





February 2023

Taking Georgians' pulse

Findings from December 2022 face to face survey

Carried out for NDI by CRRC Georgia

Research is funded by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland through the foreign, commonwealth and development office's good governance fund.

RESEARCH GOALS

- →To foster the development of more responsive policies and governance in Georgia;
- →To help stakeholders diagnose and address top national concerns and priorities, around the following topics: economy, poverty, institutions, foreign affairs.

DECEMBER POLL

- Fieldwork dates: 3-20 December, 2022
- 2,519 completed interviews (29% response rate)
- The average margin of error is +/- 1.6%
- Note: the margin of error is different for every response
- Face-to-face survey.

Note: March 2022, February 2022, December 2021, July 2021, February 2021, December 2020, August 2020 polls were conducted over telephones.

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;
- 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.

Survey methodology

We use random sampling at all stages. We use a complex survey design:

- Stratification dividing population in relatively homogeneous 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;
- All interviews were conducted face-to-face with 18+ population, using tablets, in Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani languages.

Quality control

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

Focus group methodology

- Fieldwork dates: November 21-28;
- 10 Focus group discussions in Tbilisi, East urban settlements, East rural settlements, West urban settlements, West rural settlements;
- Two groups in each location: one group with younger participants (18-29 y/o) and the second group with older participants (45+ y/o);
- CRRC coordinators randomly recruit people from CRRC phone survey databases;
- Participation is voluntary;
- Using an open-ended interview protocol to guide discussion, a professional moderator facilitates the focus groups;
- Focus groups are recorded with the permission of the participants. The anonymity of participants is protected in this report.

Major findings

- EU support has grown to 81 percent, indicating Georgian citizens' unwavering support for European integration. However, the aspirations of the Georgian people come into contrast with a perception that the government is either not doing enough or is doing nothing to ensure EU membership.
- > There are similar trends vis a vis NATO the majority of Georgians remain supportive of NATO membership (73 percent).
- Amid current economic challenges, the Georgian public views rising prices/inflation, unemployment, poverty and wages as the top problems facing their country and no other concern comes close. A plurality (48 percent) say Georgia's economy is in bad shape, while the majority (51 percent) doubt the government's ability to solve economic problems.

Major findings

- > One in five Georgians is thinking of emigrating in the next 12 months to seek working opportunities elsewhere. This number is even higher among the population under 50 almost every third citizen under 50 is thinking about leaving Georgia.
- Despite an increase in the government's overall job approval (from 41 percent to 51 percent), public disillusionment with both ruling and opposition parties is growing. 61 percent of Georgians are saying none of the parties represent their interests, which constitutes an increase from 56 percent since summer 2022. Further, a breakdown by partisanship shows that even a third of GD supporters and half of opposition supporters say none of the parties represent their interests.

Chapter I

- → Country direction
- → General sense of security
- → Optimism about the future

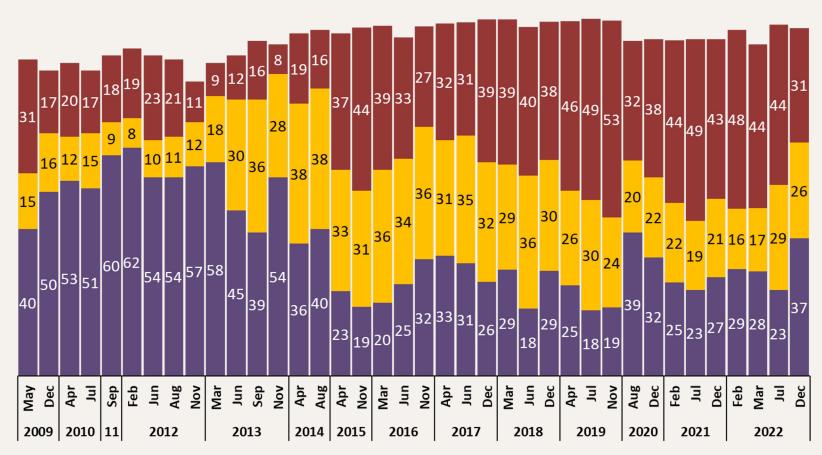
Plurality say Georgia going in the right direction

14 percent increase among the people who say Georgia is going in the right direction.

Tbilisi residents and opposition supporters remain the most critical about the country's course.

There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Using this card, please, rate your answer. (q9)

■ Georgia is going in the right direction ■ Georgia is not changing at all ■ Georgia is going in the wrong direction

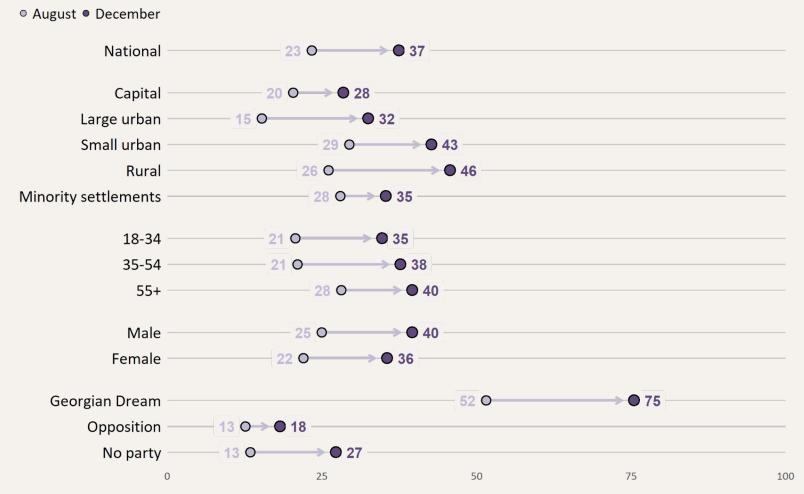


The biggest positive shift happened among the Georgian Dream supporters

On average, a 10 percent positive shift took place among almost all demographic groups.

There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Using this card, please, rate your answer. (q9)

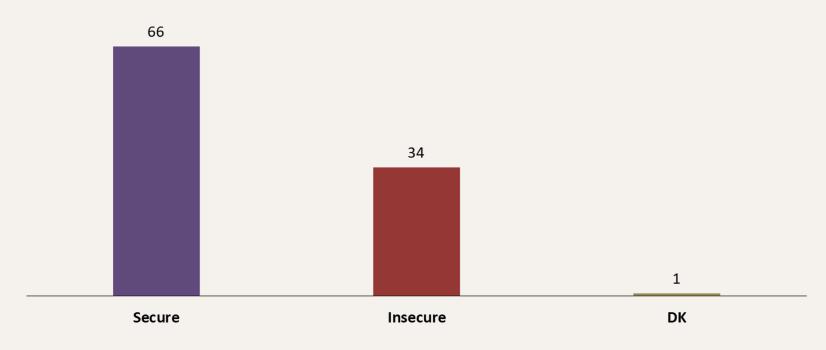
Share of those who say Georgia is going in the right direction



Majority say they feel secure living in Georgia

Tbilisi residents and opposition supporters feel least secure in Georgia, while ethnic minorities, Georgian Dream supporters and men feel most secure.

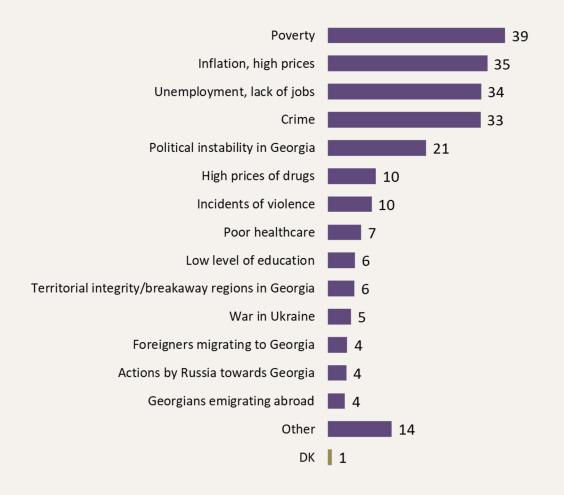
Taking everything into account, how secure or insecure do you feel living in Georgia? (q2)



Main reasons for feeling insecure living in Georgia is related to economy

What is the most important reason you feel insecure living in Georgia?

Up to three answers. Open question (q3) - of the 34% who said they feel insecure living in Georgia



Every third
Georgian feels
insecure living
in Georgia due
to economic
issues

Of the 34 percent (who feel insecure), most 55+ aged citizens name poverty, while plurality of young citizens name crime as a reason for feeling insecurity.

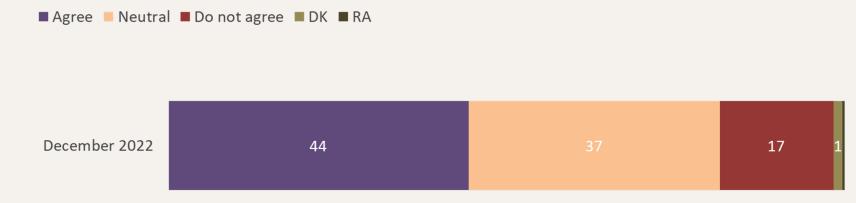
Of the 34 percent (who feel insecure), majority in ethnic minority settlements named lack of jobs.

What is the most important reason you feel insecure living in Georgia? Up to three. Open Question (q3) Top 4 reasons - of 34% who feel very insecure/more insecure than secure living in Georgia.



Plurality is still optimistic about the future of Georgia, but less so compared to four years ago

Please, tell me, how much do you agree or disagree with following statement: I am optimistic about the future of my country (q1)



Rural population and the Georgian Dream supporters –most optimistic about the future of Georgia.



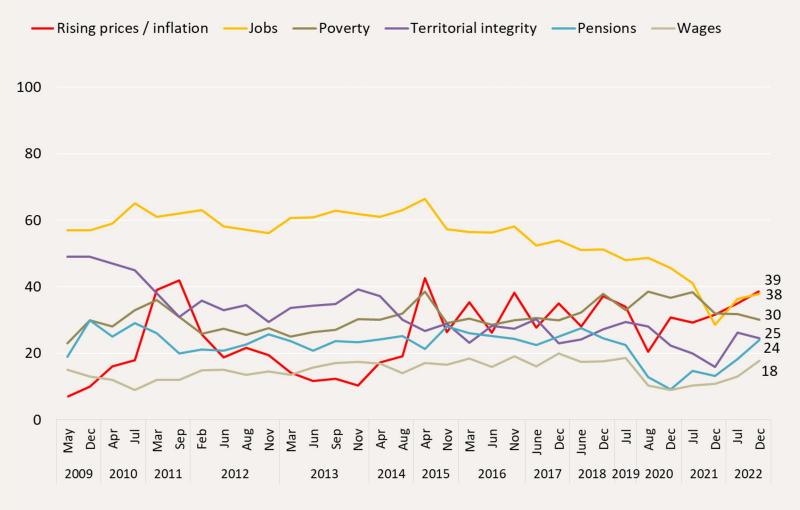
Chapter II

- → National issues/priorities
- → Education

Rising prices, jobs and poverty remain top national concerns

For the first time in NDI Georgia survey history, rising prices/ inflation tops the priority list.

