



Public attitudes in Georgia

Results of a November 2015 survey carried out for
NDI by CRRC Georgia

This research is funded by the Swedish International
Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)

Laura Thornton - NDI Georgia

Why We Conduct Polls?

- Foster the development of more responsive policies and governance;
- Help stakeholders diagnose and address issues of public concern;

- leaders from across the political spectrum have reported that the polls are important to their work and encourage continued polling;
- Inclusive process: the polling instrument was developed in consultation with parties, government, and civil society leaders;

Information about the poll

- Fieldwork dates: November 17 – December 7, 2015
- 1,881 completed interviews
- A nationally representative sample of Georgian speakers including oversampled areas of the Capital, Urban and Rural settlements.
- The average margin of error is +/- 1,8%

Methodology

Sample design

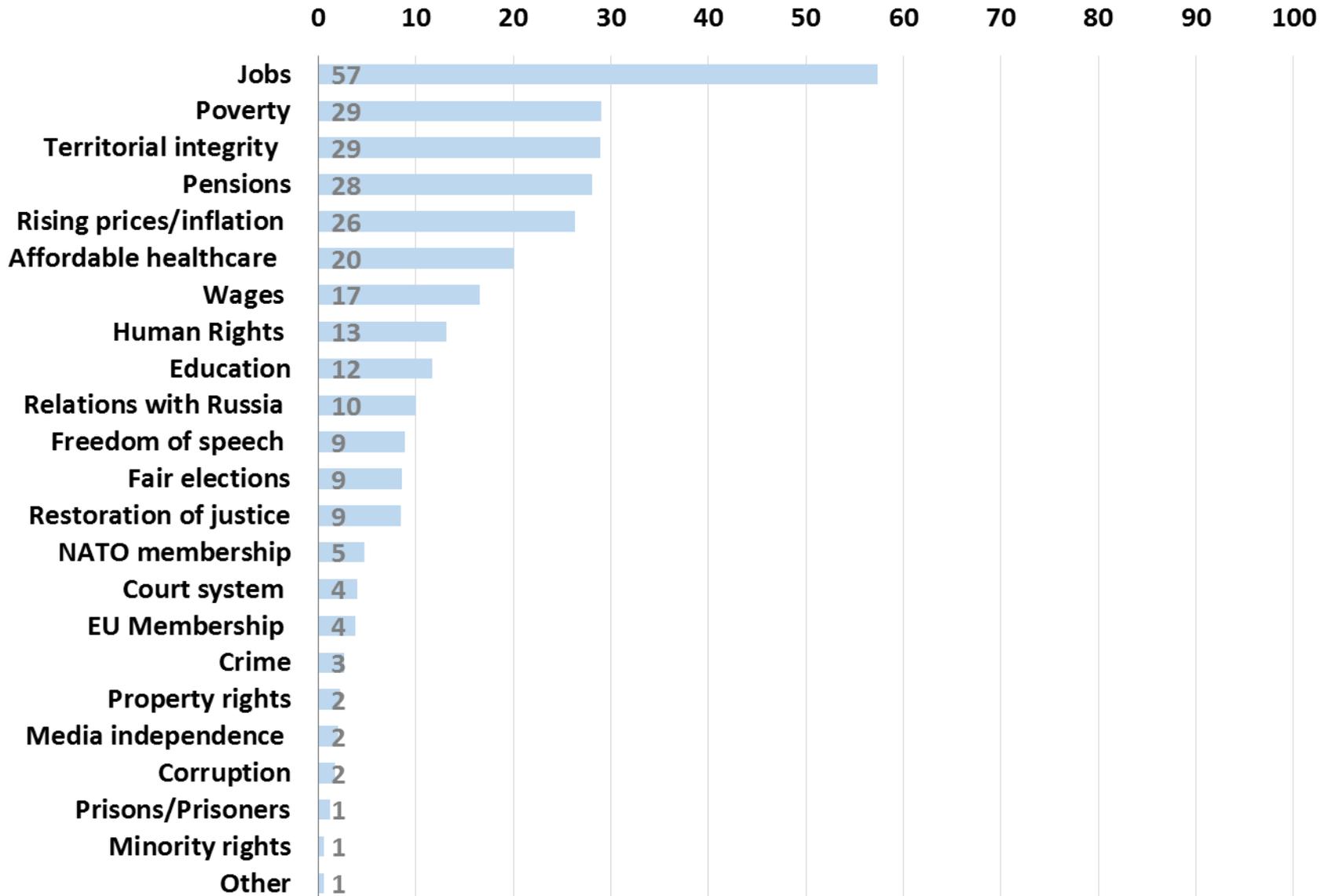
NDI and CRRC use a complex survey design:

- ✓ **Stratification** – dividing population in relatively homogenous sub-groups
- ✓ **Clustering** – randomly selecting small geographic areas for each subgroup (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, in Georgian.

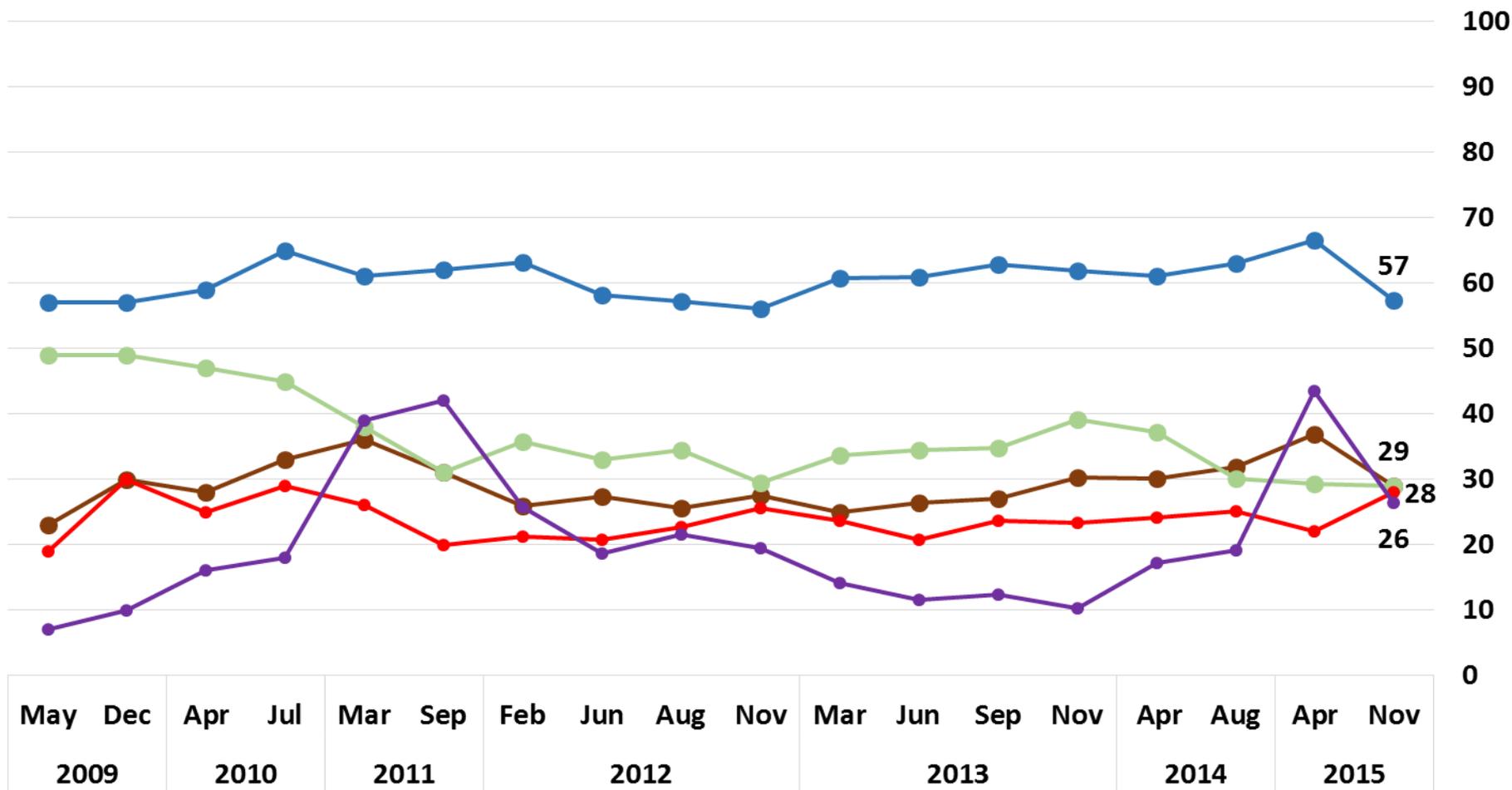
National Issues

Most important national issues. Name up to three (q1)



Most important national issue (q1)

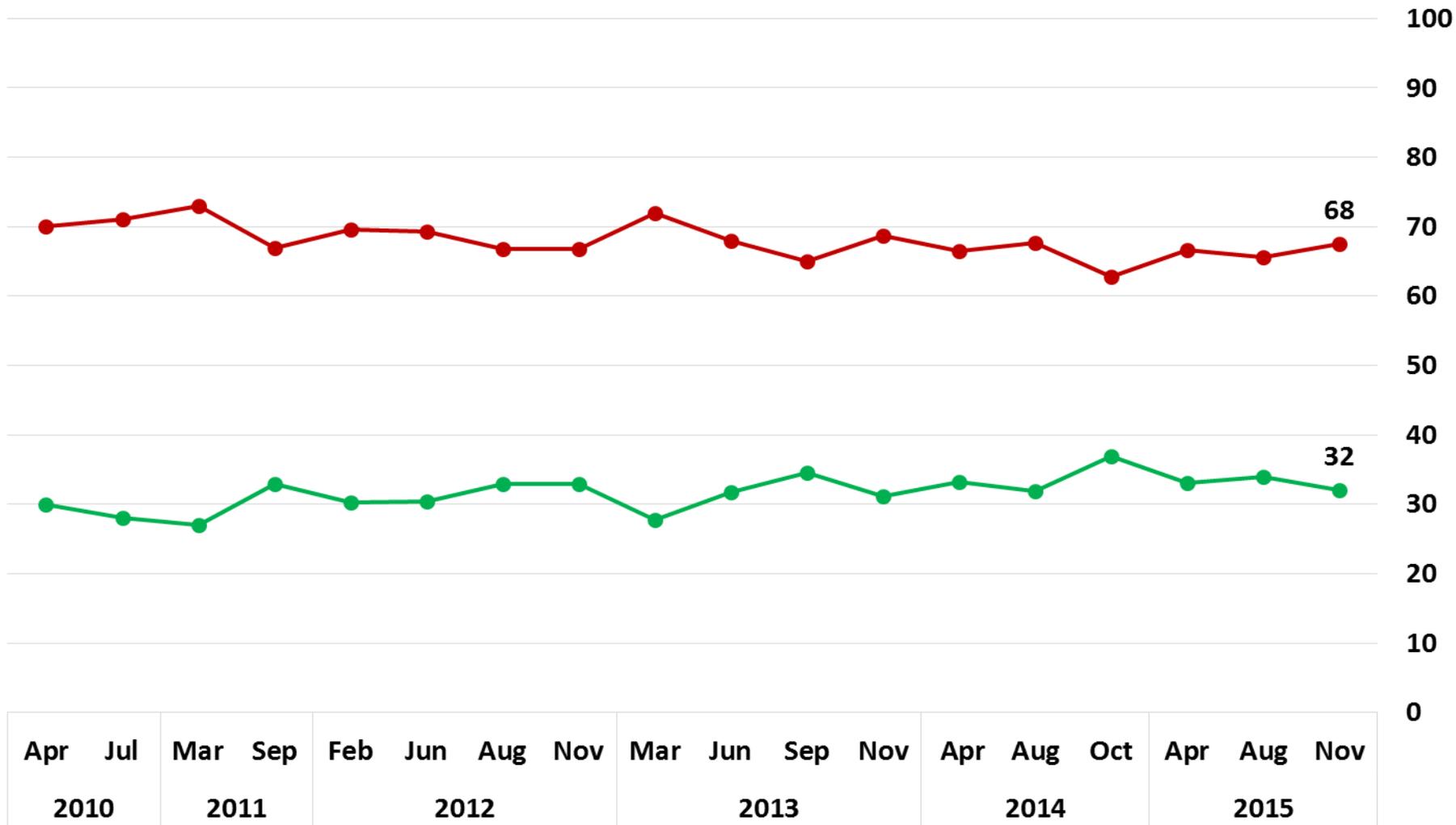
Jobs Poverty Territorial integrity Pensions Rising prices/inflation



