



Public Attitudes in Georgia

Results of July 2019 survey



— Carried out for NDI by CRRC Georgia —

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

Laura Thornton, NDI Georgia
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:
July 13-29, 2019
- ❖ 2,131 completed interviews (41% response rate)
- ❖ The average margin of error is +/- 1.7%
- ❖ **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.

Main findings

- Decline in the perceived performance of the government over the past year. 60 percent of Georgians evaluate the current government's performance as "bad";
- Increasing negative assessments of the prime minister, president, courts, and parliament;
- Of the main public institutions, the Georgian Church and public service halls continue to enjoy the most favorable evaluations, with 64 percent and 57 percent positive assessment, respectively
- Mayor of Tbilisi Kakha Kaladze continues to have a net positive assessment;
- Most Georgians cannot identify a party that is closest to them, with only 19 percent choosing ruling party Georgian Dream, nine percent opposition United National Movement, and four percent for European Georgia-Free Democrats and Alliance of Patriots;
- While 59 percent of respondents said they would vote if elections were held tomorrow, 57 percent are politically undecided.

Main findings

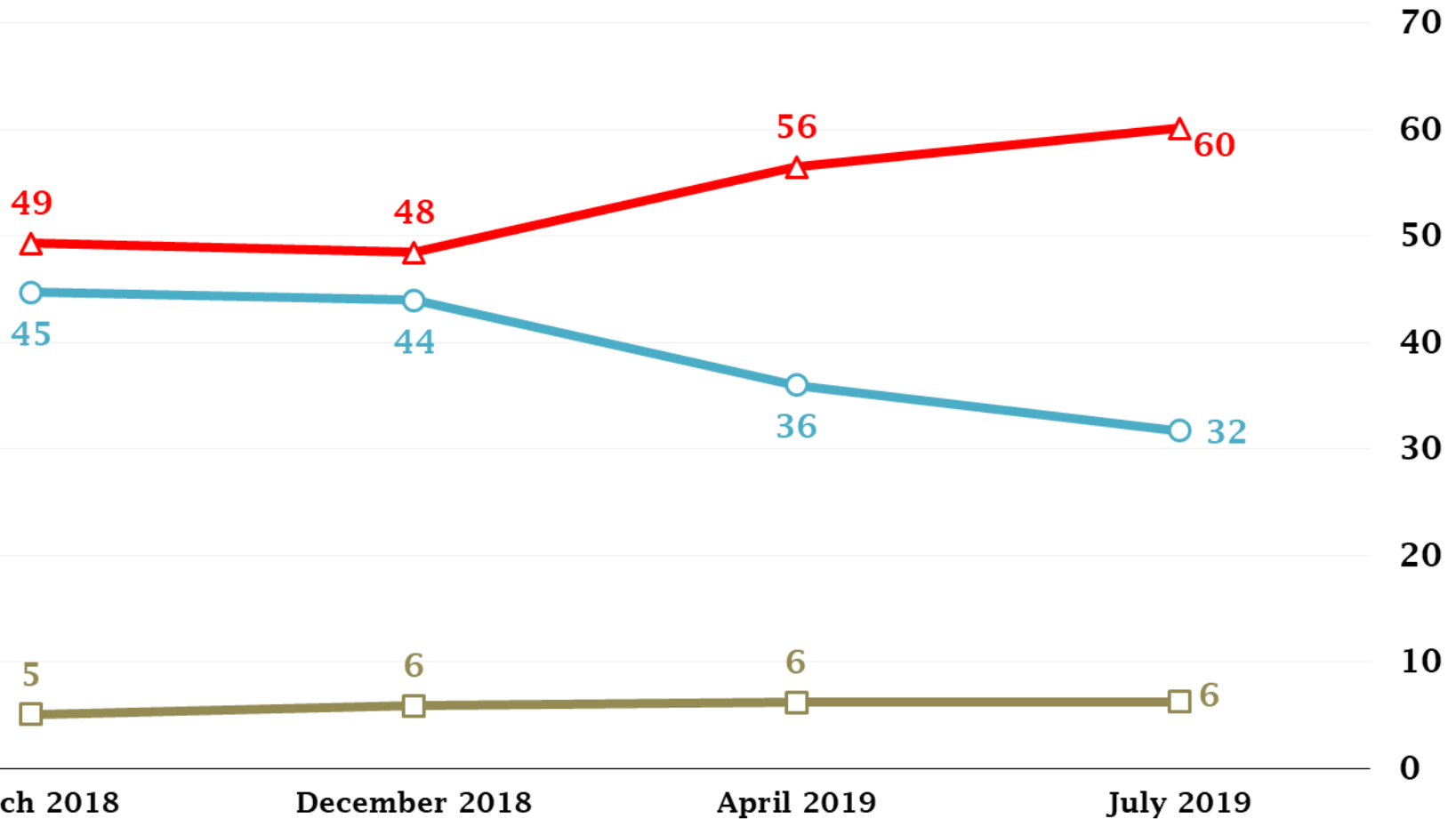
- The vast majority of Georgians (92 percent) are aware of the demonstrations on June 20, and, in an open-ended question, 55 percent place responsibility for the violence that occurred on government agencies, including the government (43 percent), then-Interior Minister Gakharia (nine percent), and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and police (one percent each);
- Eight percent of citizens blame UNM for violence on June 20;
- 68 percent of those who were aware of the demonstrations believe the government used “excessive force” to disperse protestors;
- Of those who were aware of the June 20 demonstrations and believe excessive force was used, 71 percent do not believe adequate action was taken to hold those responsible;
- Public is mixed about demands for Gakharia’s resignation, with 46 percent of those who were aware of June 20th events agreeing he should, and 39 percent disagreeing;

Performance of institutions

Government performance

Using this card, please tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government? (q3)

Good Bad DK



Performance of leaders

How would you rate the performance of ...? (q4) Part 1

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

Mayor of Tbilisi Kakha Kaladze (Tbilisi only)



Your mayor (outside Tbilisi)



Prime minister Mamuka Bakhtadze



President Salome Zourabichvili



The speaker of the parliament Archil Talakvadze



Performance of institutions

How would you rate the performance of ...? (q4) Part 2

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

Georgian Orthodox Church



Public service halls



Georgian army



Georgian police



Your Sakrebulo (outside Tbilisi)



Performance of institutions

How would you rate the performance of ...? (q4) Part 3

Very good Good Average Bad Very bad DK RA

Office of the ombudsman



Office of the chief prosecutor



The courts



Tbilisi Sakrebulo (Tbilisi only)

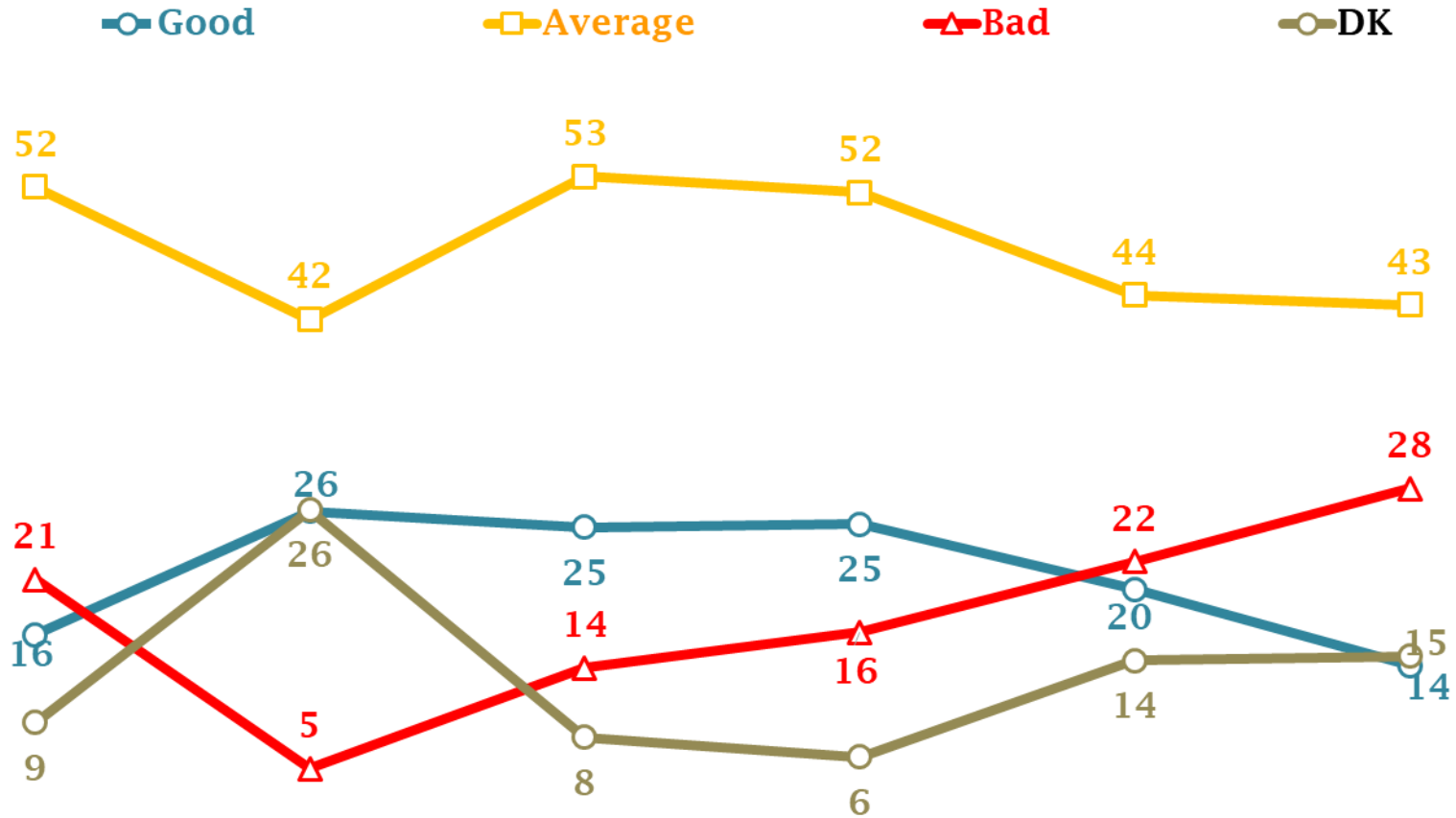


The parliament



Performance of the prime minister

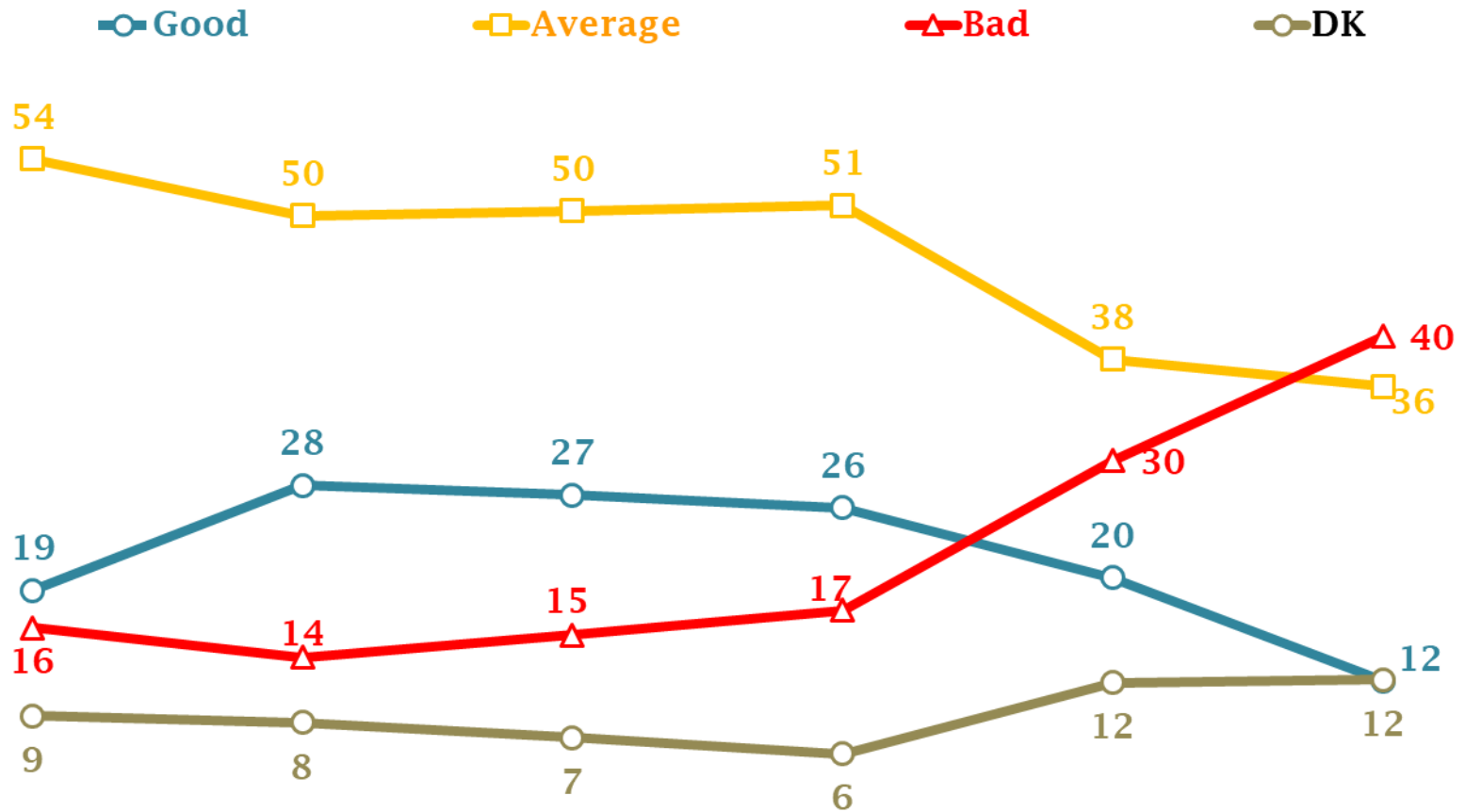
How would you rate the performance of the prime minister? (q4_1)



Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Apr 2019	Jul 2019
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Performance of the president

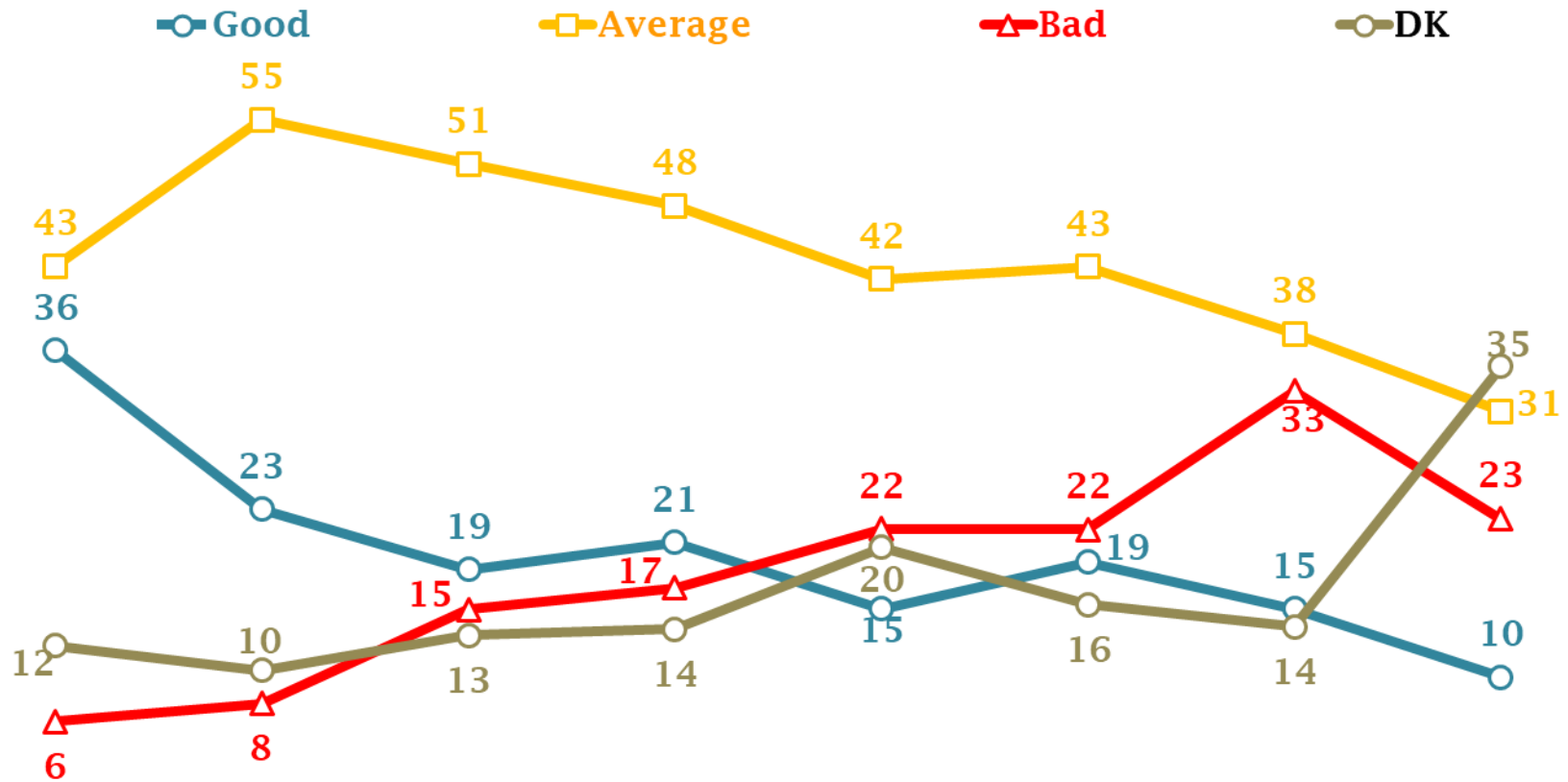
How would you rate the performance of the president? (q4_2)



Apr 2015	Mar 2016	Apr 2017	Mar 2018	Apr 2019	Jul 2019
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Performance of the speaker of the parliament

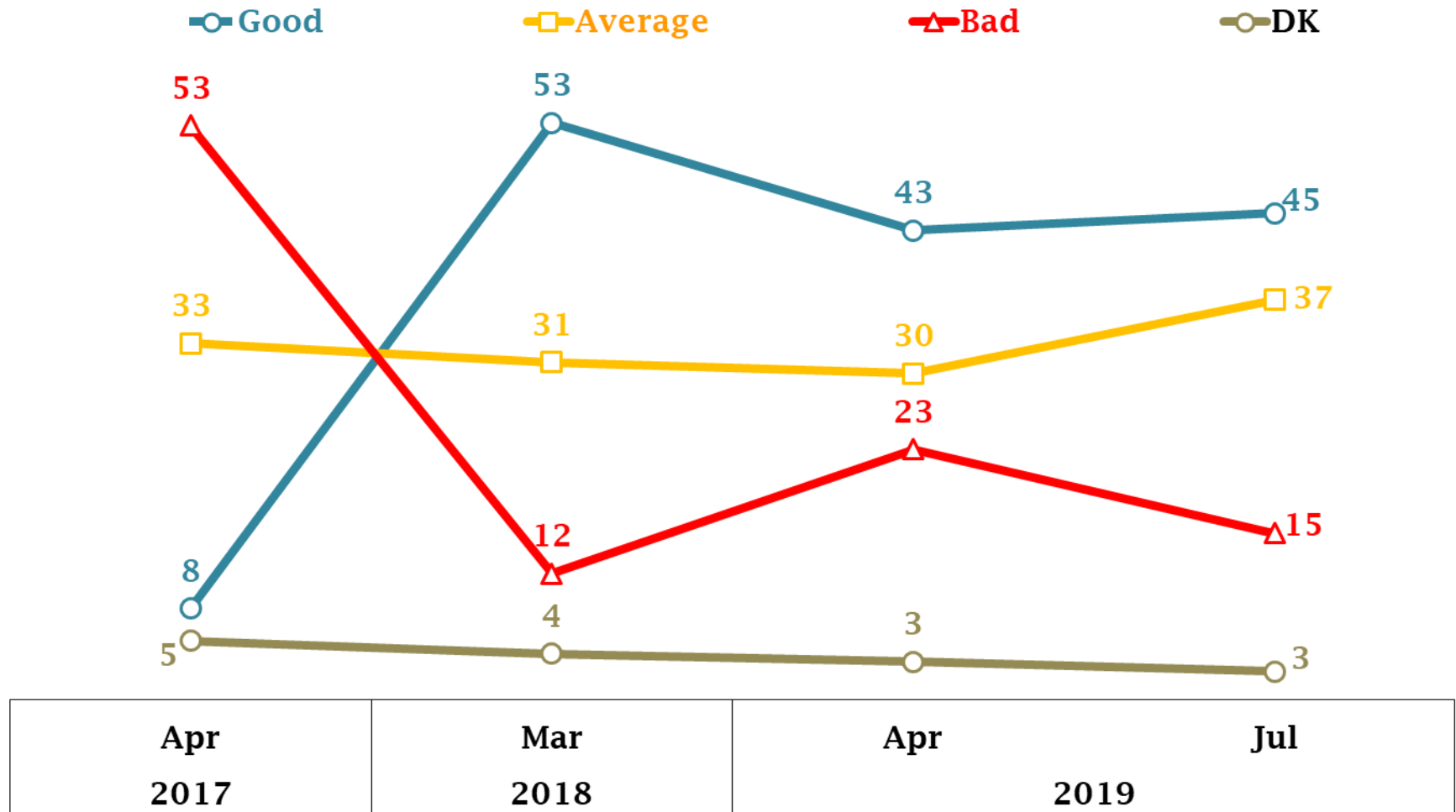
How would you rate the performance of the speaker of the parliament?
(q4_3)



