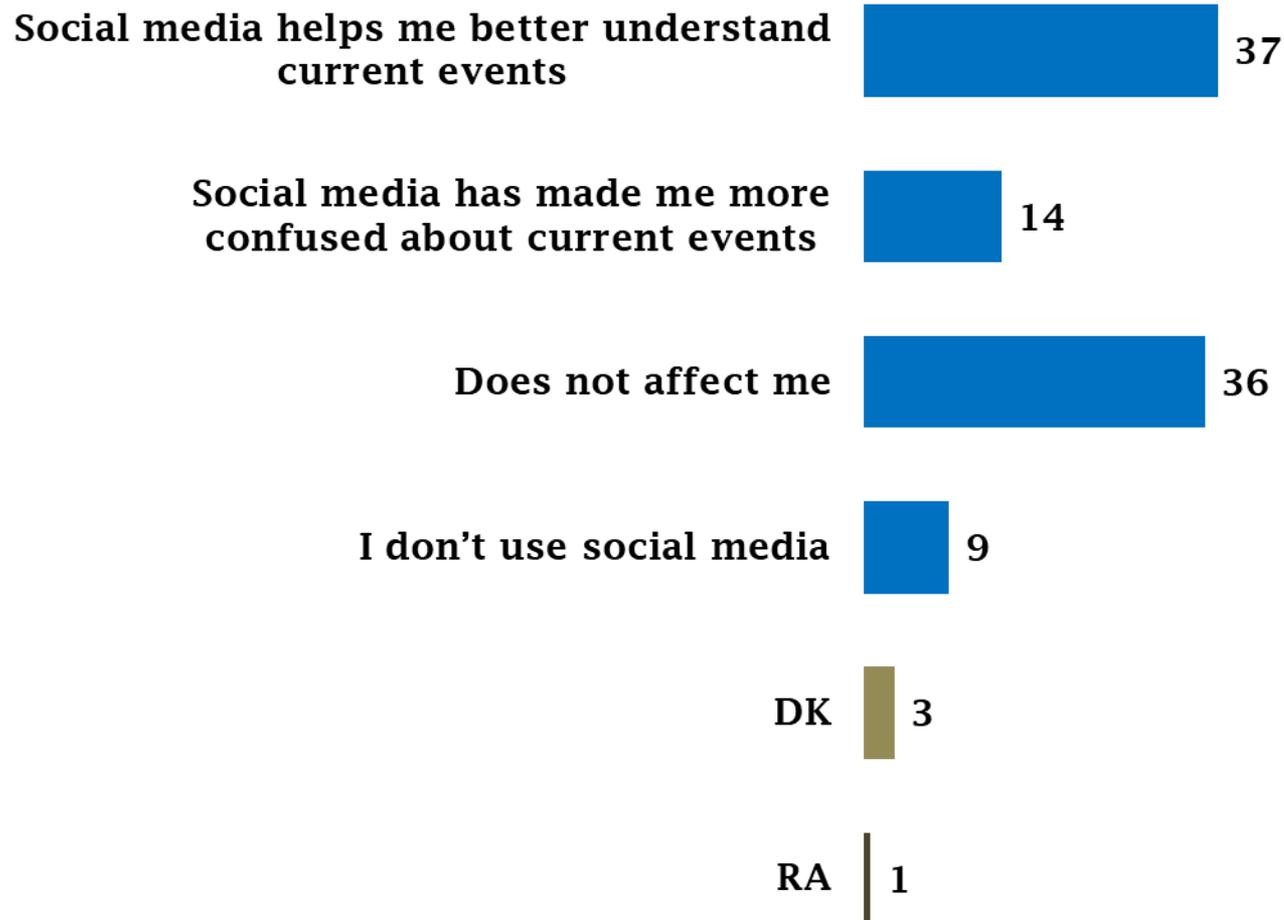
Do you mostly trust, sometimes trust or never trust to the political news you encounter on Facebook? (q45) - **of the 57% who encounters political news on Facebook**