All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers

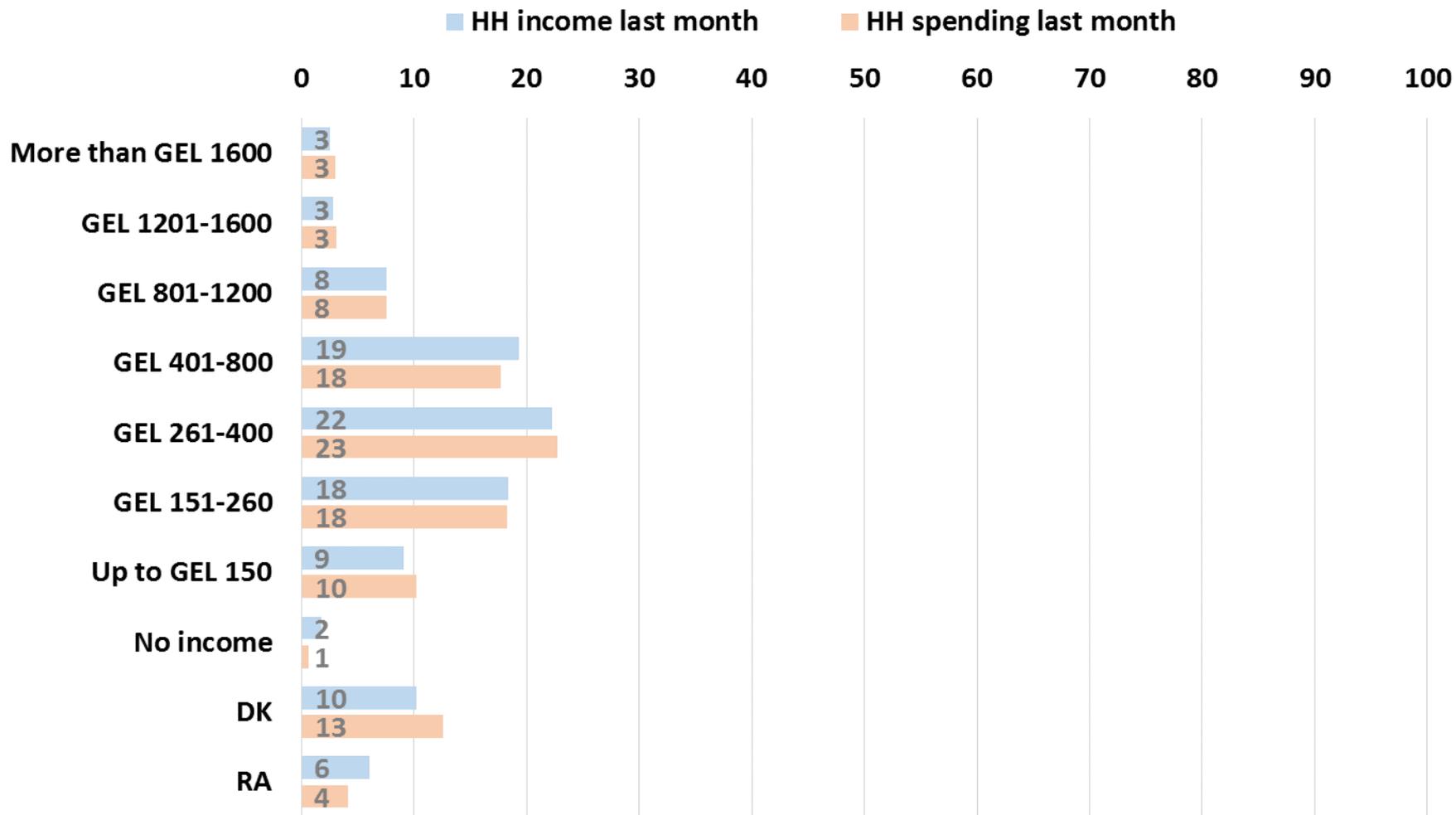
Do you consider yourself to be employed? (q34)

—●— Yes —●— No

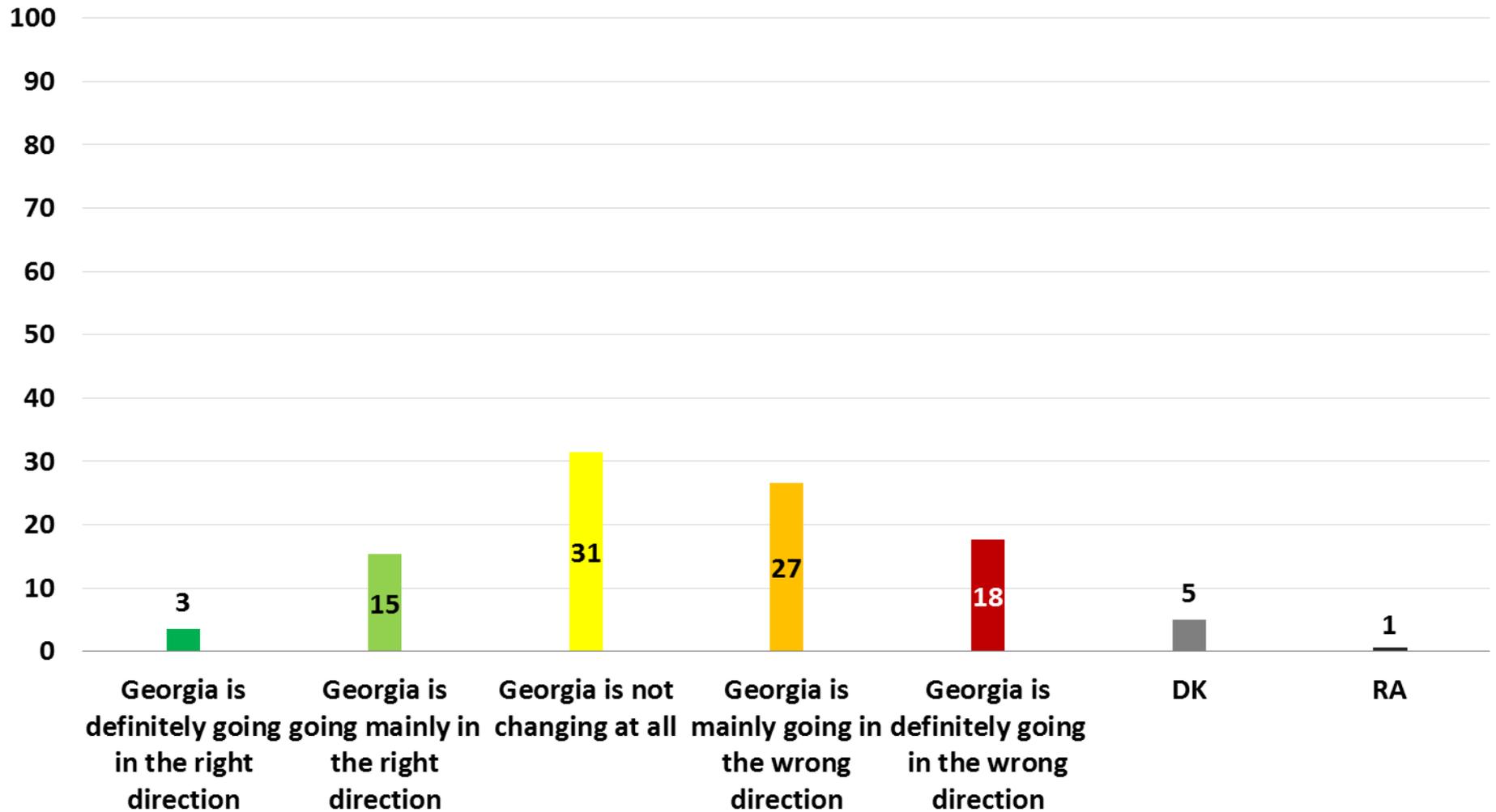


All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers

Speaking about a monetary income/spending last month, to which of the following groups does your household belong? (q33/q36)