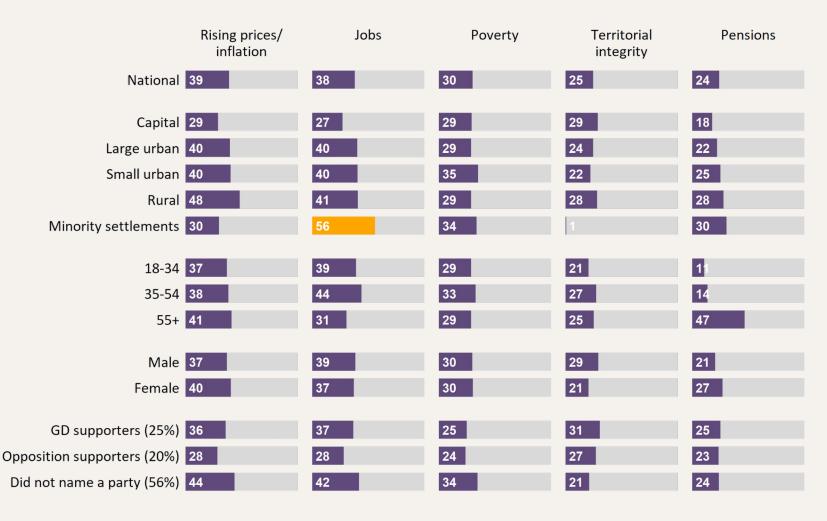
What are the most important national issues facing you and your family? Up to three answers (q10)



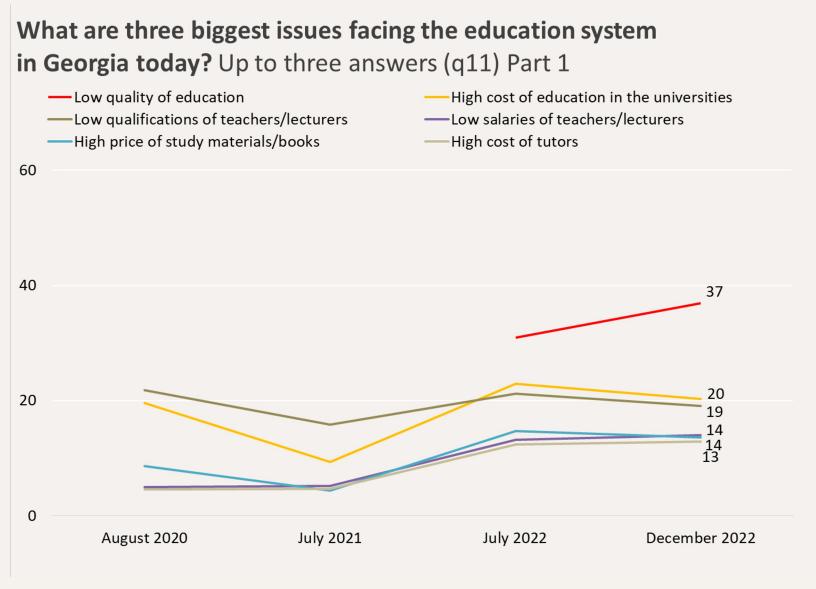
Rising prices,
jobs and poverty
remain top
national concerns
- across the
board

Unlike the rest of Georgian citizens, ethnic minorities don't name territorial integrity among the most important national issues.

What are the most important national issues facing you and your family? Please name up to three. (q10) Top 5 issues

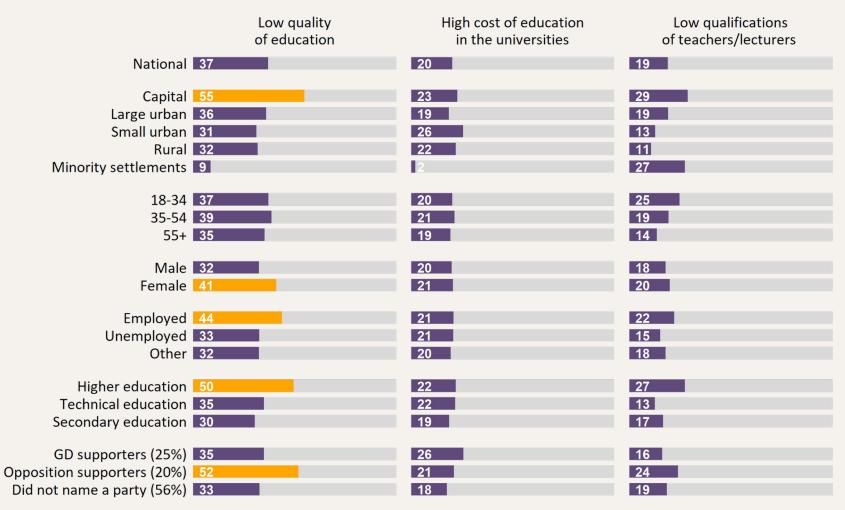


Low quality of education, high costs and low qualification of teachers on top of Georgians' minds



Tbilisi residents, women, employed citizens, people with higher education and opposition supporters are most concerned about quality of education

What are three biggest issues facing the education system in Georgia today? Please name up to three. (q11) Top 3 issues



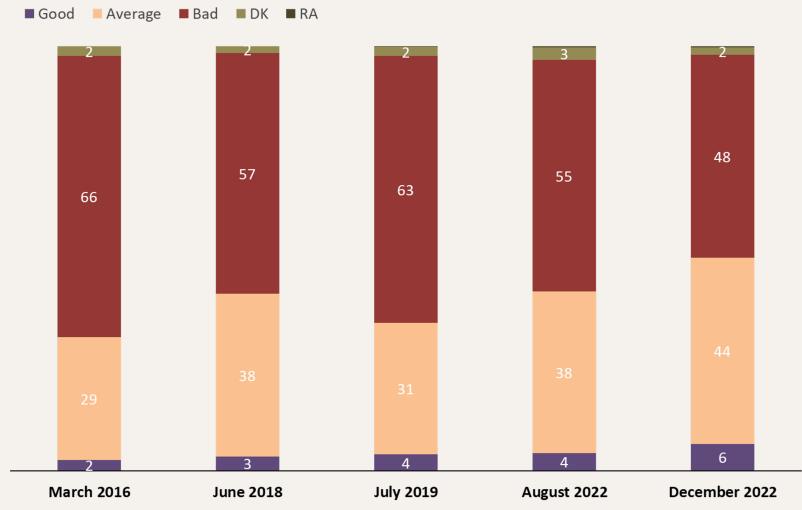
Chapter III

- → State of the Georgian economy; Forms of economic problems; Unemployment
- → Government's capacity to solve economic problems
- → Emigration
- → Assessment of household's economic condition; Monthly expenses; Financial cuts; Rising prices
- → Home ownership
- → Statistical analyses: (self-reported) household well-being scale

Plurality say Georgian economy in bad shape

As of December 2022, less people say Georgian economy is in bad shape.

Using this card, please evaluate the current situation of Georgia's economy. (q17)



Tbilisi residents, opposition supporters and undecided remain most critical about economy

Negative assessment of the Georgian economy dropped significantly among the rural and minority settlements, as well as 55+ and undecided citizens.

Using this card, please evaluate the current situation of Georgia's economy. (q17)

Share of those who evaluate Georgian economy as Bad



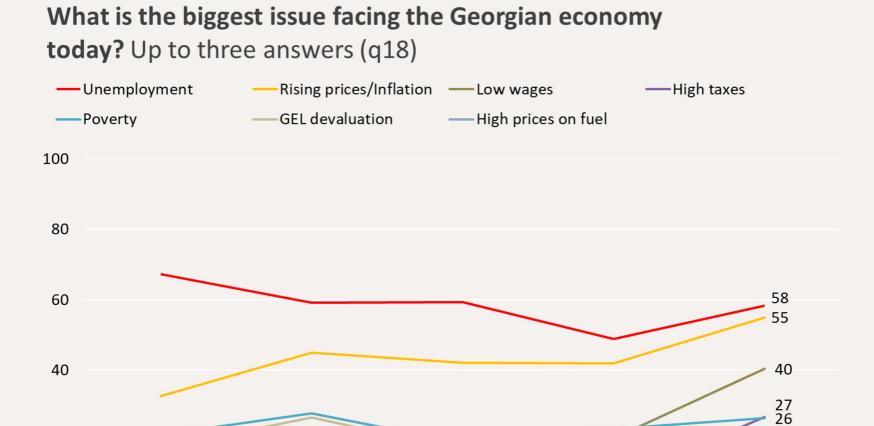
Unemployment, rising prices and low wages perceived as main economic problems

20

0

August 2020

December 2020



July 2021

December 2021

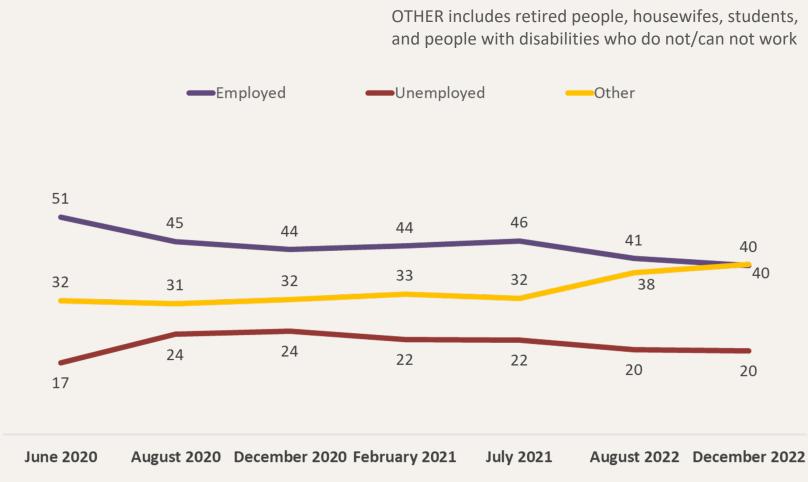
December 2022

One in five adult Georgians unemployed

Plurality is employed in urban areas.

Majority of women report either being unemployed or housewife.

Which of the following best describes your situation? Please tell me about the activity that you consider to be primary. (q44)

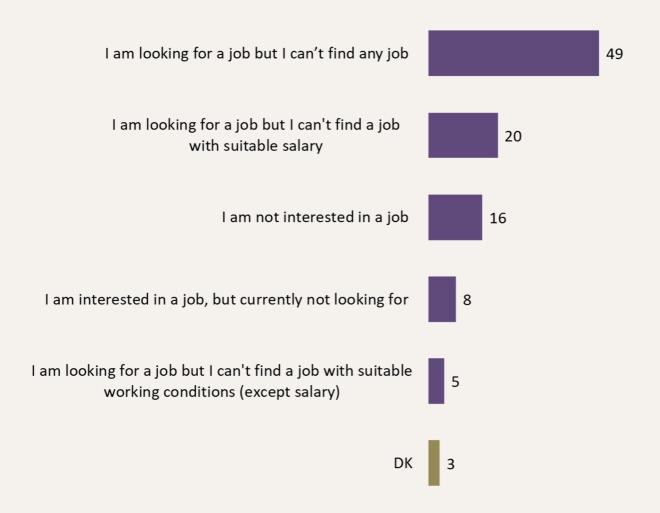


Majority of unemployed Georgians either can't find any job, or a job with suitable salary

Of the unemployed citizens, majority in rural and ethnic minority settlements say they can't find any job.

