Public Opinion Survey
Residents of Georgia
September-October 2019
Detailed Methodology

• The field work was carried out by Institute of Polling & Marketing. The survey was coordinated by Dr. Rasa Alisauskiene of the public and market research company Baltic Surveys/The Gallup Organization on behalf of the International Republican Institute’s Center for Insights in Survey Research.

• Data was collected throughout Georgia between September 11 and October 14, 2019, through face-to-face interviews at respondents’ homes.

• The sample consisted of 1,500 permanent residents of Georgia older than the age of 18 and eligible to vote. It is representative of the general population by age, gender, region and size of the settlement.

• Multistage probability sampling method was used with the random route and next birthday respondent’s selection procedures.
  • Stage one: All districts of Georgia are grouped into 10 regions. All regions of Georgia were surveyed (Tbilisi city as separate region).
  • Stage two: selection of the settlements - cities and villages.
    • Settlements were selected at random. The number of selected settlements in each region was proportional to the share of population living in a particular type of the settlement in each region.
  • Stage three: primary sampling units were described.

• The margin of error does not exceed plus or minus 2.5 percent and the response rate was 69 percent.

• The achieved sample is weighted for regions, gender, age and urbanity.

• Charts and graphs may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

• The survey was funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development.
National Outlook
In general, would you say that our country is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?
How would you evaluate the prevailing mood of the Georgian population?

*Optimistic, Neutral, and Pessimistic* are aggregates of the original responses:
- **Optimistic** = “Belief that the future will be definitely better” + “Hope that the future will be somewhat better”
- **Neutral** = “Not much hope for a better future” + “Apathy, belief in fate”
- **Pessimistic** = “Insecurity, worry, fear for the future” + “Total disappointment, disbelief in any improvement”
What is the most important problem facing our country today? (Spontaneous response; up to two responses permitted)

- Economy (Unemployment): 53% first mention, 68% all mentions
- Economy (Cost of living/High prices): 18% first mention, 45% all mentions
- Poverty: 6% first mention, 21% all mentions
- Lost territories: 6% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Economy (Other/General): 7% first mention, 1% all mentions
- External conflicts/War: 5% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Pensions: 6% first mention, 4% all mentions
- Education: 6% first mention, 2% all mentions
- Healthcare: 7% first mention, 2% all mentions
- Illicit drugs: 4% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Incompetent government: 2% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Insecurity: 2% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Internal conflicts: 3% first mention, 2% all mentions
- Crime/Public Safety: 2% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Corruption: 2% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Economy (Small business opportunities/Access to loans): 2% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Inflation: 2% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Agriculture: 2% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Other: 8% first mention, 1% all mentions
- Don’t know/No answer: 1% first mention, 1% all mentions

*Responses receiving less than two percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.
What is the most important problem facing your town/village today? (Spontaneous response; up to two responses permitted)

*Responses receiving less than two percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.*
What is the most important problem facing your household today? (Spontaneous response; up to two responses permitted)

- Unemployment: 23% (First mention), 31% (All mentions)
- Low salaries: 10% (First mention), 14% (All mentions)
- Poverty: 9% (First mention), 12% (All mentions)
- Economy: 8% (First mention), 14% (All mentions)
- Expensive medication: 4% (First mention), 9% (All mentions)
- Health issues: 4% (First mention), 6% (All mentions)
- Low pensions: 4% (First mention), 6% (All mentions)
- High prices on everything: 3% (First mention), 7% (All mentions)
- Healthcare: 2% (First mention), 2% (All mentions)
- Bank debt: 2% (First mention), 4% (All mentions)
- Migration: 2% (First mention), 2% (All mentions)
- High communal fees: 2% (First mention), 4% (All mentions)
- Living conditions: 2% (First mention), 2% (All mentions)
- Social problems: 2% (First mention), 2% (All mentions)
- Homelessness: <1% (First mention), <1% (All mentions)
- Expensive products: <1% (First mention), <1% (All mentions)
- Other: 2% (First mention), 5% (All mentions)
- None: 3% (First mention), 3% (All mentions)
- Don't know/No answer: 17% (First mention), 17% (All mentions)

*Responses receiving less than two percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.*
Over the last 12 months*, the economic situation of Georgia change has...?

* In surveys before 2008, the question referenced a period of 3 months, in surveys from 2008 to 2017, the reference period was 2 months.
Over the last 12 months*, how has the economic situation of your household changed?

* In surveys before 2008, the question referenced a period of 3 months, in surveys from 2008 to 2017, the reference period was 2 months.
How would you describe the current economic situation of your household?

