Georgian National Voter Study

August 31 - September 10, 2007

International Republican Institute,
Baltic Surveys Ltd. / The Gallup Organization,
The Institute of Polling and Marketing
with funding from the
United States Agency for International Development
The survey was conducted from August 31 – September 10, 2007, by the Institute of Polling and Marketing for Baltic Surveys/Gallup on behalf of the International Republican Institute. The sample consisted of 1,500 permanent Georgian residents over the age of 18 and eligible to vote, and is representative of the general population by age, gender, education and religion. The sample design was a multi-stage random sample.

- Stage One: Break country into official administrative regions.
- Stage Two: Select clusters of sampling points based on settlement population (large, medium, small towns and villages). One sample point = approximately 1 percent of survey population (10-12 surveys). Sampling points in each region were selected based on the percentage of population living in the various levels of settlement in that same region.

Respondents were selected by the random route method, using the next birthday rule to select a respondent from within a household. Data were collected through face-to-face interviews with the respondents. Poll was conducted nationwide, including the capital and all major regional centers. The margin of error does not exceed 3 percent.
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS
Gender

- Male: 45%
- Female: 55%

Age groups

- 50+: 37%
- 30-49: 40%
- 18-29: 23%
**Education**

- University, higher: 34%
- Secondary: 35%
- Primary: 1%
- Vocational: 22%
- Unfinished secondary: 4%
- Unfinished higher: 4%

**Ethnicity**

- Georgian: 89%
- Azeri: 5%
- Armenian: 4%
- Russian: 1%
- Other: 1%
Religion

- Orthodox: 87.6%
- Muslim: 8.0%
- Catholic: 0.5%
- Other: 3.0%
- None: 0.3%
- DK/NA: 0.6%

Attendance of religious service

- Never: 14%
- Every day: 1%
- A few times a week: 4%
- Once a week: 15%
- Every month: 25%
- A few times per year: 41%
Sector of employment

- Don't work: 72%
- Private sector: 18%
- State sector: 10%
- Nongovernmental Organization: 0%

Occupation

- Unemployed: 31%
- Retired: 17%
- Executive: 1%
- Student: 4%
- Housewife: 16%
- White collar: 17%
- Farmer: 7%
- Blue collar: 4%
- Other: 3%
MOOD OF THE COUNTRY
Generally speaking, do you think that things in Georgia are going in the right direction or wrong direction?

- Sep. 2007: Right direction 36%, Wrong direction 58%, Don't know, no answer 6%
- Feb. 2007: Right direction 48%, Wrong direction 41%, Don't know, no answer 11%
- Apr. 2006: Right direction 39%, Wrong direction 51%, Don't know, no answer 10%
- Oct. 2005: Right direction 50%, Wrong direction 38%, Don't know, no answer 12%
- Jun. 2005: Right direction 65%, Wrong direction 25%, Don't know, no answer 10%
- Oct. 2004: Right direction 65%, Wrong direction 24%, Don't know, no answer 10%
Over the last 3 months, the financial situation of your household has...?

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Do you believe that things will get better in a short amount of time or will it take a long time for things to get better in the country?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Short time</th>
<th>Long time</th>
<th>Not sure/refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 2007</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 2007</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 2006</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 2005</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun. 2005</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 2004</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ISSUES
What are the main problems Georgia is facing at the moment? Please mention the three most important problems, starting with the most important one:

- Unemployment: 60 first mentions, 39 all mentions
- Territorial integrity: 33 first mentions, 18 all mentions
- Economics: 30 first mentions, 16 all mentions
- Social problems: 10 first mentions, 3 all mentions
- Financial problems: 3 first mentions, 3 all mentions
- Rising prices: 10 first mentions, 1 all mentions
- Pensions: 5 first mentions, 1 all mentions
- Relations with Russia: 3 first mentions, 1 all mentions
- High costs: 2 first mentions, 2 all mentions
- Poverty: 3 first mentions, 1 all mentions
- Abkhazian separatism: 2 first mentions, 2 all mentions
- Low salaries: 3 first mentions, 1 all mentions

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What are the three main problems you’d say your town/village is facing at the moment? Please mention the three most important problems, starting with the most important one:

1. Unemployment (36 first mentions, 48 all mentions)
2. Water problems (9 first mentions, 16 all mentions)
3. Roads (8 first mentions, 15 all mentions)
4. Economics (5 first mentions, 9 all mentions)
5. Gas (3 first mentions, 5 all mentions)
6. Social problems (2 first mentions, 4 all mentions)
7. Dirtiness of the city (2 first mentions, 4 all mentions)
8. Irrigation water (2 first mentions, 3 all mentions)
9. Rising prices (2 first mentions, 5 all mentions)
10. Local roads (1 first mention, 3 all mentions)
11. Financial problems (1 first mention, 3 all mentions)
12. Ecology (1 first mention, 2 all mentions)
13. High cost of transportation (1 first mention, 2 all mentions)
14. Agriculture (1 first mention, 2 all mentions)
15. Expensive utilities (1 first mention, 3 all mentions)
16. Reliability of transportation (1 first mention, 3 all mentions)

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Speaking about your household, what are the three most important problems for you and your household members? Please mention the three most important problems, starting with the most important one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>First mention</th>
<th>All mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic situation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial stability</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health problems</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low salaries</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social problems</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low pensions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing problems</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water problems</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expensive utilities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising prices</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
Do you think it is acceptable or not if some groups use the following methods of protest? How acceptable is each of these forms?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Acceptable</th>
<th>Not acceptable</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal demonstrations</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collecting signatures for petition, letter</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal strikes</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boycott</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations without permission</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strikes without permission</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation of buildings or enterprises</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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There are some things people say they are worried about more than other things. Thinking about the current situation and the future of our country, what are the three things you are afraid of most of all?

Unemployment 31 20
Territorial integrity 27 18
Economics 15 9

Fear of disturbances 5 4
Social problems 5 3
Relations with Russia 5 3
Rising prices 5 2
War, instability 2 2
Demographic situation 3 2
Financial situation 2 2
Migration 3 1
Problem of Abkhazia 2 1
Drug addiction 2 1
Poverty 2 1
Education problem 2 1
Presence of Chinese investment 2 1

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Have you been in a situation over the last 12 months when you had to pay a bribe in order to get a service or a decision?

- **Sep. 2007**: 97% no bribe paid, 1% had to pay, 0.9% refuse, 1% DK/NA
- **Feb. 2007**: 95% no bribe paid, 2% had to pay, 2% refuse, 1% DK/NA
- **Apr. 2006**: 96% no bribe paid, 2% had to pay, 0.7% refuse, 1% DK/NA

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
Which area should the Georgian government make its first priority for reforms? Which area should be the second priority? The third priority?

- Economy: 41 first, 20 second, 13 third
- Judiciary: 20 first, 14 second, 14 third
- Education: 9 first, 14 second, 13 third
- Healthcare system: 9 first, 18 second, 19 third
- Defence: 6 first, 6 second, 8 third
- Penitential: 5 first, 8 second, 6 third
- Local governance: 3 first, 5 second, 7 third
- Energy sector: 2 first, 3 second, 3 third
- Protection of environment: 1 first, 5 second, 5 third
- Other: 1 first, 5 second, 5 third

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Which of these should be the Georgian government’s first priority? And which should be the second priority?

- Restoring Georgia’s territorial integrity: 48 first, 37 second
- Creating jobs: 44 first, 42 second
- Implementing reforms: 5 first, 12 second
- Integration into European Union/NATO: 3 first, 7 second

**Source:** IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
POLITICS
How much interest do you have in politics?

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In your opinion, should the President of Georgia be an ethnic Georgian or it is not important?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Should be ethnic Georgian</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not important</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
Please tell me your opinion – Who was a better President for Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia or Eduard Shevardnadze?

Z. Gamsakhurdia: 57%
E. Shevardnadze: 22%
No difference: 12%
DK/NA: 9%

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Thinking about the Georgian president, what characteristics would you consider to be the most important for his/her personality?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>First Importance</th>
<th>Second Importance</th>
<th>Third Importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close to people</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well educated</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring for citizens’ interests</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong hand</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriot</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following Georgian traditions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close to church</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man of principles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Able to find solutions with opponents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good looking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respected in the West</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In your opinion, what kind of leader does Georgia need as President?

- Rational, calm and program-oriented president: 73%
- Charismatic, aggressive and strong-handed president: 23%
- DK/NA: 4%

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When you consider which party to vote for, what is more important, party leader or the party itself?

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If all other characteristics are equal, would you prefer to vote for the candidate for the parliament who is more active and younger or more experienced and older?

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If all other characteristics are equal, would you prefer to vote for the candidate for the parliament who is male or female?