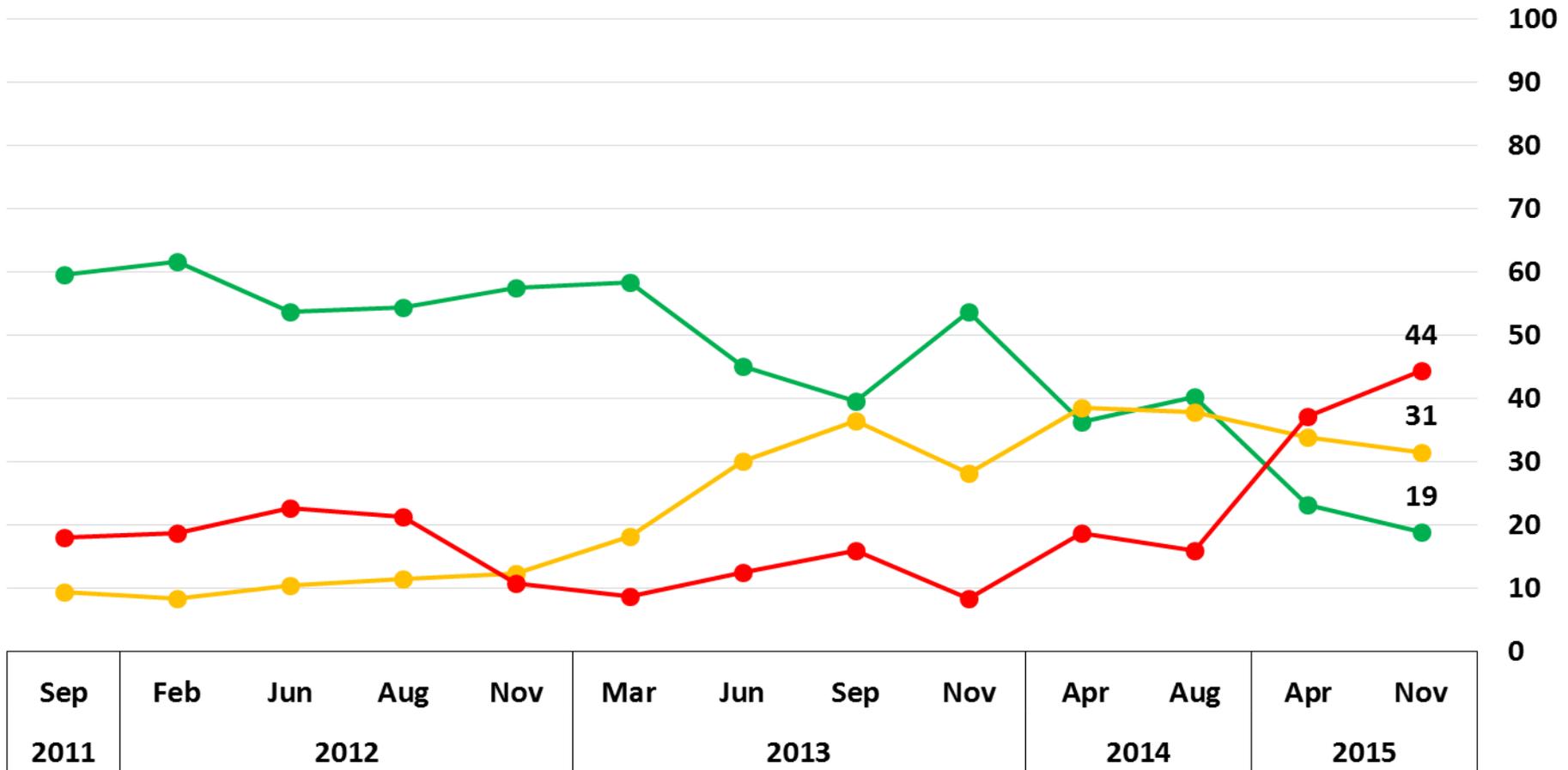


In which direction is Georgia going? (q2)



In which direction is Georgia going? (q2)

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

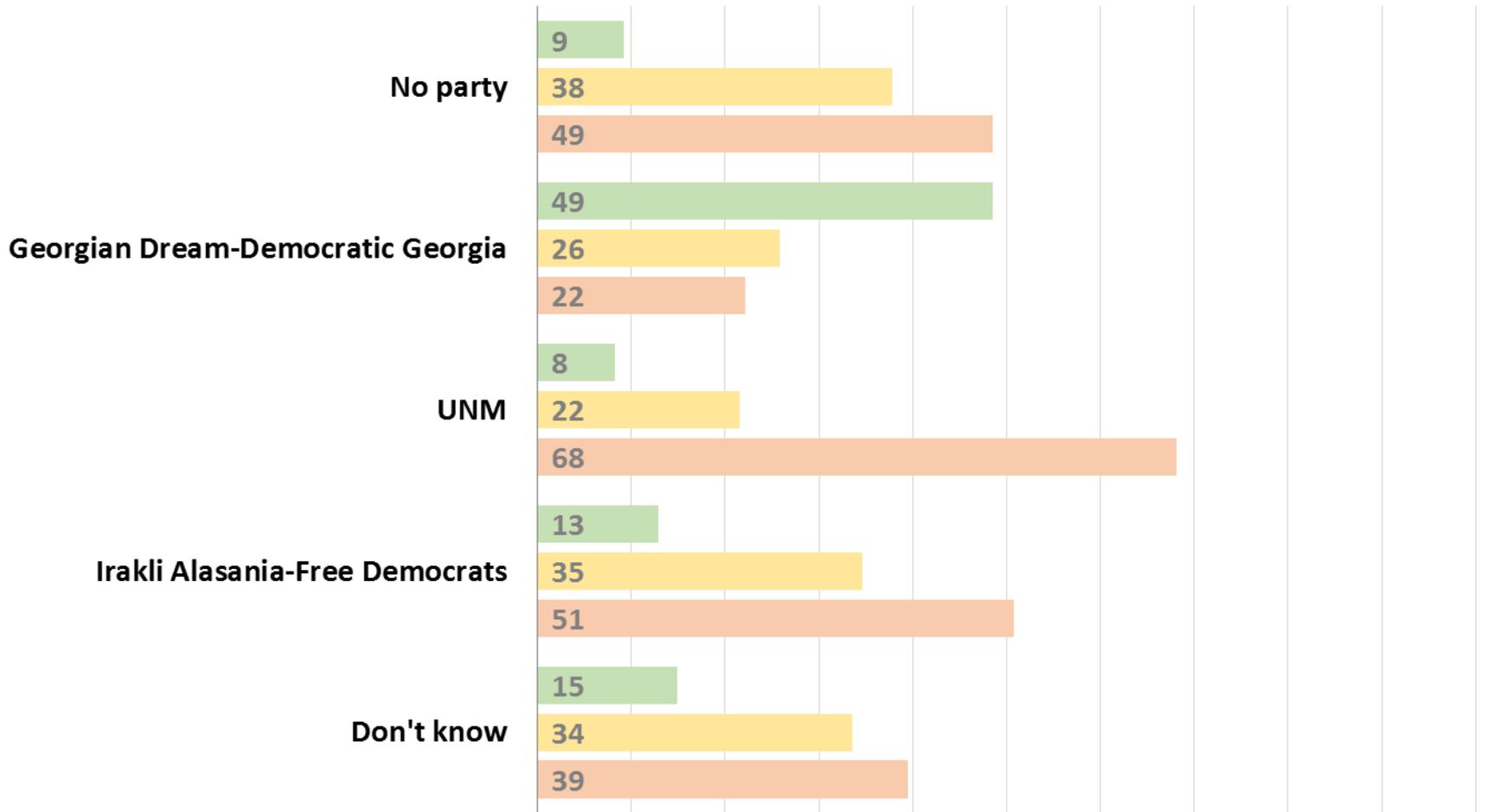


All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers

In which direction is Georgia Going? (q2 X Party closest to you)

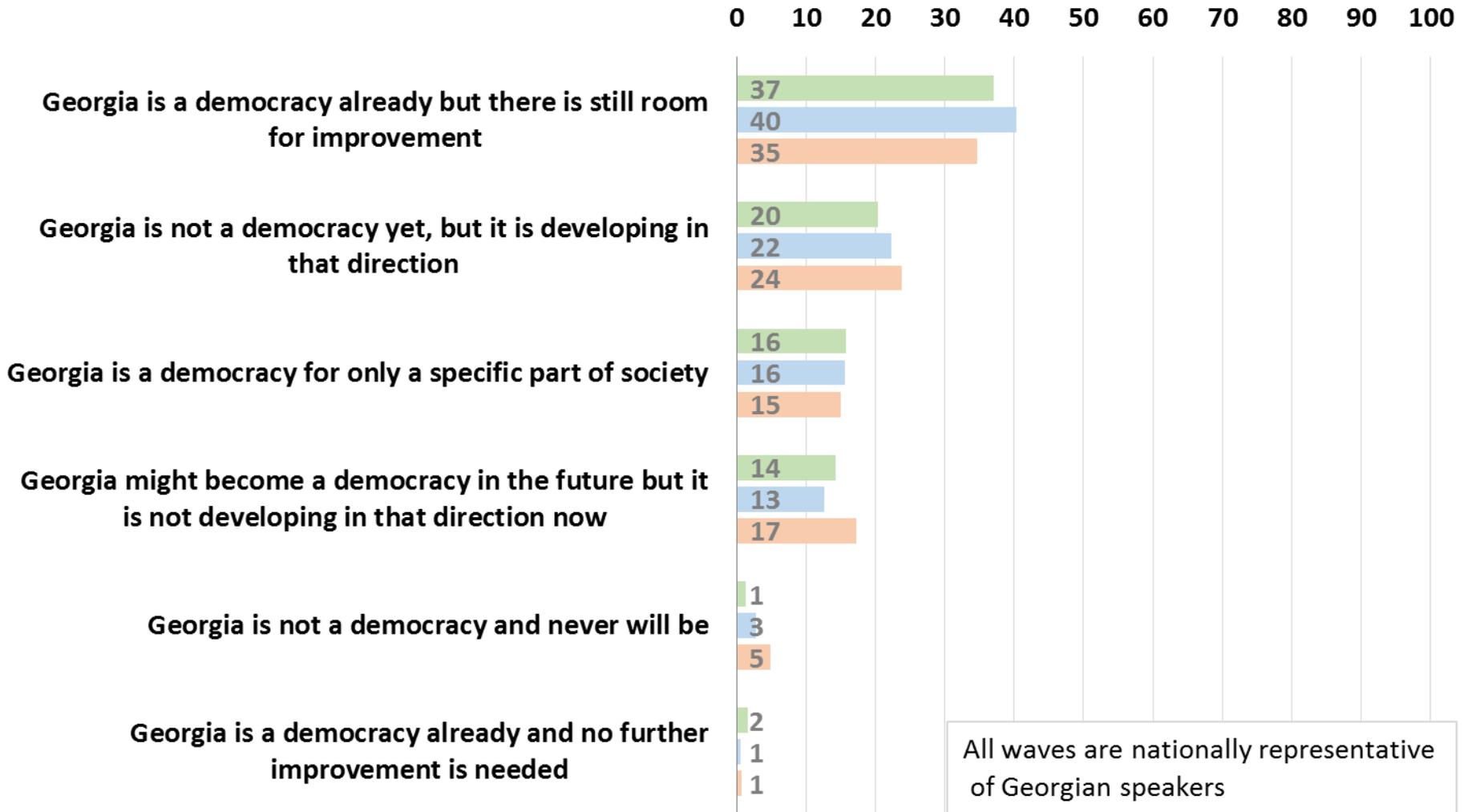
- Georgia is going in the right direction
- Georgia is going in the wrong direction
- Georgia is not changing at all

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



Which statement do you agree with the most? (q3)