■ Mostly ■ Sometimes ■ Never ■ DK

Social media and news

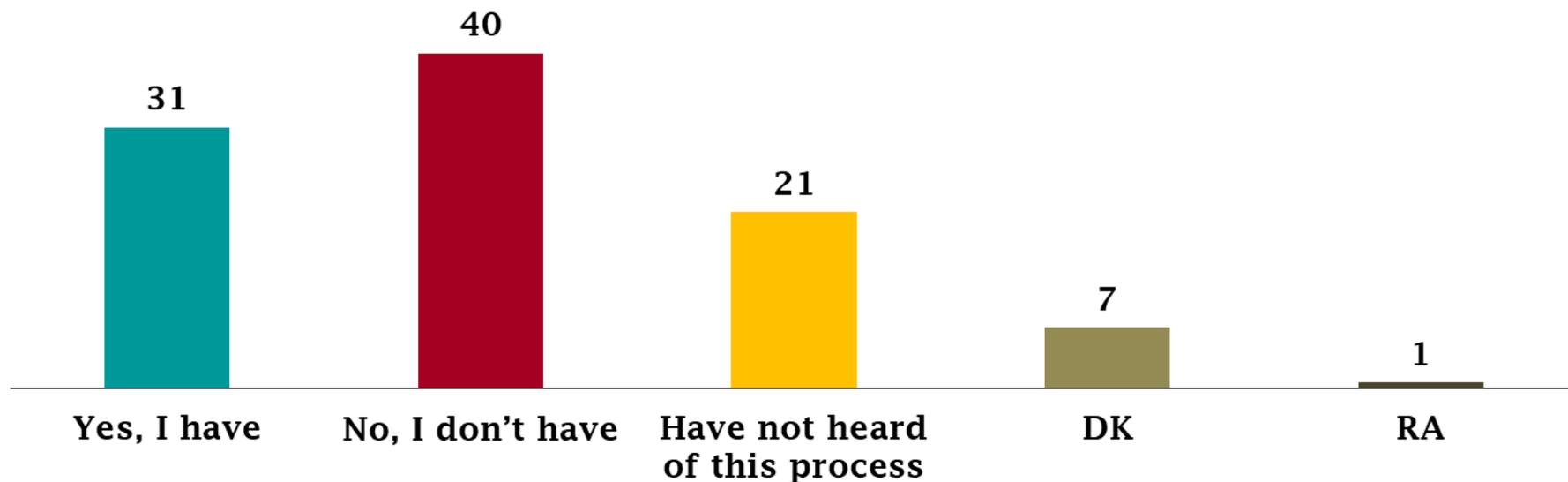
When thinking about getting news from social media (Facebook, Twitter, blogs etc.), which statement do you agree? (q46) - of the 69% who use the internet



