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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Koba Turmanidze, CRRC Georgia
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)
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Georgia is not changing at all</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Large Urban</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small urban</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minority settlements</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
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</table>
Democracy

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

[Graph showing the percentage of respondents who believe Georgia is a democracy, with data points for each month from April 2010 to November 2019.]
Meaning of democracy

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

- Freedom of speech/media / hearing different views: 54% in November 2019, 52% in April 2014
- Equality before the law / protection of justice: 33% in November 2019, 39% in April 2014
- Protection / defense of human rights: 33% in November 2019, 33% in April 2014
- The ability to do what you want (Liberty): 16% in November 2019, 15% in April 2014
- Jobs: 15% in November 2019, 18% in April 2014
- Free and fair elections: 12% in November 2019
- Government responding to my concerns: 5% in November 2019, 5% in April 2014
- Instability: 3% in November 2019, 1% in April 2014
- Ability to purchase a variety of products: 2% in November 2019, 3% in April 2014
- Other: 4% in November 2019, 2% in April 2014
- DK: 7% in November 2019, 8% in April 2014
Performance of institutions and politicians
Government performance

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

- Good
- Bad
- DK

March 2018: 49
December 2018: 45
April 2019: 5
July 2019: 64
November 2019: 30
Performance of institutions

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

Georgian army

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Bad</th>
<th>Very bad</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

Georgian Orthodox Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Bad</th>
<th>Very bad</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
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Georgian police

<table>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

The Courts

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<th>Average</th>
<th>Bad</th>
<th>Very bad</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
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The Parliament

<table>
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<th>Bad</th>
<th>Very bad</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

- Good
- Average
- Bad
- DK

|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
Perceptions of the courts

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

- The courts in Georgia favor some citizens over others
  - June 2018: 69
  - November 2019: 62

- The courts in Georgia treat all citizens equally, rather than favoring some over others
  - June 2018: 15
  - November 2019: 19
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 Geogian Orthodox Church? (q5_20)

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<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
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</table>
# Performance of Ministries

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

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Well</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Badly</th>
<th>Very badly</th>
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<th>RA</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport (Mikheil Chkhenkeli)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry of Defense (Irakli Gharibashvili)</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Environment Protection and Agriculture (Levan Davitashvili)</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Davit Zalkaliani)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
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Performance of ministries
How would you rate the performance of ...? (q5) Part 2

Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure (Maia Tskitishvili)

<table>
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<td>Very well</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Well</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Very badly</td>
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<td>1</td>
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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)

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>Average</td>
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<tr>
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</table>
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)

<table>
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Performance of the Ministry of Defense

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

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
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Performance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs

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

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<td>Mar 2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov 2019</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

November 2019

- Good: 16
- Average: 34
- Bad: 34
- DK: 17

March 2018

- Good: 15
- Average: 39
- Bad: 30
- DK: 16
Performance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>Mar 2018</td>
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<td>Nov 2019</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
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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)

<table>
<thead>
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<td>Nov 2019</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
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Performance of the Ministry of Finance
How would you rate the performance of the Ministry of Finance? (q5_5)

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>Good</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Performance of leaders
How would you rate the performance of ...? (q5)

Mayor of Tbilisi Kakha Kaladze (Tbilisi only)

- Very good: 13
- Good: 31
- Average: 32
- Bad: 16
- Very bad: 6
- DK: 1

Prime Minister Giorgi Gakharia

- Very good: 4
- Good: 17
- Average: 34
- Bad: 24
- Very bad: 10
- DK: 10

The speaker of the parliament Archil Talakvadze

- Very good: 1
- Good: 12
- Average: 30
- Bad: 25
- Very bad: 11
- DK: 20

President Salome Zourabichvili

- Very good: 1
- Good: 8
- Average: 31
- Bad: 34
- Very bad: 20
- DK: 6
Performance of the mayor of Tbilisi

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

- **Good**
- **Average**
- **Bad**
- **DK**

### Graph Details

- **Elections**
- **April 2017**: 5
- **March 2018**: 4
- **April 2019**: 3
- **July 2019**: 3
- **November**: 1

**Values**

- **Good**: 53, 31, 43, 45, 44
- **Average**: 33, 12, 30, 37, 32
- **Bad**: 8, 5, 23, 15, 22
- **DK**: 1, 1, 1, 1, 1
Performance of the prime minister

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

Kvirikashvili
- April 2015: 16%
- March 2016: 9%
- April 2017: 5%
- March 2018: 8%
- April 2019: 6%
- July 2019: 14%
- November: 10%