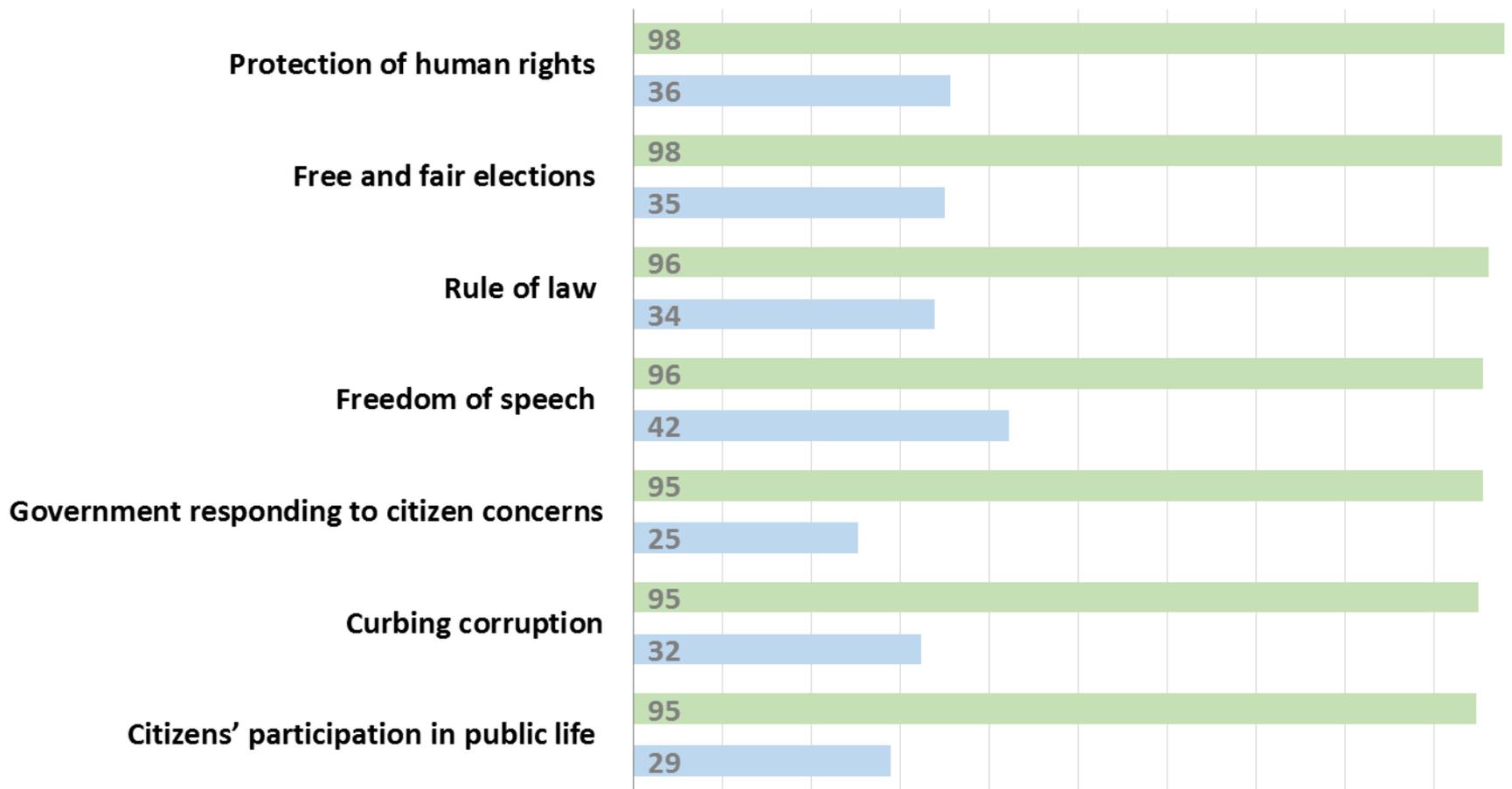
■ August 2012 ■ April 2014 ■ November 2015



How important or unimportant are the following for Georgia's democratic development? / How would you assess the condition of the following in Georgia? (q4/q5)

■ Is important for democratic development ■ Condition is good

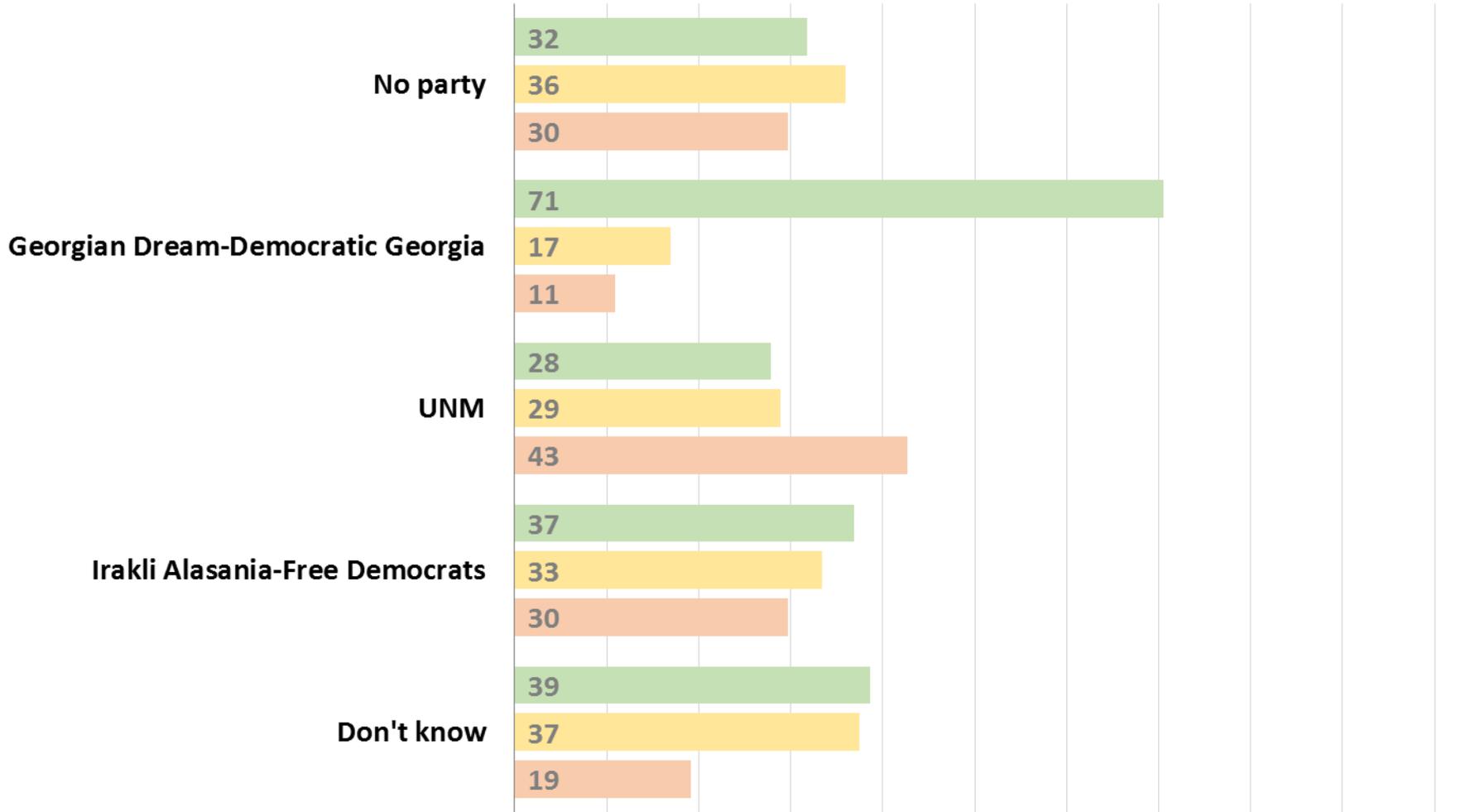
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



How would you assess the condition of freedom of speech in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

Good Neither good nor bad Bad

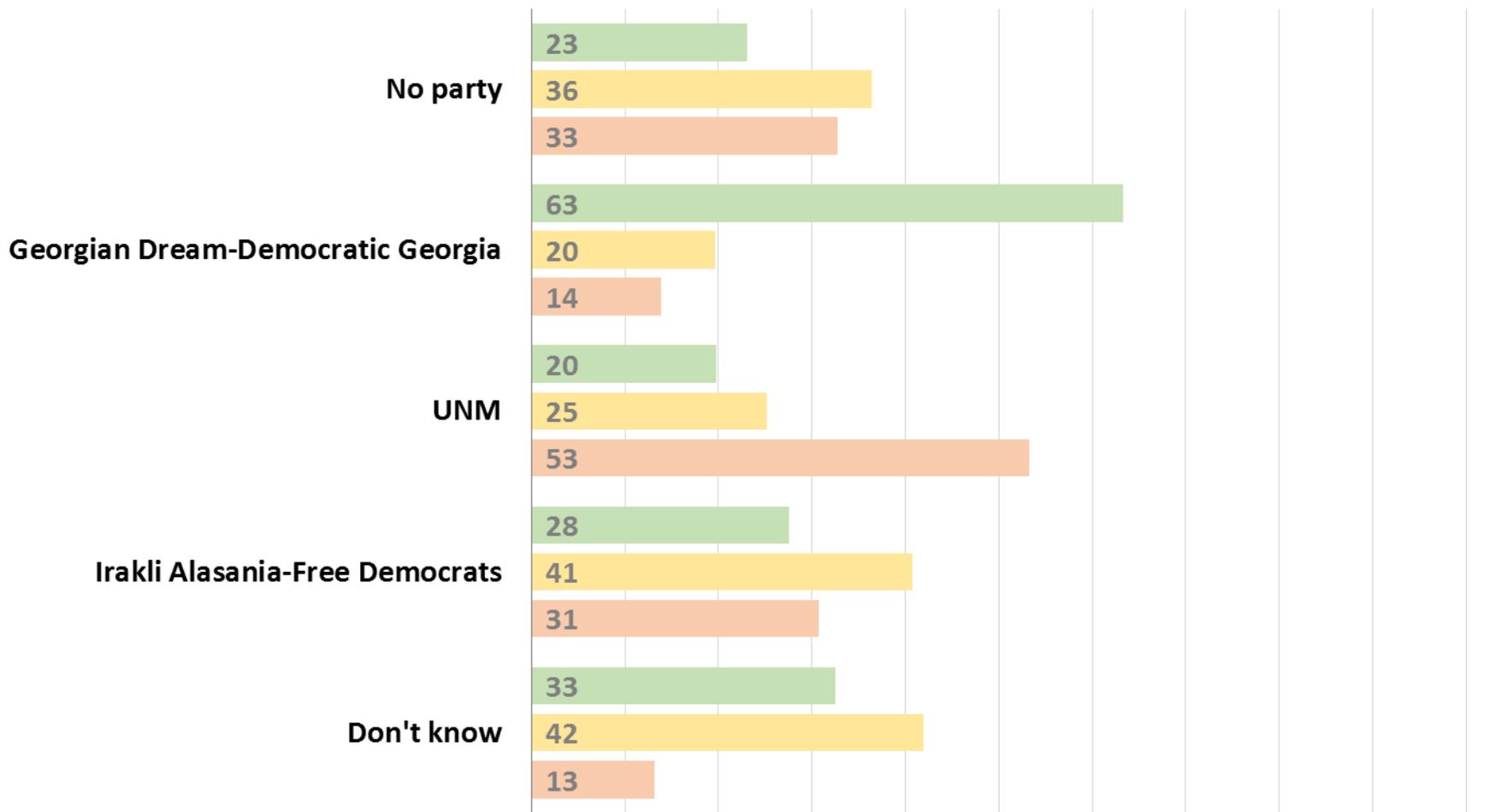
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