Which of the following best describes your situation. (q45)

- Of the 20% who said they are unemployed



Majority is skeptical that Georgian government can solve economic problems

Tbilisi residents and opposition supporters are the biggest sceptics.

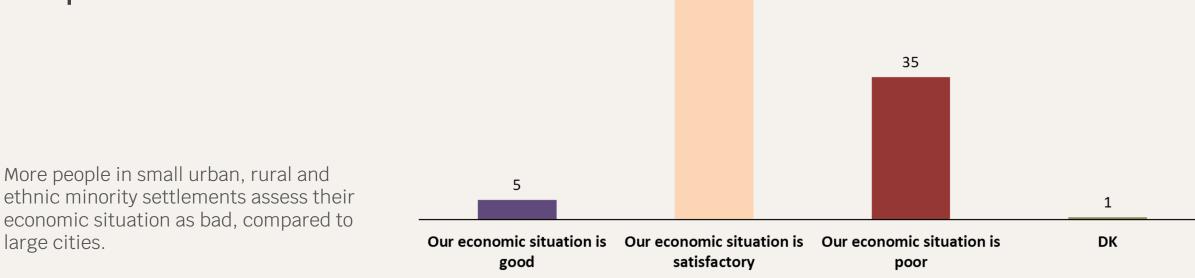
How confident or not confident are you in the Georgian government's ability to solve economic problems? (q19)



Majority assess their economic situation either as satisfactory or poor

Taking everything into account, how would you assess your household's current economic situation? (q20)

59



(self reported)

Average household income increased in the last five years

Speaking about a monetary income last month, to which of the following groups does your household belong? Please think of all sources of income that your household had last month. (q47)

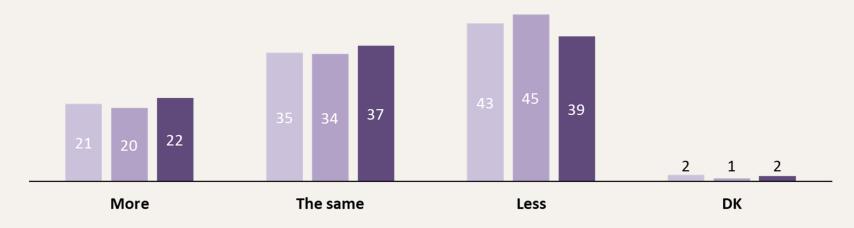
■ April 2017 ■ December 2022



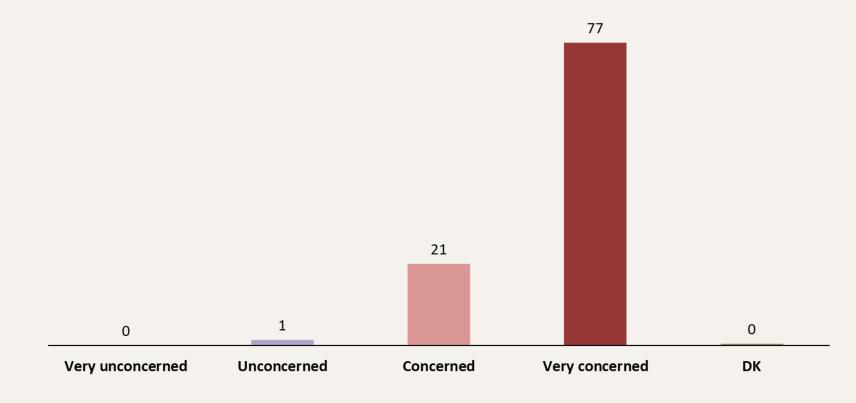
Majority can afford either the same or less compared to five years ago

Tbilisi residents, opposition supporters and undecided supporters are more likely to say they can afford less than five years ago. Thinking about your current situation, are you personally able to afford more, the same or less than you could 5 years ago? (q21)

■ July 2019 ■ August 2022 ■ December 2022



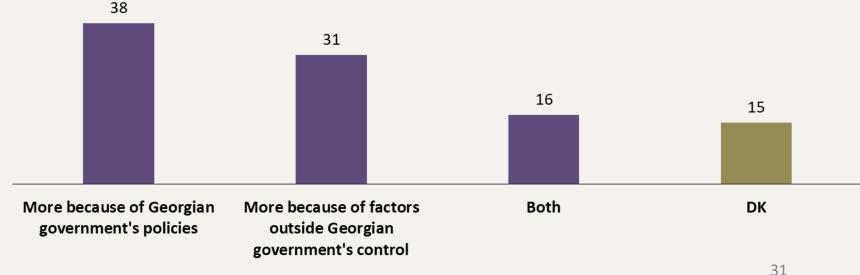
Absolute majority concerned about the negative impact of high prices on their families How concerned or not concerned are you about the impact of increased prices on your household's financial situation? (q25)



Public is divided on what to blame for increased prices

Do you think increased prices are more because of the Georgian government's policies or more because of factors outside Georgian government's control? (q26)

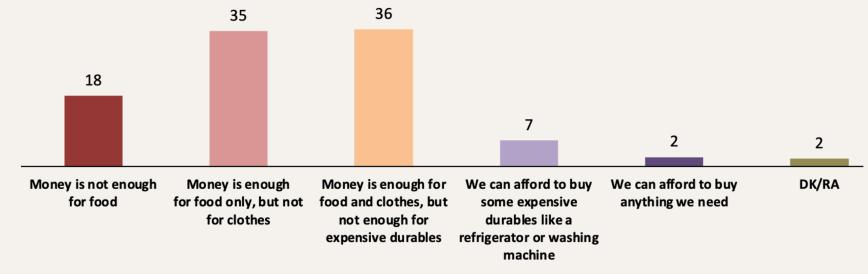
Attitudes correspond with party support: majority of opposition supporters blame the government, while plurality of GD supporters blame factors outside the government's control.



One in five Georgian households struggles to buy food

Which of the following statements best describes the current economic situation of your household? (q24)

Compared to the rest of the country, small urban and rural settlements, as well as 55+ age group are struggling the most. There are no partisan differences.



Almost every second adult didn't have money to pay for utilities in the last six months

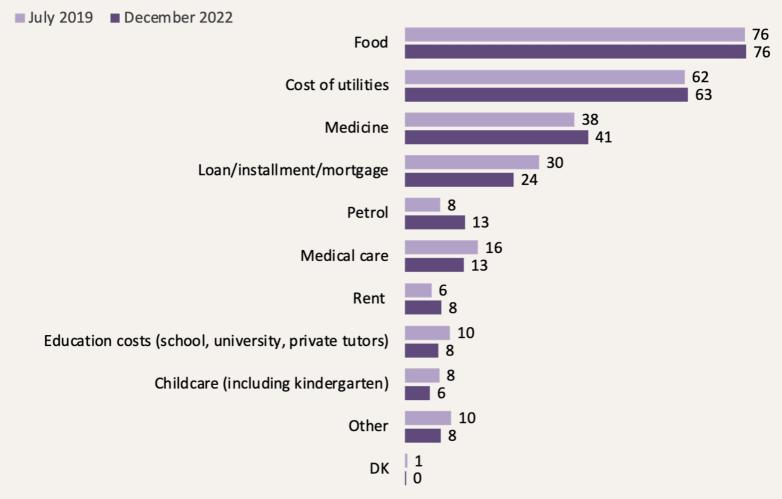
Speaking about the past 6 months, did you ever not have enough money to pay for utilities? (q23)

■ July 2019 ■ December 2022



Georgians spend most of their income on food, utilities, medicine and loans

What are the biggest monthly expenses for your household? Up to three answers (q22)



Every third
Georgian reports
spending less on
food and drugs
compared to last
year

Half of Georgians say they have to limit consumption of electricity and gas to deal with financial difficulties.

Majority of rural citizens and 55+ age group are limiting consumption of electricity and gas.

There are households that experienced financial difficulties in the last period. For each, please tell me, whether it applies to you and your household or not? (q27) Part 2



Compared to last year I limit consumption of electricity and gas



Compared to last year I spend less on healthcare/drugs



Compared to last year I spend less on food



In face of financial difficulties, majority of Georgians are spending less on leisure and shopping

There are households that experienced financial difficulties in the last period. For each, please tell me, whether it applies to you and your household or not? (q27) Part 1



Compared to last year I spend less on leisure/travel



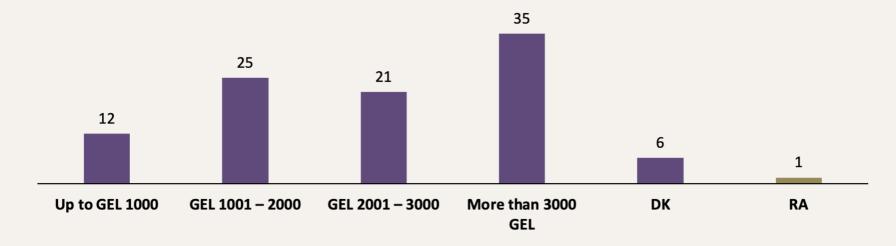
Compared to last year I limit shopping for clothes and such



Compared to last year I drive less to save money

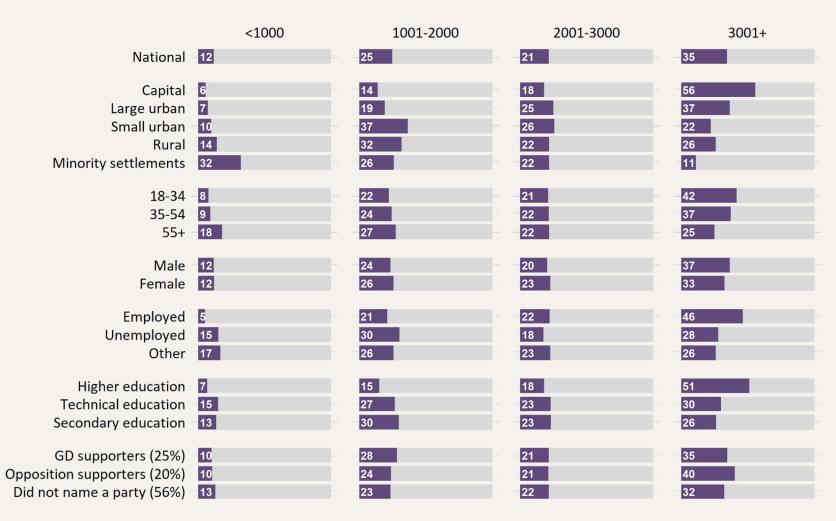


Majority of Georgians say their household would live comfortably under GEL 3000 monthly How much would be sufficient monthly for your household to live comfortably? Open question (q28)

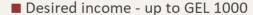


Tbilisi residents, younger demographics, people with higher education and people with jobs are more likely to say that they need more than 3000 Gel monthly income to live comfortably.