Bakhtadze
- April 2015: 52%
- March 2016: 42%
- April 2017: 26%
- March 2018: 25%
- April 2019: 22%
- July 2019: 14%
- November: 34%

Gakharia
- April 2015: 32%
- March 2016: 44%
- April 2017: 28%
- March 2018: 14%
- April 2019: 15%
- July 2019: 35%
- November: 21%
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)

![Graph showing performance ratings over time for Margvelashvili and Zourabichvili.](image)
## Attitude towards politicians

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neither positive nor negative</th>
<th>Never heard</th>
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<th>RA</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Shalva Shavgulidze</td>
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<td>Elene Khoshtaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Levan Khabeishvili</td>
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<td>Khatuna Samnidze</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Attitude towards politicians

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neither positive nor negative</th>
<th>Never heard</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Mamuka Mdinaradze</td>
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<td>Salome Samadashvili</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gia Volski</td>
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<td>Archil Talakvadze</td>
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<td>Nino Burjanadze</td>
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<td>Grigol Vashadze</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nika Melia</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gigi Ugulava</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zurab Japaridze</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eka Beselia</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidzina Ivanishvili</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Salome Zourabichvili</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)
Expectations towards MPs

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

**Will do what the party tells him/her to do**
- Yes: 73
- No: 11
- DK: 16
- RA: 1

**Will only serve his/her own interests**
- Yes: 68
- No: 22
- DK: 10
- RA: 1

**He/she will be active**
- Yes: 44
- No: 34
- DK: 22
- RA: 1

**He/she will represent your interests**
- Yes: 26
- No: 61
- DK: 13
- RA: 1
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

- Yes
- No
- DK

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<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data points for elections:
- Feb 2012: 38
- Jun 2012: 26
- Aug 2012: 46
- Nov 2012: 15
- Mar 2013: 37
- Sep 2013: 28
- Nov 2013: 34
- Apr 2014: 18
- Aug 2014: 17
- Apr 2015: 64
- Aug 2015: 48
- Mar 2016: 33
- Nov 2016: 18
- Dec 2017: 8
- Dec 2018: 32
- Nov 2019: 22
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)

- Yes: 5
- No: 93
- DK: 1
- RA: 1
Communication with the Parliament
If an MP were to contact you, what would be the best form? (q26)

- Public meeting: 47
- In their office: 10
- Home visit: 10
- By phone: 3
- Email (internet): 1
- I don’t want to be contacted at all: 23
- DK: 4
- RA: 1
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)
## Participating in Parliament's work

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended public discussion organized by Parliament/MP</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressed the parliament/MP with a request</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made a comment on legislation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a committee hearing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 did not know I had this opportunity
- I can't travel to Tbilisi
- DK

Made a comment on legislation
- 43
- 33
- 13
- 4
- 2
- 3
- 2

Attended public discussion organized by Parliament/MP
- 48
- 29
- 10
- 6
- 2
- 3
- 2

Addressed the parliament/MP with a request
- 37
- 44
- 8
- 3
- 2
- 4
- 2

Attended a committee hearing
- 46
- 30
- 14
- 4
- 1
- 3
- 2
Participating in Parliament's work

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

- Attending public discussion organized by Parliament/MP: 23
- Attending a committee hearing: 10
- Making a comment on legislation: 9
- I don't want to be engaged with the Parliament: 46

DK: 12
RA: 1
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)

- Territorial integrity and anti-occupation policy: 50
- Promoting agriculture: 48
- Budget: 31
- Children's rights: 20
- Justice reform: 18
- Environment and ecology: 17
- Supporting business: 16
- Electoral reform: 15
- European and Euro-Atlantic integration: 10
- Parliamentary oversight: 2
- None: 3
- DK: 6
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to answer</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Georgia - Free Democrats</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Labor Party</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Patriots</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Platform - New Georgia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Movement - United Georgia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girchi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Georgia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Old method</th>
<th>New method (Self-administered)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to answer</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Georgia - Free</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Labor Party</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Old method</th>
<th>New method (Self-administered)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Patriots</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political Platform - New Georgia</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Movement - United Georgia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girchi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Georgia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decided or undecided?
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote? (q8)
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?)