- Very good: 2%
- Somewhat good: 37%
- Somewhat bad: 43%
- Very bad: 17%
- Don’t know/No answer: 1%

Oct-19
How do you feel about the direction of each of the following issues during the past year?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Progressed</th>
<th>Neither progressed, nor regressed</th>
<th>Regressed</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of speech</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>21%</td>
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<td>Individual human rights</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<td>Media independence</td>
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<td>43%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National security</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fighting crime</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting corruption</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
International Relations
How would you evaluate the current state of the relationship between Georgia and the following countries?

- **Ukraine**: 90% Good, 5% Neither good nor bad, 3% Bad, 2% No answer
- **European Union**: 86% Good, 9% Neither good nor bad, 2% Bad, 3% No answer
- **United States**: 84% Good, 10% Neither good nor bad, 3% Bad, 3% No answer
- **Turkey**: 72% Good, 15% Neither good nor bad, 10% Bad, 3% No answer
- **Armenia**: 68% Good, 20% Neither good nor bad, 7% Bad, 4% No answer
- **Azerbaijan**: 63% Good, 20% Neither good nor bad, 13% Bad, 4% No answer
- **China**: 62% Good, 21% Neither good nor bad, 7% Bad, 10% No answer
- **Iran**: 52% Good, 24% Neither good nor bad, 10% Bad, 14% No answer
- **Russia**: 6% Good, 6% Neither good nor bad, 87% Bad, 1% No answer
Which of these countries:

... do you consider the most important political partners for Georgia?
... do you consider the most important economic partners for Georgia?
... poses the greatest political threat to Georgia?
... poses the greatest economic threat to Georgia?

(Multiple responses permitted for each question)
Do you support or oppose further dialogue with Russia?

- **Fully support**: Dark blue
- **Somewhat support**: Medium blue
- **Somewhat oppose**: Light blue
- **Strongly oppose**: Red
- **Don’t know/No answer**: Pink

**Dates**:
- Oct-10
- Mar-10
- May-10
- Jun-10
- Apr-10
- Mar-11
- Mar-12
- Feb-13
- May-13
- Feb-14
- Apr-15
- May-15
- Apr-16
- May-16
- Apr-17
- May-17
- Apr-18
- May-18
- Apr-19
- May-19
- Jun-19
- Jul-19
- Aug-19
- Sep-19
- Oct-19

**Percentage Breakdown**:

- **Fully support**
- **Somewhat support**
- **Somewhat oppose**
- **Strongly oppose**
- **Don’t know/No answer**

**Data Range**:
- 0% to 100%

**Graph Details**:
- The graph shows the percentage distribution of responses to the question of supporting or opposing dialogue with Russia over various dates from May 2010 to October 2019.
How do you rate the current government’s handling of Georgia’s relationship with Russia?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Very positively</th>
<th>Somewhat positively</th>
<th>Somewhat negatively</th>
<th>Very negatively</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>7%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-19</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-18</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar-17</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-16</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-15</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Given the current state of Georgia’s relationship with Russia, how secure do you feel living in Georgia?

- Very secure
- More secure than not
- More insecure than secure
- Very insecure
- Don’t know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Very secure</th>
<th>More secure than not</th>
<th>More insecure than secure</th>
<th>Very insecure</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>16%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-19</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-18</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-17</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar-16</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do you think that Russian aggression to Georgia is over or is it still going on?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>It is over and unlikely to resume</th>
<th>It is over but likely to resume</th>
<th>It is still going on</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>77%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-19</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mar-17</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mar-16</td>
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<td>Feb-13</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>44%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov-12</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar-12</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov-11</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<tr>
<td>May-11</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct-10</td>
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<td>18%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar-10</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-09</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-09</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-09</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In your opinion what should Georgia’s foreign policy course be?

- Only pro-European Union and the West
- Pro-Western but keep up relations with Russia
- Pro-Russian but keep up relations with the European Union and the West
- Only pro-Russian
- Don’t know/No answer

Survey results from different months:

- Mar-16: 22% (Only pro-European Union and the West), 52% (Pro-Western but keep up relations with Russia), 11% (Pro-Russian but keep up relations with the European Union and the West), 4% (Only pro-Russian), 11% (Don’t know/No answer)
- Apr-18: 27% (Only pro-European Union and the West), 50% (Pro-Western but keep up relations with Russia), 11% (Pro-Russian but keep up relations with the European Union and the West), 2% (Only pro-Russian), 9% (Don’t know/No answer)
- Jun-19: 30% (Only pro-European Union and the West), 47% (Pro-Western but keep up relations with Russia), 8% (Pro-Russian but keep up relations with the European Union and the West), 2% (Only pro-Russian), 13% (Don’t know/No answer)
- Oct-19: 27% (Only pro-European Union and the West), 49% (Pro-Western but keep up relations with Russia), 12% (Pro-Russian but keep up relations with the European Union and the West), 2% (Only pro-Russian), 10% (Don’t know/No answer)
Do you support or oppose Georgia joining the European Union?