How much would be sufficient monthly for your household to live comfortably? (q28)



Majority of Georgians say their household would live comfortably under GEL 3000 monthly How much would be sufficient monthly for your household to live comfortably? By Speaking about a monetary income last month, to which of the following groups does your household belong? Please think of all sources of income that your household had last month. (q28 X q47)

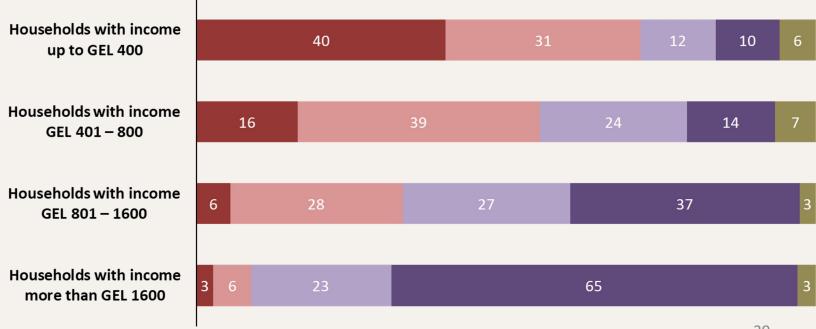


Desired income - GEL 1001-2000

Desired income - GEL 2001-3000

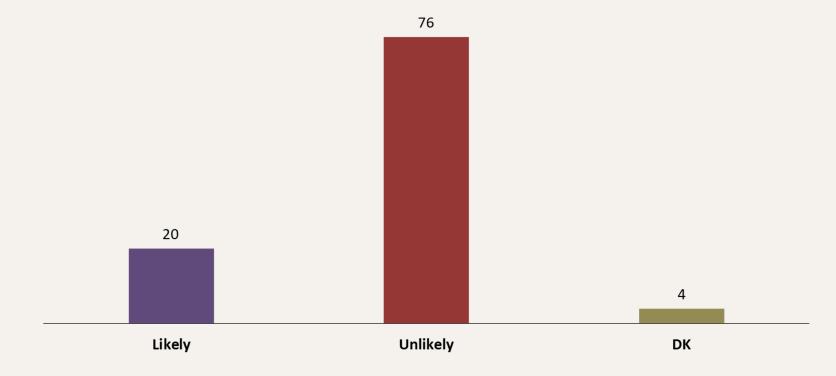
■ Desired income - more than GEL 3000

■ DK/RA



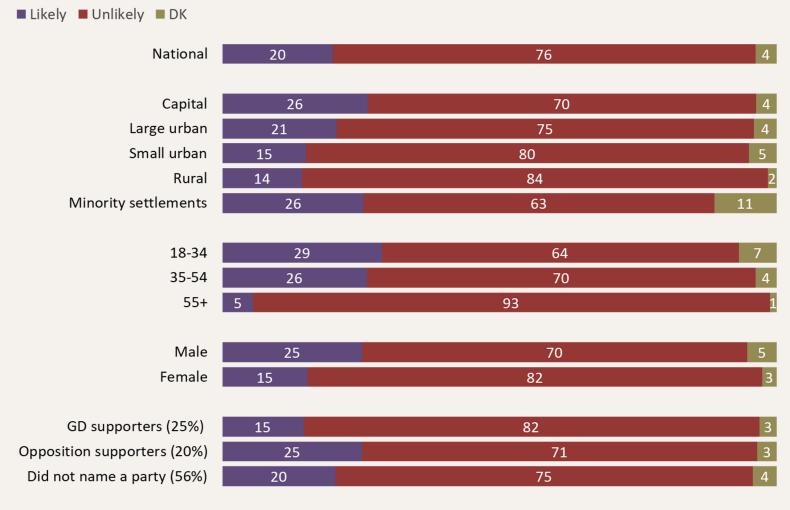
One in five Georgians is thinking about emigrating in the next 12 months

How likely or unlikely is it that you will go abroad for work in the next 12 months? (q46)



Around a quarter of Tbilisi and large city residents, as well as every third young citizen wants to emigrate

How likely or unlikely is it that you will go abroad for work in the next 12 months? (q46 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



Men are saying more than women that they think to leave Georgia. Slightly more opposition supporters than GD supporters said the same.

Majority of Georgians live in a house owned by them or their family member

A quarter of Tbilisi residents are renting apartments.

Of the nine percent who lives in a rented apartment, half of them report that their rent has increased in the last 12 months. Half of the renters also say that they are afraid they might not be able to pay their rent.

Speaking about your household's current living situation, using this card please tell me which describes your situation the best? You live in a... (q29)



Home owners are not afraid of losing their homes

Are you worried or not worried that you might lose your house/flat in the next couple of years? (q30) - Of the 87% who said they live in a house owned by them/family member

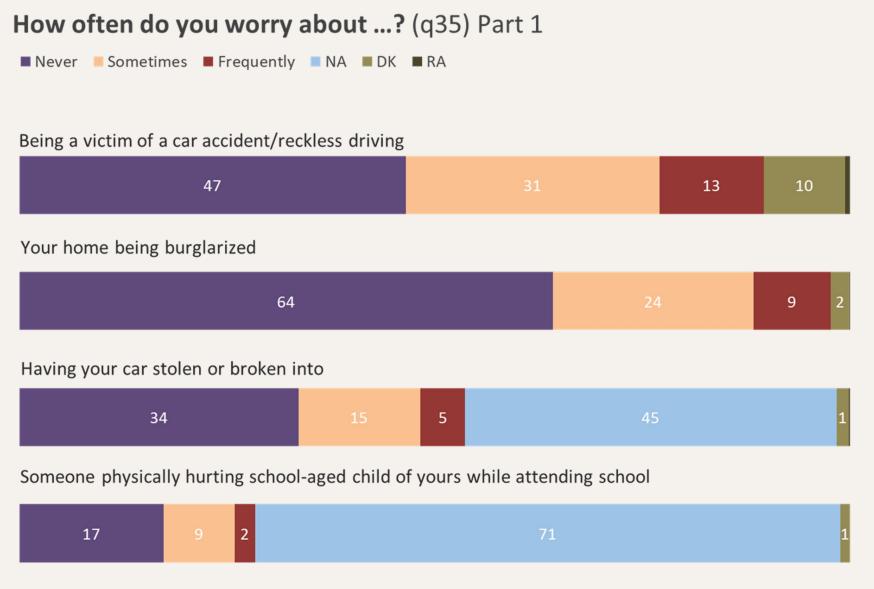
Of those who are worried, they are afraid that they might not be able to pay mortgage, or that they might have to sell their house due to financial problems.



Chapter IV

→ Concerns about the public security and safety

Around one in three Georgians worries that they might become a victim of a car accident, or that their home might be burglarized

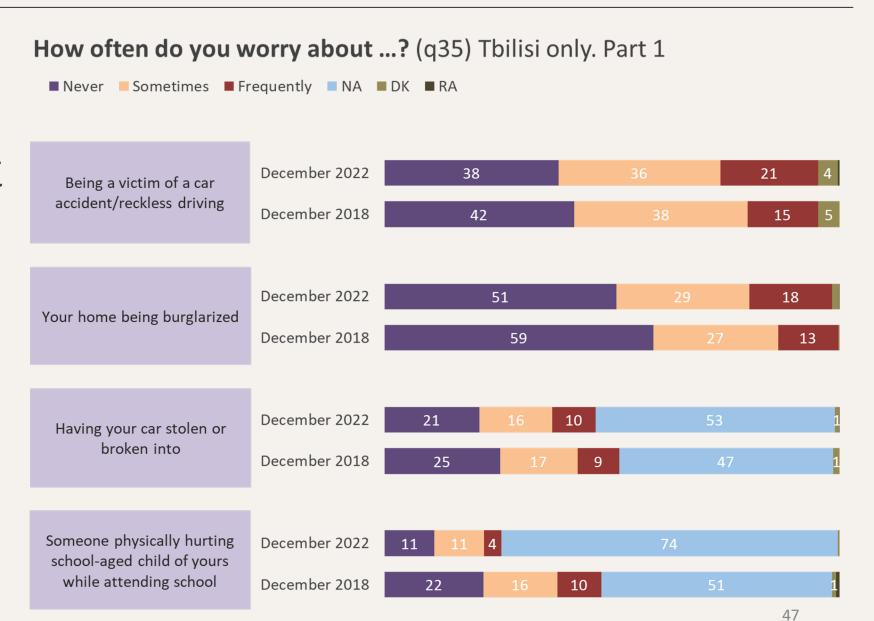


Majority not worried about getting mugged, being assaulted, having personal or financial information stolen. or being sexually assaulted.

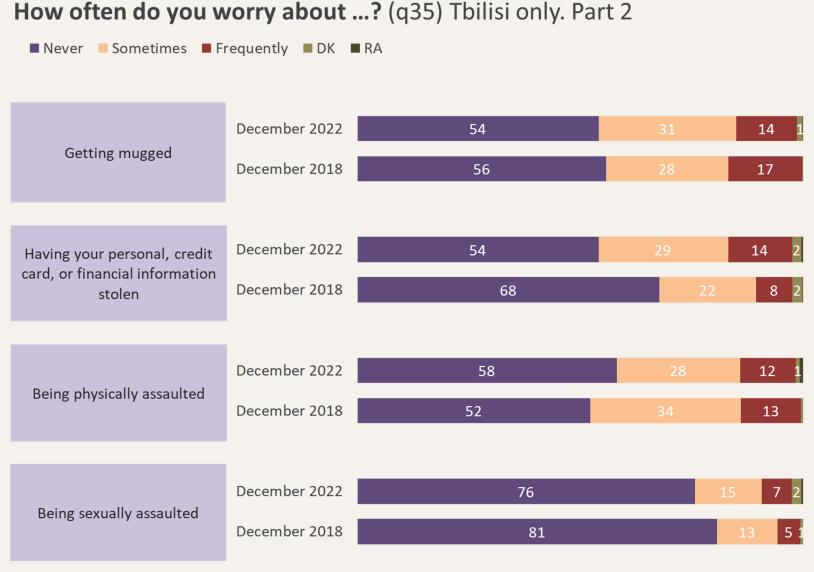
However, Tbilisi is a huge exception!



Every second Tbilisi resident is worried about becoming a victim of a car accident or having their home burglarized

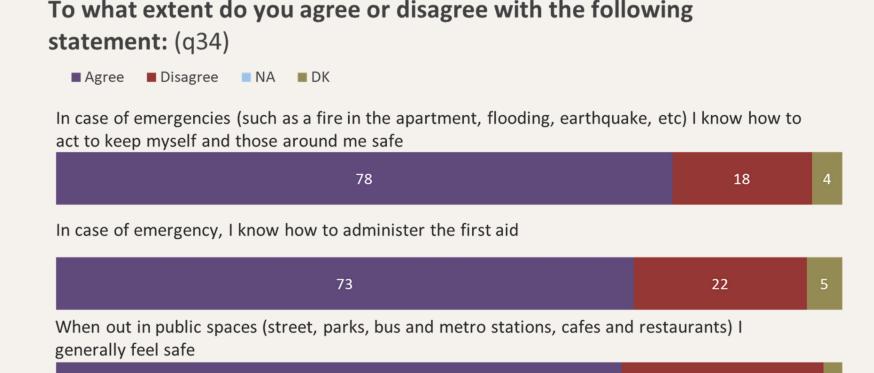


Every second Tbilisi resident is also worried about being mugged and having their personal/financi al information stolen



A quarter of population doesn't feel safe in public spaces

Majority confident they know how to act during emergencies.