Apr	Aug	Apr	Mar	Apr	Mar	Apr	Jul
2014		2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	

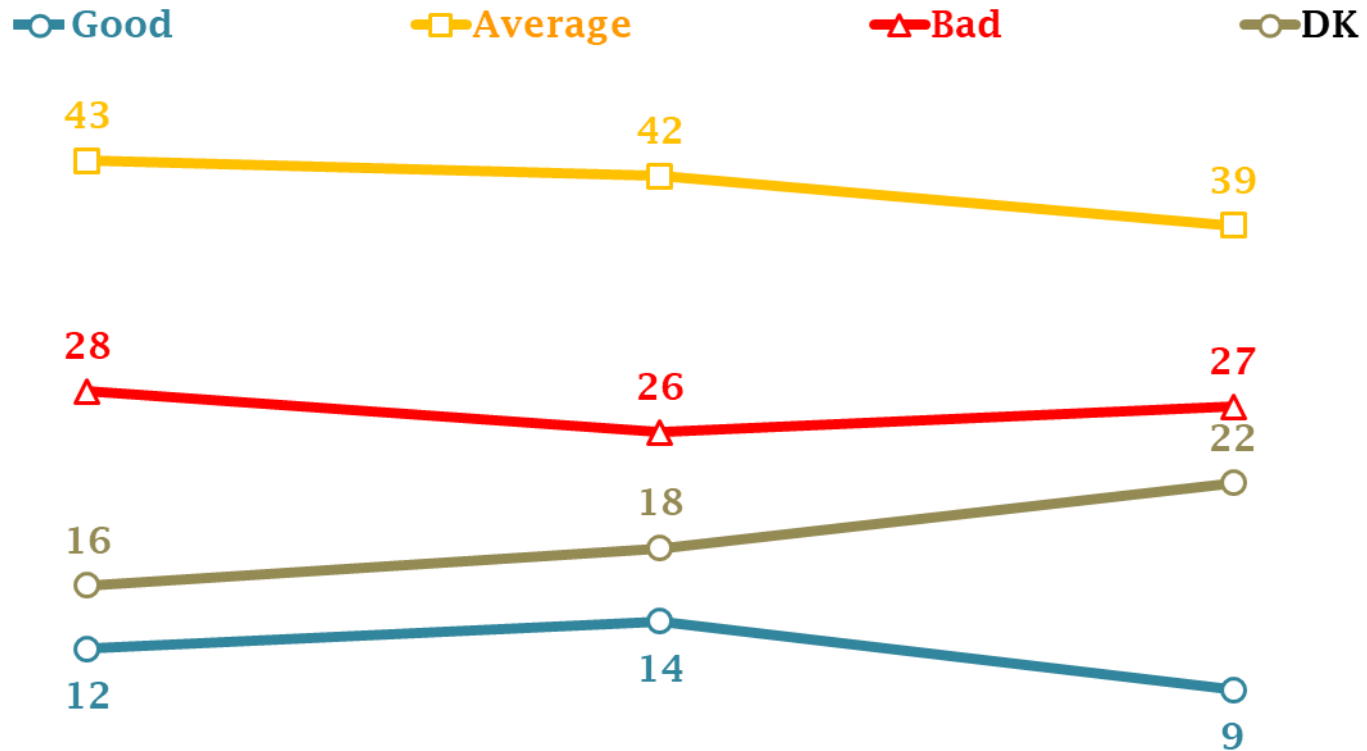
Performance of the mayor of Tbilisi

How would you rate the performance of the mayor of Tbilisi? (q4_4) Tbilisi



Performance of Tbilisi Sakrebulo

How would you rate the performance of Tbilisi Sakrebulo? (q4_6) Tbilisi



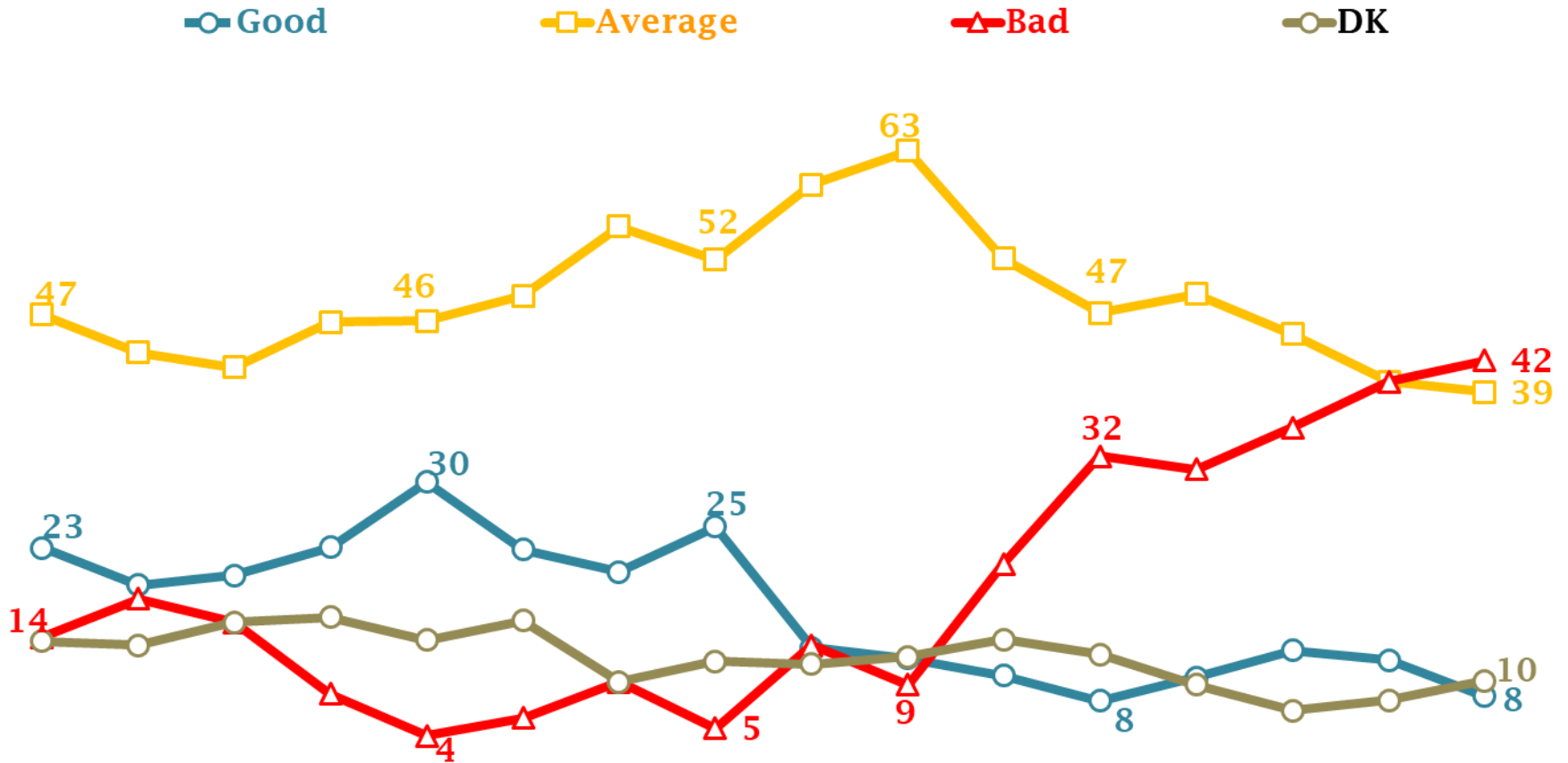
Apr
2017

Mar
2018

Jul
2019

Performance of the parliament

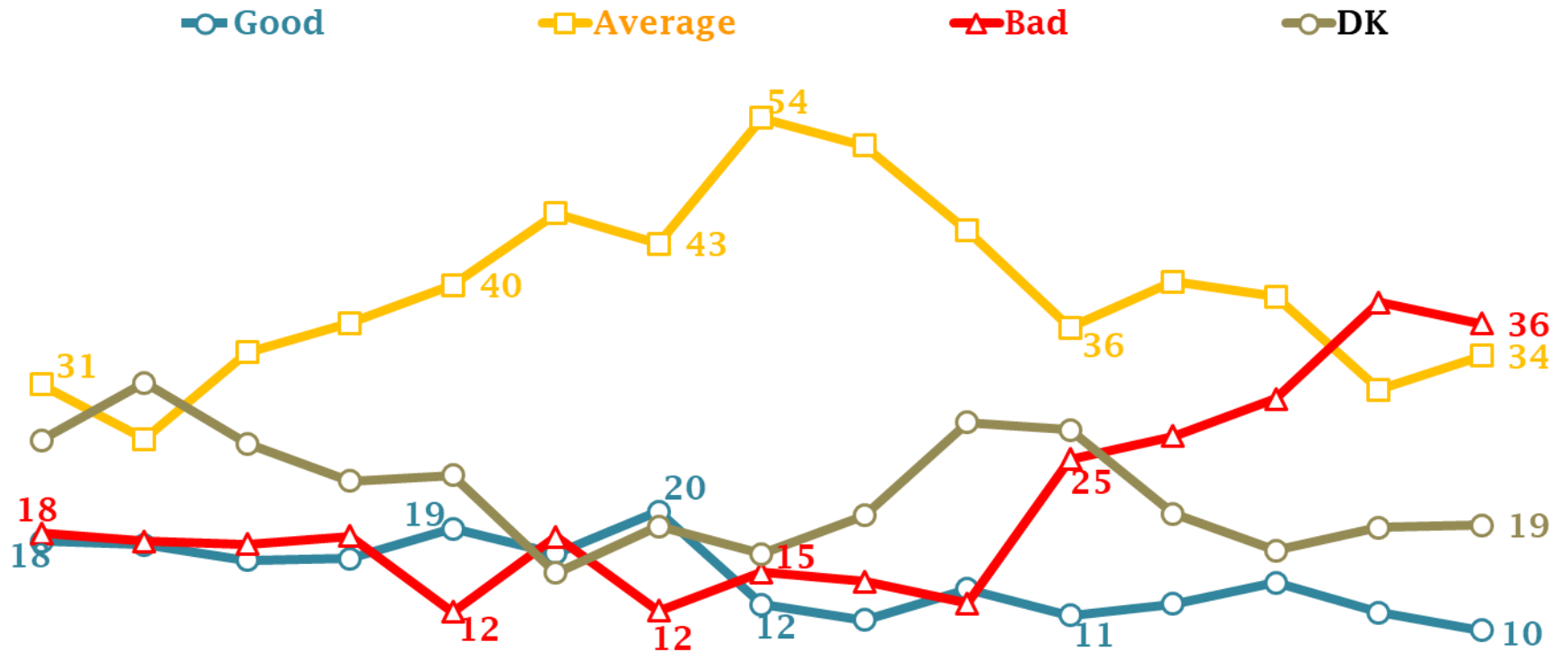
How would you rate the performance of the parliament? (q4_8)



Feb	Jun	Aug	Nov	Mar	Jun	Sep	Nov	Apr	Aug	Apr	Mar	Apr	Mar	Apr	Jul
2012				2013				2014		2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	

Performance of the courts

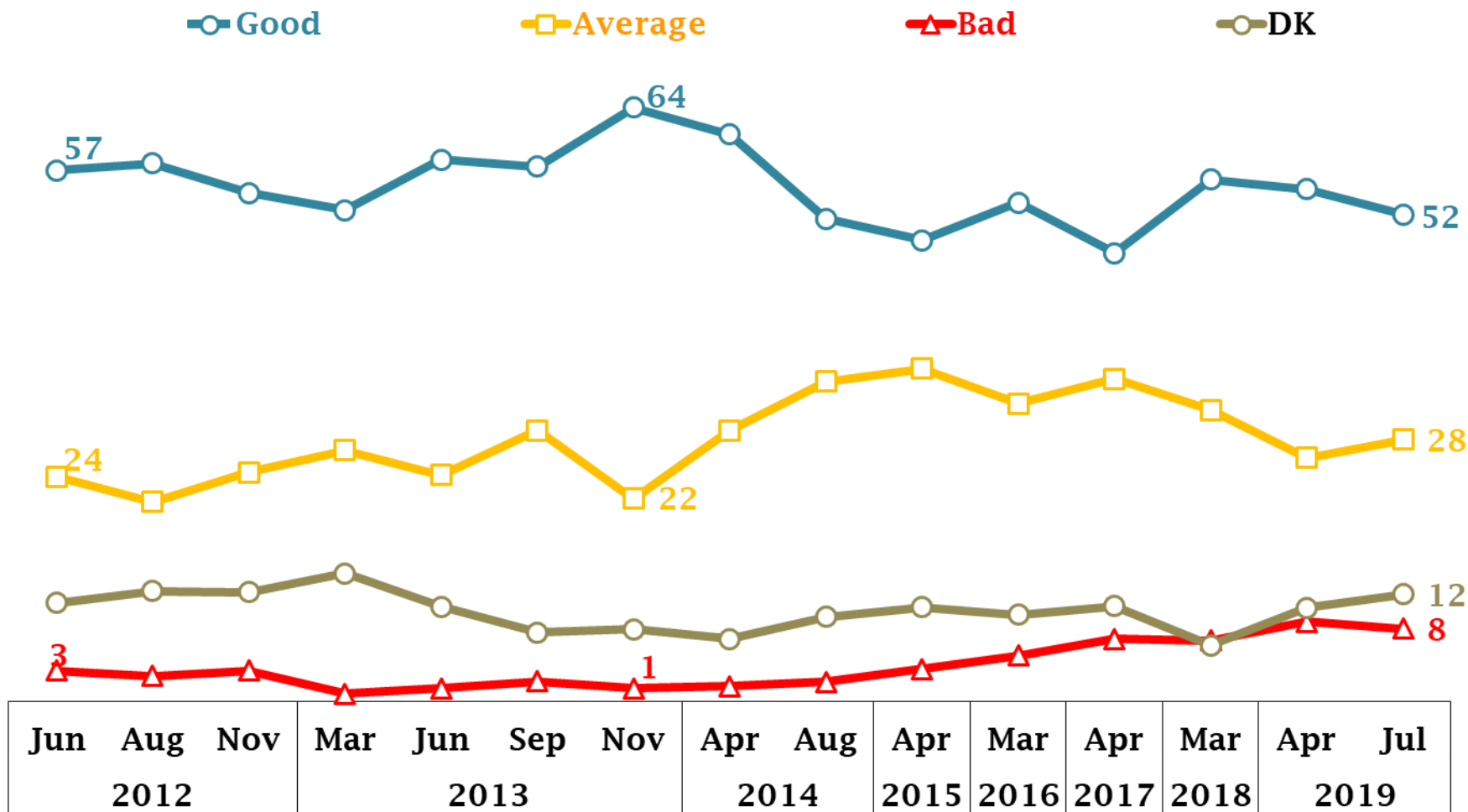
How would you rate the performance of the courts? (q4_9)



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

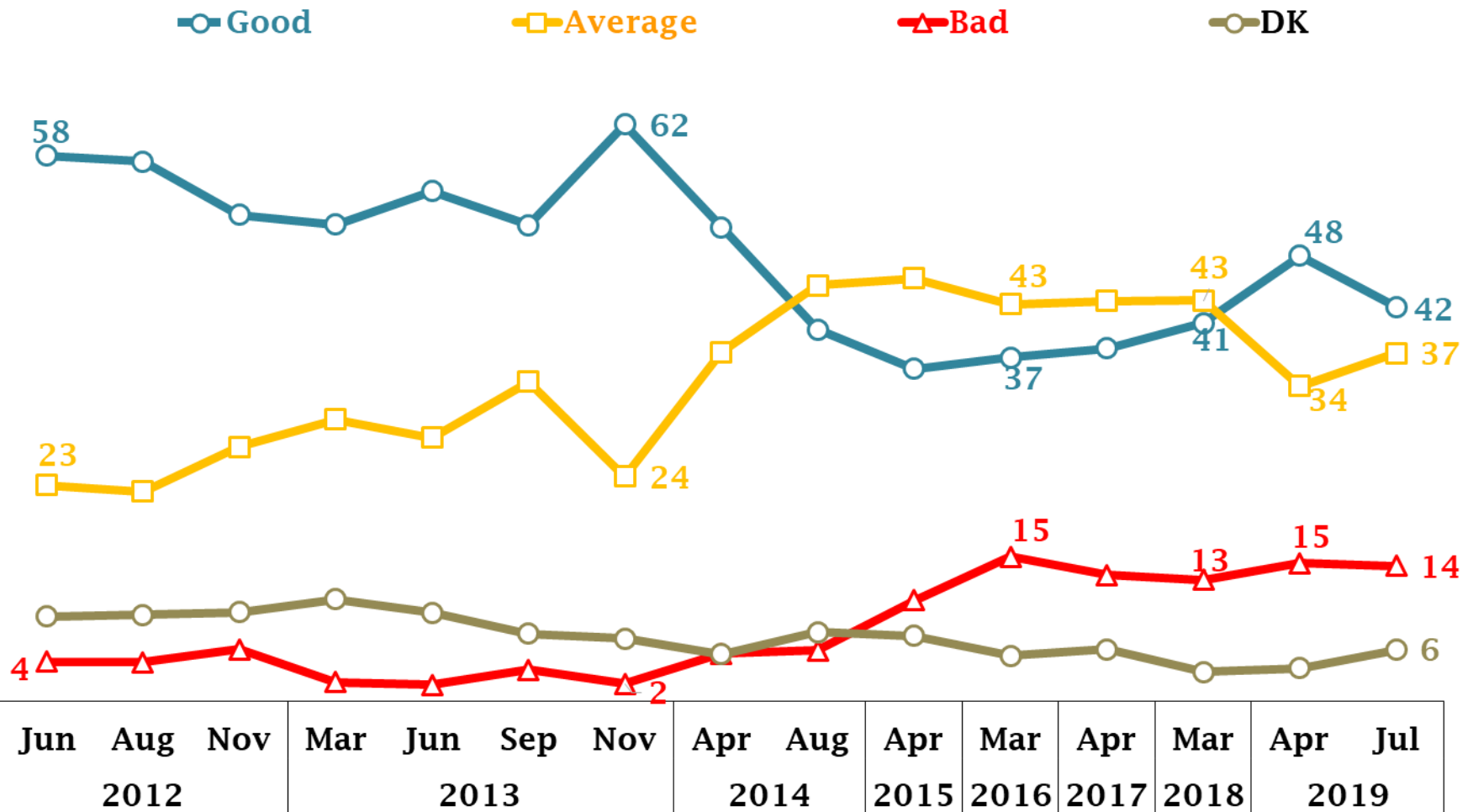
Performance of Georgian army

How would you rate the performance of Georgian army? (q4_10)



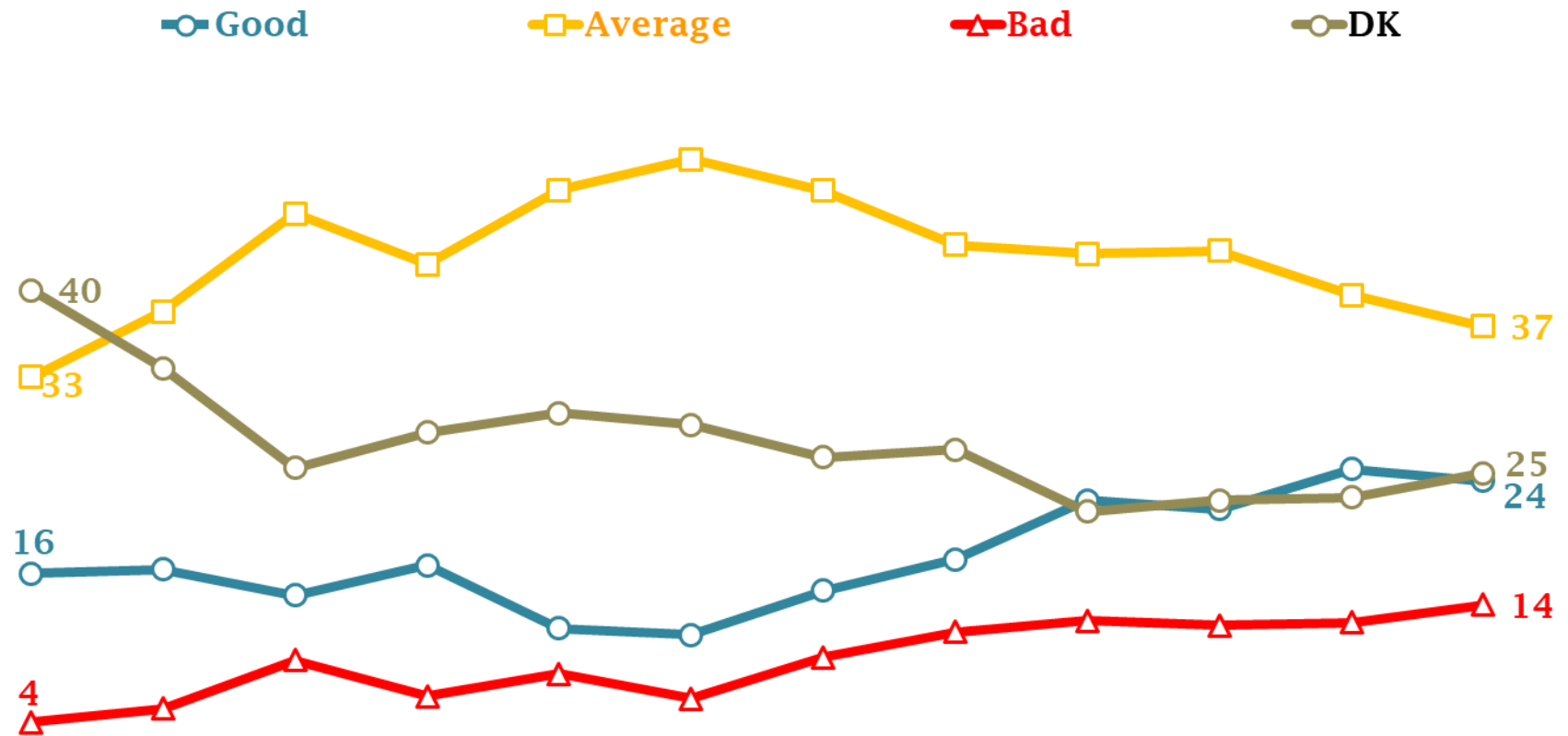
Performance of Georgian police

How would you rate the performance of Georgian police? (q4_11)