- **Fully support**
- **Somewhat support**
- **Somewhat oppose**
- **Strongly oppose**
- **Don't know/No answer**

![Chart showing percentage support over time](chart)
If you support, what is the main benefit of joining the European Union? (Respondents supporting Georgia joining the European Union: n=1,193; spontaneous response)

- Strengthening the economy: 45%
- Visa-free travel: 8%
- Creating jobs: 4%
- Security: 5%
- Better future: 3%
- High quality education: 3%
- Stability/Peace: 2%
- Trade relationships: 2%
- Defense: 2%
- Military support: 2%
- Cultural relationships with European countries: 3%
- Returning the lost territories: 1%
- Other: 1%
- Don't know/No answer: 20%

*Responses receiving less than one percent are collapsed into Other.
Do you support or oppose Georgia joining NATO?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Fully support</th>
<th>Somewhat support</th>
<th>Somewhat oppose</th>
<th>Strongly oppose</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct-19</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun-19</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr-18</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar-17</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>26%</td>
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<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5%</td>
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<td>Feb-15</td>
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<td>58%</td>
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<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>May-13</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
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<td>63%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov-12</td>
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<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar-12</td>
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<td>Nov-11</td>
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<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<td>May-11</td>
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<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct-10</td>
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<td>5%</td>
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<td>12%</td>
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<td>Mar-10</td>
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<td>9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct-09</td>
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<td>21%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun-09</td>
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<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb-09</td>
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<td>23%</td>
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<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep-08</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you support, what is the main benefit of joining NATO?  
(Respondents supporting Georgia joining NATO, n=1,059; spontaneous response)

- Security: 27%
- Defense: 15%
- Strengthening the economy: 11%
- Returning the lost territories: 9%
- Stability/Peace: 5%
- Defense from Russia: 4%
- Military support: 4%
- Better future: 3%
- Integration into European culture: 1%
- Visa-free travel: 1%
- High quality education: 1%
- Other: 2%
- Don’t know/No answer: 17%

*Responses receiving less than one percent are collapsed into Other.*
When do you think Georgia will become a member of NATO?

- In 2021: 4%
- In 2022: 2%
- In 2023: 2%
- In 2024: 3%
- After 2024: 18%
- Never: 17%
- Don't know/No answer: 54%
What is biggest obstacle in the way of Georgia joining NATO?

- The status of the occupied regions: 41%
- Internal opposition in Georgia: 23%
- Opposition by NATO countries: 17%
- Opposition by Russia: 11%
- Other: 7%
- Don't know/No answer: 1%
When it comes to the status of the occupied regions, under what conditions should Georgia agree to join NATO?

- Georgia should join only when the occupied regions are fully reintegrated. 47%
- Georgia should join, even if occupied regions are not fully reintegrated. 31%
- Don't know/No answer 22%
Persons and Institutions
Please tell me your opinion about the work of each of these institutions:

- Army: Favorable 86%, Unfavorable 10%, No opinion 4%
- Church: Favorable 85%, Unfavorable 9%, No opinion 6%
- Georgian media: Favorable 72%, Unfavorable 23%, No opinion 5%
- Police: Favorable 59%, Unfavorable 34%, No opinion 7%
- Public education: Favorable 51%, Unfavorable 40%, No opinion 9%
- Local authorities: Favorable 46%, Unfavorable 48%, No opinion 6%
- Government (Cabinet of Ministers): Favorable 37%, Unfavorable 58%, No opinion 5%
- Parliament: Favorable 37%, Unfavorable 61%, No opinion 2%
- Central Election Commission: Favorable 36%, Unfavorable 53%, No opinion 11%
- Prime Minister's office: Favorable 34%, Unfavorable 56%, No opinion 10%
- Political parties: Favorable 28%, Unfavorable 63%, No opinion 9%
- Governors: Favorable 27%, Unfavorable 51%, No opinion 22%
- Prosecutor's office: Favorable 27%, Unfavorable 56%, No opinion 17%
- National bank: Favorable 27%, Unfavorable 64%, No opinion 9%
- President's office: Favorable 27%, Unfavorable 70%, No opinion 3%
- Courts: Favorable 25%, Unfavorable 57%, No opinion 18%
- Trade unions: Favorable 22%, Unfavorable 45%, No opinion 33%
How do you assess performance of the following institutions in terms of openness and transparency?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Very open and transparent</th>
<th>Somewhat open and transparent</th>
<th>Somewhat not open and transparent</th>
<th>Not at all open and transparent</th>
<th>Don't know/No answer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Justice</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local authorities</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister’s office</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government of Georgia</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>39%</td>
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<td>President’s office</td>
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<td>Prosecutor’s office</td>
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<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Court system</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>37%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
What is the main accomplishment of the current Government? (Spontaneous response; one response permitted)