When my child is at school/kindergarten I am sure that he/she is safe

72



26

Almost every second Tbilisi resident feels unsafe in public spaces

especially women!

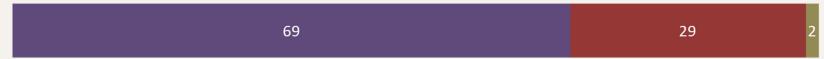
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: (q34) Tbilisi only



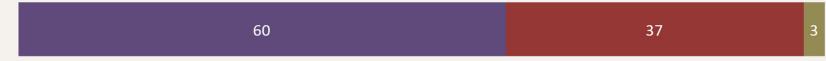
In case of emergencies (such as a fire in the apartment, flooding, earthquake, etc) I know how to act to keep myself and those around me safe



In case of emergency, I know how to administer the first aid



When out in public spaces (street, parks, bus and metro stations, cafes and restaurants) I generally feel safe



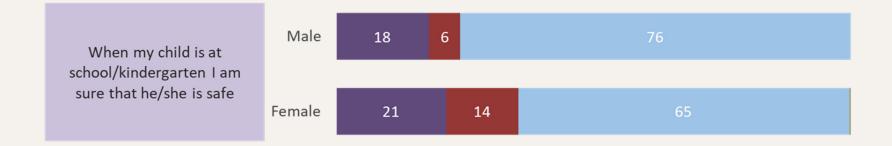
When my child is at school/kindergarten I am sure that he/she is safe



Almost every second women in Tbilisi feels unsafe in public spaces

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: (q34 X Sex) Tbilisi only





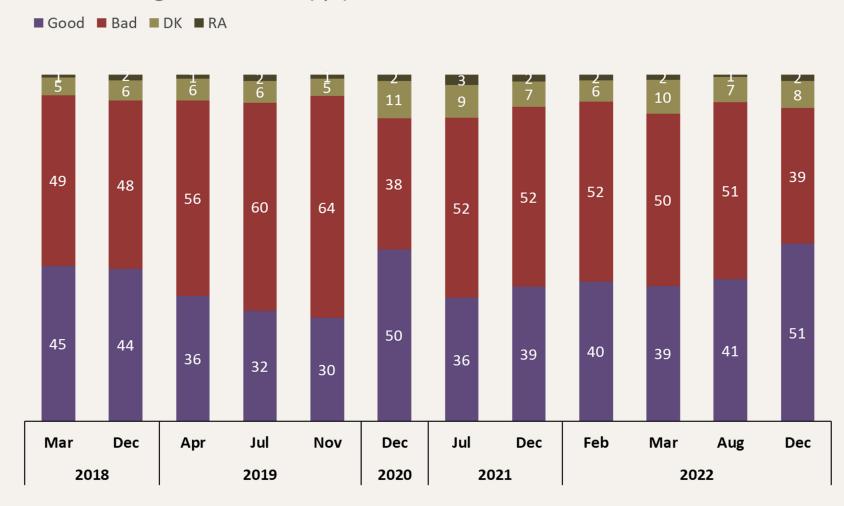
Chapter V

- → Government job approval
- → PM, President, Parliament job satisfaction
- → Assessment of political parties
- → Women's political participation

Government job approval increased by ten percent since last summer

Government job approval is relatively lower among Tbilisi residents, women, and opposition supporters.

Please, tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government? (q4)

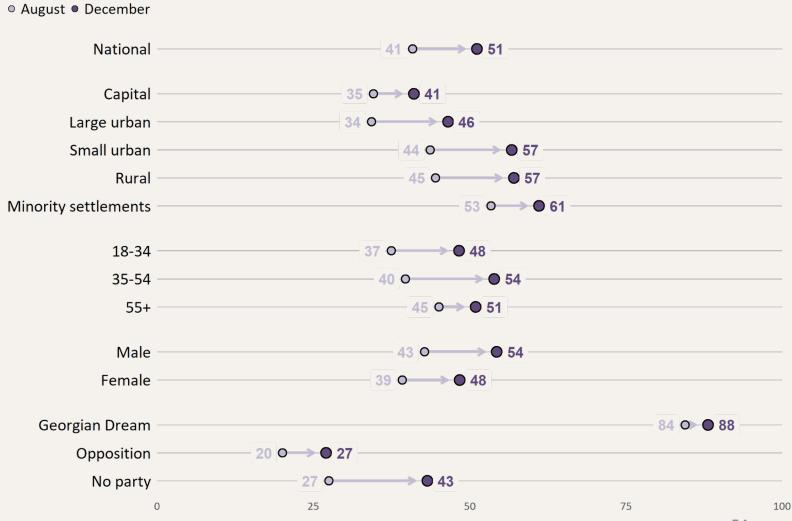


Government job approval increased the most amongst undecided, small city and rural residents, as well as middle age group

Government job approval increased by seven percent amongst opposition party supporters.

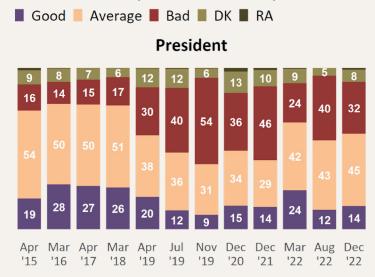
How would you rate the performance of the current government? (q4)

Share of those who rate performance of current government as Good

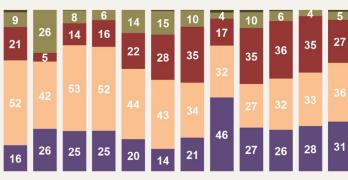


President's, PM's and parliament's negative job assessment decreased by eight to ten percent

How would you rate the performance of...? (q6)

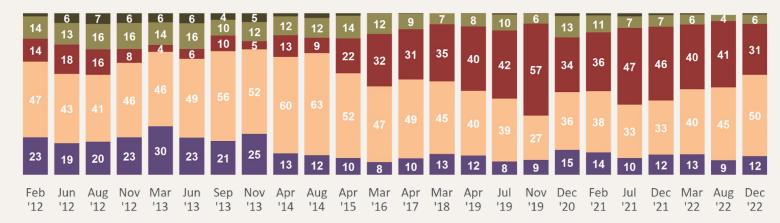


Prime Minister



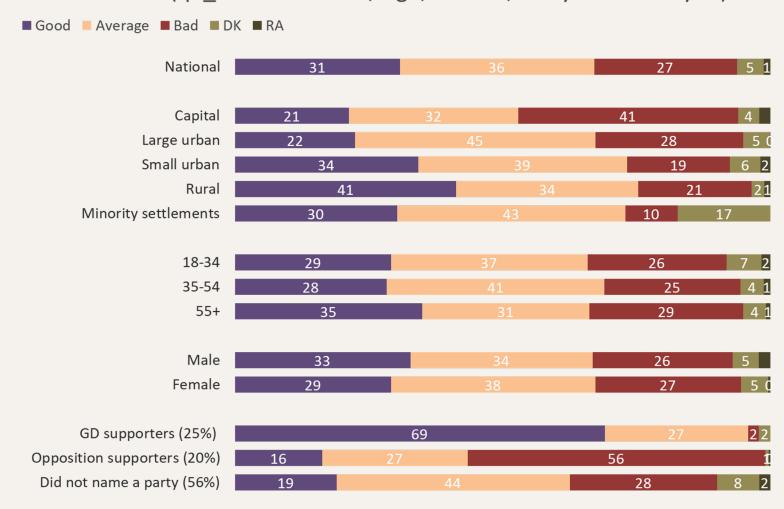
Apr Mar Apr Mar Apr Jul Nov Dec Dec Mar Aug Dec '15 '16 '17 '18 '19 '19 '19 '20 '21 '22 '22 '22

Parliament



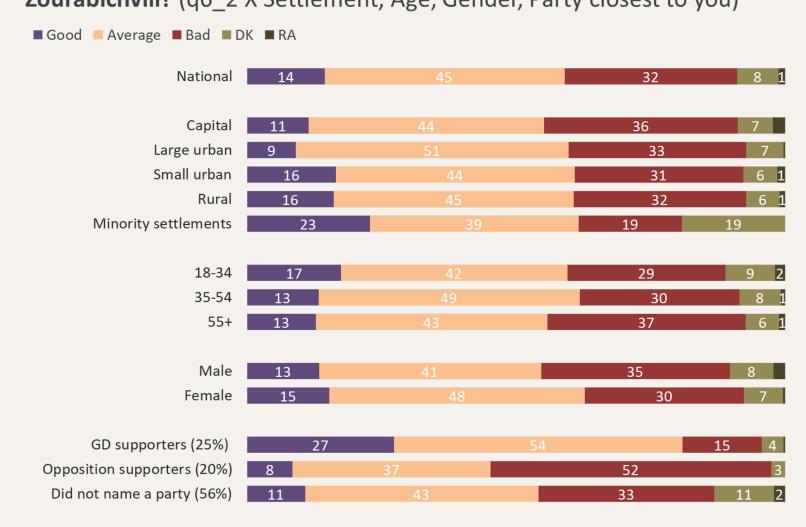
PM's job approval is relatively lower among Tbilisi residents and opposition supporters

How would you rate the performance of Prime minister Irakli Gharibashvili? (q6_3 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



President's job approval is relatively lower among opposition supporters

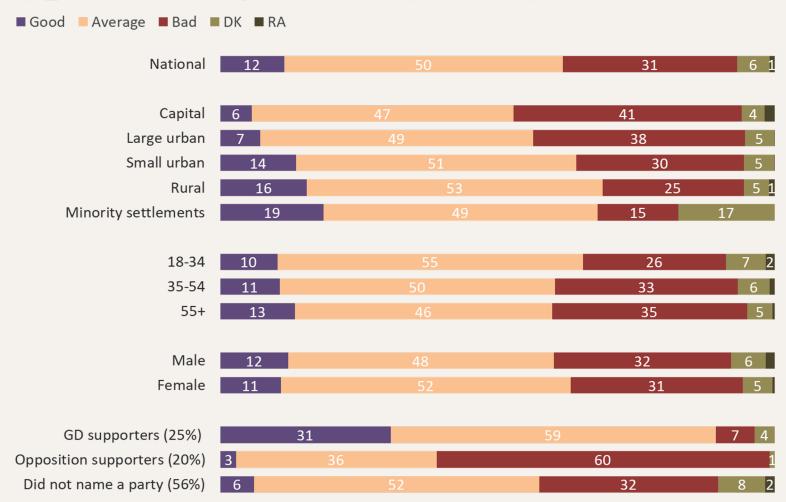
How would you rate the performance of President Salome Zourabichvili? (q6_2 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



Parliament's rating is relatively lower in Tbilisi and large cities, as well as among opposition supporters

How would you rate the performance of Parliament?