How would you assess the condition of rule of law in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

Good Neither good nor bad Bad

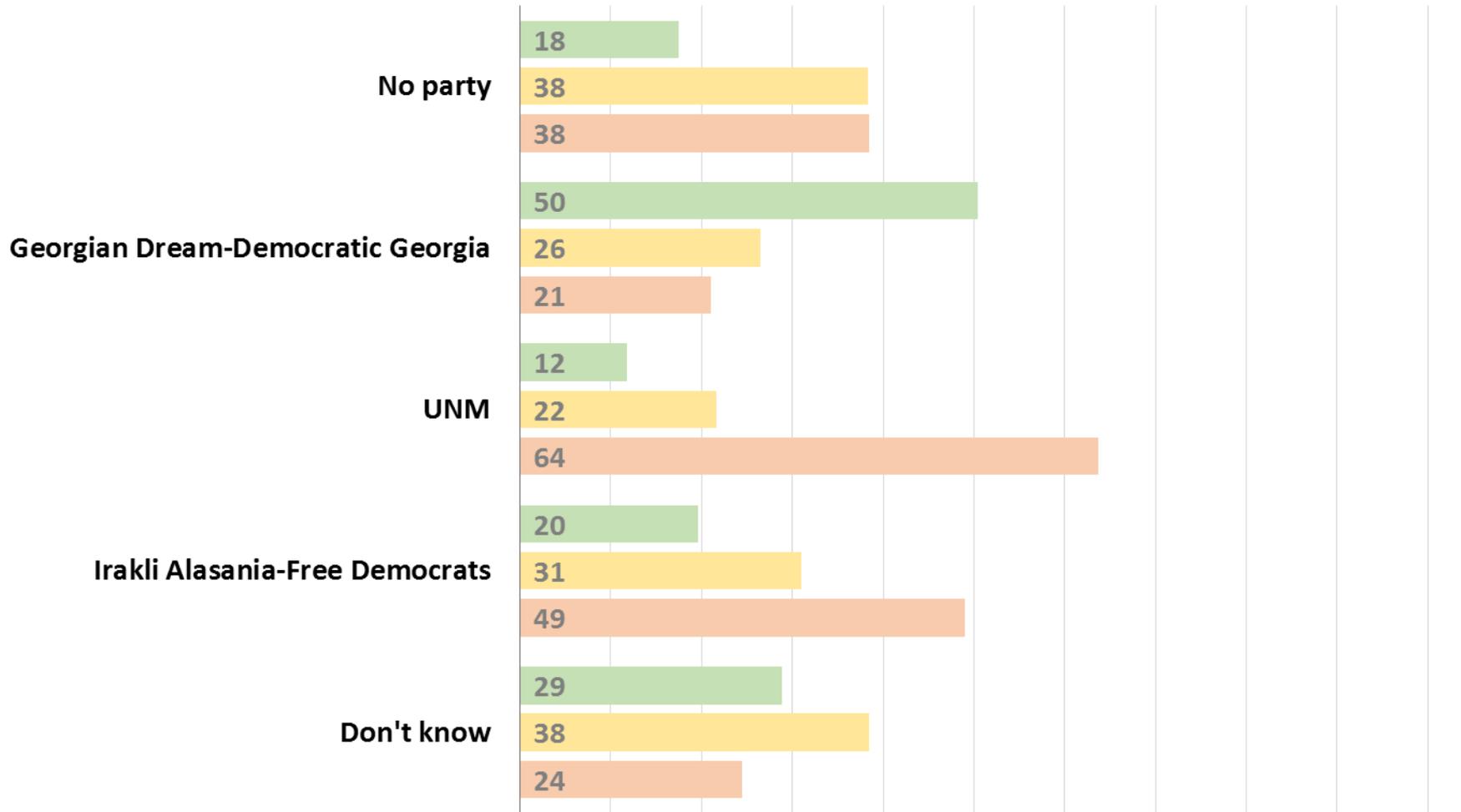
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



How would you assess the condition of government responding to citizen concerns in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

Good Neither good nor bad Bad

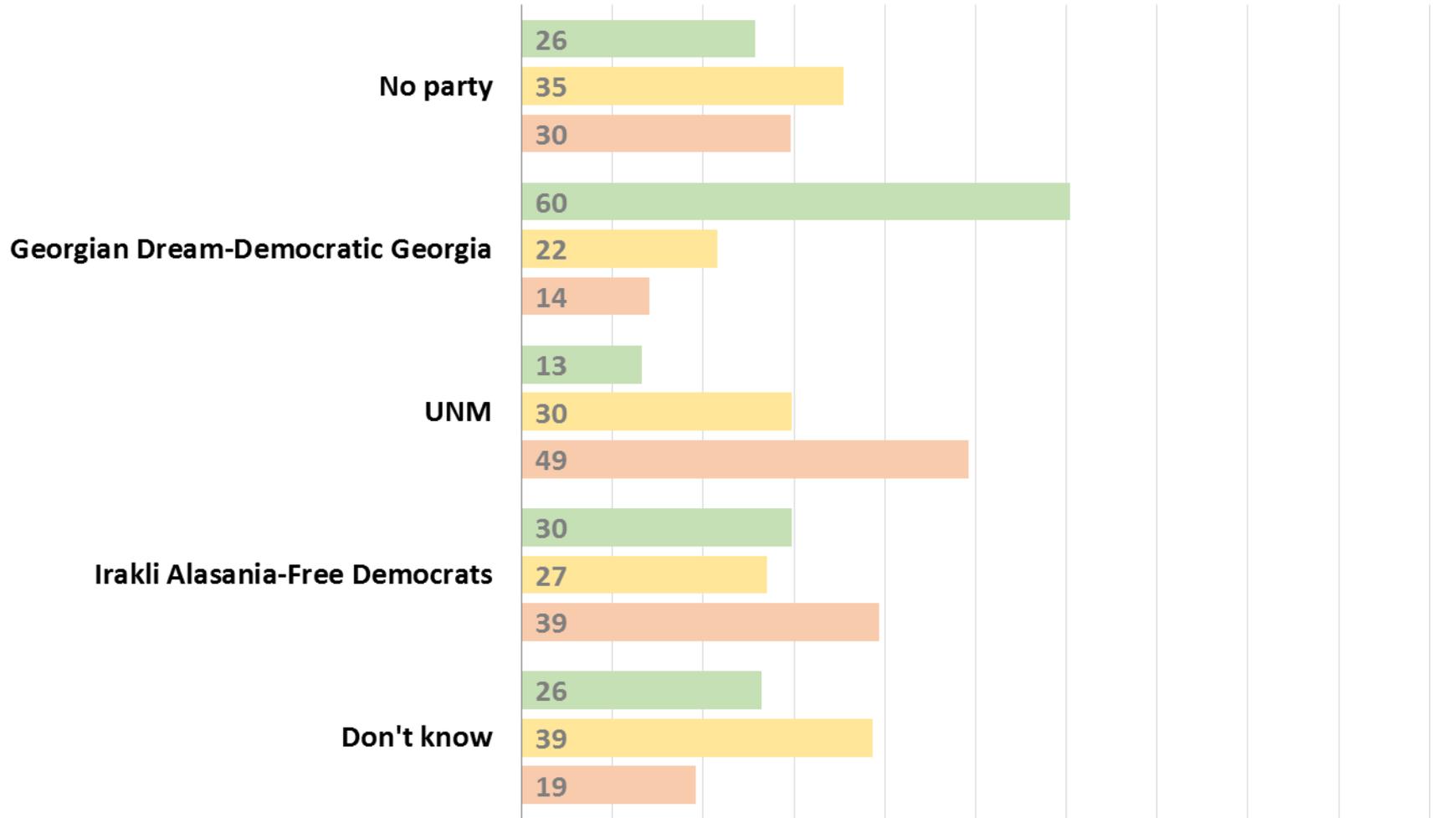
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How would you assess the condition of curbing corruption in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

Good Neither good nor bad Bad

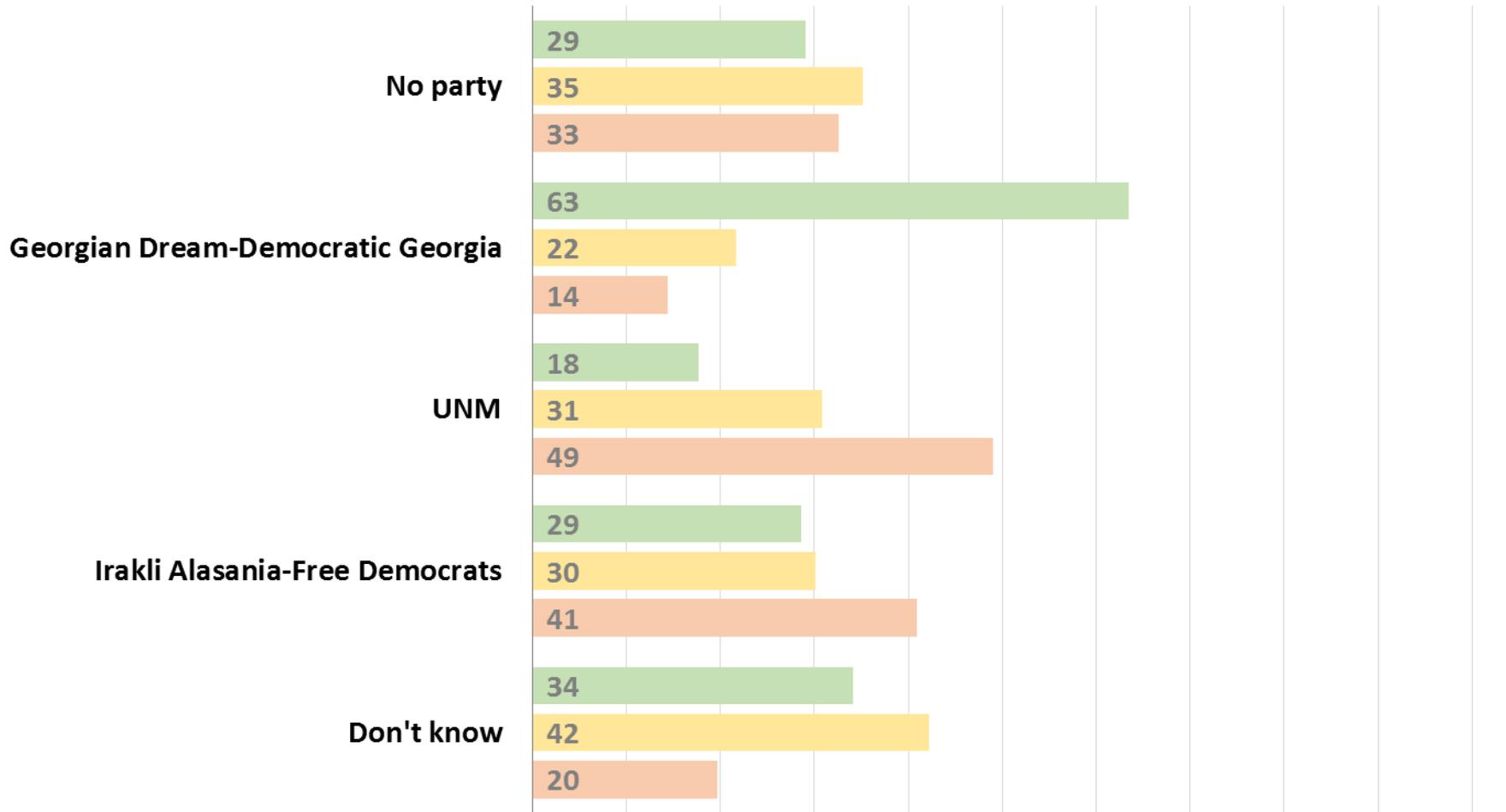
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How would you assess the condition of protection of human rights in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