*Responses receiving less than one percent are collapsed into Other.
What is the biggest failure of the Government?
(Spontaneous response; one response permitted)

- Not fulfilling promises: 12%
- Devaluation of Georgian Lari: 8%
- June 20 events*: 7%
- Economic crisis: 6%
- “Creeping borderization”: 5%
- Unemployment: 4%
- Poverty: 4%
- Cohabitation**: 4%
- Not caring about people: 3%
- Loss of trust: 3%
- Increasing prices: 3%
- Staffing policies: 1%
- Gavrilov's visit***: 1%
- Unsettled relations with Russia: 1%
- Injustice: 1%
- Other****: 7%
- None: 2%
- Don't know/No answer: 28%

*Referring to the clashes between government forces and protestors on the night of June 20.
**The colloquial term for the period between October 2012 and October 2013 during which Georgia Dream controlled parliament and President Saakashvili was still in power.
***Referring to the Russian MP whose speech from the Speaker’s chair of Parliament prompted the June 20 protests.
****Responses receiving less than one percent are collapsed into Other.
I am going to read you the names of Georgian politicians and public figures. Please tell me your opinion of him/her.

- Favorable
- Unfavorable
- Have not heard the name
- Don’t know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Have not heard the name</th>
<th>Don’t know/No answer</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David Bakradze</td>
<td>57%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kakha Kaladze</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>42%</td>
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<td>David Usupashvili</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grigol Vashadze (United Opposition)</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>50%</td>
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<td>Aleksandre Elisashvili</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>36%</td>
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<td>Giorgi Gakharia</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>49%</td>
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<td>Shalva Natelashvili</td>
<td>39%</td>
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<td>Giorgi Vashadze (For New Georgia)</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<td>Nika Melia</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>54%</td>
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<td>Irakli Gharibashvili</td>
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<td>Bidzina Ivanishvili</td>
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<td>Nino Burjanadze</td>
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<td>Gigi Ugulava</td>
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<td>Mamuka Khazaradze</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>45%</td>
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<td>Irma Inashvili</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archil Talakvadze</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salome Zurabishvili</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>70%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kakha Shartava</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zurab Girchi Japaridze</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<td>Levan Ioseliani</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>31%</td>
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</table>
[...] Now I would ask you to evaluate each politician or public figure in the political capacity, how competent do you consider each of them. Please use a five-point scale, where one means absolutely incompetent and five means very competent.

(Among those familiar with each politician or public figure)

![Bar chart showing evaluations of various politicians and public figures.](chart.png)
Do you believe that democracy is the best possible form of government for our country or not?

- **Yes, it is the best possible form of government for our country.**
- **No, there are other forms of government that could be equally good for our country.**
- **No, there are other forms of government that are better than democracy.**
- **Don't know/No answer**

**Graph:**
- **Oct-19:**
  - Yes: 71%
  - No: 11%
  - Other: 6%
  - Don't know/No answer: 12%

- **Jun-19:**
  - Yes: 58%
  - No: 13%
  - Other: 6%
  - Don't know/No answer: 23%
What is your perception of the level of impact of civil society organizations (CSOs) in Georgia?

- CSOs have a great impact on government policy
- CSOs have some impact on government policy
- CSOs have little impact on government policy
- CSOs have no impact on government policy
- Don't know/No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jun-19</th>
<th>Oct-19</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CSOs have a great impact on government policy</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSOs have some impact on government policy</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSOs have little impact on government policy</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSOs have no impact on government policy</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/No answer</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the past six months have you participated in any of the following activities?