Performance of the office of the ombudsman

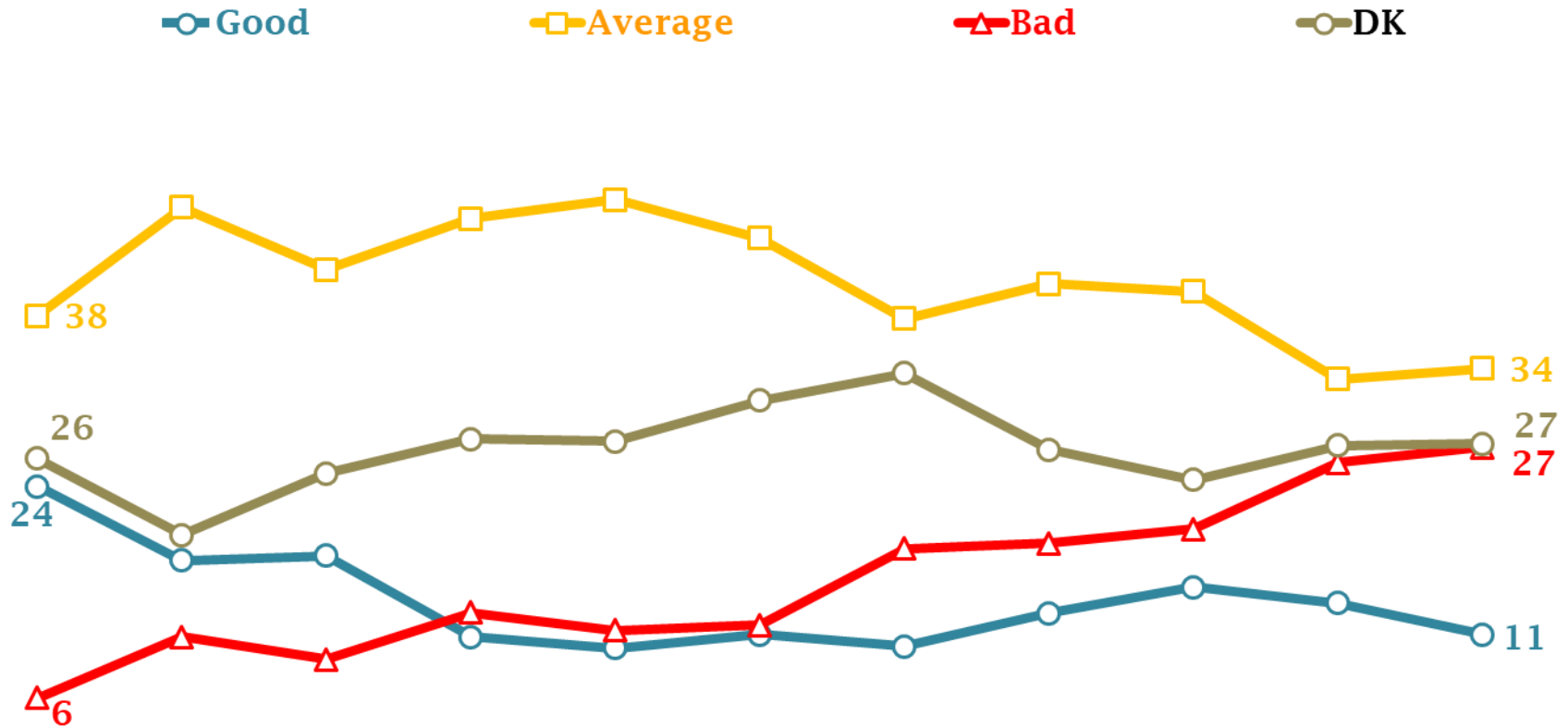
How would you rate the performance of the office of the ombudsman?
(q4_12)



Mar	Jun	Sep	Nov	Apr	Aug	Apr	Mar	Apr	Mar	Apr	Jul
2013				2014		2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	

Performance of the office of the chief prosecutor

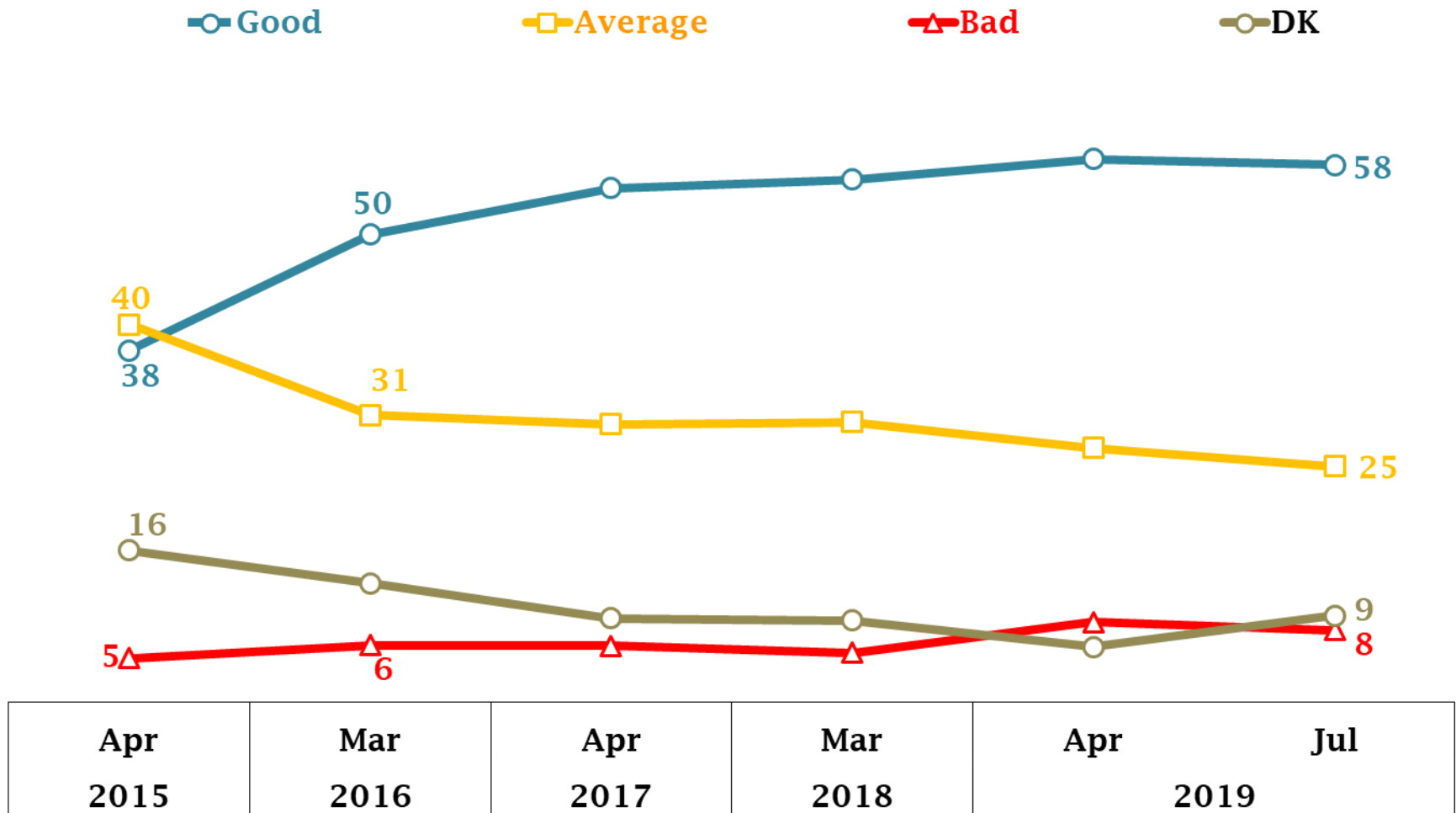
How would you rate the performance of the office of the chief prosecutor?
(q4_13)



Jun	Sep	Nov	Apr	Aug	Apr	Mar	Apr	Mar	Apr	Jul
	2013		2014		2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	

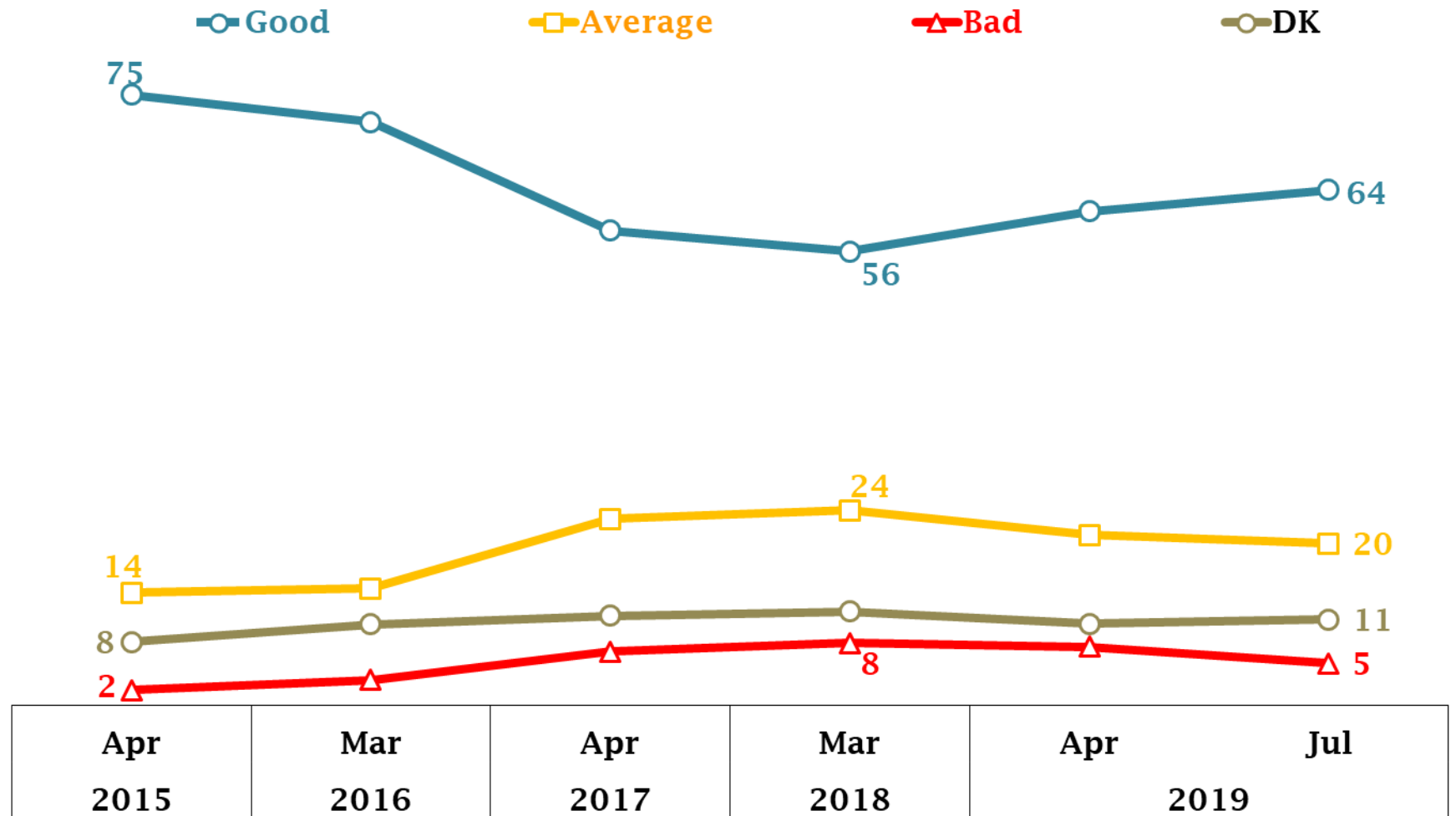
Performance of the public service halls

How would you rate the performance of the public service halls? (q4_14)



Performance of the Georgian Orthodox Church

How would you rate the performance of the Georgian Orthodox Church?
(q4_15)

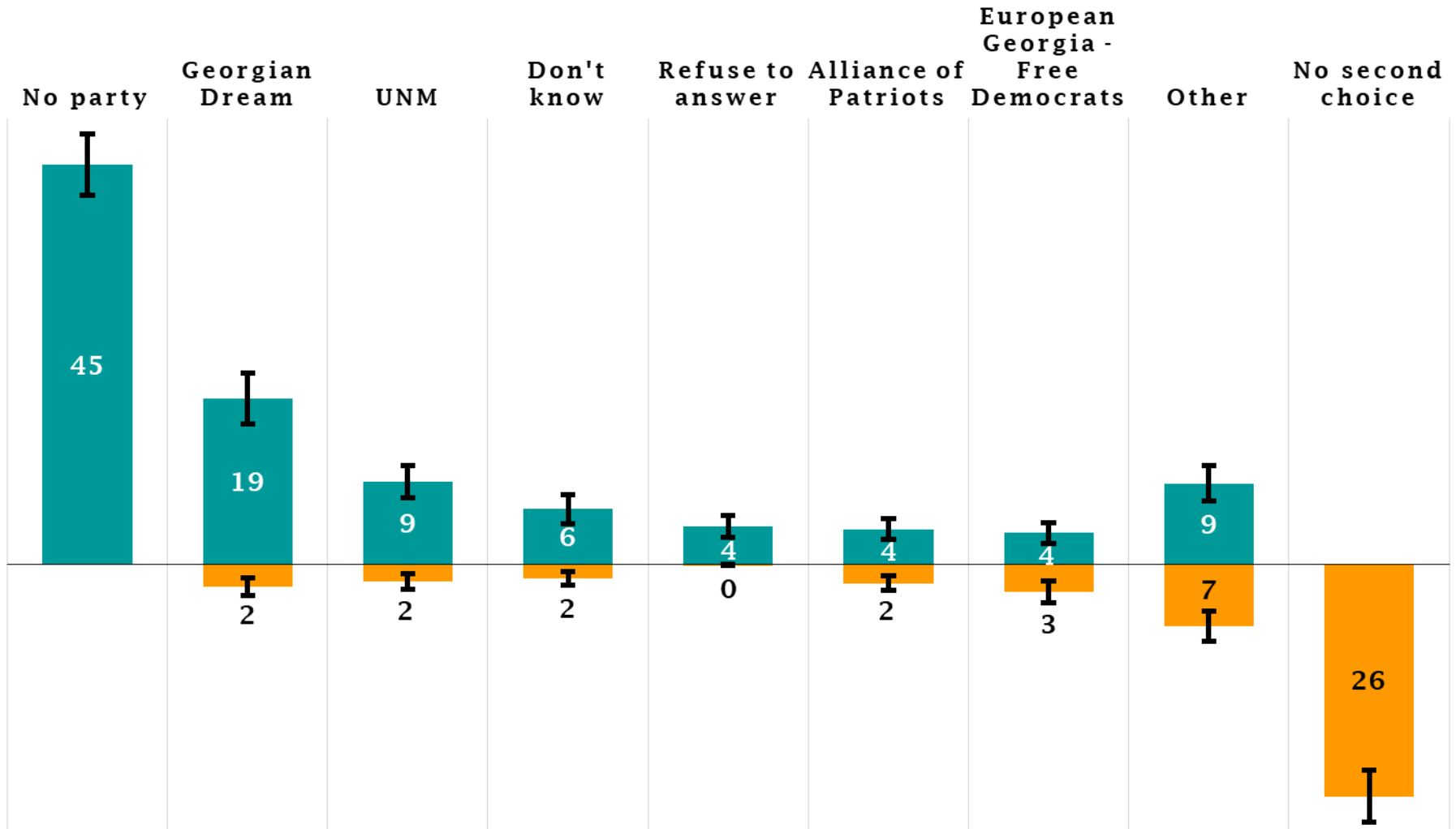


Party support

Party support

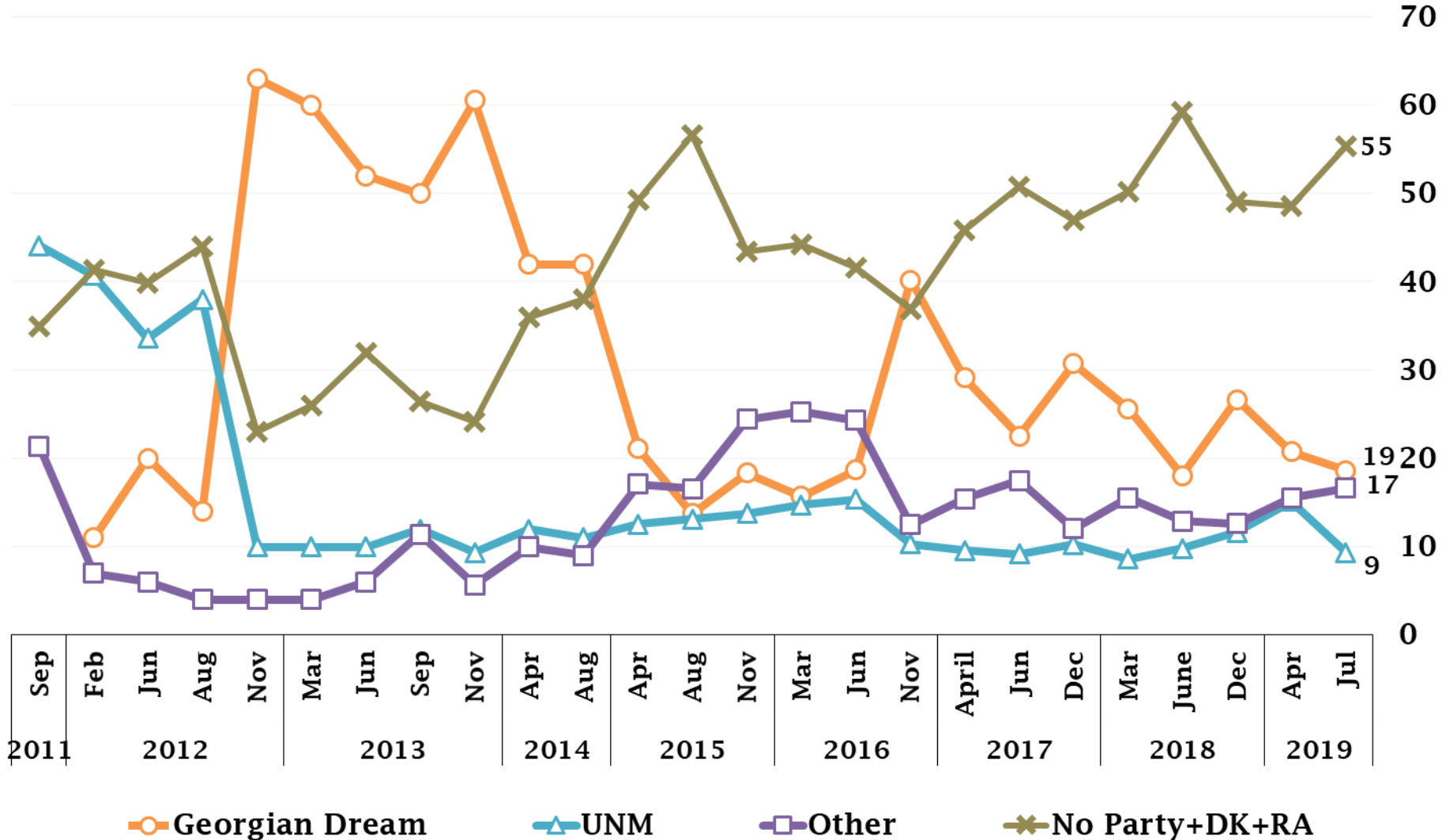
Which party is closest to you? And what is your first and second choice? (q5)

■ First choice ■ Second choice

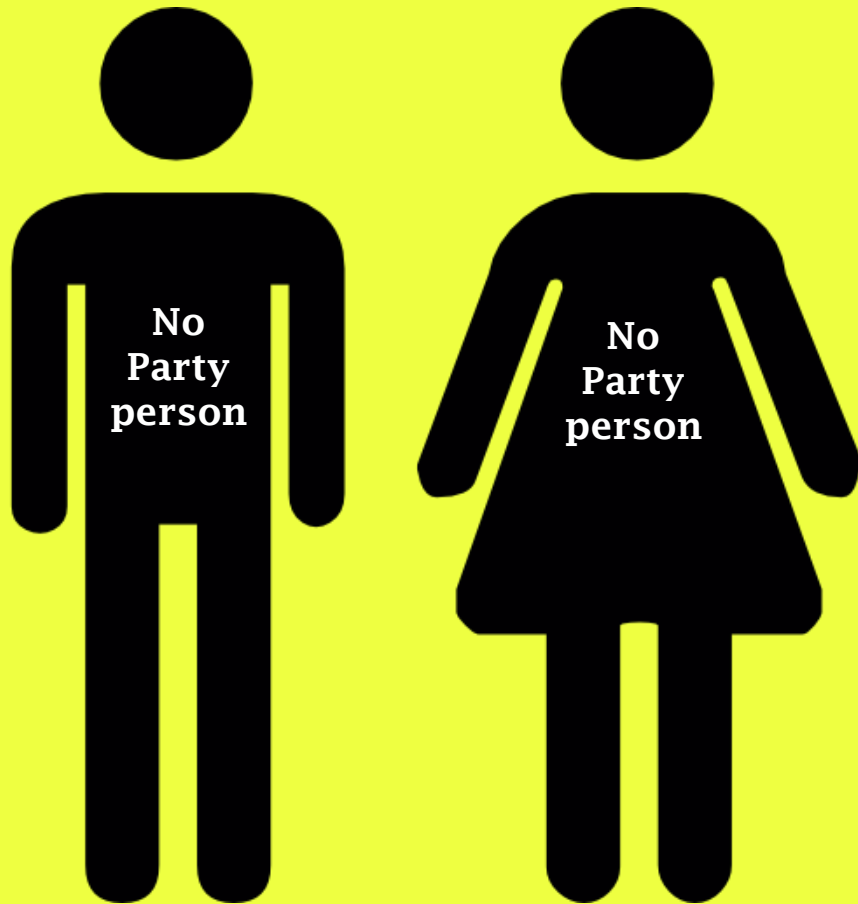


Party support

Which party is closest to you? And what is your first and second choice?
(q5)



Results of advanced analyses



- ← Below 55
- ← Lives in **non-minority** settlements
- ← Thinks Georgia is going in the wrong direction or is not changing at all;
- ← Thinks current situation of Georgia's economy is bad;
- ← Thinks government handled June 20th events badly.