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In your opinion, what are three major achievements of the Georgian government, if any? Please mention three, starting with the most important.

- Electricity: 20 first mentions, 32 all mentioned
- Paving the roads: 12 first mentions, 22 all mentioned
- City appearance: 5 first mentions, 10 all mentioned
- Army: 3 first mentions, 5 all mentioned
- Patrol: 3 first mentions, 6 all mentioned
- Stability, peace: 3 first mentions, 6 all mentioned
- Regulate pensions/wage: 3 first mentions, 6 all mentioned
- Healthcare reform: 2 first mentions, 4 all mentioned
- International standing/recognition: 2 first mentions, 4 all mentioned
- Foreign policy: 2 first mentions, 3 all mentioned
- Education reform: 2 first mentions, 4 all mentioned
- Solving Adjaran separatism: 2 first mentions, 3 all mentioned
- Fight against crime: 2 first mentions, 4 all mentioned
- Infrastructure: 1 first mention, 3 all mentioned
- Fight against corruption: 1 first mention, 2 all mentioned
- Economic: 1 first mention, 2 all mentioned
- Installation of fountains: 1 first mention, 2 all mentioned
- Construction: 1 first mention, 2 all mentioned
- Perspective of joining NATO: 1 first mention, 2 all mentioned
- Nothing: 5 first mentions, 5 all mentioned
- DK/NA: 18 first mentions, 18 all mentioned

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
What are the three biggest failures of the Georgian government, if any? Please mention up to three, starting with the most important.

1. Unemployment (14 mentions)
2. Having conflict zones - Abkhazia, Ossetia (13 mentions)
3. Bad relations with Russia (9 mentions)
4. Rising prices (9 mentions)
5. Low economic level (6 mentions)
6. Loss of faith towards government (4 mentions)
7. Selling of strategic objects (4 mentions)
8. Encroachment of private property (4 mentions)
9. Judicial reform (4 mentions)
10. Restriction of human rights (3 mentions)
11. Social problems (2 mentions)
12. Rising costs for utilities (3 mentions)
13. Educational reform (2 mentions)
14. Murder of State Bank Int'l Dept. Head Girgvliani (2 mentions)
15. Low pensions/wages (2 mentions)
16. None (1 mention)
17. DK/NA (1 mention)

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In your opinion, is it important for Georgia to have a political opposition?

- Sep. 2007: 83% Yes, 5% No, 12% DK
- Feb. 2007: 82% Yes, 7% No, 11% DK
- Apr. 2006: 85% Yes, 7% No, 9% DK
- Oct. 2005: 79% Yes, 5% No, 16% DK
- Jun. 2005: 81% Yes, 6% No, 14% DK
- Oct. 2004: 71% Yes, 10% No, 19% DK

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Why do you think opposition is important? (N = 1245)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opposition awakes the ruling party</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act as a check on government</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For an alternative to the ruling party</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the country to develop properly</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For indicating mistakes of the government</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critique is obligatory</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For common idea</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To expose negatives of the ruling party</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent one-man management</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It stimulates discussion</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For developing democracy</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position will also be strong</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For mobilization of the government</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government is more active now</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More problems will be solved</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Why do you think opposition is not important? (N = 74)

- No need for so many contradictions: 21
- We don't have a healthy opposition: 16
- They don't carry out serious reforms anyway: 14
- Opposition talks much but doesn't do the work: 12
- They interfere with government: 8
- Nothing will change: 8
- The work is done without opposition: 7
- Opposition is closely connected to government: 2
- Opposition is the group of people behind the politics: 1
- DK/NA: 12

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What are three main issues on which the Mayor of Tbilisi needs to focus? (Residents of Tbilisi – N = 500)

Taking care of the city's appearance
Creating an employment program
Cleaning the city
Caring for socially unprotected groups
Caring for the city's infrastructure
Peoples' prosperity
Increase of pensions/wages
Paving the roads
Transport
Taking care of residential housing
Taking care of hospitals
Economic projects
Illumination - lighting the city
Protection of human rights
Caring for the outskirts
DK/NA

First mentioned
All mentioned

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What are the three major achievements of Tbilisi Mayor Gigi Ugulava? (Residents of Tbilisi – N = 500)