- Attended a public meeting or town hall: 3% Yes, 96% No, 1% Don't know/No answer
- Attended a rally (political and/or social): 3% Yes, 96% No, 1% Don't know/No answer
- Volunteered without expecting compensation: 2% Yes, 97% No, 1% Don't know/No answer
- Signed a petition or demand, including online: 2% Yes, 98% No, 1% Don't know/No answer
- Donated money to a political party, non-governmental organization, or civil society organization: <1% Yes, 99% No, 1% Don't know/No answer
When you get together with your close relatives and friends, how often do you discuss politics and current affairs?

- 44% During all or almost all of our get-togethers
- 16% During the majority of our get-togethers
- 33% During some of our get-togethers, but less than half
- 6% During none of our get-togethers
- 1% Don’t know/No answer
Do you think that the following services should be provided by local/municipal governments or by the central government?

- **Waste management**
  - Definitely by local government: 35%
  - Probably by local government: 26%
  - Probably by central government: 18%
  - Definitely by central government: 18%
  - Don't know/No answer: 3%

- **Water supply**
  - Definitely by local government: 34%
  - Probably by local government: 25%
  - Probably by central government: 20%
  - Definitely by central government: 18%
  - Don't know/No answer: 3%

- **Kindergartens**
  - Definitely by local government: 30%
  - Probably by local government: 28%
  - Probably by central government: 19%
  - Definitely by central government: 21%
  - Don't know/No answer: 2%

- **Social protections**
  - Definitely by local government: 26%
  - Probably by local government: 27%
  - Probably by central government: 23%
  - Definitely by central government: 21%
  - Don't know/No answer: 3%

- **Protection of forests**
  - Definitely by local government: 25%
  - Probably by local government: 17%
  - Probably by central government: 23%
  - Definitely by central government: 31%
  - Don't know/No answer: 4%

- **Taking care of the elderly and disabled**
  - Definitely by local government: 23%
  - Probably by local government: 25%
  - Probably by central government: 24%
  - Definitely by central government: 24%
  - Don't know/No answer: 3%

- **School education**
  - Definitely by local government: 17%
  - Probably by local government: 18%
  - Probably by central government: 26%
  - Definitely by central government: 37%
  - Don't know/No answer: 2%
In your opinion, to what extent can people like you influence decisions made by the local government in your municipality?
What do you think are three biggest challenges for Georgia’s democratic development/future?
(Spontaneous response; three responses permitted)

- Unemployment: 31%
- Economic problems: 28%
- Wrong policies: 15%
- Lost territories: 12%
- Education problems: 10%
- Freedom of speech: 7%
- Replacing the current government: 6%
- Protecting human rights: 6%
- Low pensions: 6%
- Strengthening Georgian Lari: 5%
- Healthcare problems: 5%
- Judicial independence: 5%
- Caring about people: 4%
- Price regulation: 3%
- Low salaries: 3%
- Migration: 3%
- Fighting corruption: 3%
- Free elections: 3%
- Fighting crime: 3%
- Relations with Russia: 2%
- Nepotism: 2%
- Agricultural problems: 2%
- Development of business: 1%
- Safety: 1%
- Rule of law: 1%
- Other: 5%
- Don’t know/No answer: 23%

*Responses receiving less than one percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.*
When you think about Georgian values, which value comes to your mind first?
(As spontaneous response)

- Georgian customs and traditions: 22%
- Patriotism: 10%
- Religion/Faith: 10%
- Holiness of the family: 6%
- Hospitality: 4%
- Culture: 4%
- Dignity: 4%
- Support of each other: 3%
- Language: 3%
- Georgian wine: 2%
- History: 2%
- Folklore: 1%
- Monuments: 1%
- National consciousness: 1%
- Other: 3%
- Don't know/No answer: 24%

*Responses receiving less than one percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.
Are you aware of the details surrounding the protests which took place on June 20, 2019?

- Yes, I am aware of the protests and the details (77%)
- Yes, I am aware of the protests but not the details (3%)
- No, I am not aware of the protests or the details (3%)
- Don't know/No answer (17%)

*On the night of June 20, clashes between government forces and demonstrators resulted in injuries to 240 people, including 80 police officers and more than 30 journalists.*
Do you believe the state abused its power or used excessive force against the protesters on June 20?