Intention to vote

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote? (q6)



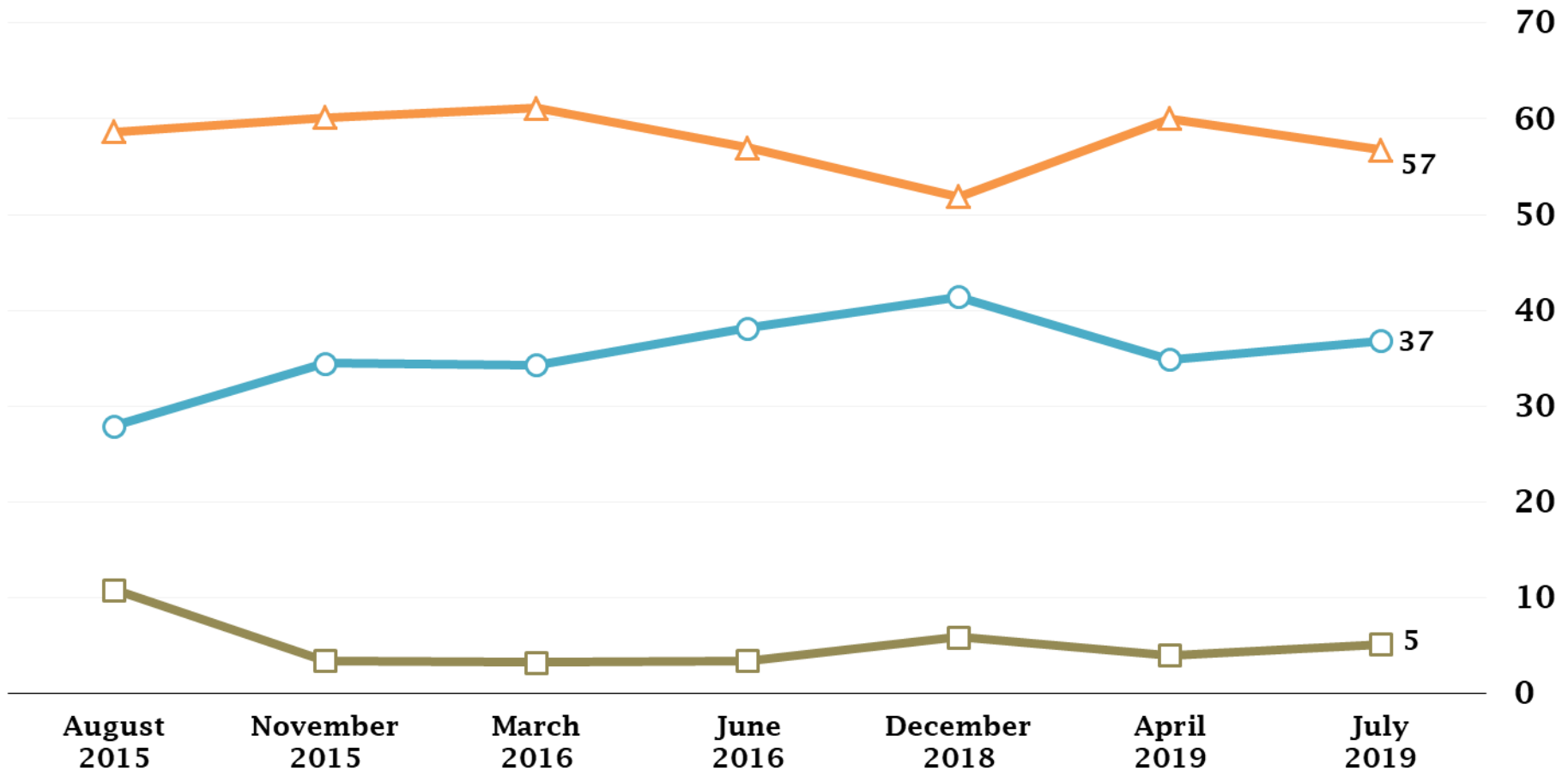
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q7)



Decided or undecided?

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote? (q6)

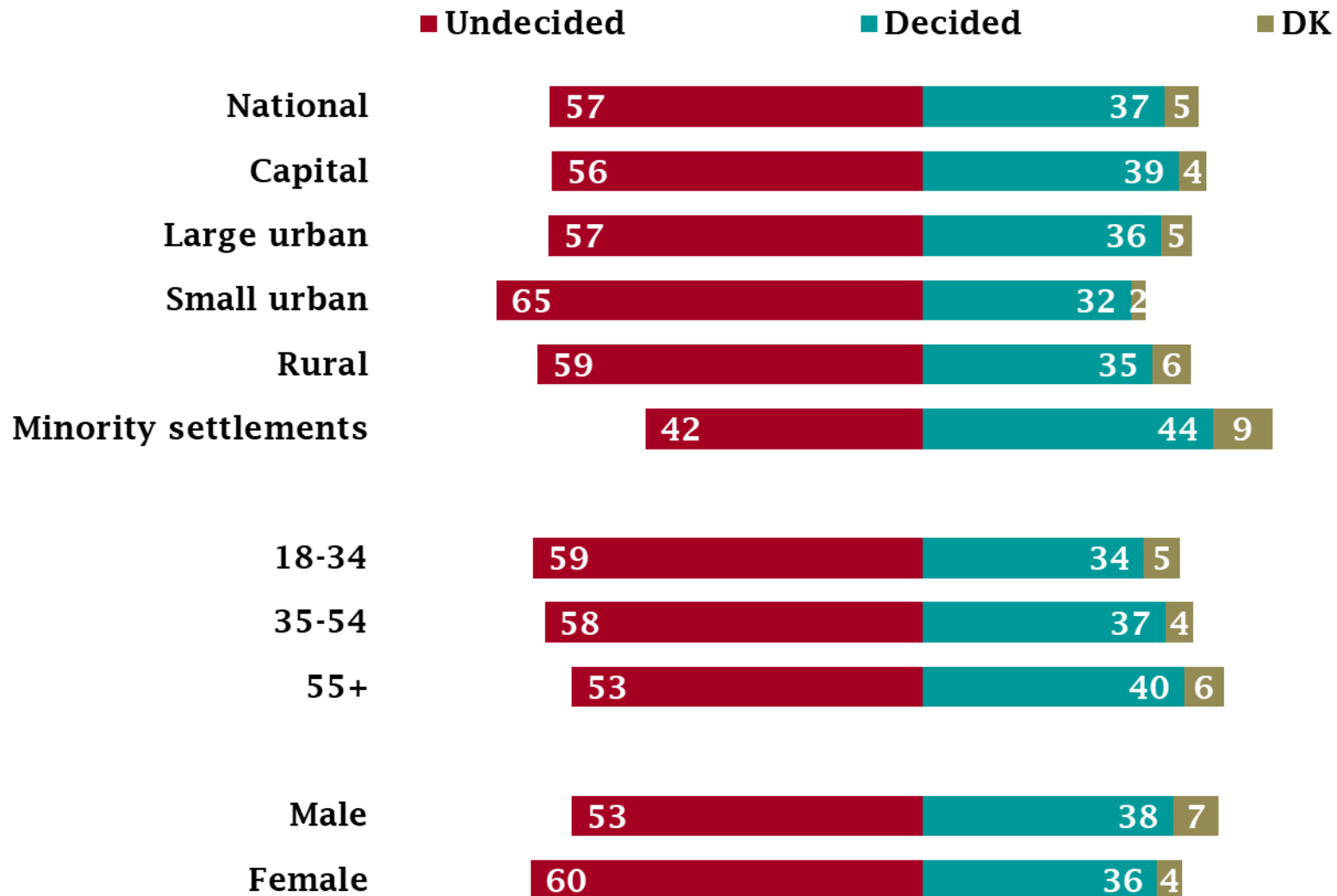
Decided Undecided DK



Decided or undecided?

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

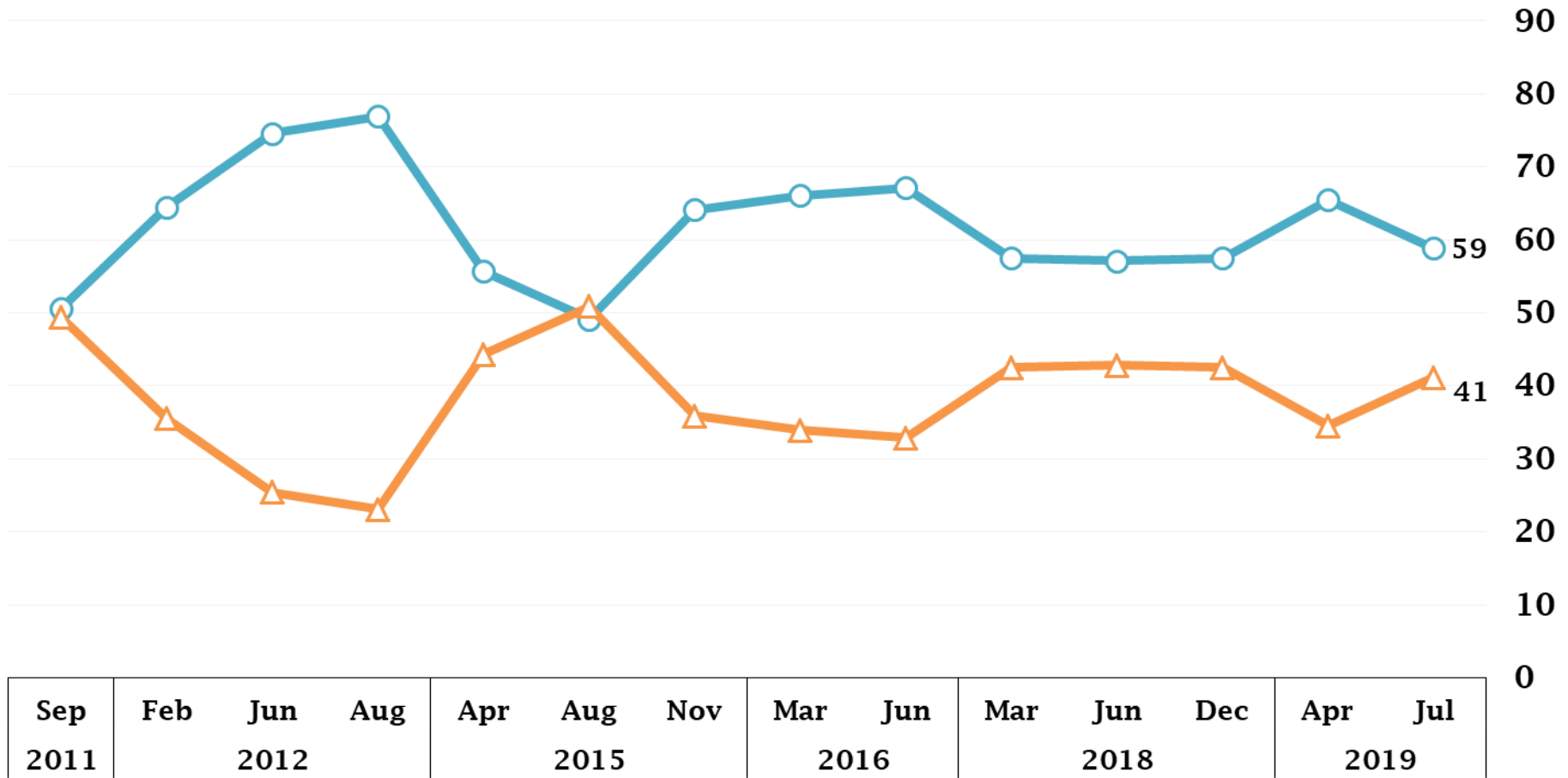
(q6 X Settlement, Age, Gender)



Intention to vote

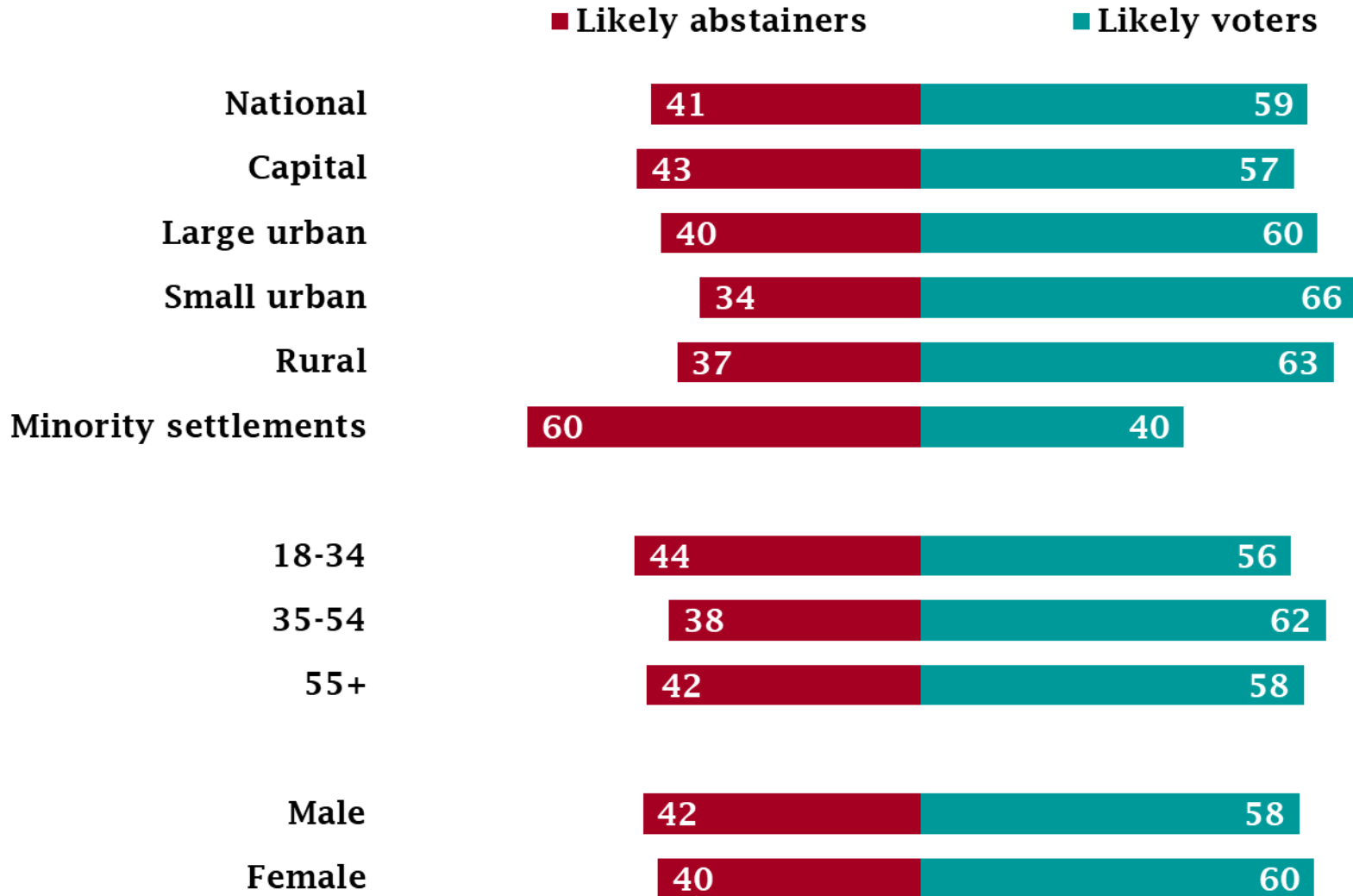
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q7)

—○— Likely voters —△— Likely abstainers



Intention to vote

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?
(q7 X Settlement, Age, Gender)



Intention to vote

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

(q6 X If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?)

■ Decided ■ Undecided ■ DK ■ RA

Likely voters (59%)

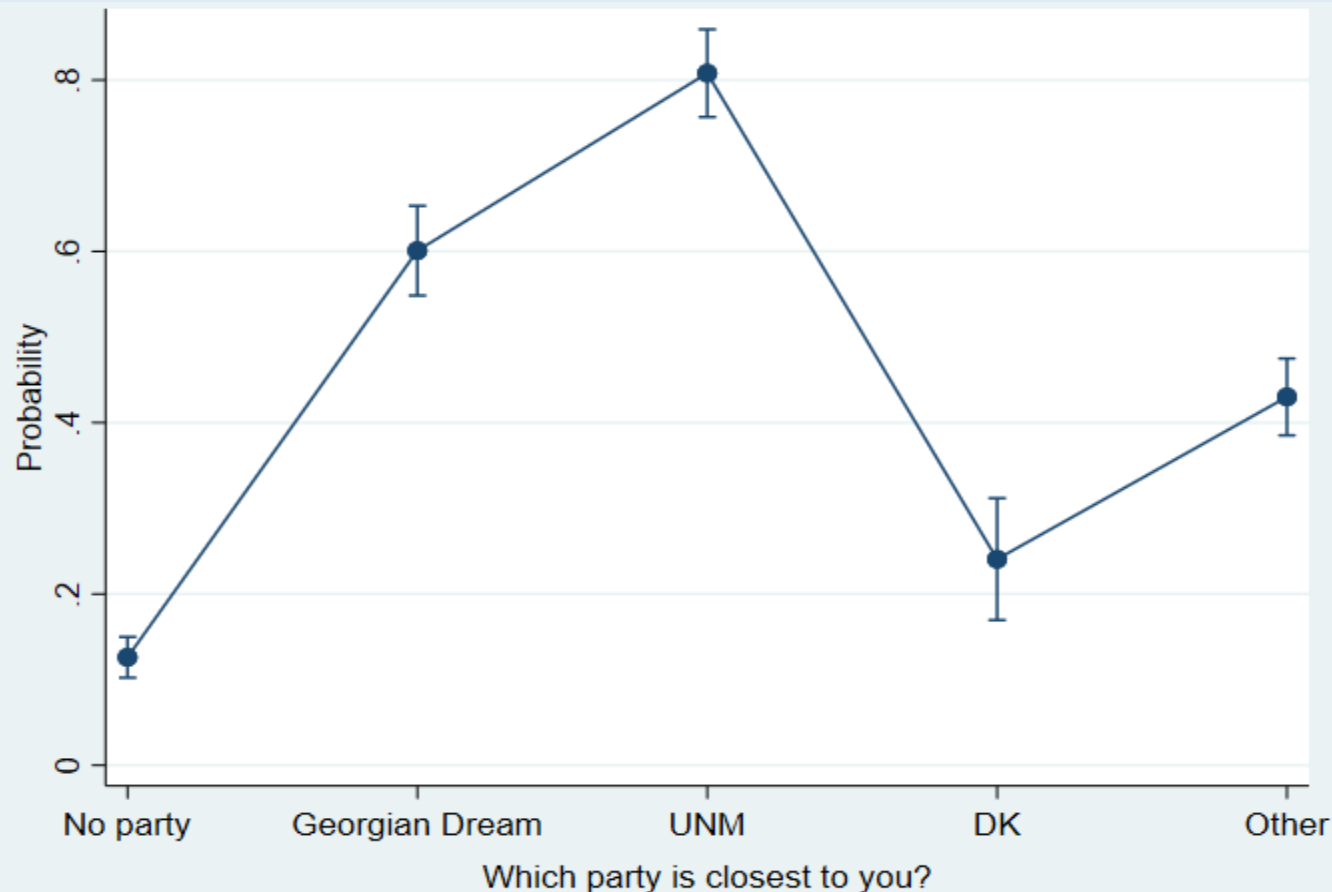


Likely abstainers (41%)



Results of advanced analyses

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

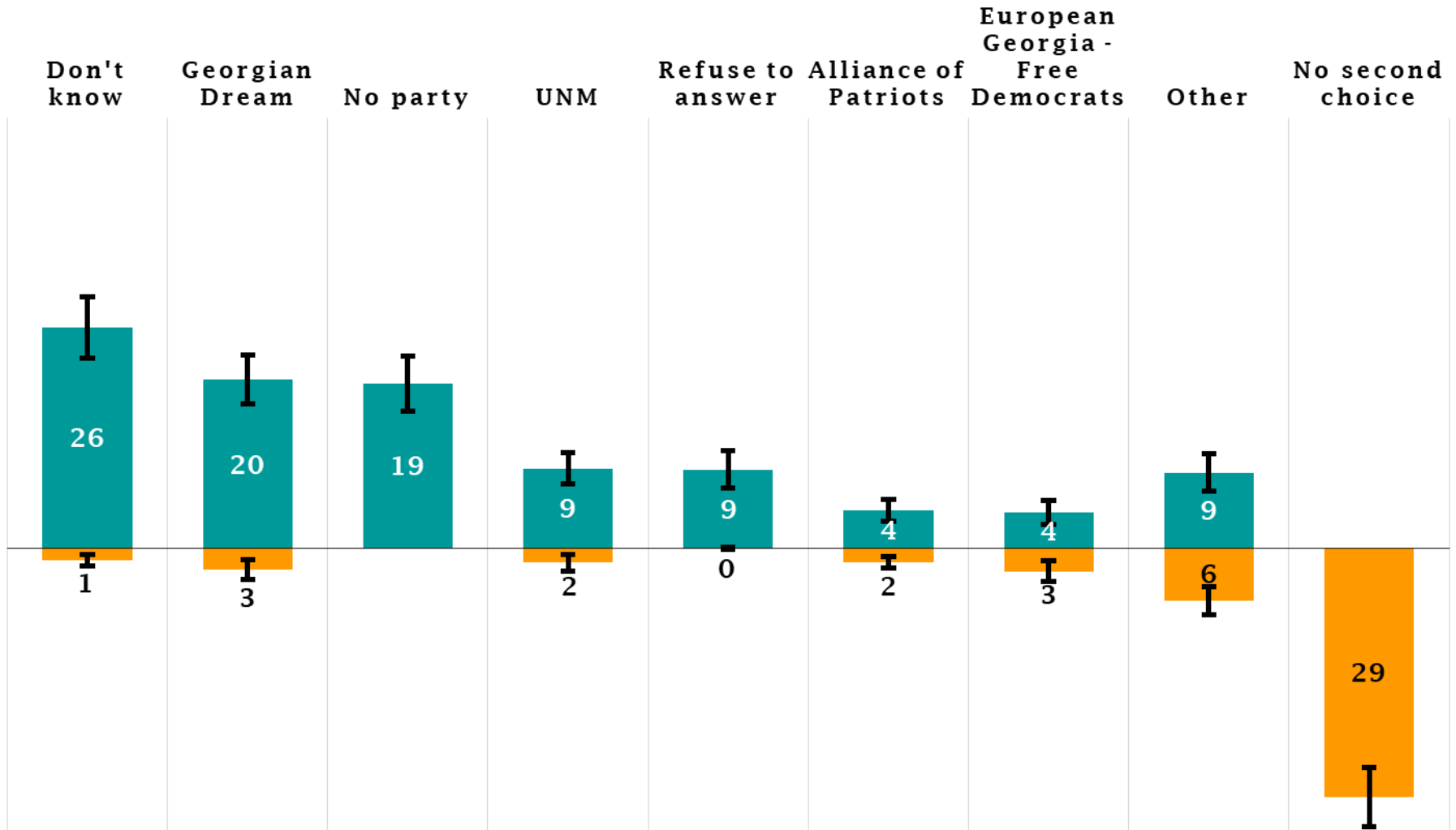


UNM supporters are more likely to be decided than GD supporters, who in turn are more likely to be decided than supporters of other parties.