- Roads: First mention 19, All mentions 29
- Creating a city cleaning service: First mention 13, All mentions 21
- Improving the city’s appearance: First mention 9, All mentions 14
- Building squares: First mention 6, All mentions 18
- Installation of fountains: First mention 6, All mentions 9
- Electricity: First mention 5, All mentions 12
- Lighting the city: First mention 5, All mentions 8
- Sports fields: First mention 5, All mentions 12
- School/kindergarten repair: First mention 2, All mentions 4
- Summer employment program for students: First mention 2, All mentions 3
- Nothing: First mention 4, All mentions 20
- DK/NA: First mention 0, All mentions 35
What are the three major failures of Tbilisi Mayor Gigi Ugulava? (Residents of Tbilisi – N = 500)

- Raising the prices for transportation: 11
- Unemployment: 6
- Apartment confiscation: 6
- Encroaching on private property: 5
- Poor quality of roads: 3
- Installation of fountains: 2
- High utility prices: 2
- Ruining the buildings: 2
- No attention to citizens: 2
- No attention to people harmed during earthquake in 12/1988: 2
- Low pensions/salaries: 2
- Low social level of population: 2
- Mistrust in people: 2
- Not repairing buildings: 2
- High prices: 2
- Institution privatization / alienation: 3
- Nothing yet: 3
- DK/NA: 43

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If you think about your life in Soviet times, during E. Shevardnadze’s leadership and now, which period was best for you?

- Soviet times: 60%
- Now under M. Saakashvili’s leadership: 27%
- During E. Shevardnadze’s leadership: 5%
- DK/NA: 8%
Some people say that Stalin’s statue in Gori should be removed and destroyed because he did a lot of bad things for Georgia and the world. Others do not agree with this opinion. What do you think?

- I agree that he did lots of bad things, thus the statue should be removed and destroyed: 5%
- I agree that he did lots of bad things, but the statue should not be removed because it is good for tourism: 30%
- I do not agree - he was a great leader and his statue should be preserved: 58%
- DK/NA: 7%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
Which of the following opinions is closer to your own?

- Stalin was a bad leader and mass murderer: 15%
- Stalin was a good leader and he modernized and promoted the USSR: 69%
- DK/NA: 16%

Source: IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
How do you rate the government’s performance in trying to create jobs?

- Somewhat negatively: 29%
- Somewhat positively: 14%
- Very negatively: 55%
- Very positively: 1%
- DK/NA: 1%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
In your opinion, are private property and property rights adequately protected in Georgia?

Not very well protected: 34%

Somewhat protected: 20%

Very well protected: 2%

DK/NA: 3%

Not at all protected: 41%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
What is your opinion about the increasing number of Chinese traders in Georgia?

- It is a good thing because they sell cheap items: 5%
- It is a bad thing for Georgia: 92%
- Other: 1%
- DK/NA: 2%

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Do you think that the elections in 2008 will be free and fair?

- Mostly not free and fair: 35%
- Mostly free and fair: 29%
- Fully free and fair: 6%
- Not at all free and fair: 20%
- DK/NA: 10%

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
How do you evaluate the current state of the relationship between Georgia and…?

- **Ukraine**: 97% Good, 12% Neither good, nor bad, 0% Bad, 0% No answer
- **USA**: 94% Good, 2% Neither good, nor bad, 2% Bad, 3% No answer
- **Azerbaijan**: 90% Good, 3% Neither good, nor bad, 3% Bad, 4% No answer
- **European Union**: 85% Good, 4% Neither good, nor bad, 2% Bad, 9% No answer
- **Turkey**: 79% Good, 8% Neither good, nor bad, 7% Bad, 6% No answer
- **Lithuania**: 72% Good, 11% Neither good, nor bad, 14% Bad, 16% No answer
- **Armenia**: 69% Good, 14% Neither good, nor bad, 12% Bad, 5% No answer
- **Poland**: 67% Good, 13% Neither good, nor bad, 2% Bad, 18% No answer
- **Iran**: 56% Good, 17% Neither good, nor bad, 12% Bad, 15% No answer
- **Russia**: 4% Good, 2% Neither good, nor bad, 93% Bad, 1% No answer

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
Which countries are the most important partners for Georgia? Which comprise the biggest political and economic threat?

### Partners
- USA: 48
- Ukraine: 44
- Azerbaijan: 25
- European Union: 20
- Russia: 20
- Turkey: 9
- Armenia: 7
- Lithuania: 6
- Poland: 6
- Iran: 3
- DK/NA: 10

### Threats
- USA: 12
- Ukraine: 1
- Azerbaijan: 2
- European Union: 0
- Turkey: 9
- Armenia: 7
- Lithuania: 6
- Poland: 3
- Iran: 2
- DK/NA: 5

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
In your opinion, will the Georgian government improve relations between Georgia and Russia?
Thinking about the future of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, do you think that they should be...