*On the night of June 20, clashes between government forces and demonstrators resulted in injuries to 240 people, including 80 police officers and more than 30 journalists.*
In your opinion, who is responsible for the events that took place on the night of June 20? (Up to two responses permitted)

- The Georgian Government: 39%
- Everyone together: 24%
- The Georgian Ministry of the Interior: 23%
- Provocateurs hired to increase tensions: 14%
- Opposition parties and politicians present at the demonstration: 13%
- Don’t know/No answer: 9%

*On the night of June 20, clashes between government forces and demonstrators resulted in injuries to 240 people, including 80 police officers and more than 30 journalists.*
Local Government - Tbilisi
What are the two main problems that Tbilisi Mayor Kakha Kaladze needs to address?

(Residents of Tbilisi, n=453; spontaneous response; up to two responses permitted)

*Responses receiving less than one percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.*
What are the two major accomplishments of Tbilisi Mayor Kakha Kaladze’s Office?
(Residents of Tbilisi, n=453; spontaneous response; up to two responses permitted)

- New buses: 22%
- Repairing roads: 18%
- Improving infrastructure: 11%
- Restoration of squares: 9%
- Restoration of Old Tbilisi: 7%
- Taxi reform: 6%
- Restoration of the Kikvidze square: 4%
- Restoration of bridges: 3%
- Restoration of metro: 2%
- Reparaing sporting facilities: 2%
- Improving the environment: 2%
- Greening: 2%
- Solving social problems: 2%
- Repairing sewer system: 2%
- Other: 6%
- None: 10%
- Don’t know/No answer: 27%

*Responses receiving less than two percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.*
Political Parties
Generally, are you familiar with the election program of the parties/candidates running in your city/district/village?

- Very familiar
- Somewhat familiar
- Somewhat unfamiliar
- Very unfamiliar
- Don't know/No answer

**Oct-19**
- Very familiar: 13%
- Somewhat familiar: 36%
- Somewhat unfamiliar: 24%
- Very unfamiliar: 26%
- Don't know/No answer: 1%

**Jun-19**
- Very familiar: 11%
- Somewhat familiar: 36%
- Somewhat unfamiliar: 23%
- Very unfamiliar: 27%
- Don't know/No answer: 3%
When deciding which political party to support, how important is it to you that a candidate visit your household or meet with you in-person?

- Very important: 11%
- Somewhat important: 30%
- Does not matter one way or another: 19%
- Not especially important: 13%
- Not important at all: 25%
- Don't know/No answer: 2%

Oct-19
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “It is healthy for Georgia’s democracy to have multiple parties in power?”

Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know/No answer
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
Oct-19: 32% | 36% | 13% | 9% | 10%
Jun-19: 36% | 38% | 11% | 8% | 7%
Tell me how you feel about the following statement: “I am satisfied with the current state of democracy in Georgia”
Would it be harmful to your business or personal finances if you supported the political opposition?

- Very harmful: 32%
- Somewhat harmful: 17%
- Somewhat not harmful: 17%
- Not harmful at all: 20%
- Don't know/No answer: 13%
If elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party, if any, would you vote? (First choice)
If your first-choice party would not be on the ballot, who would you vote for instead? (Among those with a first-choice candidate, n=971)

- **Total includes first and second choice responses.**
- Responses receiving less than one percent of First choice are collapsed into Other.

- Georgian Dream: First choice 23%, Second choice 3%
- United National Movement - United Opposition: First choice 15%, Second choice 4%
- European Georgia - Free Democrats: First choice 5%, Second choice 6%
- Labor Party: First choice 5%, Second choice 4%
- Alliance of Patriots: First choice 4%, Second choice 5%
- Civil Movement: First choice 3%, Second choice 2%
- For New Georgia: First choice 2%, Second choice 4%
- Democratic Movement United Georgia: First choice 2%, Second choice 3%
- Lelo: First choice 2%, Second choice 3%
- Girchi: First choice 1%, Second choice 1%
- Development Movement: First choice 1%, Second choice 2%
- Other: First choice 1%, Second choice 2%
- None: First choice 4%, Second choice 1%
- Don’t know/No answer: First choice 32%, Second choice 60%
Which parties, if any, would you not vote for under any circumstances? (Up to three responses permitted)

- Georgian Dream - Democratic Georgia: 30%
- United National Movement - United Opposition: 26%
- Girchi: 9%
- Alliance of Patriots: 9%
- Labor Party: 7%
- Democratic Movement United Georgia: 7%
- European Georgia - Free Democrats: 6%
- Conservative Party: 5%
- For New Georgia: 3%
- Free Georgia: 3%
- Lelo: 3%
- Development Movement: 3%
- Republican Party: 2%
- Civil Movement: 2%
- New Rights: 1%
- Other: 1%
- Don’t know/No answer: 31%
If as a result of 2020 Parliamentary Elections to create a majority it would be necessary to form a coalition, which three political parties would you like to see in a ruling coalition? (Up to three responses permitted)