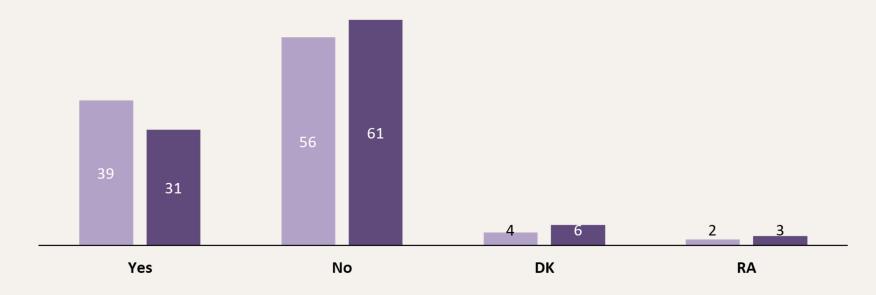
(q6_1 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



Now even more people than before - 61 percent - say that none of the Georgian parties represent their interests

Do you believe that at least one political party in Georgia that more or less represents your interests? (q5)

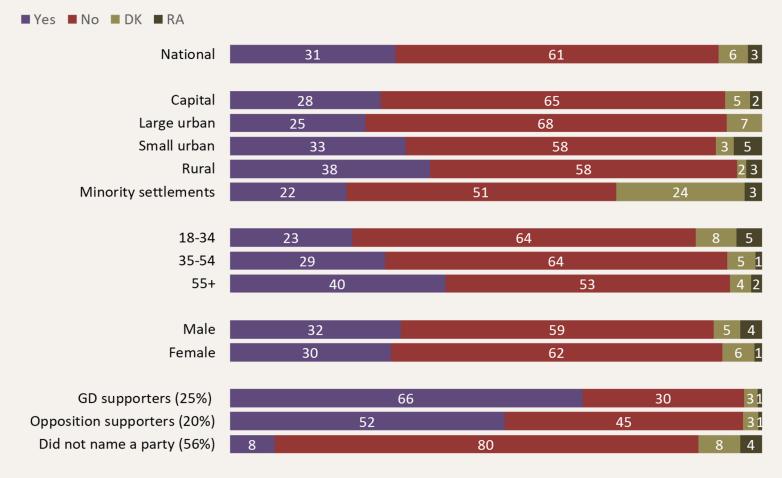
■ August 2022 ■ December 2022



A third of GD supporters and half of opposition supporters say none of the parties represent their interests

Party alignment relatively higher among 55+ age group and rural residents.

Do you believe that at least one political party in Georgia more or less represents your interests? (q5 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



Number of people who believe that there is at least one party that represents them dropped significantly among minority settlements, large city residents, 35-54 age group, opposition supporters and undecided

Do you believe that at least one political party in Georgia that more or less represents your interests? (q5)

Share of those who say there is at least one such party

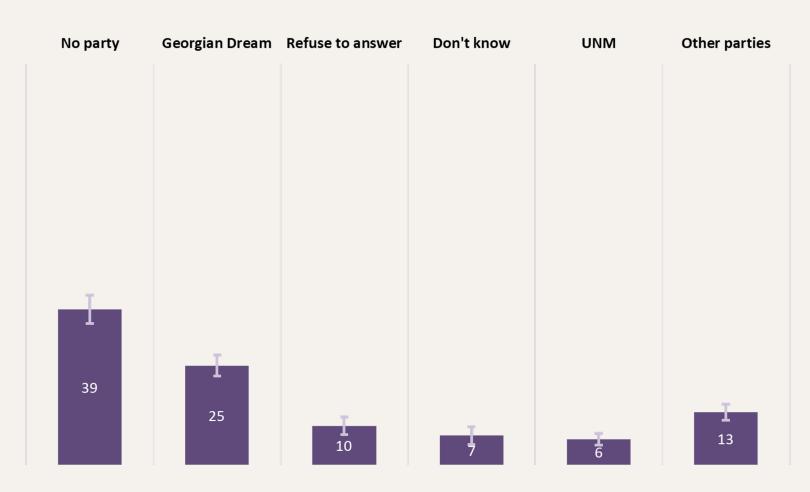


Plurality remain politically undecided

Plurality do not know or do not say which party is closest to them. Declared support for individual parties is so low that they cannot be taken as a guide to the outcome of future elections.

Disclaimer – this question was asked with selfadministered method: respondent was handed a tablet with a list of 14 political parties, citizen would mark their answer on their own, then click on 'next' and return tablet to interviewer.

There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? (q7)

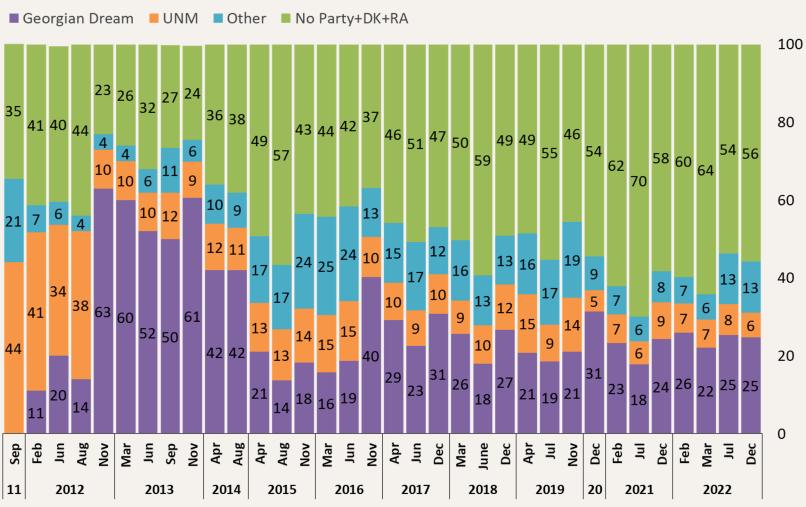


Plurality remain politically undecided

Plurality do not know or do not say which party is closest to them. Declared support for individual parties is so low that they cannot be taken as a guide to the outcome of future elections.

Disclaimer – this question was asked with self-administered method: respondent was handed a tablet with a list of 14 political parties, citizen would mark their answer on their own, then click on 'next' and return tablet to interviewer.

There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? (q7)



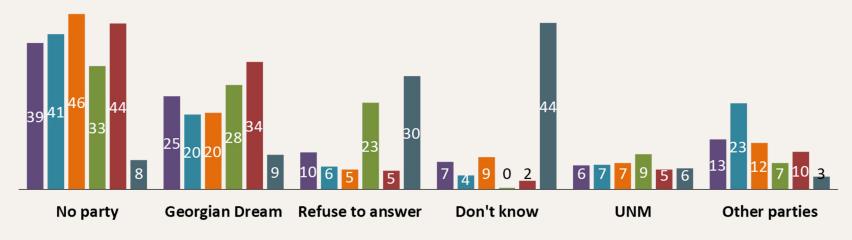
GD's support is relatively higher in the rural settlements and small cities, compared to Tbilisi and large cities

There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you? (q7 X Settlement)

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

OTHER opposition parties have relatively higher support in the capital.

Almost a third of small city and minority settlements refuse to answer a question on political parties.

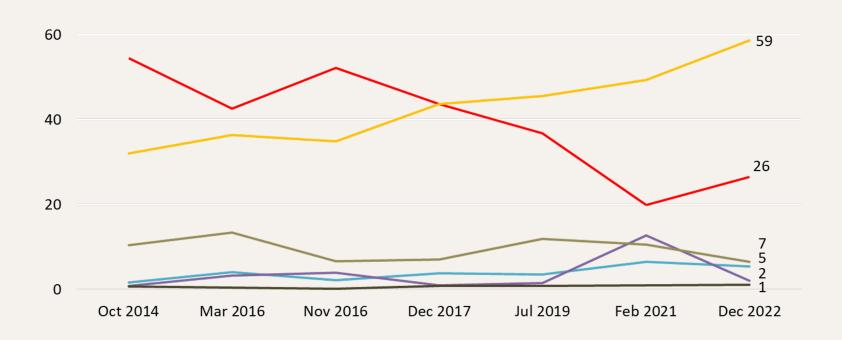


Georgians increasingly in favor of 50-50 female-male representation in the parliament

Support for 50-50 gender representation is the highest among small city and Tbilisi residents, as well as women and younger citizens.

In your opinion, what would be the best proportion of men and women members in parliament? (q8)



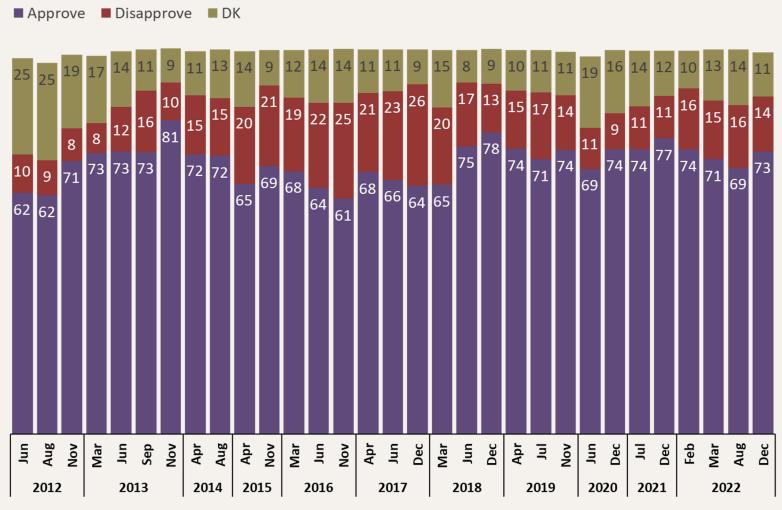


Chapter VI

- → NATO membership
- → EU membership
- → Assessment of Georgia's EU integration progress
- → Government's efforts

Support for NATO remains rock solid

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the NATO? (q15)



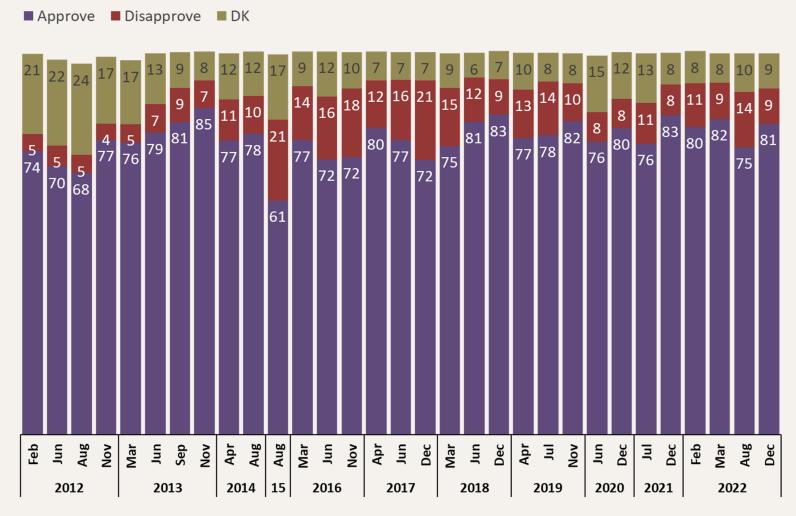
Support for NATO is the lowest in the minority settlements, on the expense of high 'don't knows'

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the NATO? (q15 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