Future vote (whole sample)

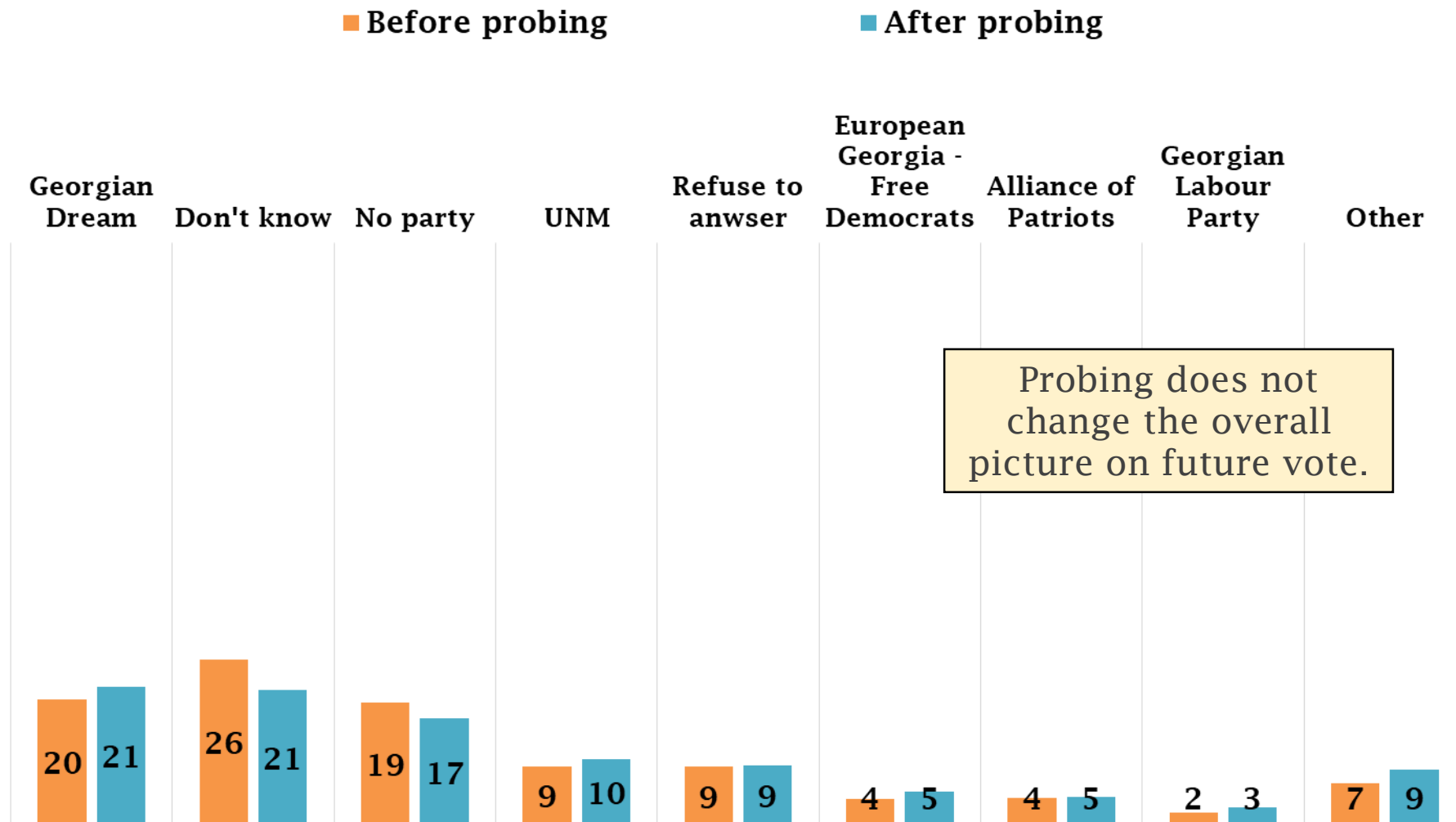
If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for? Which party would be your first and second choice?
(q8)

■ First choice ■ Second choice



Future vote - whole sample

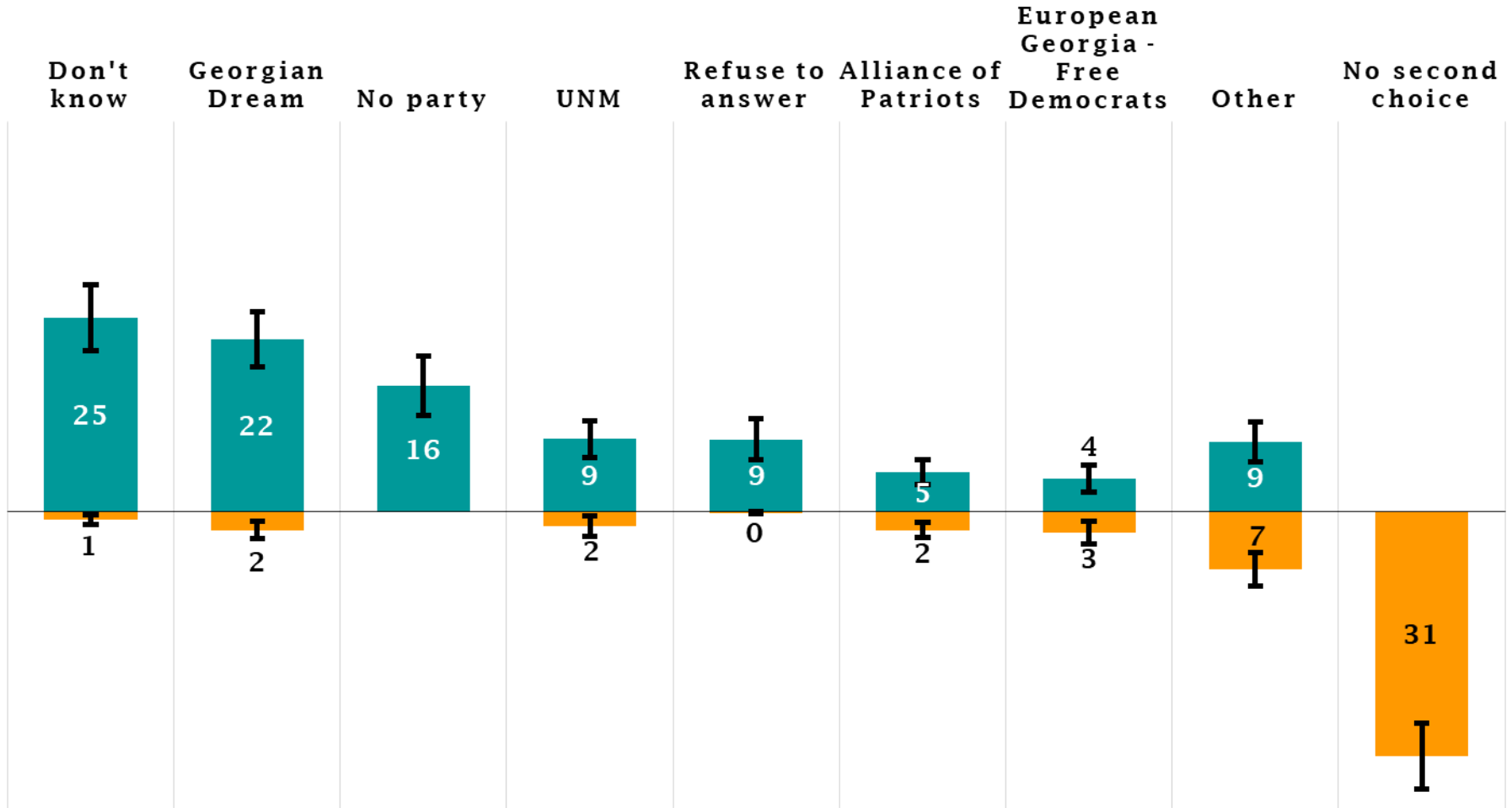
If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for?
Imagine you absolutely have to vote for someone, which party would that be? (q8 combined with q9)



Future vote (Likely voters only)

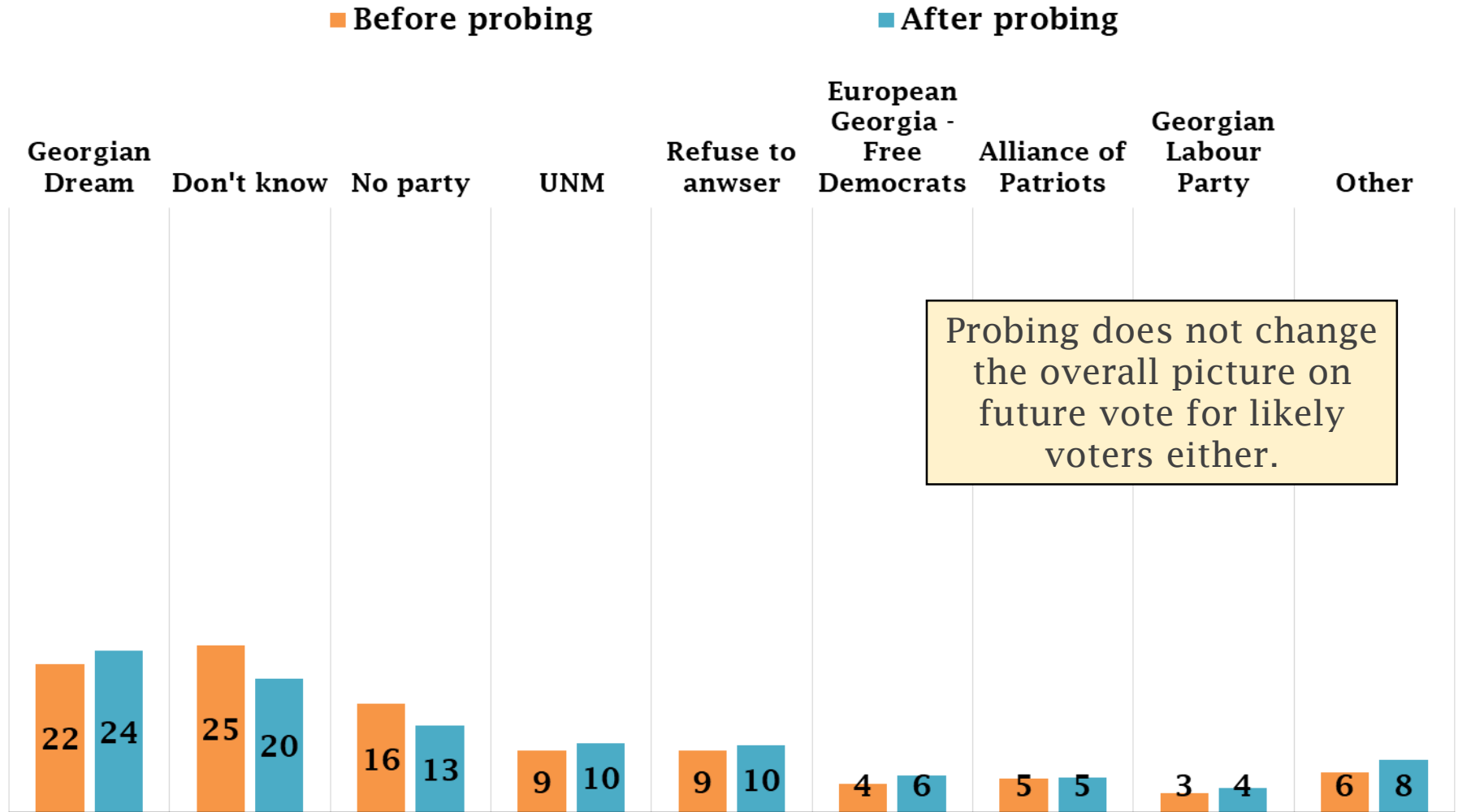
If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for? Which party would be your first and second choice?
(q8)

■ First choice ■ Second choice



Future vote (Likely voters only)

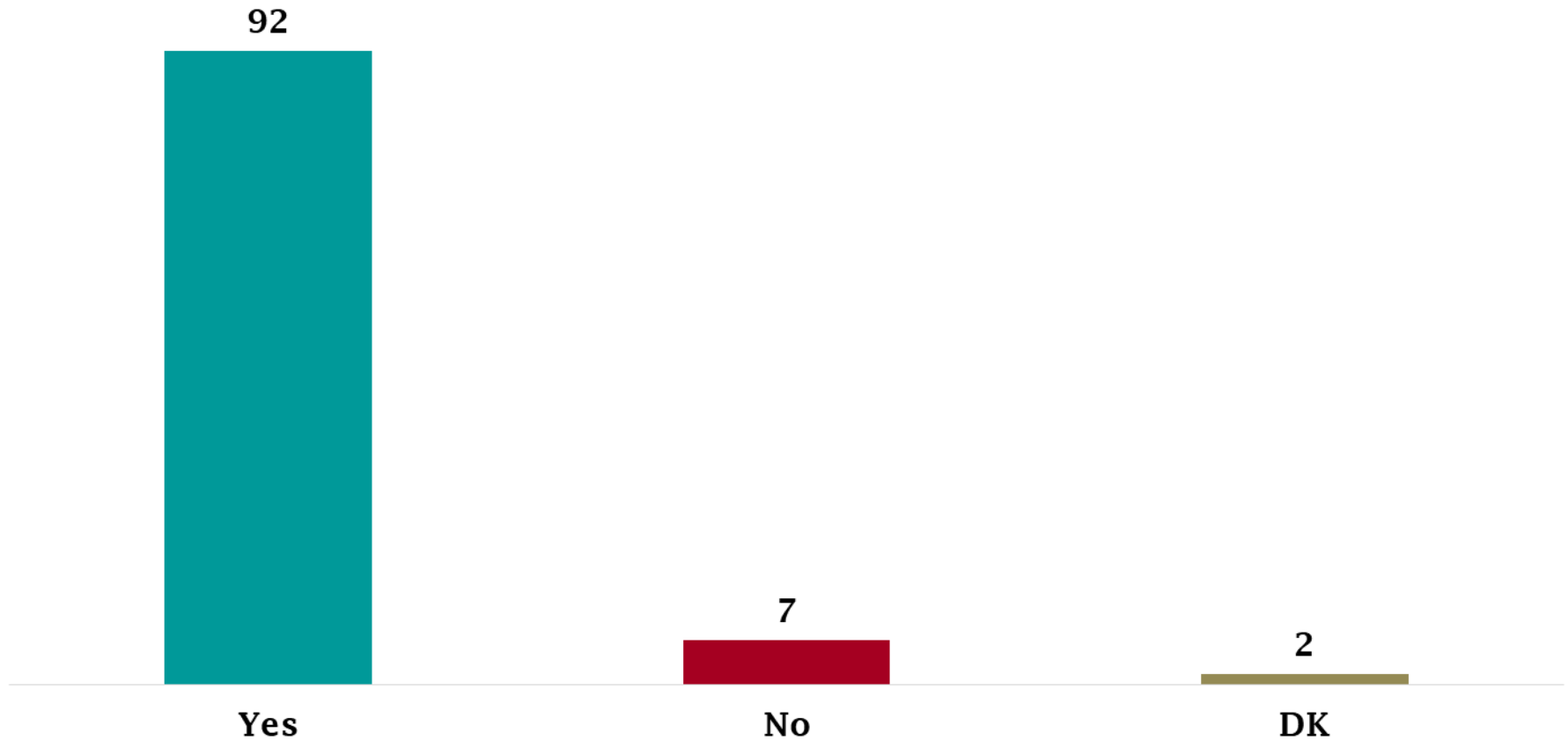
If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for?
Imagine you absolutely have to vote for someone, which party would that be? (q8 combined with q9)



June 20th demonstrations

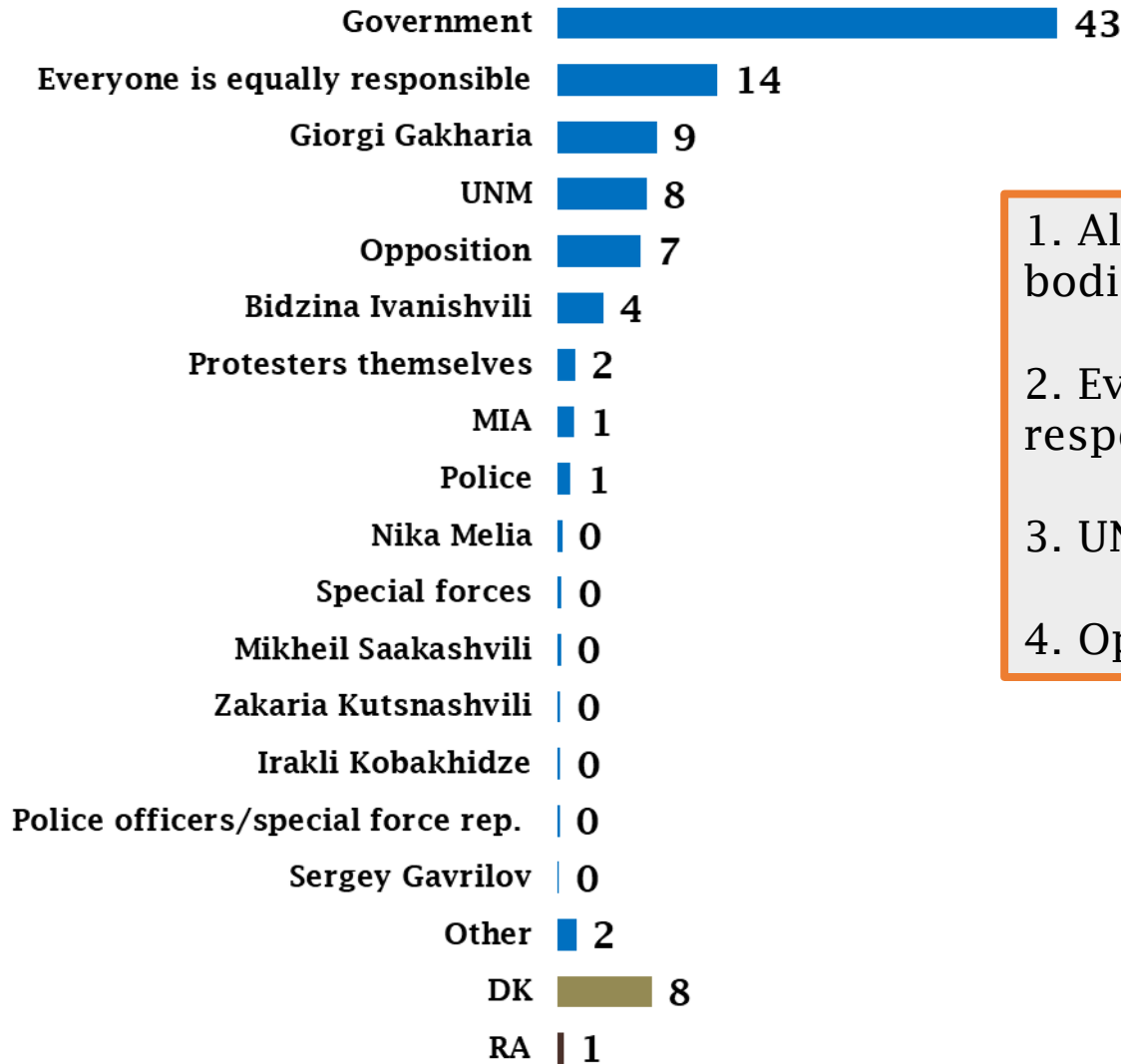
June 20th demonstration

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. Are you aware about the events that took place later that night in front of the parliament? (q14)