Good Neither good nor bad Bad

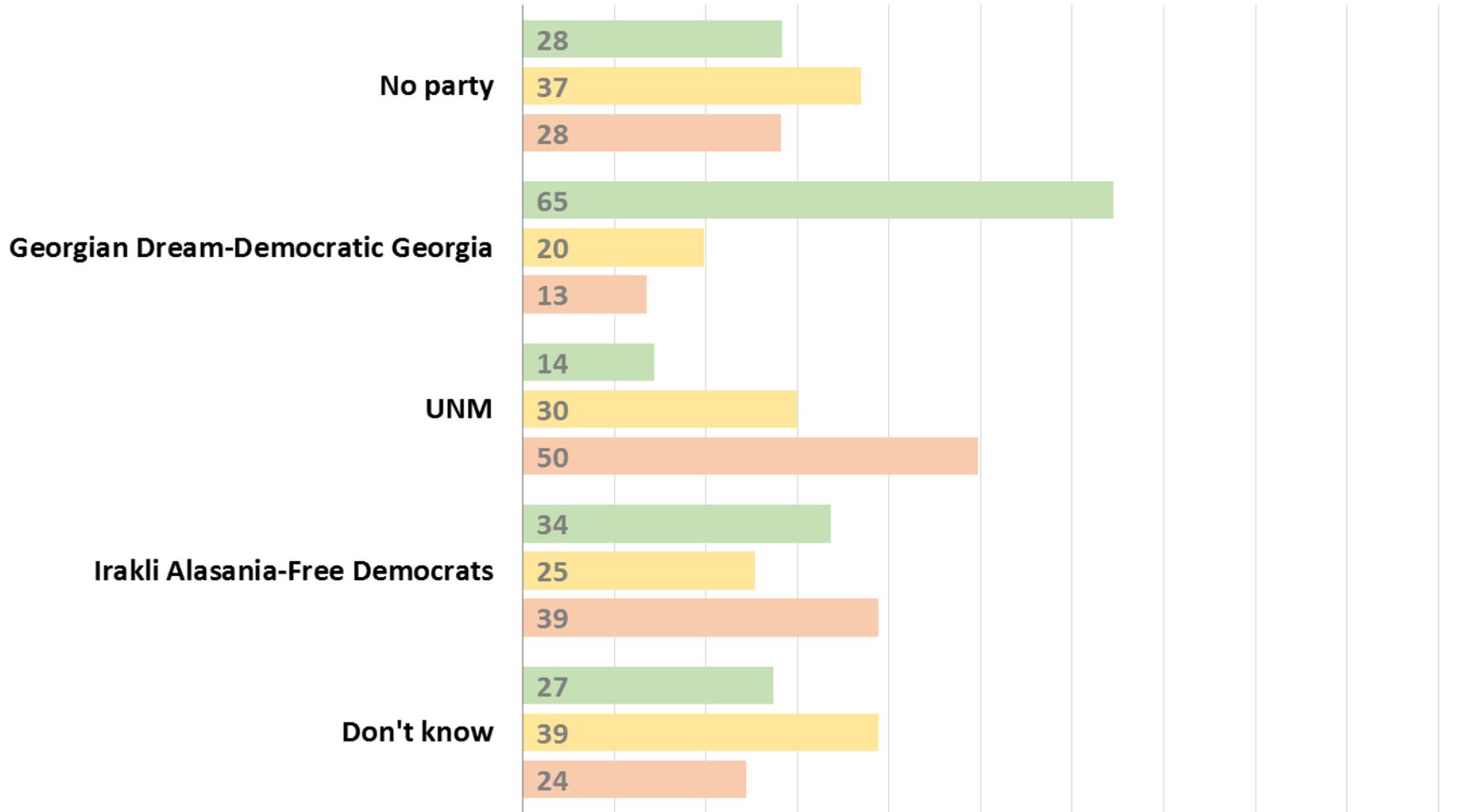
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



How would you assess the condition of free and fair elections in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

Good Neither good nor bad Bad

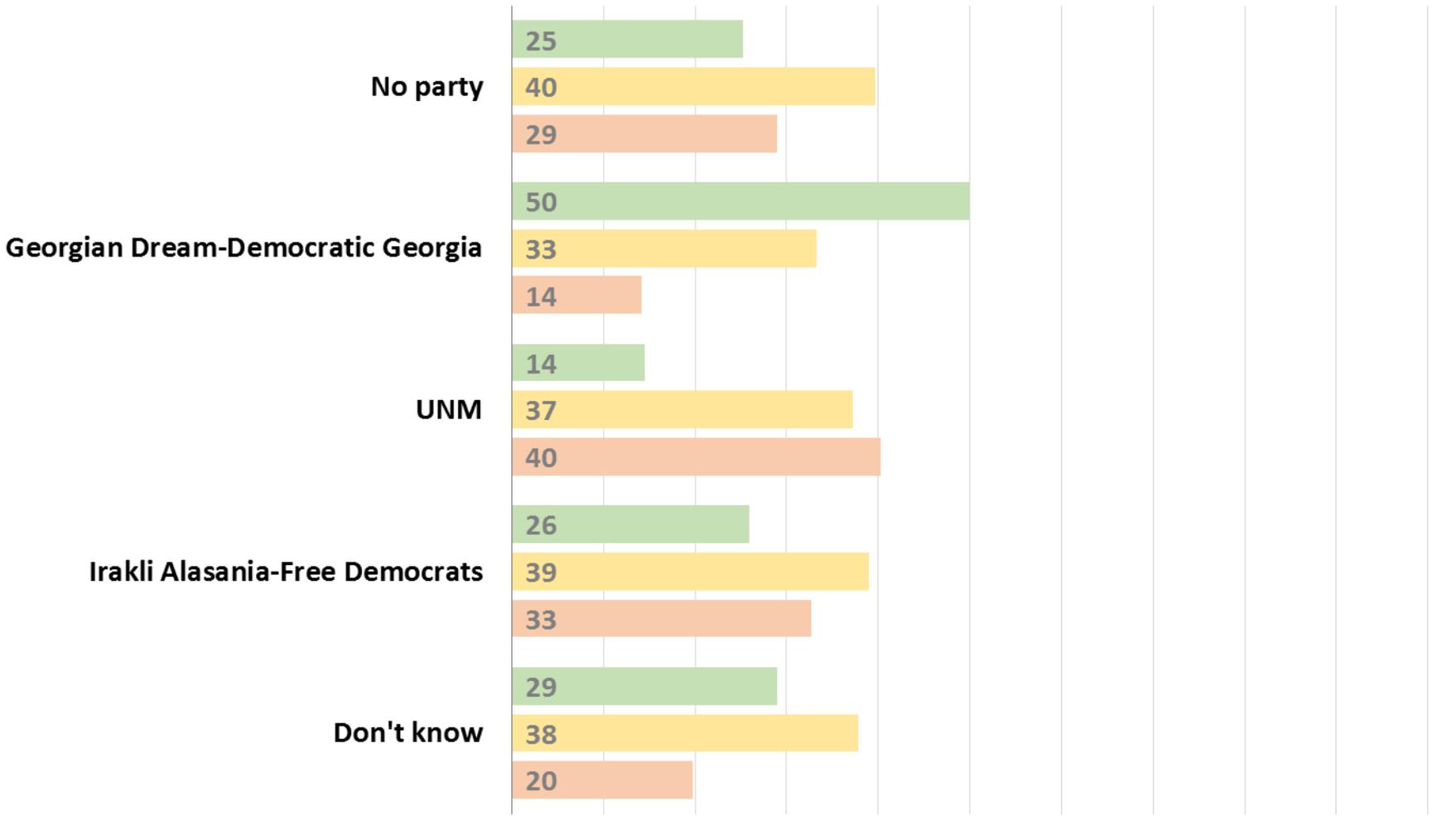
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



How would you assess the condition of citizens' participation in public life in Georgia? (q5 X Party closest to you)