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous republic within Russian Federation</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous republic within Georgia</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary regions of Georgia, without any autonomy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
Do you think that the current situation with regard to the problems of the status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia should be resolved by negotiations and peaceful means or should some force be used?

- **Negotiations and peaceful means**
  - Sep. 2007: 91
  - Feb. 2007: 92
  - Apr. 2006: 90
  - Oct. 2005: 89
  - Jun. 2005: 86
  - Oct. 2004: 88

- **Use force if necessary**
  - Sep. 2007: 7
  - Feb. 2007: 6
  - Apr. 2006: 8
  - Oct. 2005: 9
  - Jun. 2005: 10
  - Oct. 2004: 9

- **No opinion**

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
In your opinion, which issue should be dealt with first by the Georgian government, the status of Abkhazia or status of South Ossetia?
When, if ever, do you think South Ossetia will be back under the full control of the Georgian government?

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
In your opinion, is the government of Georgia properly handling the situation in South Ossetia and Abkhazia or not?

- Yes: 47%
- No: 24%
- DK/NA: 29%

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
In your opinion, is the fact that the 2014 Winter Olympic Games will be held in Sochi, Russia* a good opportunity for Georgia to regain control of Abkhazia or not?

- Yes, it is a good opportunity: 37%
- No, it is not a good opportunity: 27%
- DK/NA: 36%

* - Sochi, Russia is in Krasnodar Krai which borders Abkhazia to the north.

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
Who do you believe is responsible for the incident in Kodori Gorge in March 2007 when the Georgian government’s administration buildings were attacked?

- Russian military was responsible for attack: 54%
- Abkhaz military was responsible for attack: 7%
- Other group was responsible for attack: 7%
- DK/NA: 32%
In your opinion, will the Georgian government solve the problems related to Abkhazia and South Ossetia?

- **Not very likely**
- **Somewhat likely**
- **Very likely**
- **Not at all likely**
- **No opinion**

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IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
In your opinion, should Georgia in the future…?

- **Join NATO**
  - Definitely yes: 47
  - Probably yes: 33
  - Probably no: 6
  - Definitely no: 3
  - No opinion: 11

- **Join the European Union**
  - Definitely yes: 42
  - Probably yes: 39
  - Probably no: 6
  - Definitely no: 2
  - No opinion: 12

- **Remain a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States**
  - Definitely yes: 8
  - Probably yes: 16
  - Probably no: 27
  - Definitely no: 34
  - No opinion: 16

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
What do you expect from NATO membership?

- Restoration of territorial integrity: 44% in Sep. 2007, 42% in Apr. 2006, 55% in Feb. 2007
- Other: 2% in Sep. 2007, 1% in Apr. 2006, 3% in Feb. 2007

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
Do you have sufficient information about NATO to make an informed decision about whether Georgia should join NATO?

- **Sep. 2007**
  - Sufficient information: 24
  - Insufficient information: 69
  - DK/NA: 7

- **Feb. 2007**
  - Sufficient information: 19
  - Insufficient information: 72
  - DK/NA: 8

- **Apr. 2006**
  - Sufficient information: 21
  - Insufficient information: 71
  - DK/NA: 8

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
When do you think Georgia will become a member of NATO?

Sep. 2007:
- In 2008: 12
- In 2010: 31
- In 2012: 18
- Never: 3
- DK/NA: 36

Feb. 2007:
- In 2008: 16
- In 2010: 30
- In 2012: 11
- Never: 2
- DK/NA: 41
When will Georgia become a member of the European Union?

### Sep. 2007
- Next year: 12
- In 5 years: 32
- In 10 years: 15
- In 20 years: 3
- Never: 2
- DK/NA: 36

### Feb. 2007
- Next year: 9
- In 5 years: 34
- In 10 years: 11
- In 20 years: 21
- Never: 43
- DK/NA: 7
What is your opinion about the Georgian government’s handling of relations with Russia before and during the recent Russian sanctions and economic blockade?