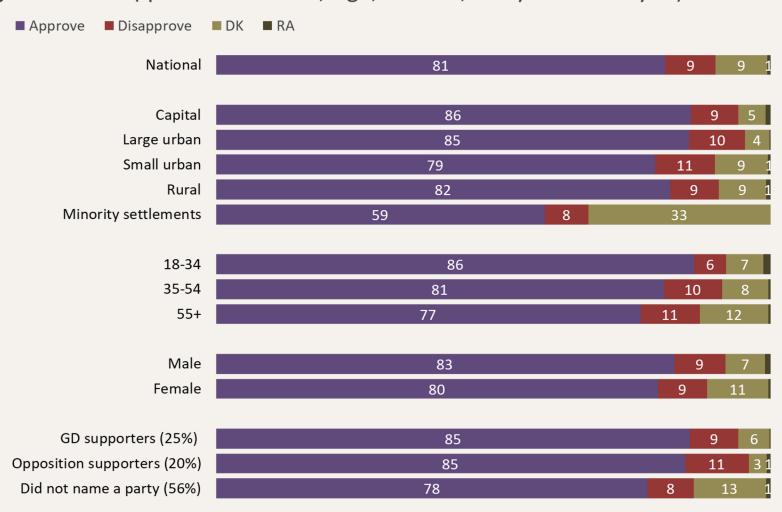
EU support bounces back to it's normal, indicating Georgian citizens unwavering support for EU membership

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU? (q12)



EU support is the lowest in the minority settlements, on the expense of high 'don't knows'

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU? (q12 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



The biggest shift in favor of EU membership took place among minority settlements and GD supporters

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU? (q12)

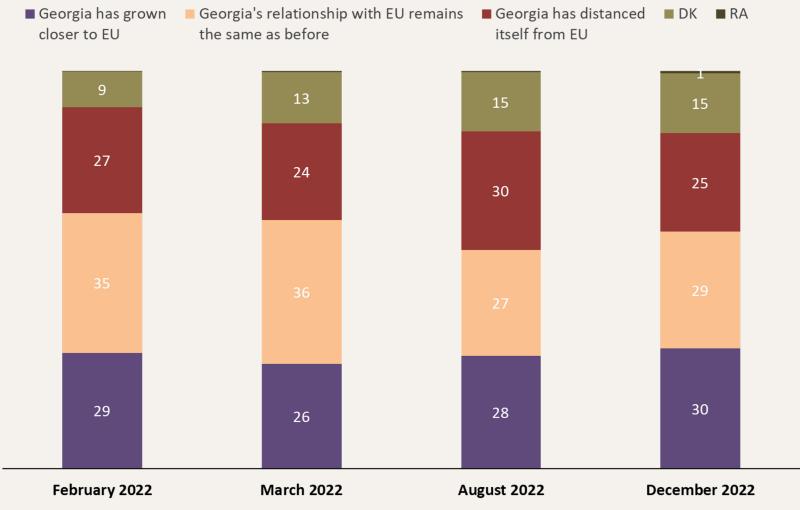
Share of those who approve EU membership

○ August ● December National Capital Large urban Small urban 81 - 79 Rural Minority settlements 38 -0 18-34 80 0 35-54 55+ 70 0 77 Male **Female** 74 0 80 Georgian Dream Opposition **8 78 0** No party 40 60 80 100 71

Georgians split on how close is Georgia getting to EU

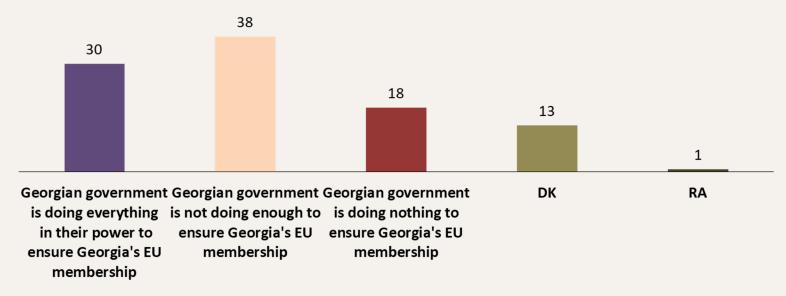
GD supporters are most confident that Georgia is getting closer to EU.

Which of the following statements do you agree with? In the last 5 years ... (q14)



Majority say government is either not doing enough or is doing nothing to ensure EU membership





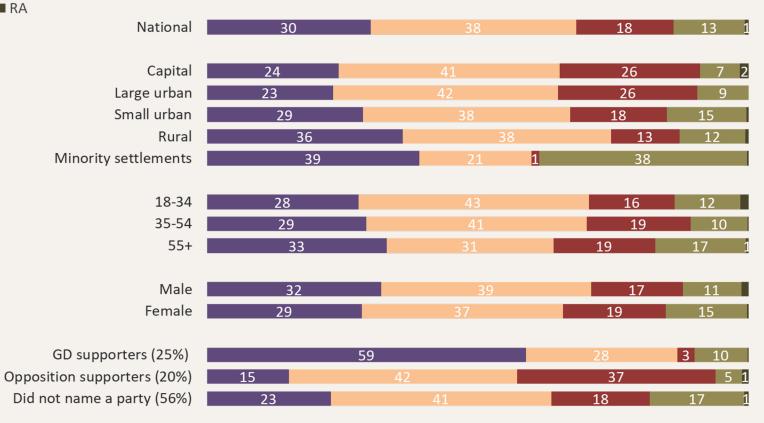
Tbilisi and big city residents, as well as opposition supporters are more skeptical than others that the government is doing everything in their power to ensure EU membership

A third of GD supporters are saying that GD led Government is not doing enough for EU membership.

Which of these three statements is closest to your opinion?

(q13 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

- Georgian government is doing everything in their power to ensure Georgia's EU membership
- Georgian government is not doing enough to ensure Georgia's EU membership
- Georgian government is doing nothing to ensure Georgia's EU membership
- DK
- RA



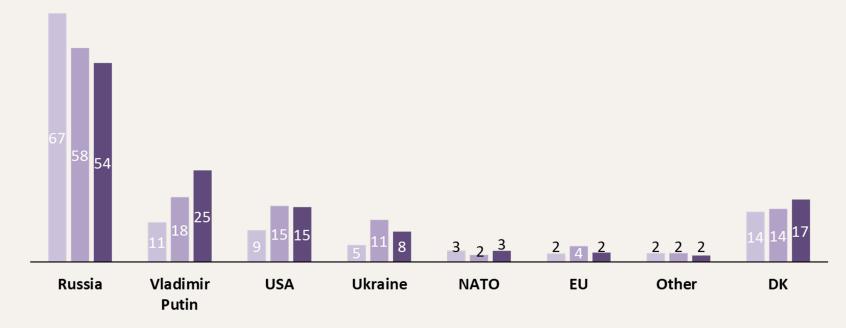
Chapter VII

- → Russian invasion into Ukraine
- → Impact of Russians' immigration in Georgia
- → State policy towards Russian citizens
- → Visa regime for Russian citizens
- → Attitudes towards the Russian government and the Russian people

Less and less people blame Russia for war in Ukraine, instead more people name Putin

To the best of your knowledge, whose fault is the War in Ukraine? Up to three answers. Open question (q16)





Compared to others, Tbilisi is more likely to blame Russia for the war in Ukraine

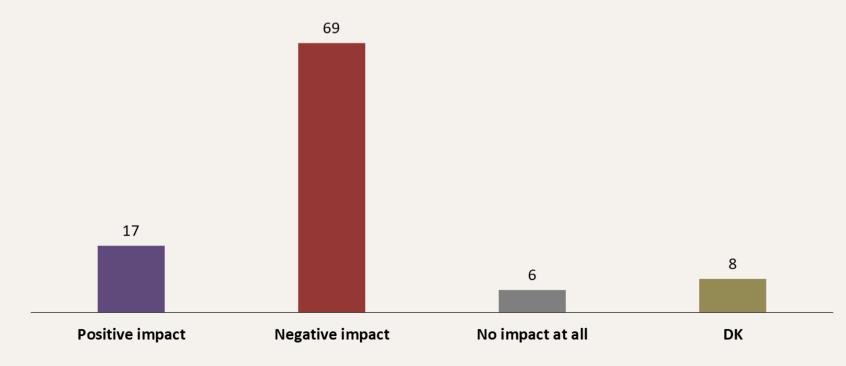
To the best of your knowledge, whose fault is the War in Ukraine? Up to three answers. (q16) Top 3 answers



A quarter of ethnic minority settlement residents blame US for the war in Ukraine.

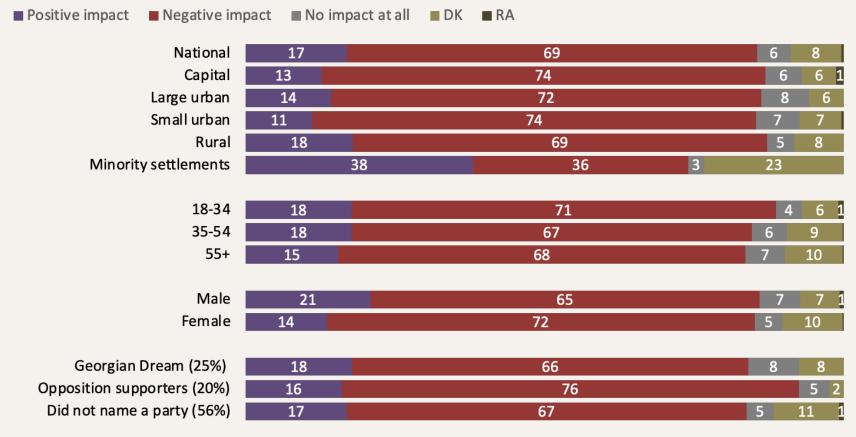
Majority say
Russian
immigration
might have a
negative impact

Since the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, many citizens of Russia have entered Georgia. In your opinion, what kind of overall impact, if any, this might have on Georgia? (q36)



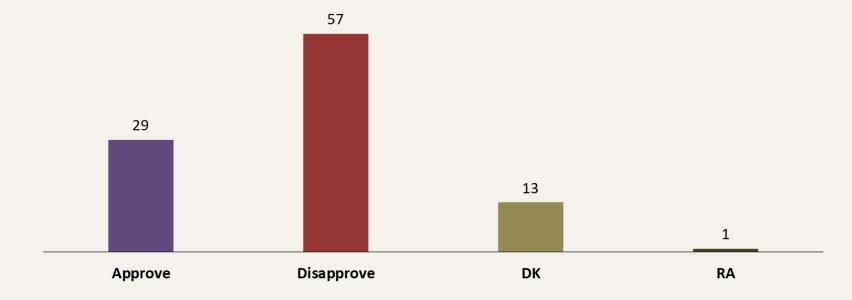
Ethnic minority settlements divided on what to expect from Russian immigration

Since the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, many citizens of Russia have entered Georgia. In your opinion, what kind of overall impact, if any, this might have on Georgia? (q36 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