Current events

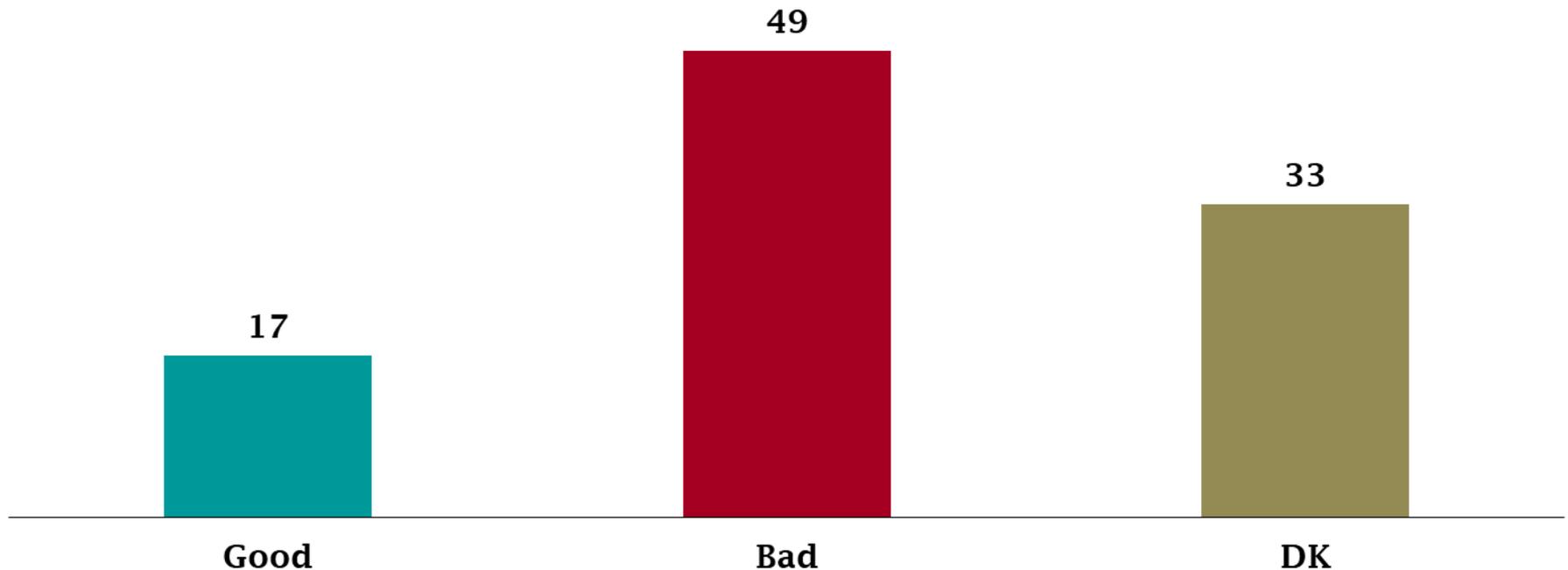
Selection of Supreme Court Judges

Since December 2018 the Parliament of Georgia has been involved in the process of selecting Supreme Court judges. Please, tell me, do you have enough information on this process or not? (q48)