Likely voters (65%)
- Decided: 49
- Undecided: 48
- DK: 2
- RA: 1

Likely abstainers (35%)
- Decided: 21
- Undecided: 69
- DK: 5
- RA: 5
Intention to vote
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would vote? (q9)

![Graph showing intention to vote among likely voters and likely abstainers over time.](image)
Future vote - new method
If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for?  
(q10b_1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream</td>
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<tr>
<td>Refuse to answer</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNM</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Georgia - Free Democrats</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Labor Party</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance of Patriots</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Platform - New Georgia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Movement - United Georgia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girchi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Old method</th>
<th>New method (Self-administered)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Dream</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse to answer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No party</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>UNM</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Georgia - Free Democrats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgian Labor Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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</table>
## Future vote - old and new methods

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alliance of Patriots</th>
<th>Political Platform - New Georgia</th>
<th>Democratic Movement - United Georgia</th>
<th>Girchi</th>
<th>Free Georgia</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Voting behavior
Which of the following best describes your opinion? (q12)

- There is a party in Georgia that reflects my views and I will probably vote for that party: 49
- There is a party in Georgia that reflects my views but I will probably not vote for that party: 4
- None of the existing political parties in Georgia reflect my views: 34
- DK: 10
- RA: 3
Past and future voting behavior
Will you vote for the same party that you voted for in the last parliamentary elections in 2016? (q14)

- I will vote for the same party: 33
- I will not vote for the same party: 23
- I don’t remember who I voted for in 2016/I did not vote: 16
- I will not vote at all: 7
- DK: 17
- RA: 4
Potential winner - new method
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would get the most votes? (q18b)

- Georgian Dream: 32
- Don't know: 14
- UNM: 14
- Refuse to answer: 12
- None: 11
- European Georgia - Free Democrats: 6
- Alliance of Patriots: 3
- Georgian Labor Party: 2
- Political Platform - New Georgia: 2
- Girchi: 1
- Democratic Movement - United Georgia: 1
- Other: 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.
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)

- Party stance on economic policy: 38
- Party stance on healthcare issues: 13
- Party stance on national security issues: 11
- Party stance on rule of law: 10
- Party stance on education policy: 7
- Other: 2
- DK: 7
- RA: 1
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)

- Trust towards specific members of political parties: 36
- Electoral platforms and promises: 25
- Parties’ past performance: 17
- Political opinion of the people close to me (family, friends): 5
- The likelihood of a party winning: 2
- Political opinion of people you work for and colleagues: 2
- Parish and priests’ political opinions: 1
- Political opinion of popular people: 1
- Other: 2
- DK: 8
- RA: 2
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
- United National Movement
- Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- No party
- RA

Foreign policy

- 20: Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia
- 19: European Georgia - Free Democrats
- 6: Other
- 4: United National Movement
- 6: Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- 25: No party
- 18: RA

Economy

- 20: Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia
- 20: European Georgia - Free Democrats
- 5: Other
- 3: United National Movement
- 6: Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- 26: No party
- 19: RA

Human rights

- 24: Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia
- 15: European Georgia - Free Democrats
- 6: Other
- 4: United National Movement
- 8: Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- 24: No party
- 19: RA

Rule of law

- 22: Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia
- 15: European Georgia - Free Democrats
- 6: Other
- 3: United National Movement
- 7: Alliance of Patriots of Georgia
- 25: No party
- 21: RA
**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

- **Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia**: 28
- **United National Movement**: 17
- **Alliance of Patriots of Georgia**: 5
- **No party**: 3
- **RA**: 6
- **Other**: 21
- **DK**: 20

### Education

- **Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia**: 25
- **United National Movement**: 19
- **Alliance of Patriots of Georgia**: 13
- **No party**: 4
- **RA**: 3
- **Other**: 5
- **DK**: 40

### Territorial integrity

- **Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia**: 17
- **United National Movement**: 13
- **Alliance of Patriots of Georgia**: 4
- **No party**: 3
- **RA**: 5
- **Other**: 7
- **DK**: 40

### Environment protection

- **Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia**: 25
- **United National Movement**: 16
- **Alliance of Patriots of Georgia**: 5
- **No party**: 2
- **RA**: 7
- **Other**: 22
- **DK**: 22

68
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)

![Graph showing support for NATO membership from 2012 to 2019.]