June 20th - responsible side

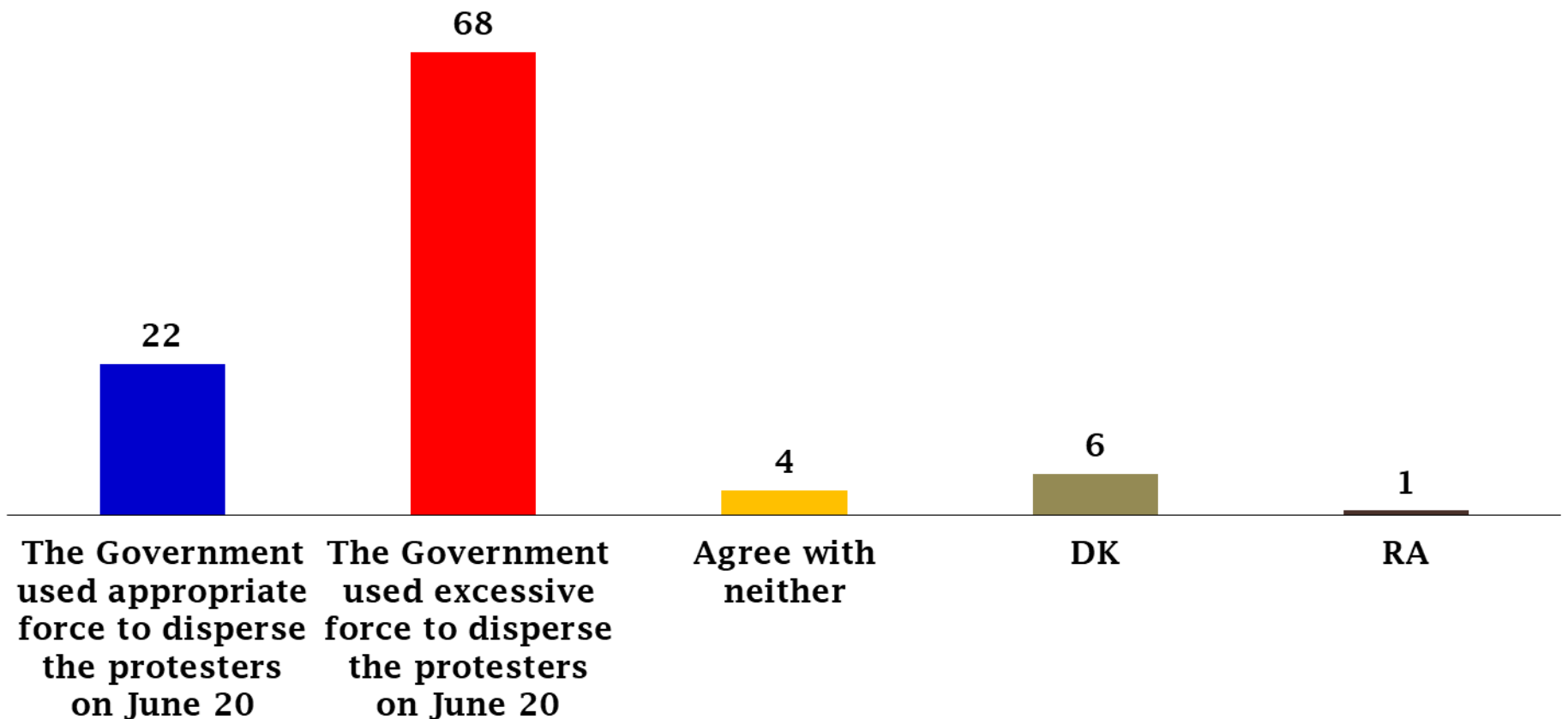
Who do you think is primarily responsible for the violence that occurred on June 20th? (Q15) - Open Question - of the 92% who were aware



1. All Government related bodies = 55%
2. Everyone equally responsible = 14%
3. UNM = 8%
4. Opposition = 7%

Demonstration dispersion

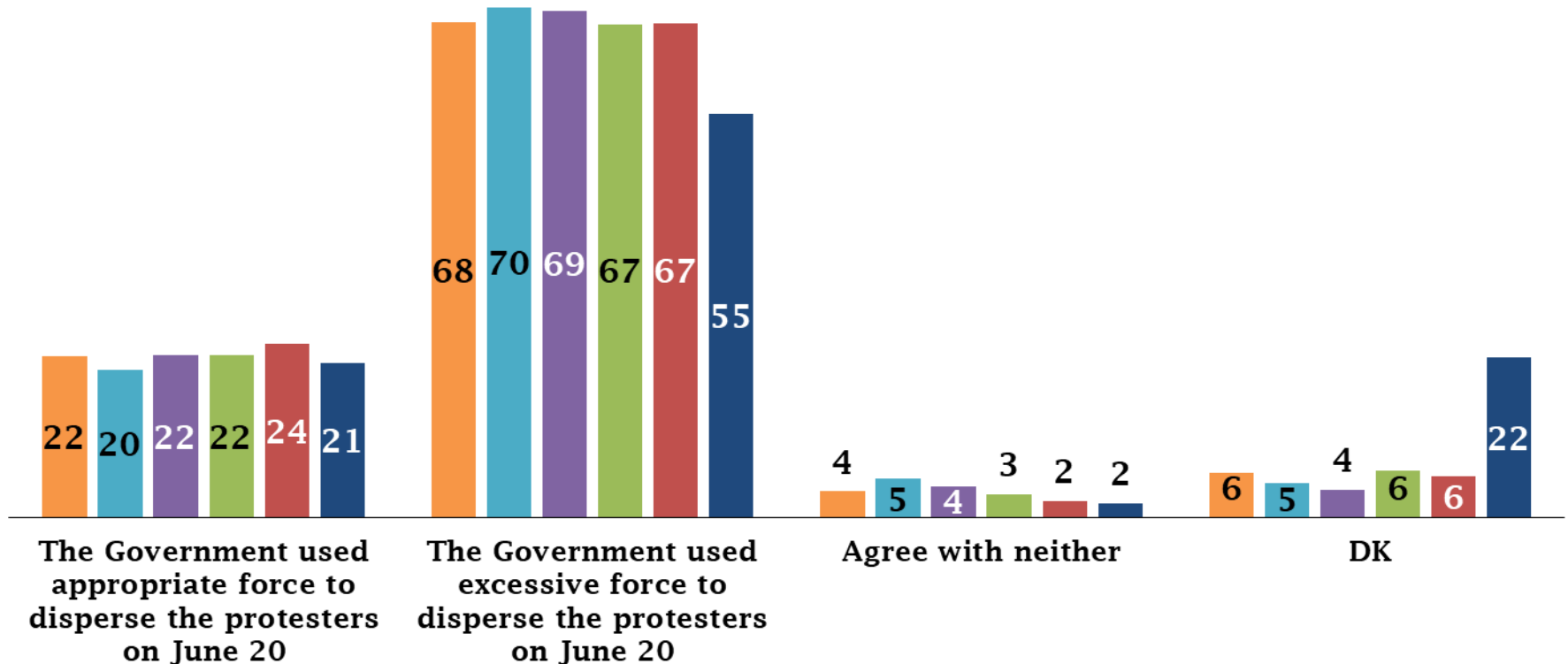
Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with? (q16) - of the 92% who were aware



Demonstration dispersion

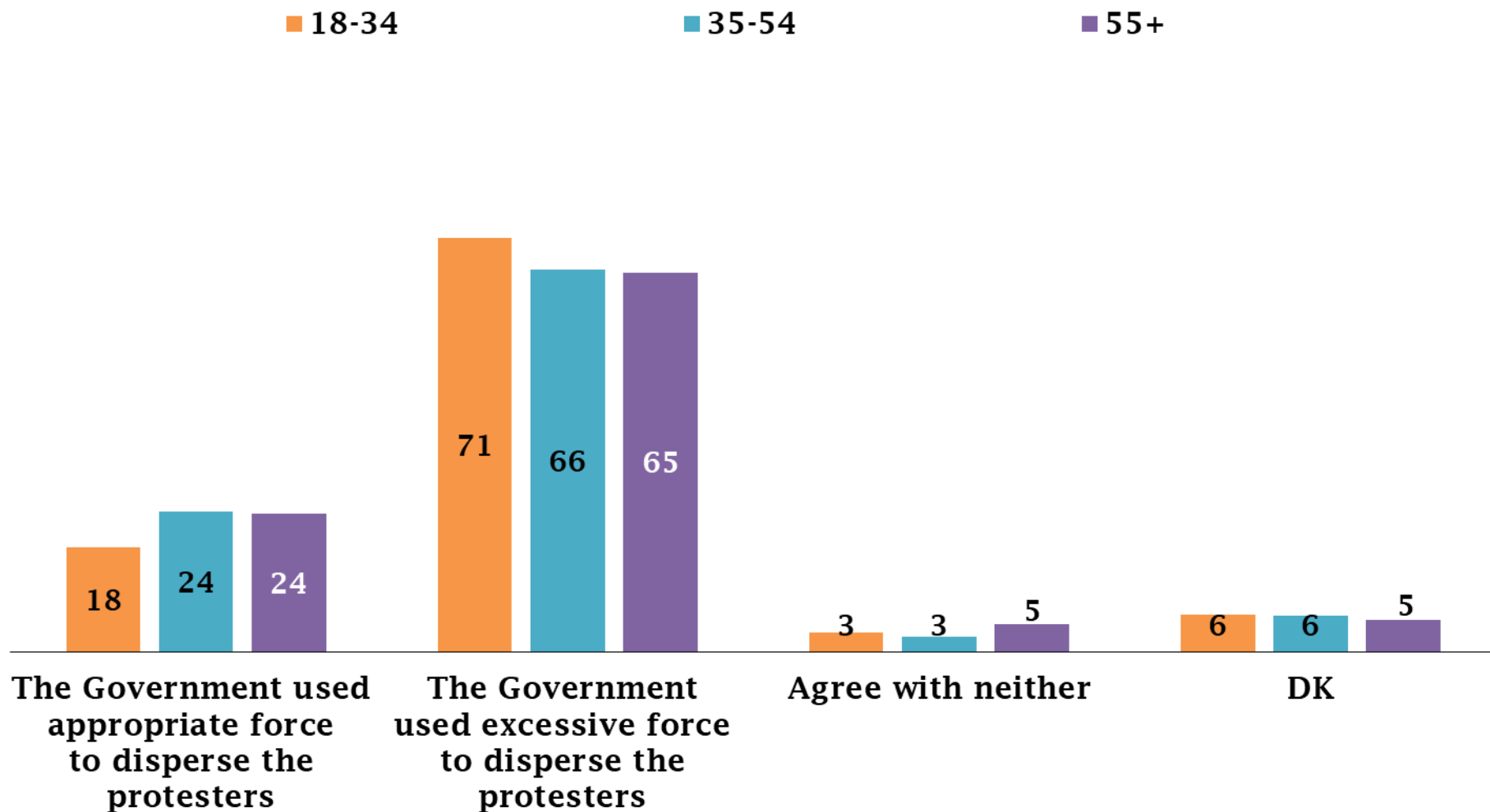
Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with?
(q16 X Settlement) - of the 92% who were aware

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



Demonstration dispersion

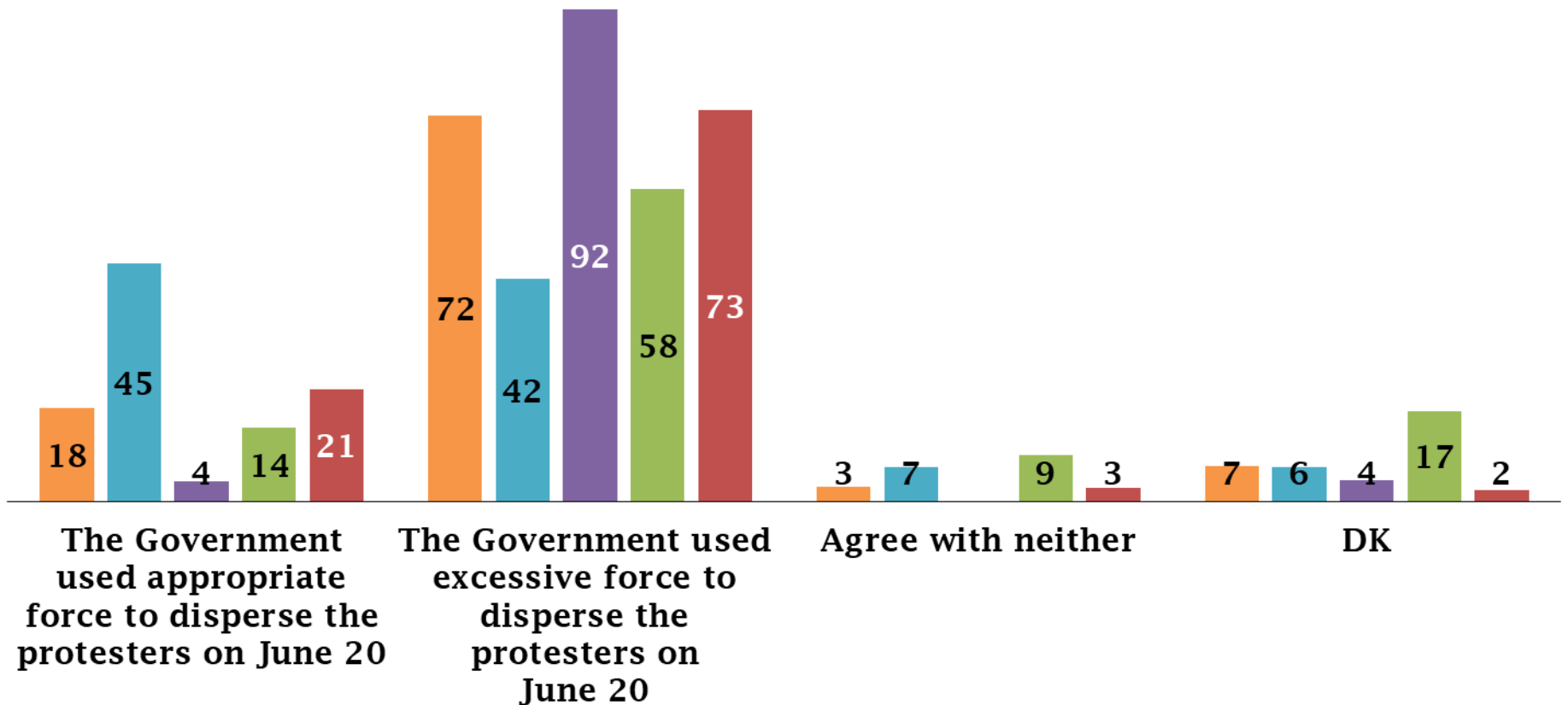
Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with?
(q16 X Age) - of the 92% who were aware



Demonstration dispersion

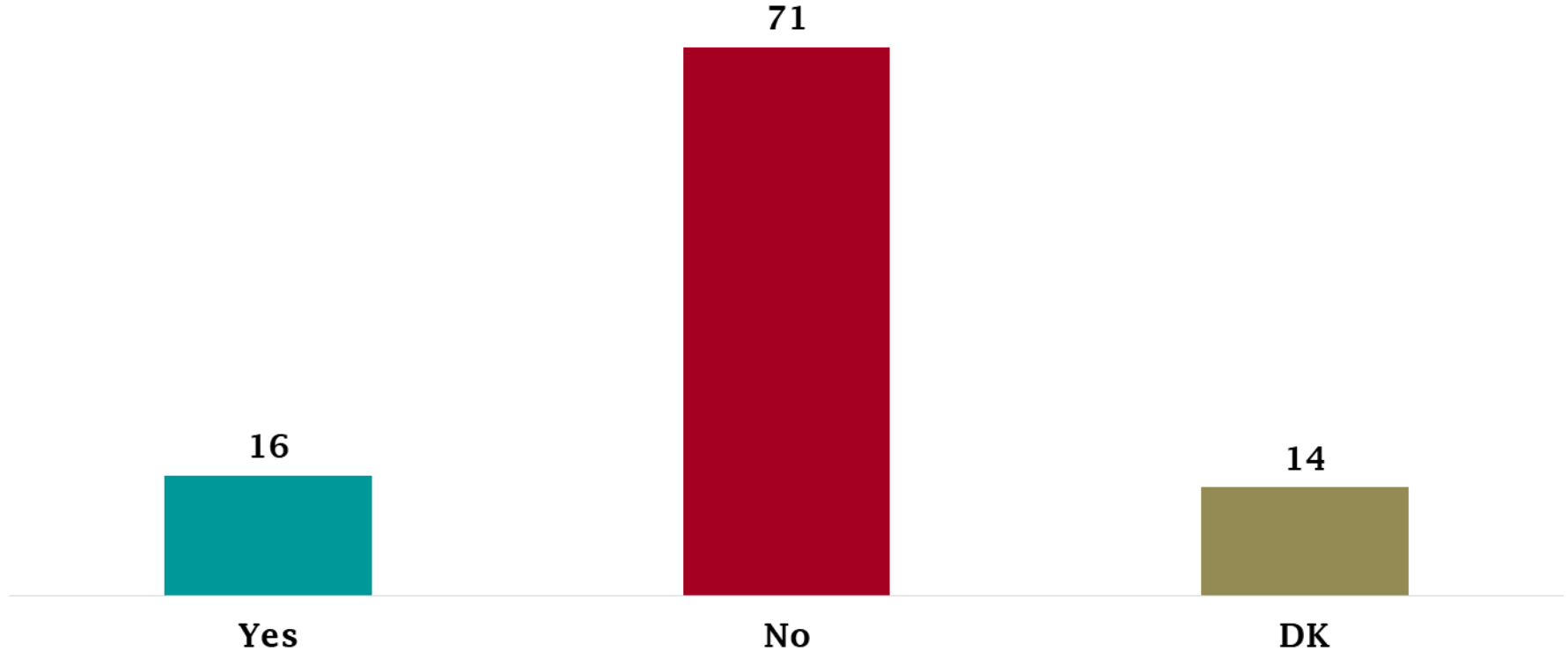
Please tell me which of the following statements do you agree with?
(q16 X Party closest to you) - of the 92% who were aware

■ No party (45%) ■ Georgian Dream (19%) ■ UNM (9%) ■ Don't know (6%) ■ Other (21%)



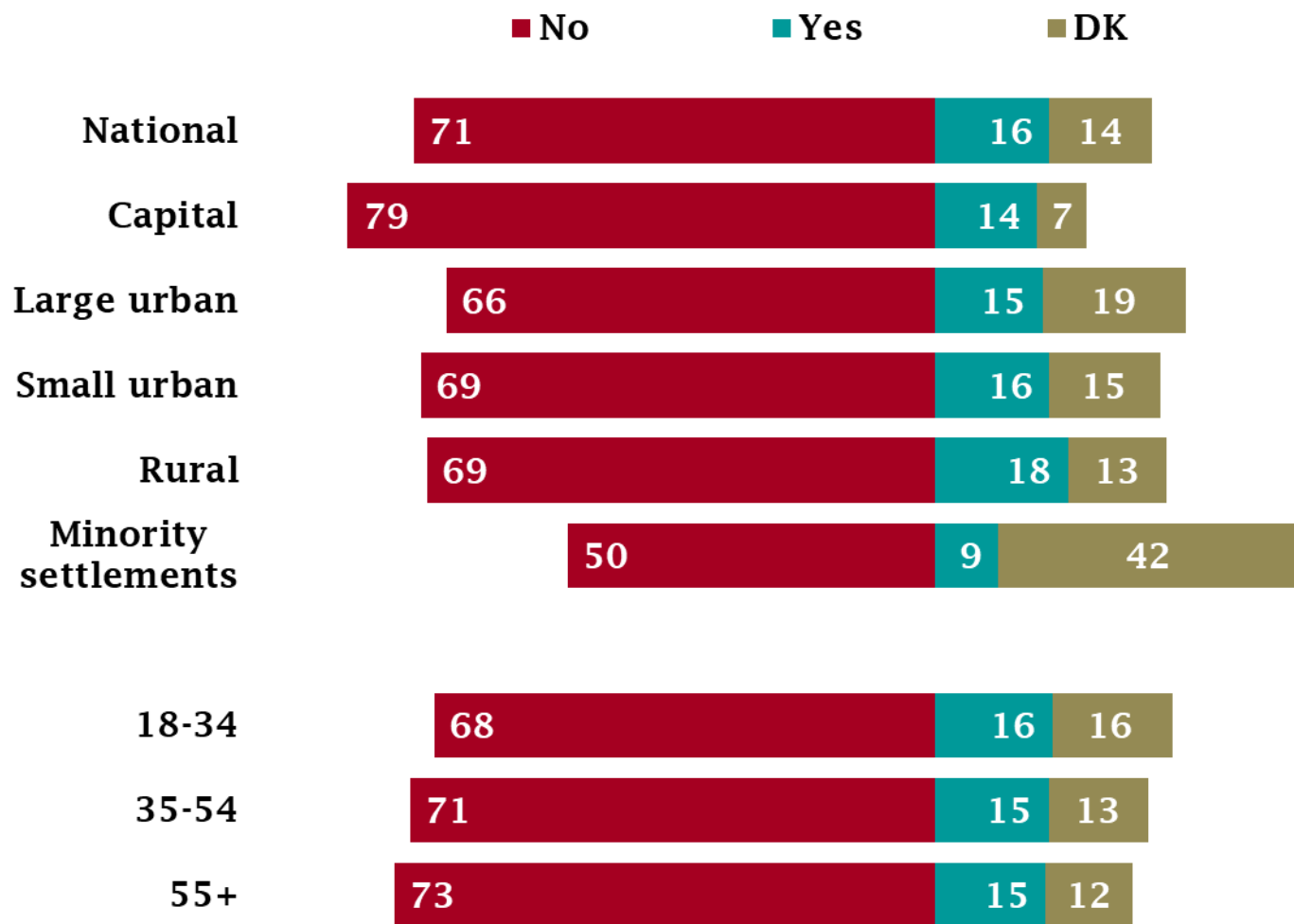
Demonstration dispersion

If excessive force, do you think that adequate actions were or were not taken against those responsible for the use of excessive force? (q17) - of the 62% who were aware and think that government used excessive force