Selection of Supreme Court Judges

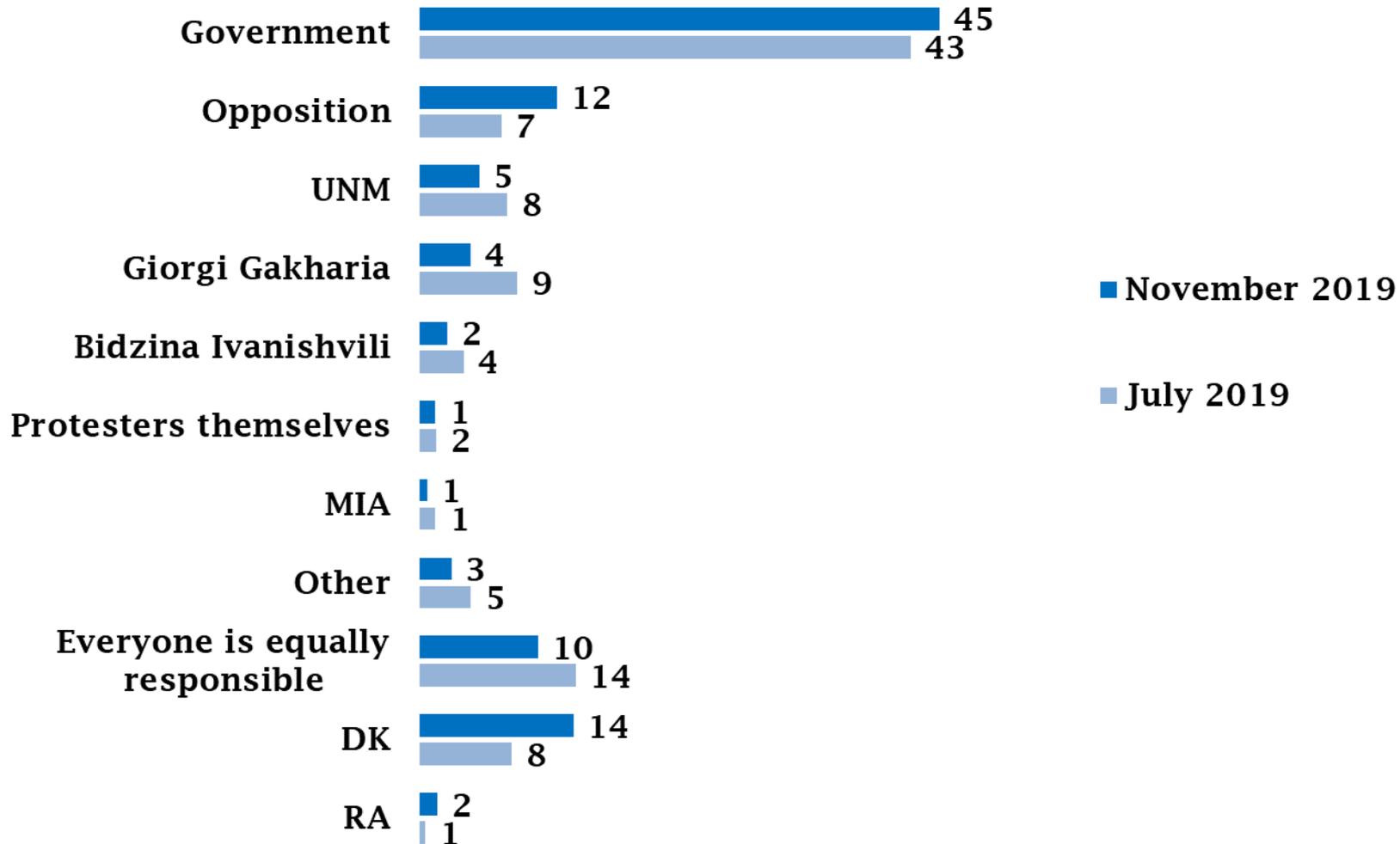
To the best of your knowledge, how would you assess the process of selecting Supreme Court judges? Would you say the process is going ...
(q49) - of the 71% who have heard of the process



June 20th demonstration - responsible side

On June 20th citizens of Georgia held a rally in front of the Parliament, which was prompted by the presence of Russian MP, Sergei Gavrilov, in Georgian Parliament. Who do you think is primarily responsible for the violence that occurred on June 20th? (q50) -

Open Question



June 20th demonstrations - actions taken by the government

Civilians as well as law enforcement agents were involved in clashes during the night of June 20th. To the best of your knowledge, thinking about civilians/law enforcement agents involved in the event ...

■ Appropriate ■ Too mild ■ Too harsh ■ DK ■ RA

Actions taken against civilians by the government were ... (q51)



Actions taken against law enforcement agents by the government were ... (q52)

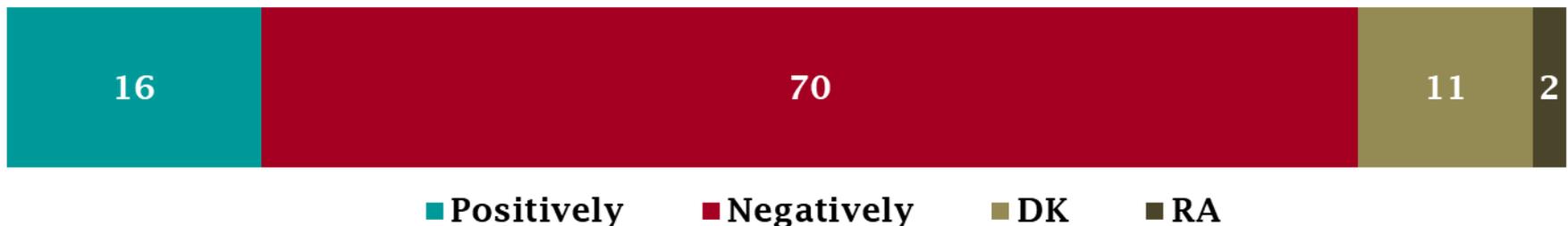


Constitutional change on proportional electoral system

After the June 20th demonstrations Georgian Dream agreed to the protesters' demand not to elect majoritarian members in the 2020 parliamentary elections and vote only for the parties. On November 14th 2019 parliament discussed the constitution change about the electoral system and did not support it. Were you aware? (q53)