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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)

- **TV**: 69 (First source), 16 (Second source)
- **Internet/Facebook**: 24 (First source), 25 (Second source)
- **Neighbors, friends**: 2 (First source), 16 (Second source)
- **Family members**: 2 (First source), 10 (Second source)
- **Colleagues**: 1 (First source), 2 (Second source)
- **Newspapers, news magazines**: 0 (First source), 4 (Second source)
- **Radio**: 0 (First source), 1 (Second source)
- **Other**: 0 (First source), 1 (Second source)
- **DK**: 0 (First source), 1 (Second source)
- **RA**: 25 (Receive information only from one source)
## 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>First source</th>
<th>Second source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet/Facebook</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family members</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbors, friends</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleagues</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers, news magazines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>DK</td>
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<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive information from only one source</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trust in Georgian media

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

- Completely trust: 6
- Somewhat trust: 66
- Somewhat distrust: 13
- Completely distrust: 10
- DK: 4
- RA: 1
Trust towards TV channels

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

- Mtavari Arkhi: 18 (November 2019)
- Rustavi 2: 12 (November 2019), 28 (April 2019)
- AzTV: 3 (November 2019), 1 (April 2019)
- GPB 1: 3 (November 2019), 3 (April 2019)
- Palitra TV: 1 (November 2019), 0 (April 2019)
- Maestro: 3 (November 2019), 2 (April 2019)
- None: 19 (November 2019), 20 (April 2019)
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Opposition</th>
<th>Georgian Dream</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imedi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtavari Arkhi</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formula</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavkasia</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPB 1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maestro</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjara TV</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Obiektivi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV Pirveli</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Assessment of media’s work

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

- Cover news stories important for you:
  - Agree: 58
  - Disagree: 31
  - DK: 10
  - RA: 1

- Conduct investigative reporting on issues that are important to you:
  - Agree: 42
  - Disagree: 38
  - DK: 19
  - RA: 1

- Present unbiased coverage of events:
  - Agree: 32
  - Disagree: 48
  - DK: 19
  - RA: 1
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

DK

RA

51

23

24

2
Internet usage
How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ...

At least once a week
Less often
Never

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<thead>
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<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

81
Internet usage - rural
How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ... (q42) Rural

- At least once a week
- Less often
- Never

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<tbody>
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<td>52</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12
8
5
Internet usage - minority settlements
How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ... (q42)
Minority settlements

- At least once a week
- Less often
- Never

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug 2015</td>
<td>Mar 2016</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2016</td>
<td>Nov 2017</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 2017</td>
<td>Jun 2018</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2018</td>
<td>Apr 2019</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 2019</td>
<td>Nov 2019</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

- Use Facebook: 72%
- Search for information (Google, Wiki, etc.): 49%
- Download / Listen to / Watch music/videos/movies: 20%
- Use social networking site(s) other than Facebook: 20%
- Read, listen to or watch the news, including watching online TV, apart from news on social networking sites: 18%
- Use Skype for instant messaging and for calls: 16%
- Receive / send emails: 14%
- Play online games, except gambling: 3%
- Shop: 3%
- Write a blog / read other’s blogs: 2%
- Other: 2%
Facebook and News

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

- Often: 53
- Sometimes: 28
- Never: 9
- I don’t use Facebook: 8
- DK: 1

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: 11
- Sometimes: 67
- Never: 20
- DK: 2
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

- Social media helps me better understand current events: 37%
- Social media has made me more confused about current events: 14%
- Does not affect me: 36%
- I don't use social media: 9%
- DK: 3%
- RA: 1%
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)

- Yes, I have: 31
- No, I don’t have: 40
- Have not heard of this process: 21
- DK: 7
- RA: 1
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

- Government: 45 respondents (November 2019)
- Opposition: 7 respondents (November 2019), 8 respondents (July 2019)
- UNM: 4 respondents (November 2019), 9 respondents (July 2019)
- Giorgi Gakharia: 2 respondents (November 2019), 4 respondents (July 2019)
- Bidzina Ivanishvili: 1 respondent (November 2019), 1 respondent (July 2019)
- Protesters themselves: 1 respondent (November 2019), 2 respondents (July 2019)
- MIA: 1 respondent (November 2019), 1 respondent (July 2019)
- Other: 3 respondents (November 2019), 5 respondents (July 2019)
- Everyone is equally responsible: 10 respondents (November 2019), 14 respondents (July 2019)
- DK: 8 respondents (November 2019), 14 respondents (July 2019)
- RA: 2 respondents (November 2019), 1 respondent (July 2019)
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 ...

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

- Appropriate: 15
- Too mild: 6
- Too harsh: 61
- DK: 15
- RA: 2

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

- Appropriate: 18
- Too mild: 29
- Too harsh: 28
- DK: 24
- RA: 1
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
NDI-CRRC POLLS AVAILABLE AT:

➔ www.ndi.org/georgia-polls
➔ www.caucusbarometer.org