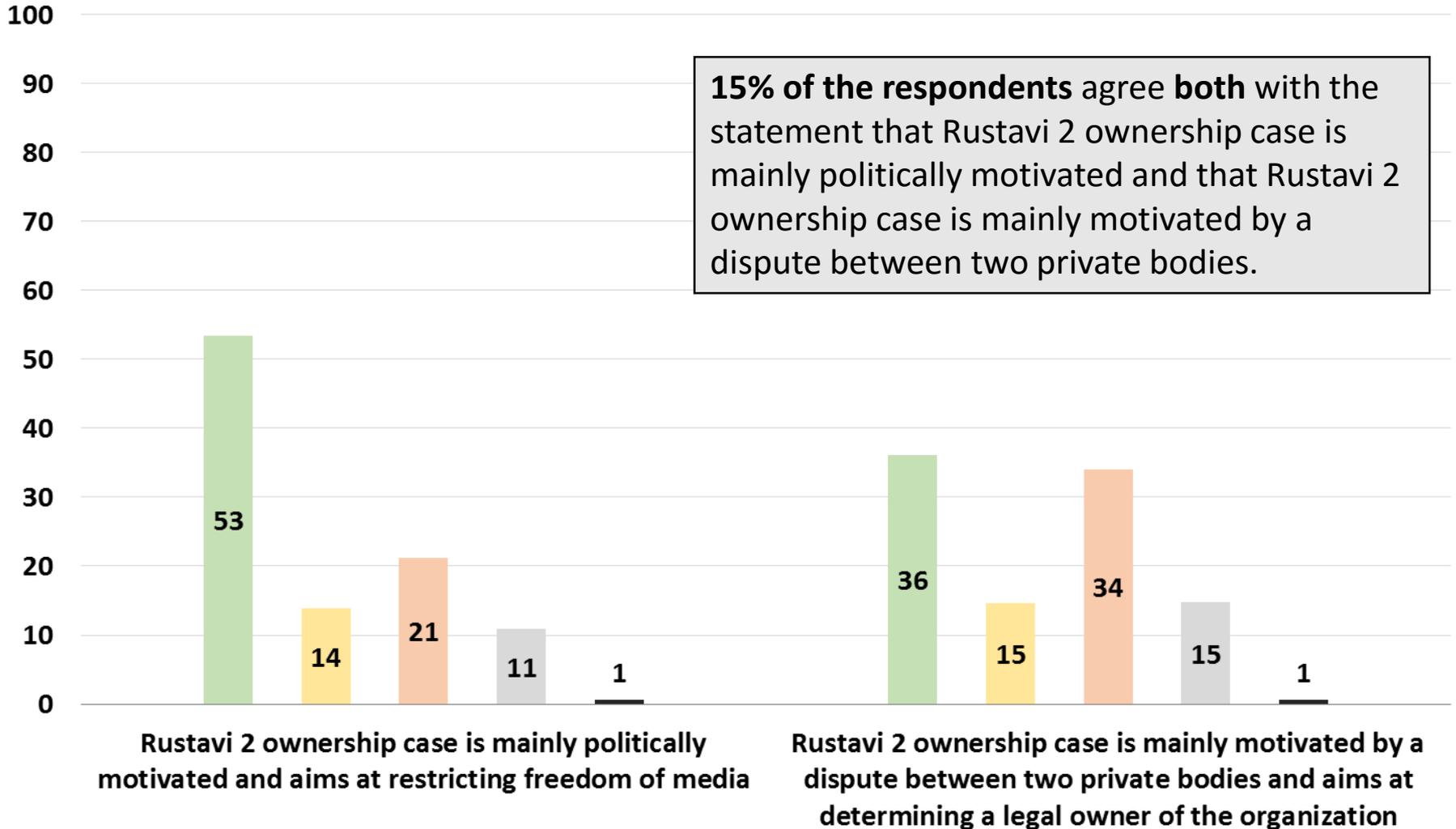
Good Neither good nor bad Bad

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

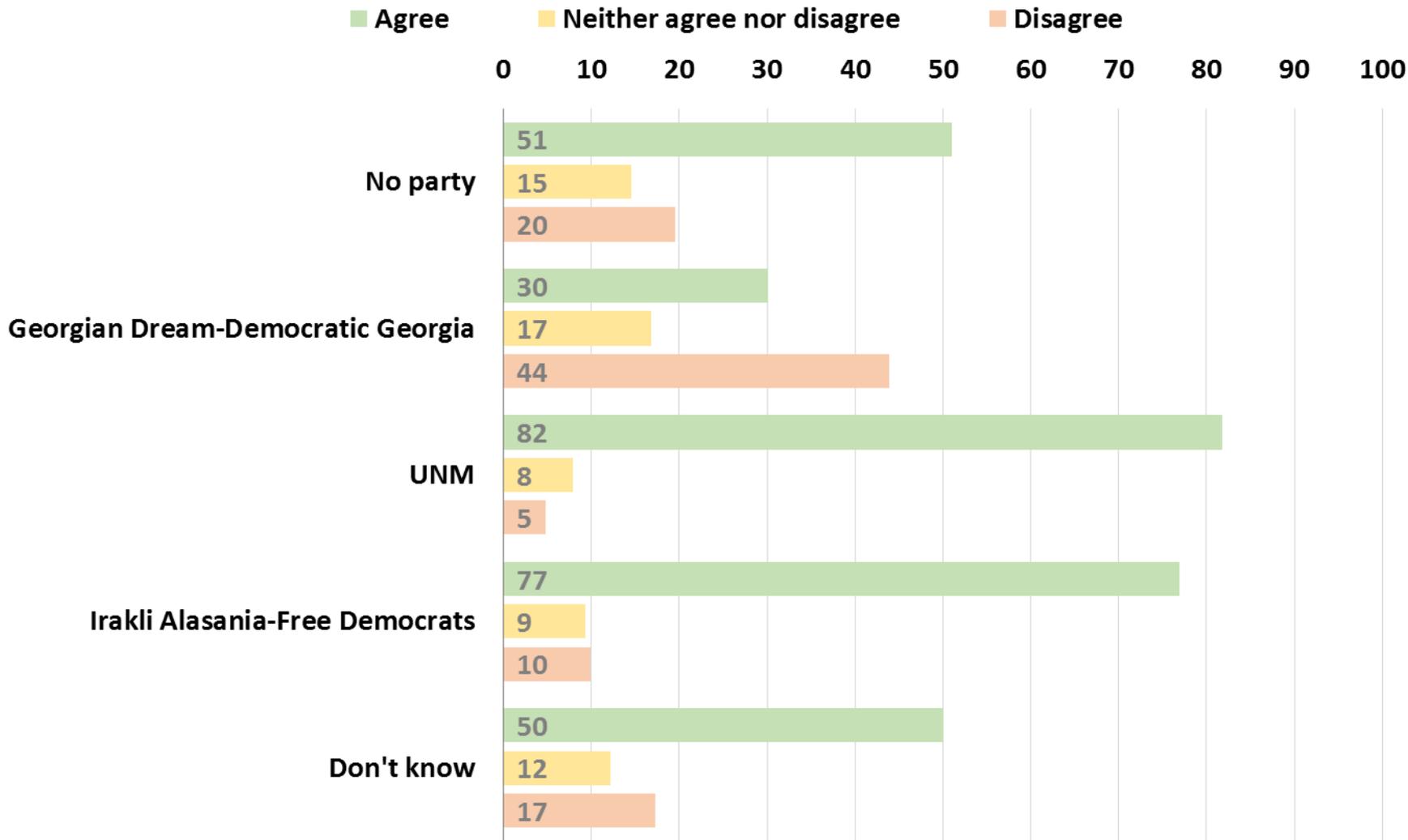


Do you agree or disagree that...? (q7/q8)

Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree DK RA



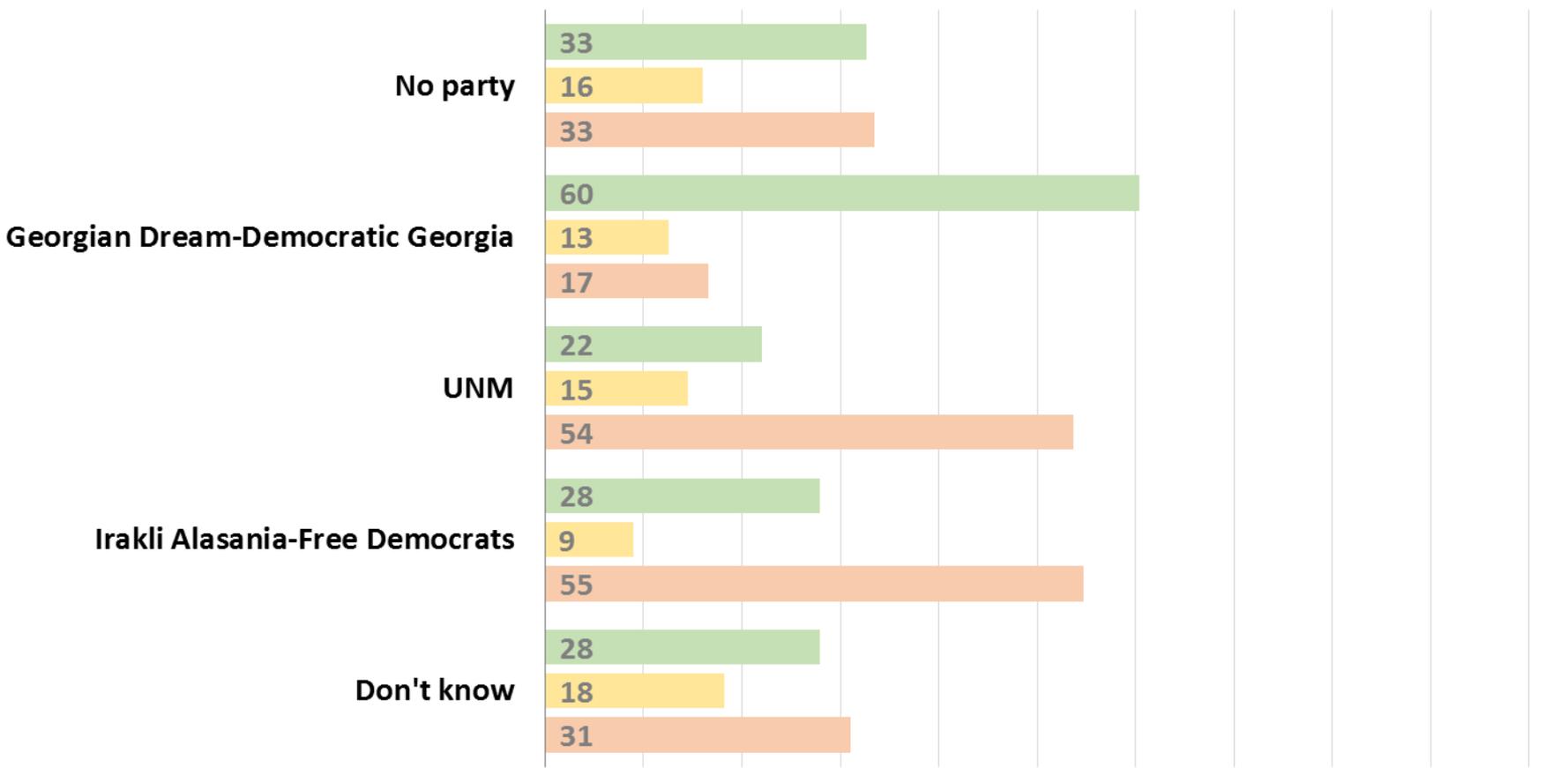
Do you agree or disagree that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly politically motivated and aims at restricting freedom of media? (q7 X Party closest to you)