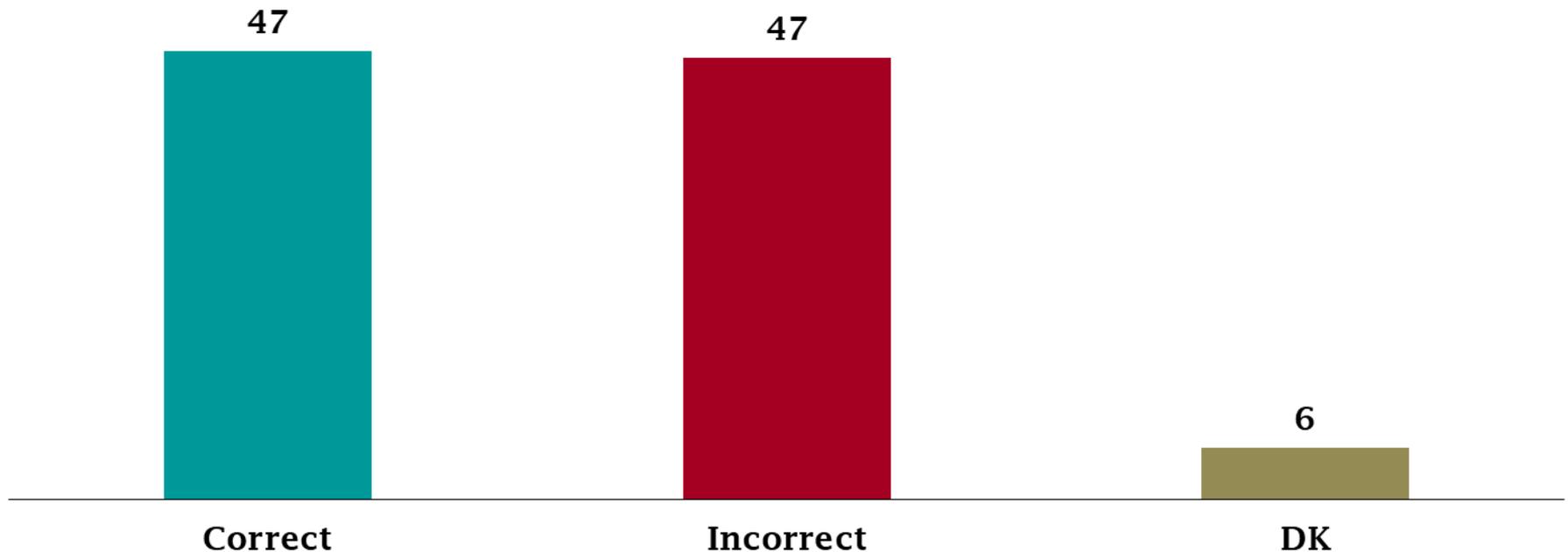


How would you assess the parliament's decision not to support the changes related to electoral system? Positively or negatively? (q54) - of the 59% who were aware about parliament's decision not to support constitutional changes



Taxi regulations

During the last several months Tbilisi Mayor's Office has introduced several regulations regarding taxis including mandatory registration of taxi drivers and restricting taxis of non-white colors as a part of its' new transportation policy. Overall, do you think this was a correct or incorrect step? (q47) - **Tbilisi only**



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- www.ndi.org/georgia-polls
- ww.caucasusbarometer.org