Majority disapprove state policies regarding Russian immigration to Georgia

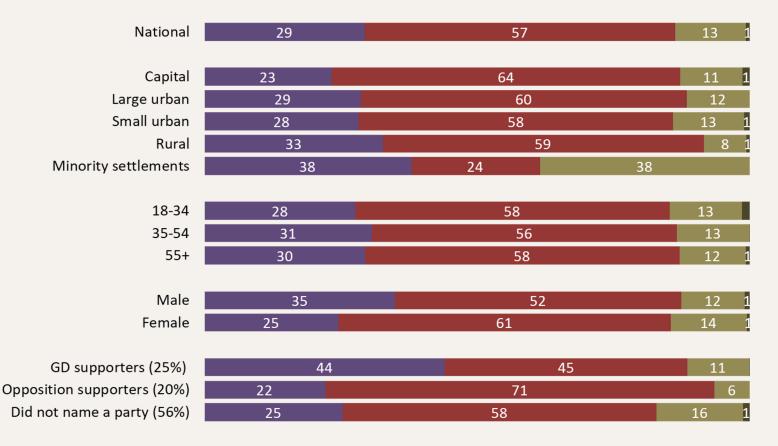
Do you approve or disapprove of the Georgian authorities' approach regarding Russians entering Georgia? (q37)



Tbilisi residents, women and opposition supporters are most critical about the state policies towards Russian citizens

Do you approve or disapprove of the Georgian authorities' approach regarding Russians entering Georgia? (q37 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)

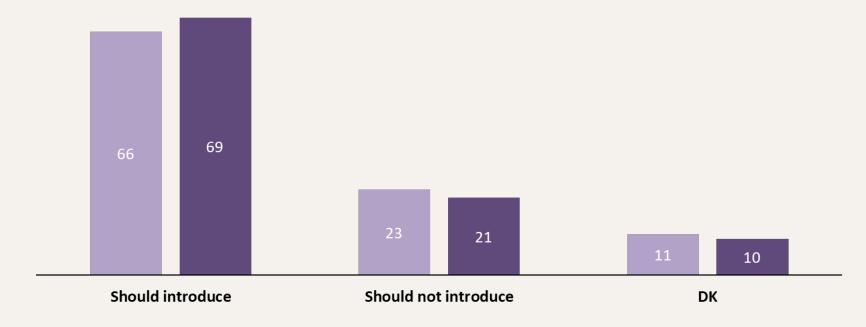




Overwhelming support For introduction of visa regime for Russian citizens

Currently Russian citizens don't need visas for entering Georgia. Do you think Georgian government should introduce a visa regime for Russian citizens? (q38)

■ March 2022 ■ December 2022

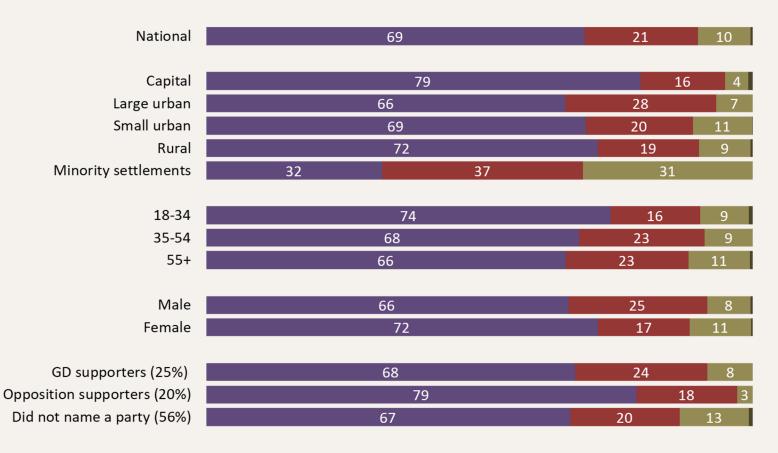


Tbilisi residents, 18-34 age group, women and opposition supporters are more in favor of visa regime for Russian citizens

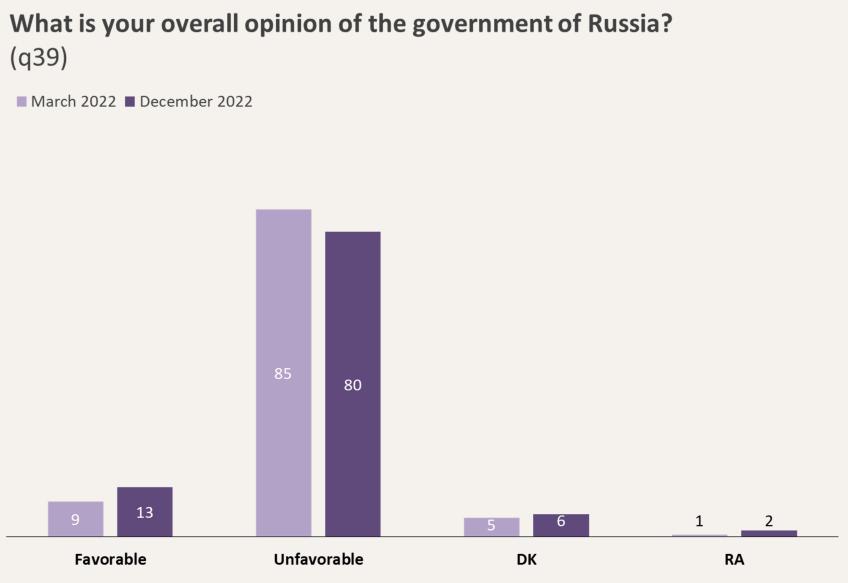
Ethnic minorities are undecided about this subject.

Currently Russian citizens don't need visas for entering Georgia. Do you think Georgian government should introduce a visa regime for Russian citizens? (q38 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)





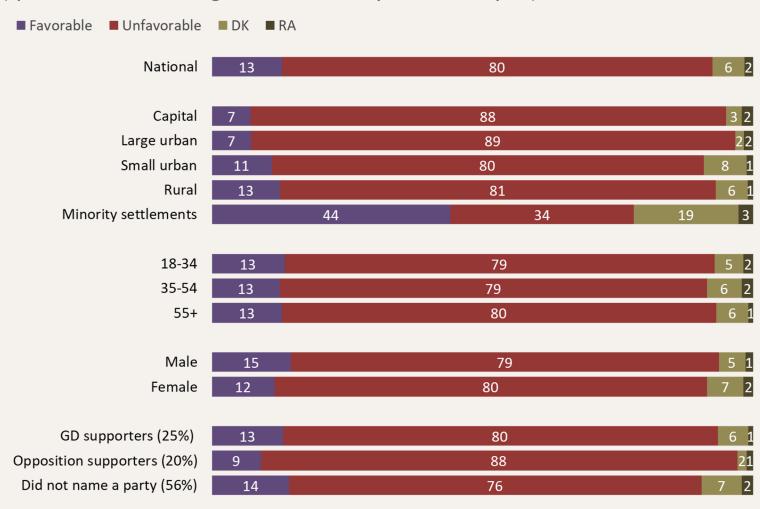
Georgian citizens have predominantly unfavorable attitude towards the government of Russia



Ethnic minority settlements have the most favorable attitude towards the Russian government

What is your overall opinion of the government of Russia?

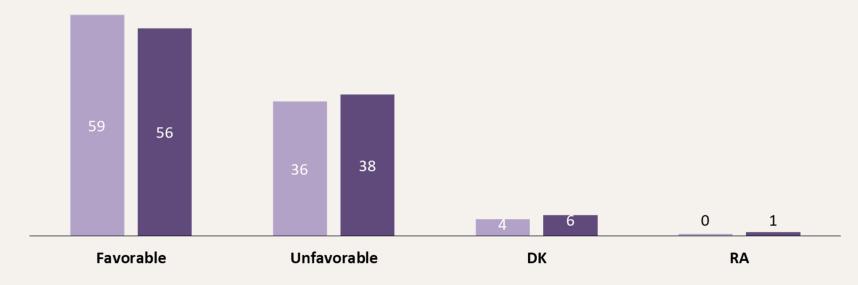
(q39 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



Unlike Russian government, majority of Georgian citizens have favorable opinion about Russian people

What is your overall opinion of the people of Russia? (q40)

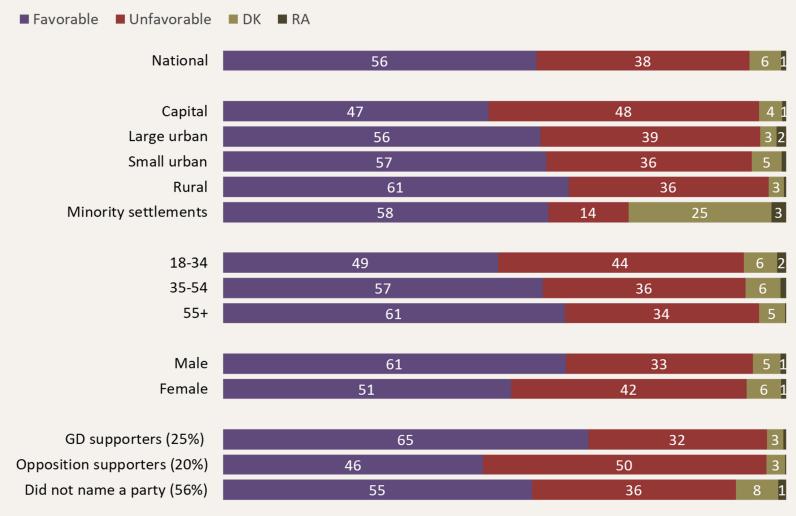
■ March 2022 ■ December 2022



Tbilisi residents, 18-34 age group, women and opposition supporters have least favorable attitude towards Russian people

What is your overall opinion of the people of Russia?

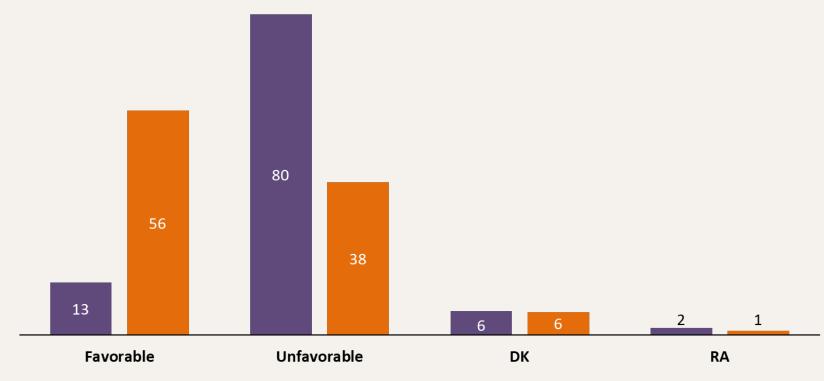
(q40 X Settlement, Age, Gender, Party closest to you)



To sum-up: Georgians believe that Russian government and Russian people are not the same

What is your overall opinion of the government of Russia? - By what is your overall opinion of the people of Russia? (q39 X q40)

■ Government of Russia ■ People of Russia



Research is funded by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland through the foreign, commonwealth and development office's good governance fund.

NDI-CRRC POLLS AVAILABLE AT:

- → <u>WWW.NDI.ORG/GEORGIA-POLLS</u>
- → <u>WW.CAUCASUSBAROMETER.ORG</u>