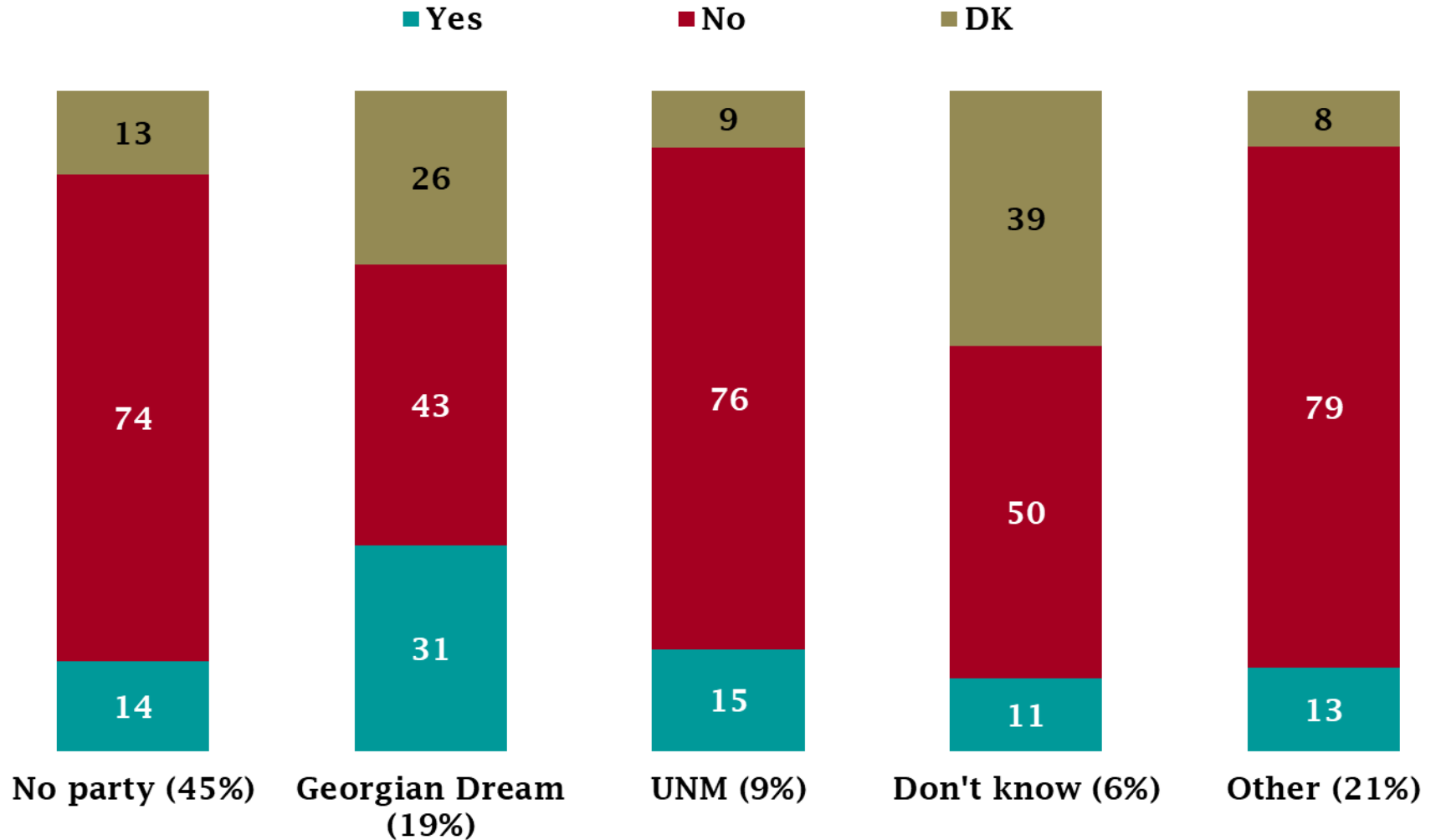
Demonstration dispersion

If excessive force, do you think that adequate actions were or were not taken against those responsible for the use of excessive force? (q17 X Settlement, Age) - of the 62% who were aware and think that government used excessive force



Demonstration dispersion

If excessive force, do you think that adequate actions were or were not taken against those responsible for the use of excessive force? (q17 X Party closest to you) - of the 62% who were aware and think that government used excessive force

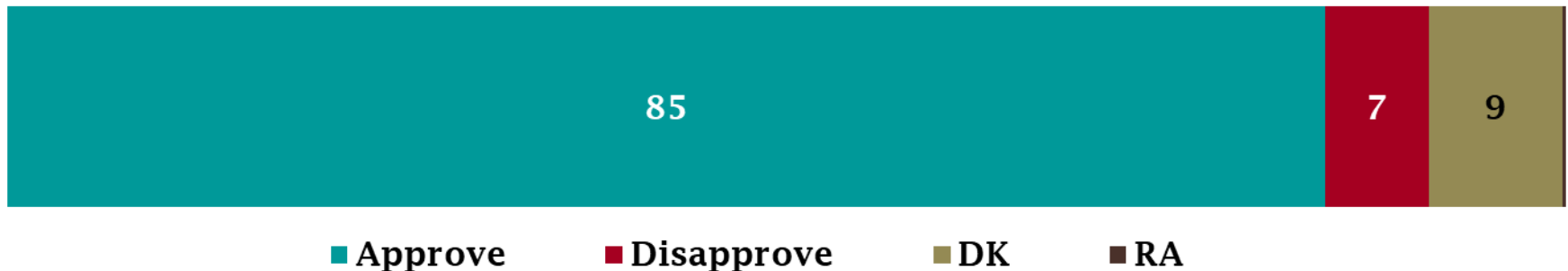


Demonstration demands

Following the demonstrations, Georgian Dream agreed with one of the protesters' demands to hold 2020 Parliamentary elections with proportional system. Are you aware? (q18)

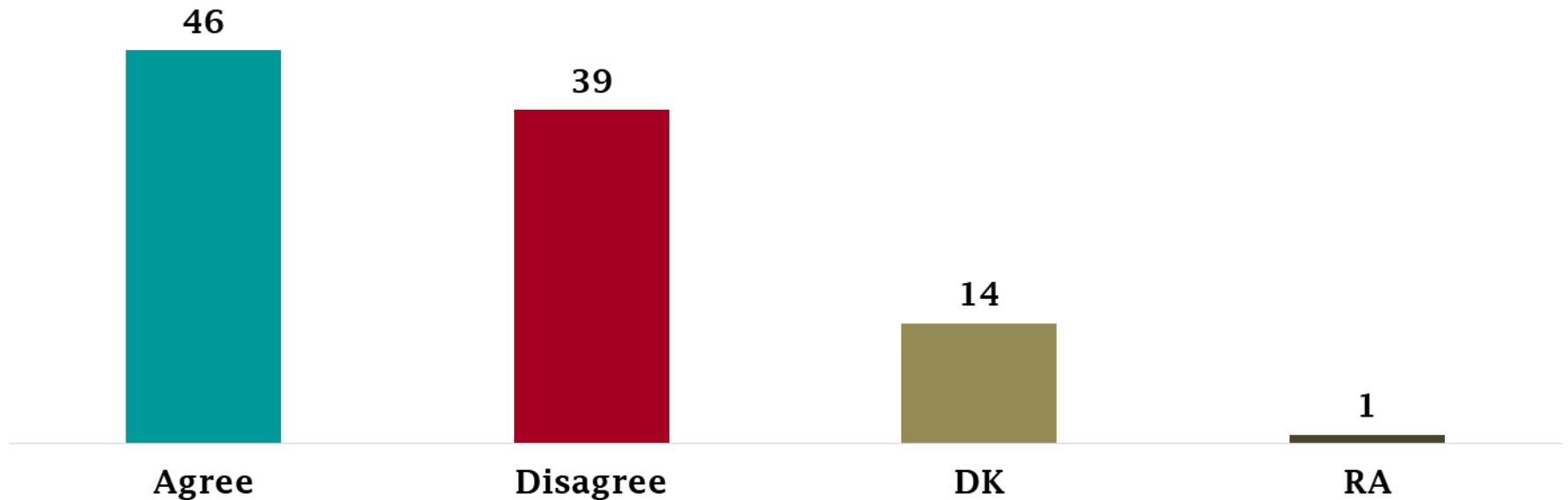


If aware, do you approve or disapprove of this decision? (q19) - of the 68% who were aware



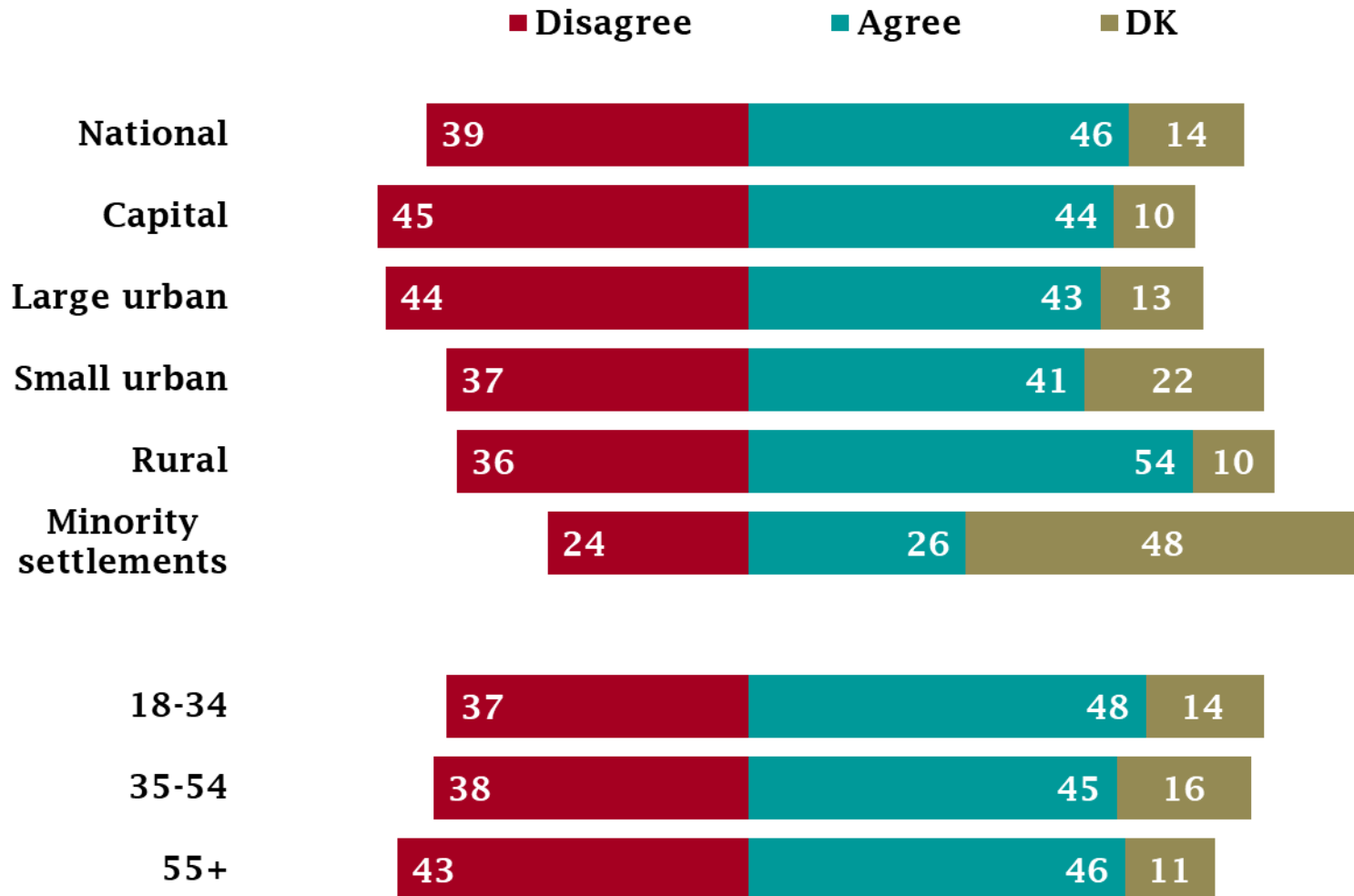
Demonstration demands

Protestors were also demanding the resignation of MIA Giorgi Ghakaria. Do you agree or disagree with this demand? (q20) - of the 92% who were aware



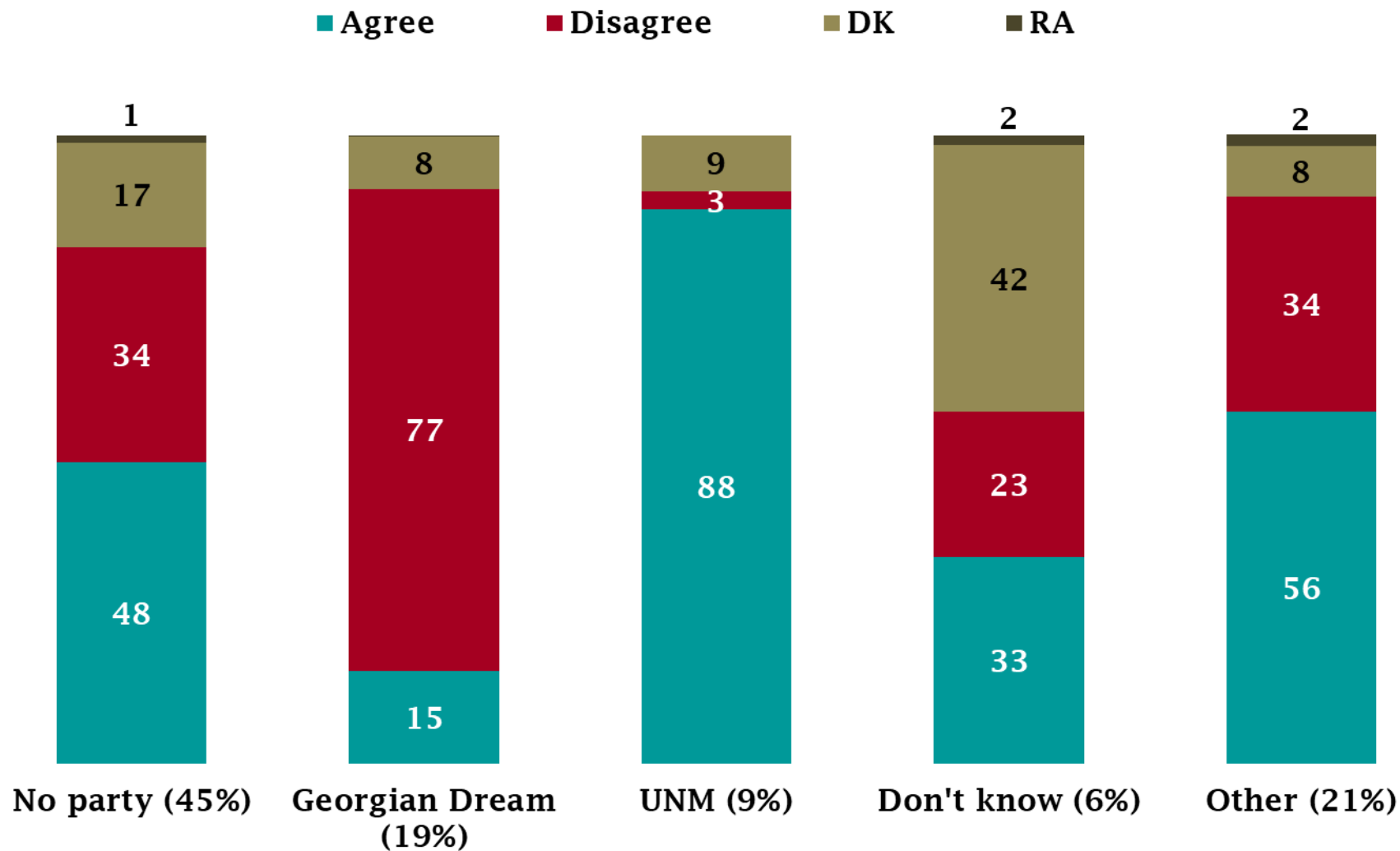
Demonstration demands

Protestors were also demanding the resignation of MIA Giorgi Ghakaria. Do you agree or disagree with this demand? (q20 X Settlement, Age) - of the 92% who were aware



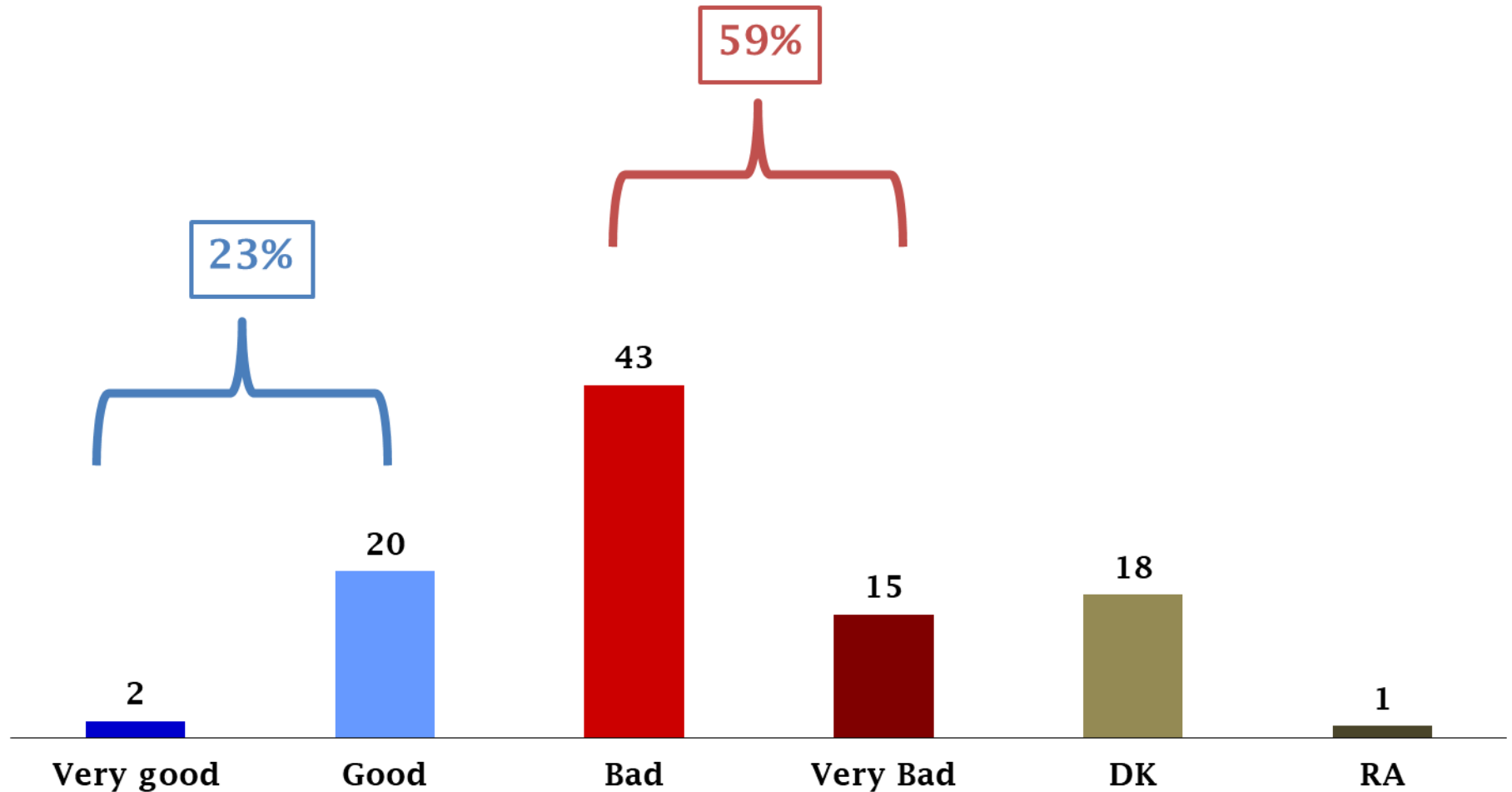
Demonstration demands

Protestors were also demanding the resignation of MIA Giorgi Ghakaria. Do you agree or disagree with this demand? (q20 X Party closest to you) - of the 92% who were aware