- **Sep. 2007**
  - 13%: Georgian government did nothing right in relations with Russia
  - 31%: Georgian government handled many things badly with Russia
  - 37%: Georgian government did some things right in its relations with Russia
  - 14%: Georgian government handled everything correctly and was always right
  - 5%: DK/NA

- **Feb. 2007**
  - 11%: Georgian government did nothing right in relations with Russia
  - 21%: Georgian government handled many things badly with Russia
  - 46%: Georgian government did some things right in its relations with Russia
  - 19%: Georgian government handled everything correctly and was always right
  - 3%: DK/NA

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
How do you feel about the alternative South Ossetia government led by “President” Dimitri Sanakoev?

- **Sep. 2007**
  - DK/NA: 15
  - Have not heard about it: 4
  - It is not good for Georgian interests; it only contributes to destabilizing the situation: 9
  - Neither success nor failure: 35
  - This is a success; it is good for Georgian interests: 37

- **Feb. 2007**
  - DK/NA: 14
  - Have not heard about it: 7
  - It is not good for Georgian interests; it only contributes to destabilizing the situation: 7
  - Neither success nor failure: 35
  - This is a success; it is good for Georgian interests: 38

*IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007*
In your opinion, should the Georgian government fulfill the Council of Europe obligations and allow Mekhsetan Turks to return to Georgia?

- **Sep. 2007**
  - Yes: 12
  - No: 76
  - DK/NA: 12

- **Feb. 2007**
  - Yes: 16
  - No: 67
  - DK/NA: 18

- **Apr. 2006**
  - Yes: 23
  - No: 53
  - DK/NA: 24
INSTITUTIONS
What is your opinion about the work of each of these institutions? Is it...

- Church: 93 Favorable, 2 Unfavorable, 5 No opinion
- Army: 86 Favorable, 8 Unfavorable, 6 No opinion
- Georgian media: 83 Favorable, 11 Unfavorable, 6 No opinion
- Police: 65 Favorable, 31 Unfavorable, 4 No opinion
- Central Bank: 64 Favorable, 18 Unfavorable, 17 No opinion
- Education system: 44 Favorable, 51 Unfavorable, 5 No opinion
- President's office: 42 Favorable, 53 Unfavorable, 5 No opinion
- Georgian Parliament: 41 Favorable, 54 Unfavorable, 5 No opinion
- Government (Cabinet of Ministers): 36 Favorable, 58 Unfavorable, 5 No opinion
- Local authorities: 35 Favorable, 57 Unfavorable, 8 No opinion
- Political parties: 32 Favorable, 58 Unfavorable, 10 No opinion
- Prosecutor's Office: 29 Favorable, 60 Unfavorable, 11 No opinion
- Governors: 26 Favorable, 61 Unfavorable, 13 No opinion
- Courts: 22 Favorable, 67 Unfavorable, 11 No opinion
- Trade unions: 15 Favorable, 53 Unfavorable, 32 No opinion
- Mafia network: 7 Favorable, 70 Unfavorable, 23 No opinion

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Do you support or oppose the government’s decision to prohibit journalists from videotaping public court sessions?

- Support: 12%
- Oppose: 79%
- DK/NA: 9%

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ETHNIC MINORITIES
In your opinion, is Georgia a tolerant society?

IRI, USAID, Baltic Surveys / The Gallup Organization, IPM - GEORGIAN NATIONAL VOTERS STUDY, September 2007
In your opinion, are the relations between Georgians and ethnic minorities in regions such as Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti getting better or worse?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Better</th>
<th>Worse</th>
<th>No change</th>
<th>DK/NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 2007</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 2007</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 2006</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In your opinion, which religious groups or ethnic minorities create problems for Georgian society? (up to three answers)

- Jehovah's Witnesses: 39 (first), 42 (all)
- Chinese: 3 (first), 5 (all)
- Armenians: 2 (first), 3 (all)
- Baptists: 1 (first), 3 (all)
- All except Orthodox believers: 1 (first), 1 (all)
- Muslims: 1 (first), 1 (all)
- Other: 2 (first), 5 (all)
- None: 37 (first), 37 (all)
- DK/NA: 14 (first), 14 (all)
If you had a chance, would you go to another country to live?

- Definitely yes: 21%
- Probably yes: 17%
- Probably no: 16%
- Definitely no: 44%
- DK/NA: 2%

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Why do you say so?
(Would go abroad – N=567)

- To work and earn money: 74
- To get away from Georgia and conditions here: 17
- To study: 5
- To join relatives and friends who live abroad already: 3
- Other: 1

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END OF PRESENTATION