- European Georgia: 28%
- United National Movement: 25%
- Georgian Dream: 24%
- Alliance of Patriots: 14%
- United Democratic Movement: 13%
- Labor Party: 13%
- Lelo: 12%
- Civic Movement: 11%
- Development Movement: 11%
- Girchi: 4%
- Free Georgia: 4%
- None: 11%
- Don't know/No answer: 25%
Under-Represented Groups
How important or unimportant is it that all members of our country’s adult population, including women, youth, minorities and people with disabilities, are included in political decision making?

- Very important: 40% (Jun-19) vs 42% (Oct-19)
- Somewhat important: 40% (Jun-19) vs 42% (Oct-19)
- Somewhat unimportant: 7% (Jun-19) vs 4% (Oct-19)
- Very unimportant: 4% (Jun-19) vs 4% (Oct-19)
- Don't know/No answer: 6% (Jun-19) vs 4% (Oct-19)
If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?
In your opinion, should there be more women in Georgian politics?

- Yes, there should be more women in Georgian politics: 37% (Jun-19), 41% (Oct-19)
- There should be the same level of women in Georgian politics as there currently is: 33% (Jun-19), 31% (Oct-19)
- No, there should be less women in Georgian politics: 13% (Jun-19), 19% (Oct-19)
- Don’t know/No answer: 14% (Jun-19), 13% (Oct-19)
In your opinion, should there be more youth in Georgian politics?

- Yes, there should be more youth in Georgian politics: 67% in Jun-19, 68% in Oct-19
- There should be the same level of youth in Georgian politics as there currently is: 19% in Jun-19, 21% in Oct-19
- No, there should be less youth in Georgian politics: 6% in Jun-19, 6% in Oct-19
- Don't know/No answer: 7% in Jun-19, 6% in Oct-19
Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a political party that had at a high number of youth on the party list?
Which of the following, if any, would be most appealing to you?

- New faces in new political parties: 33%
- New faces in existing political parties: 19%
- Experienced politicians becoming more active in existing parties: 15%
- Young people forming new political parties/movements: 15%
- None: 9%
- Don’t know/No answer: 1%
Elections
How likely or unlikely are ordinary people able to influence decisions made in our country?

- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Very unlikely
- Don't know/No answer

Oct-19:
- Very likely: 21%
- Somewhat likely: 38%
- Somewhat unlikely: 18%
- Very unlikely: 20%
- Don't know/No answer: 3%

Jun-19:
- Very likely: 20%
- Somewhat likely: 26%
- Somewhat unlikely: 16%
- Very unlikely: 31%
- Don't know/No answer: 7%
Have you heard about the proportional electoral system?

- Yes: 68%
- No: 28%
- Don’t know/No answer: 4%
If yes, do you support or oppose to switching to a fully proportional electoral system in Georgia? (Respondents aware of the proportional electoral system, n=1,022)
Will the changes to the electoral legislation, specifically the introduction of a fully proportional parliamentary list, positively or negatively affect democratic development in Georgia?
Which component of a party’s pre-election program will most likely determine your vote in upcoming parliamentary elections?

(Up to two responses permitted)

- Economic policy: 61%
- Healthcare and social security policy: 50%
- Foreign policy: 20%
- Judicial reform policy: 11%
- Education policy: 11%
- Environmental policy: 4%
- None: 4%
- Don’t know/No answer: 7%
Do you agree or disagree that the Central Election Commission (CESKO) performs its work in a trustworthy manner?

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know/No answer

* CESKO is the Georgian acronym for the Central Election Commission.
To what degree do you either agree or disagree with the following statements about the work of the CESKO?

The CESKO provides clear and understandable information to the public about the election process in Georgia

- Strongly agree: 18%
- Somewhat agree: 30%
- Somewhat disagree: 24%
- Strongly disagree: 17%
- Don't know/No answer: 10%

The CESKO provides regular updates and information on its work to the public

- Strongly agree: 18%
- Somewhat agree: 33%
- Somewhat disagree: 23%
- Strongly disagree: 16%
- Don't know/No answer: 10%

* CESKO is the Georgian acronym for the Central Election Commission.
What would increase your overall trust in the electoral process? (Spontaneous response; up to two responses permitted)

- Justice: 21%
- Objectivity: 16%
- Transparency: 16%
- Impartiality: 12%
- Absence of fraud: 6%
- Electronic voting: 4%
- Foreign observers: 3%
- Setting of electoral lists: 1%
- Change in CESKO staff*: 1%
- Other**: 1%
- Nothing: 1%
- Don't know/No answer: 38%

*CESKO is the Georgian acronym for the Central Election Commission.
**Responses receiving less than one percent of all mentions are collapsed into Other.
Do you trust or distrust the opinion of local election observation organizations regarding whether an election was free, fair and transparent?