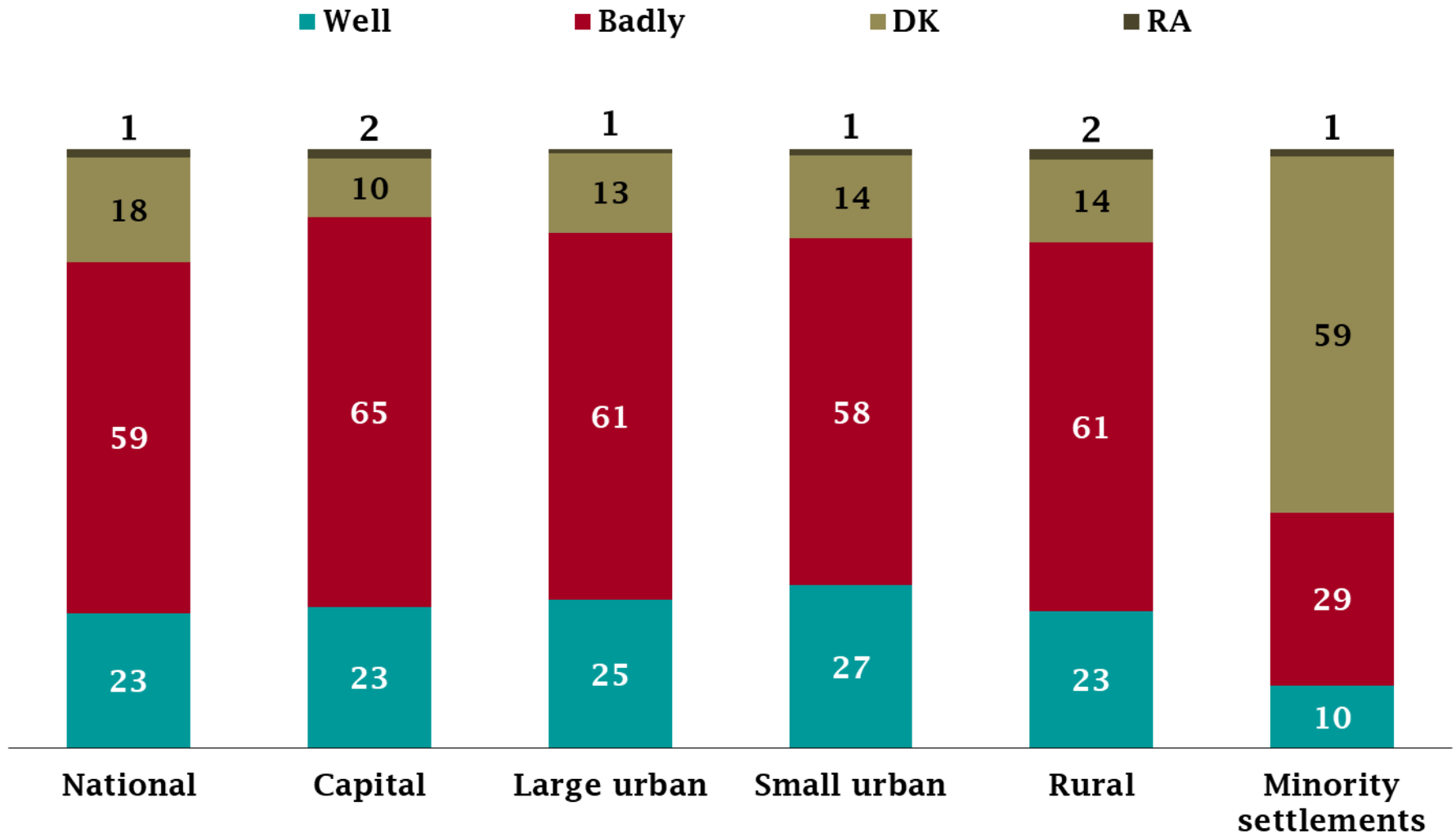
Government's response

Overall, how would you evaluate Government's response to the June 20th events and following protests? (q21) Whole sample



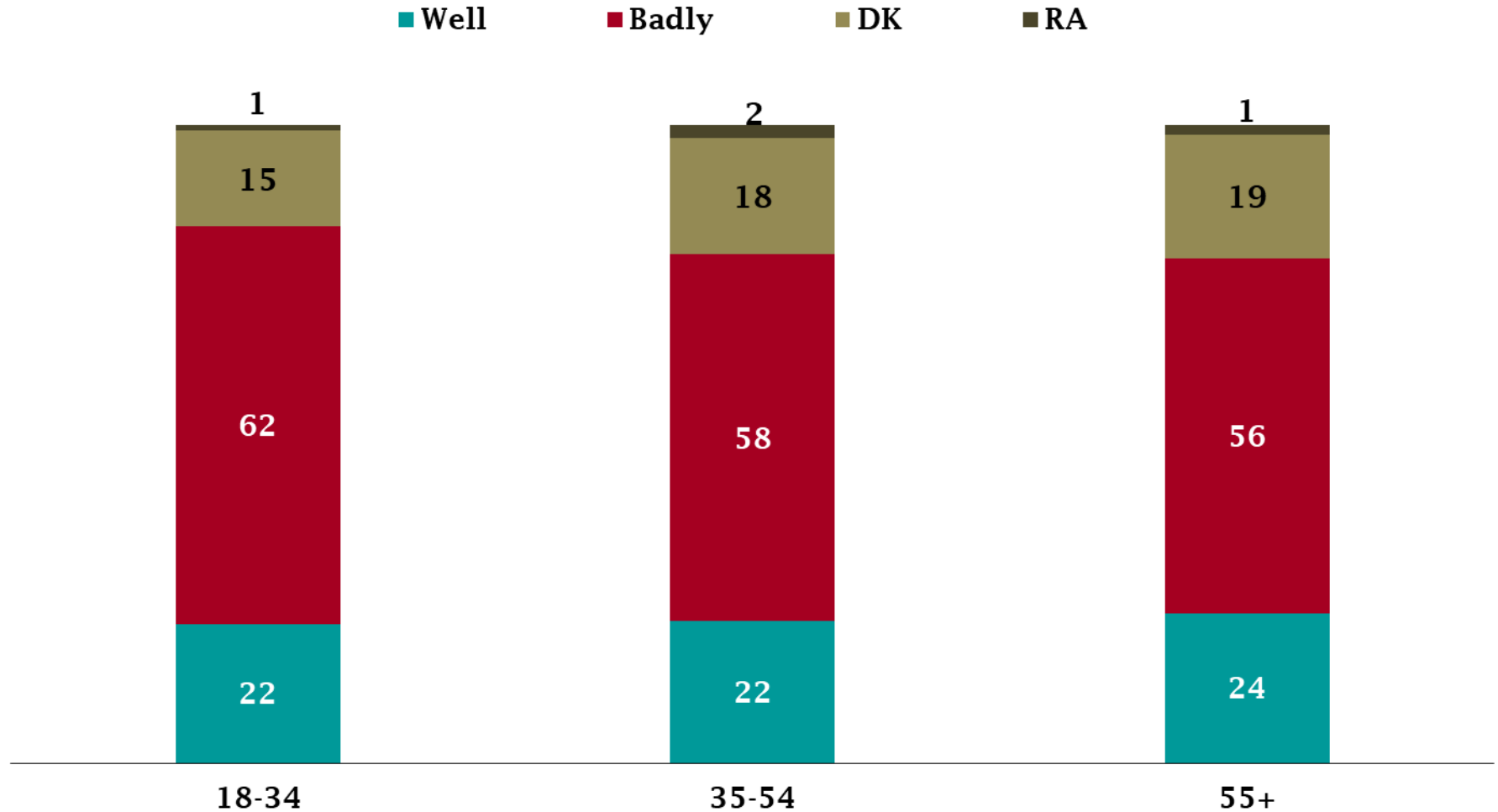
Government's response

Overall, how would you evaluate Government's response to the June 20th events and following protests? (q21 X Settlement) Whole sample



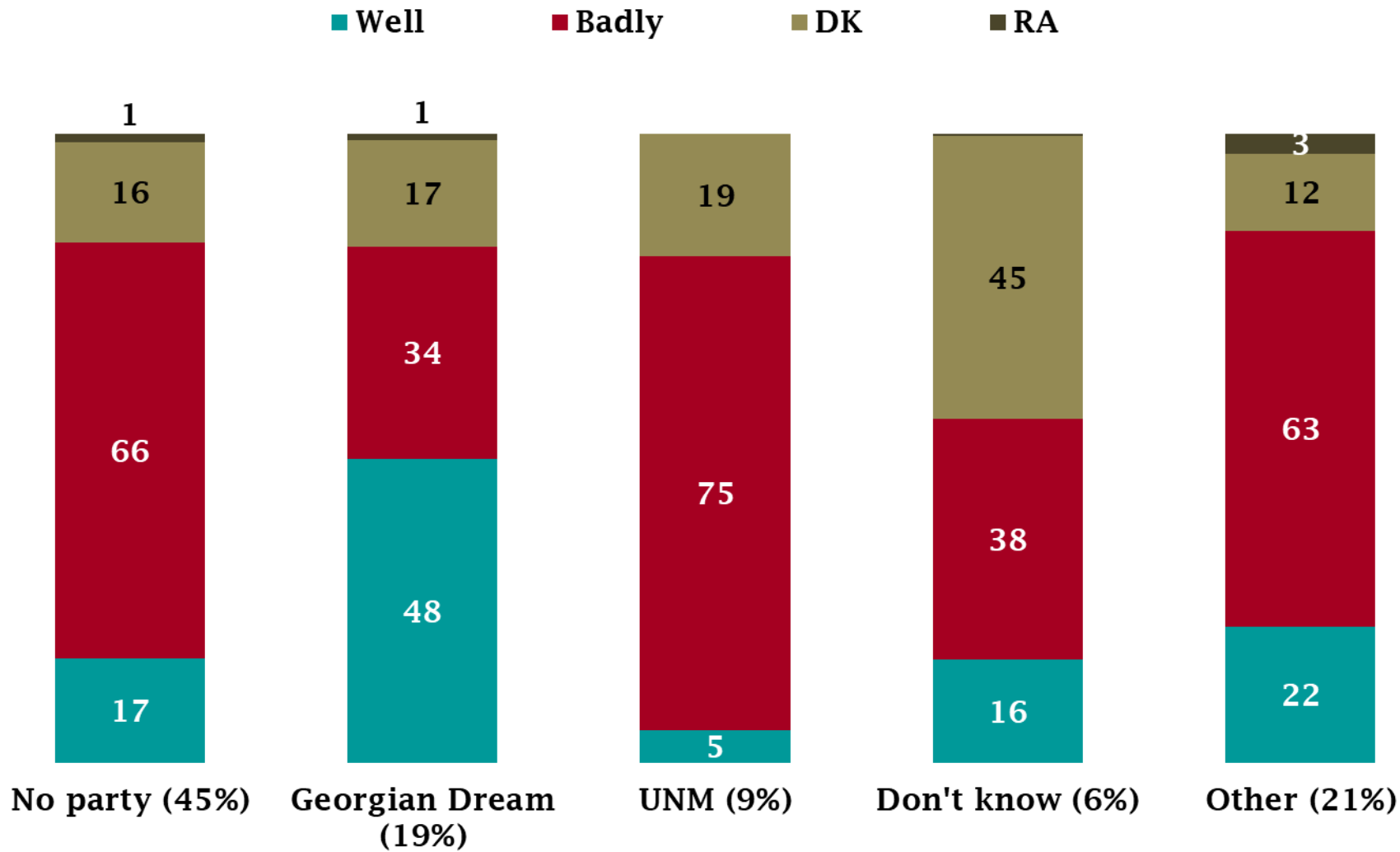
Government's response

Overall, how would you evaluate Government's response to the June 20th events and following protests? (q21 X Age) Whole sample



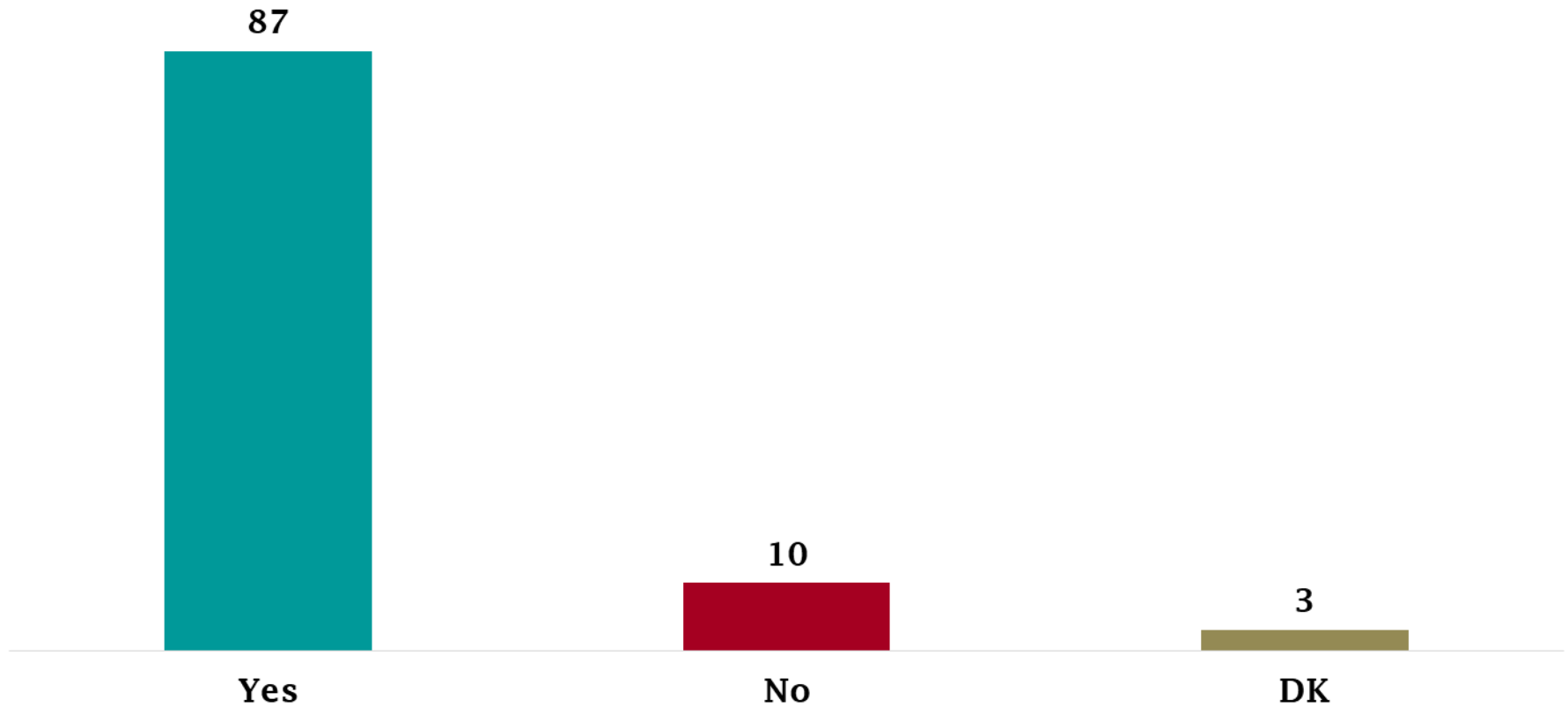
Government's response

Overall, how would you evaluate Government's response to the June 20th events and following protests? (q21 X Party closest to you) Whole sample



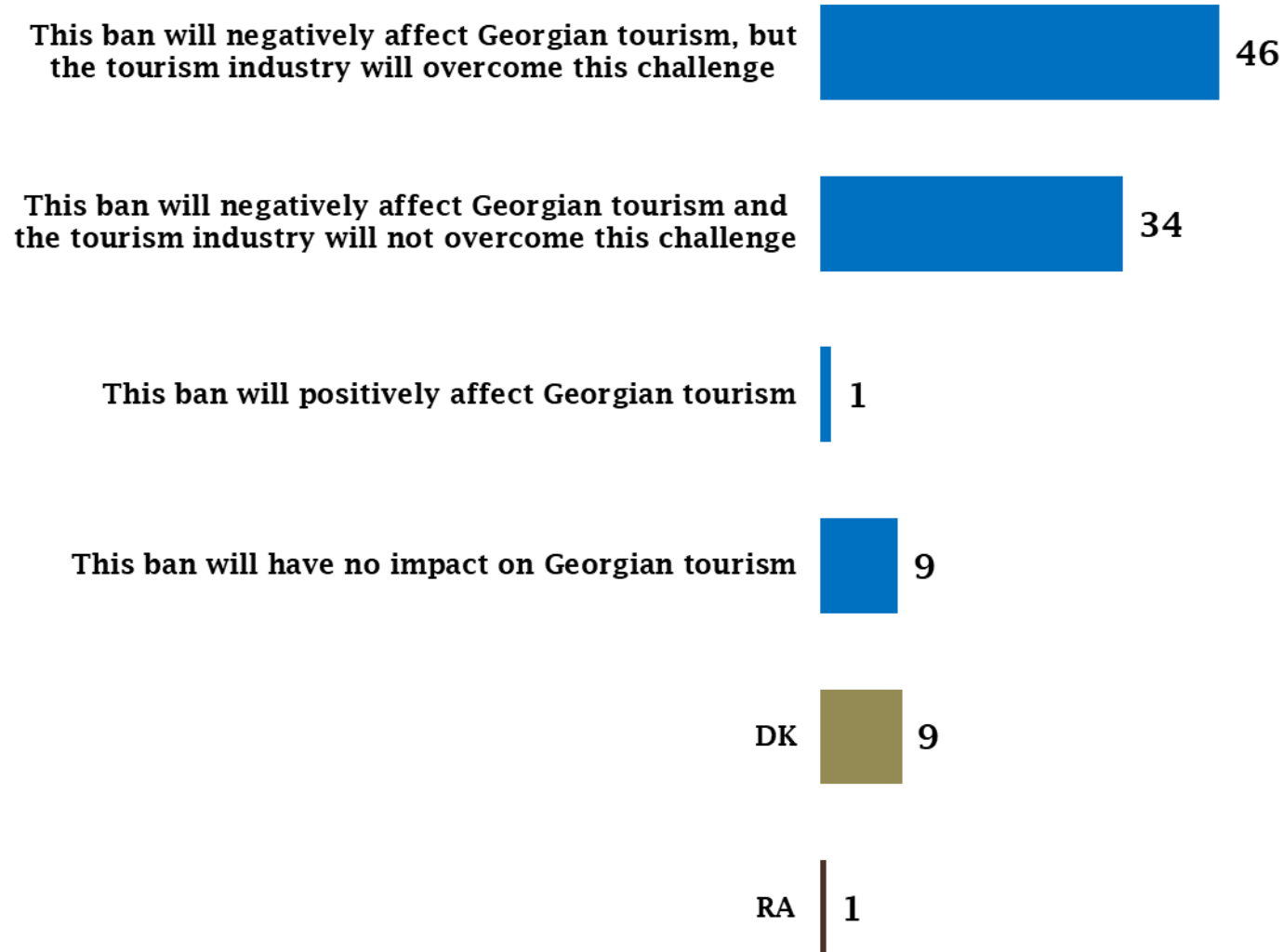
Russian flight ban

On June 21st, President of Russia Vladimir Putin has temporarily banned passenger flights from Russia to Georgia. Were you aware? (q22)



Russian flight ban

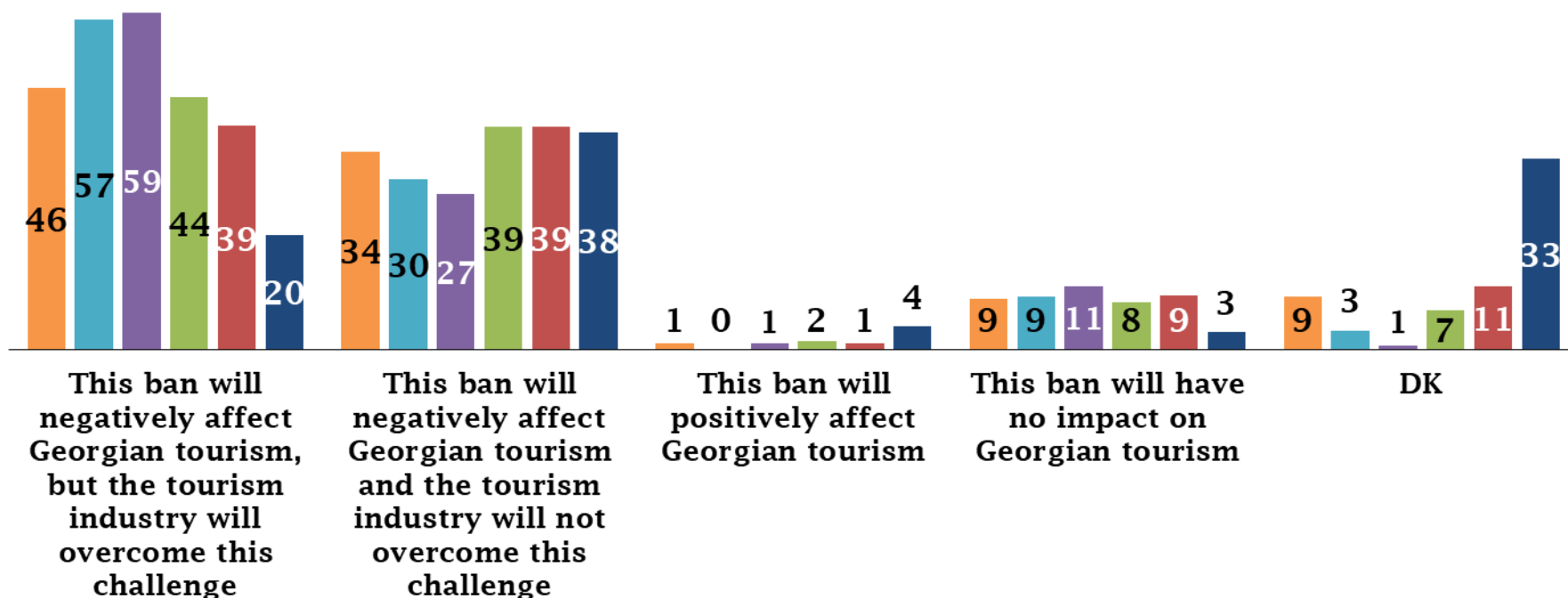
Which of the following statements best describes your opinion? (q23) - whole sample



Russian flight ban

Which of the following statements best describes your opinion?
(q23 X Settlement)

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



NDI-CRRC POLLS AVAILABLE AT:

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