- Fully trust: 14%
- Somewhat trust: 33%
- Somewhat distrust: 20%
- Fully distrust: 18%
- I’m not familiar with the opinions of local election observation organizations: 8%
- Don’t know/No answer: 7%
Sources of Information
Which Georgian TV station’s news and political information do you trust the most?

(Spontaneous response; up to two responses permitted)

- **Imedi TV**: 39% (53% first mention)
- **Mtavari Arkhi**: 18% (26% first mention)
- **Rustavi 2**: 13% (27% first mention)
- **TV Pirveli**: 6% (18% first mention)
- **Georgian Public Broadcasting**: 2% (6% first mention)
- **Palitra TV**: 2% (5% first mention)
- **Adjara**: 1% (3% first mention)
- **Patriarch’s Channel**: 1% (2% first mention)
- **Obiekt TV**: 1% (6% first mention)
- **Other**: 1% (3% first mention)
- **None**: 14% (14% first mention)
- **Don’t know/No answer**: 3% (3% first mention)

*Responses receiving less than one percent of first response collapsed into Other.*
Which TV talk show do you watch most frequently?  
(Spontaneous response; up to three responses permitted)

*Responses receiving less than one percent of all responses collapsed into Other.*
Which sources of information do you use for information about the current international situation? (Multiple responses permitted)

- Georgian TV: 83%
- Social media: 21%
- Georgian internet news sites: 10%
- Russian TV stations: 5%
- Georgian print media: 5%
- Georgian radio stations: 3%
- Western TV: 2%
- Russian internet news sites: 1%
- Other: 1%
- None/I do not seek such information: 5%

Respondents using social media, n=315
- Facebook: 99%
- No answer: <1%
Which of these information channels do you trust most for information about the current international situation?

- Georgian TV: 67%
- Social media: 10%
- Georgian internet news sites: 3%
- Russian TV stations: 1%
- Western TV: 1%
- Other: 2%
- None/I do not seek such information: 11%
- Don’t know/No answer: 5%

Respondents using social media, n=148
- Facebook: 96%
- Western internet media: 4%
- No answer: <1%
Is Georgian mass media (TV, radio and press) free to express various political views?

<table>
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<th>Month</th>
<th>Totally free</th>
<th>Somewhat free</th>
<th>Not very free</th>
<th>Not free at all</th>
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<td>16%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<td>12%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun-19</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>44%</td>
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Why do you think that Georgian mass media is not free to express various political views?
(Among those believing that mass media is not free, n=438)
How many times per week do you access the internet?

Oct-19:
- Every day: 56%
- 4-6 times per week: 4%
- 1-3 times per week: 6%
- Monthly: 3%
- Never: 31%
- Don't know/No answer: <1%

Jun-19:
- Every day: 55%
- 4-6 times per week: 6%
- 1-3 times per week: 7%
- Monthly: 1%
- Never: 30%
- Don't know/No answer: 1%
Where do you access the internet? (Internet users, n=1,041; multiple responses permitted)

- **Home**: 87% (Oct-19), 90% (Jun-19), 92% (Apr-18), 92% (Mar-17), 87% (Mar-16)
- **Mobile phone**: 55% (Oct-19), 46% (Jun-19), 38% (Apr-18), 26% (Mar-17), 24% (Mar-16)
- **Work**: 28% (Oct-19), 22% (Jun-19), 19% (Apr-18), 19% (Mar-17), 20% (Mar-16)
- **Friends' house**: 14% (Oct-19), 12% (Jun-19), 5% (Apr-18), 4% (Mar-17), 4% (Mar-16)
- **Other**: 1% (Oct-19), 1% (Jun-19), 1% (Apr-18), 1% (Mar-17), 1% (Mar-16)
- **Don't know/No answer**: 1% (Oct-19), 1% (Jun-19), 1% (Apr-18), 1% (Mar-17), 1% (Mar-16)
In your opinion, will the editorial policy of Rustavi 2 change due to the change in ownership?
Which social media sites do you use most often?
(Internet users, n=1,041; up to three spontaneous responses permitted)
Demographics