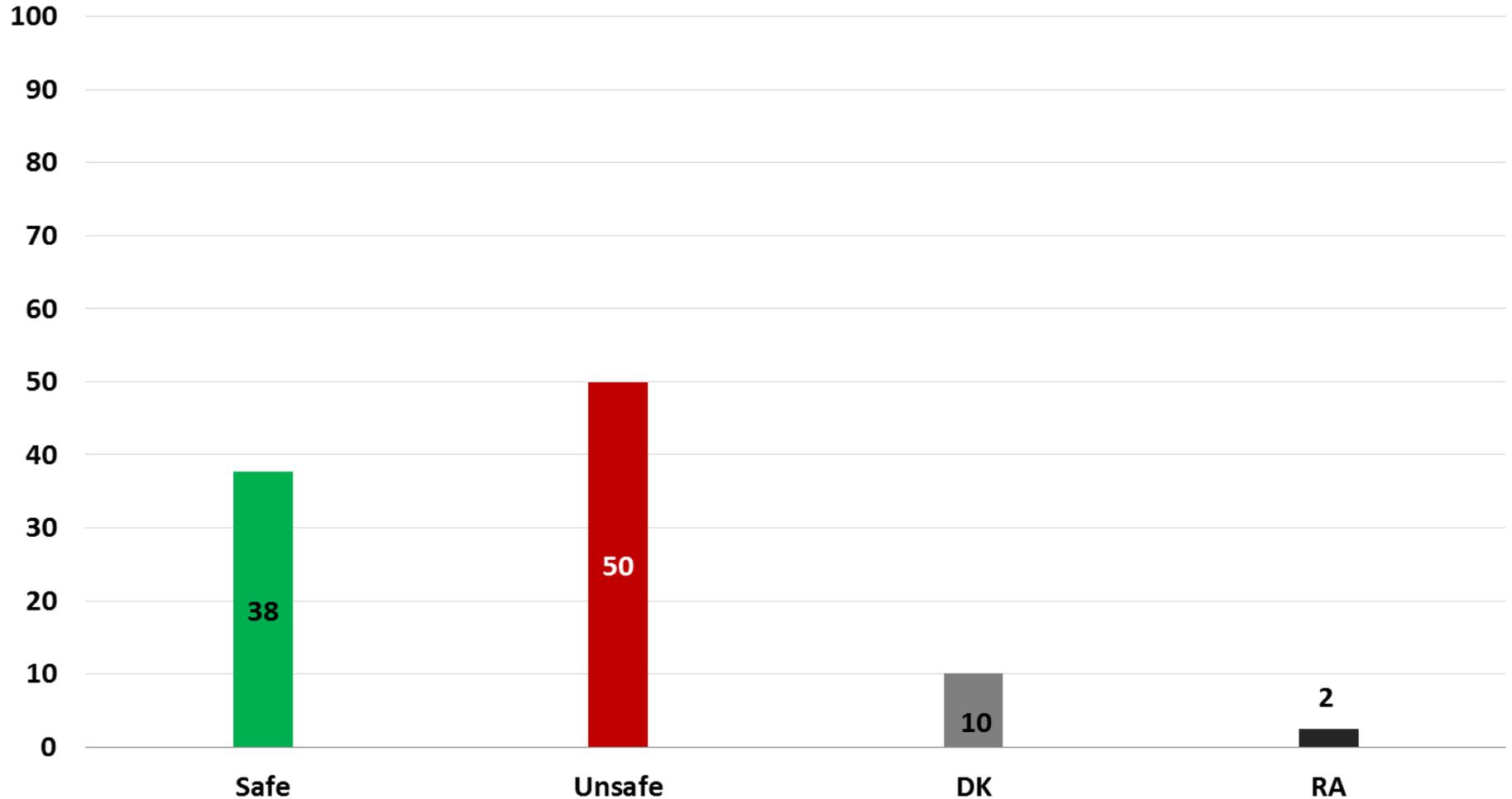
Do you agree or disagree that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly motivated by a dispute between two private bodies and aims at determining a legal owner of the organization? (q8 X Party closest to you)

Legend: Agree (Green), Neither agree nor disagree (Yellow), Disagree (Orange)

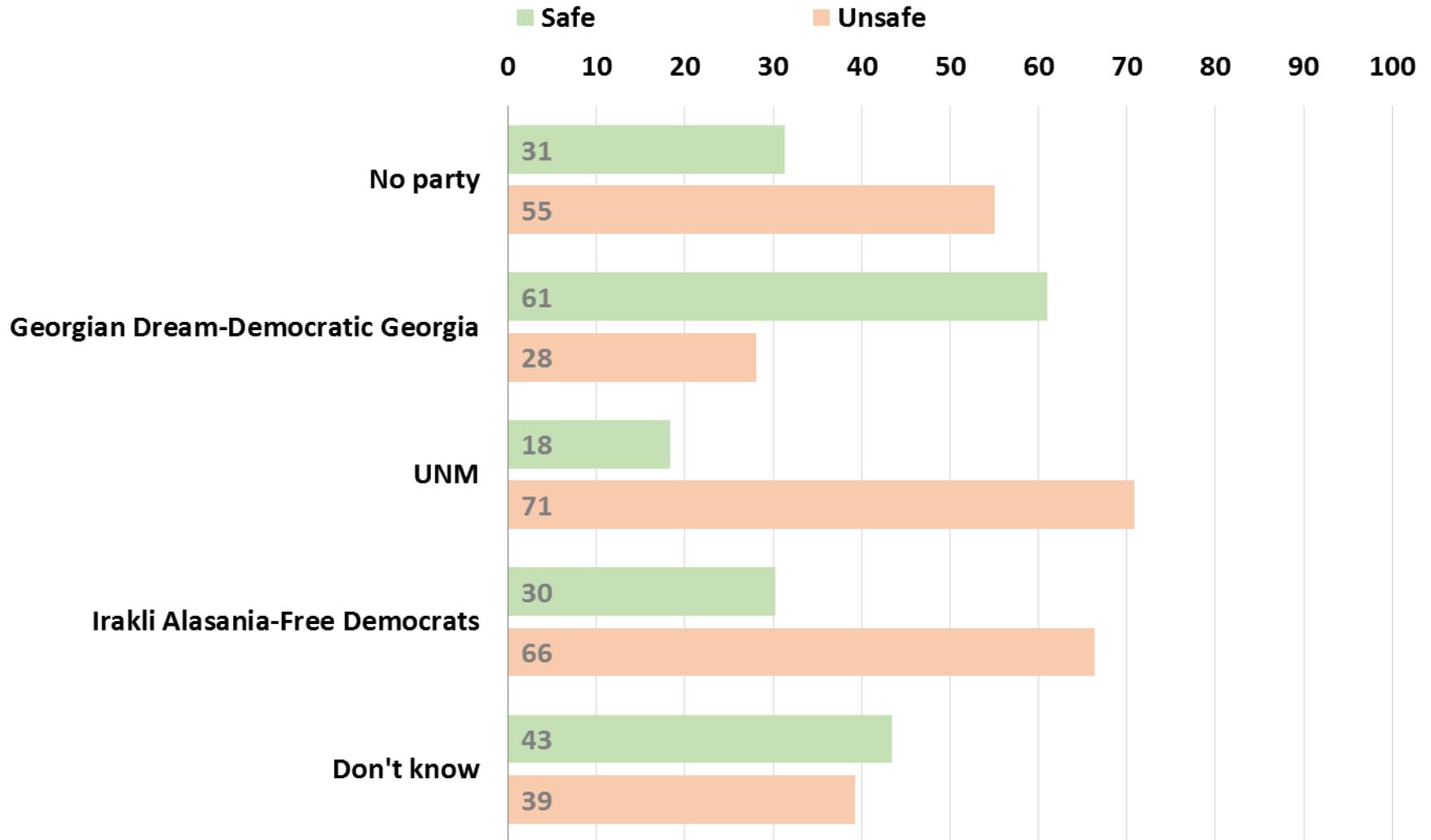
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



**Do you feel safe or unsafe to share an opinion about current political events in Georgia with a friend through a phone?
(q9)**

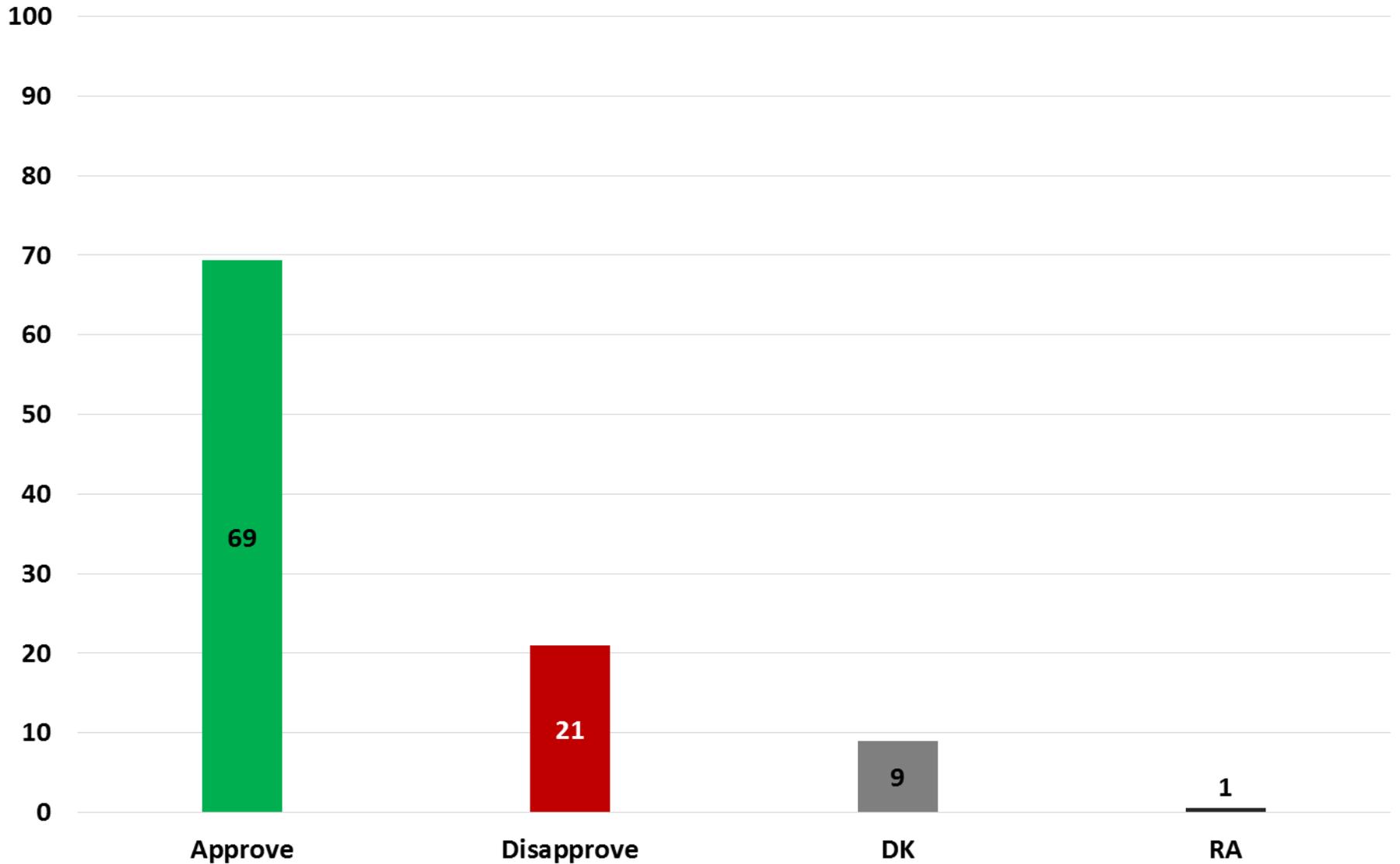


Do you feel safe or unsafe to share an opinion about current political events in Georgia with a friend through a phone? (q9 X Party closest to you)



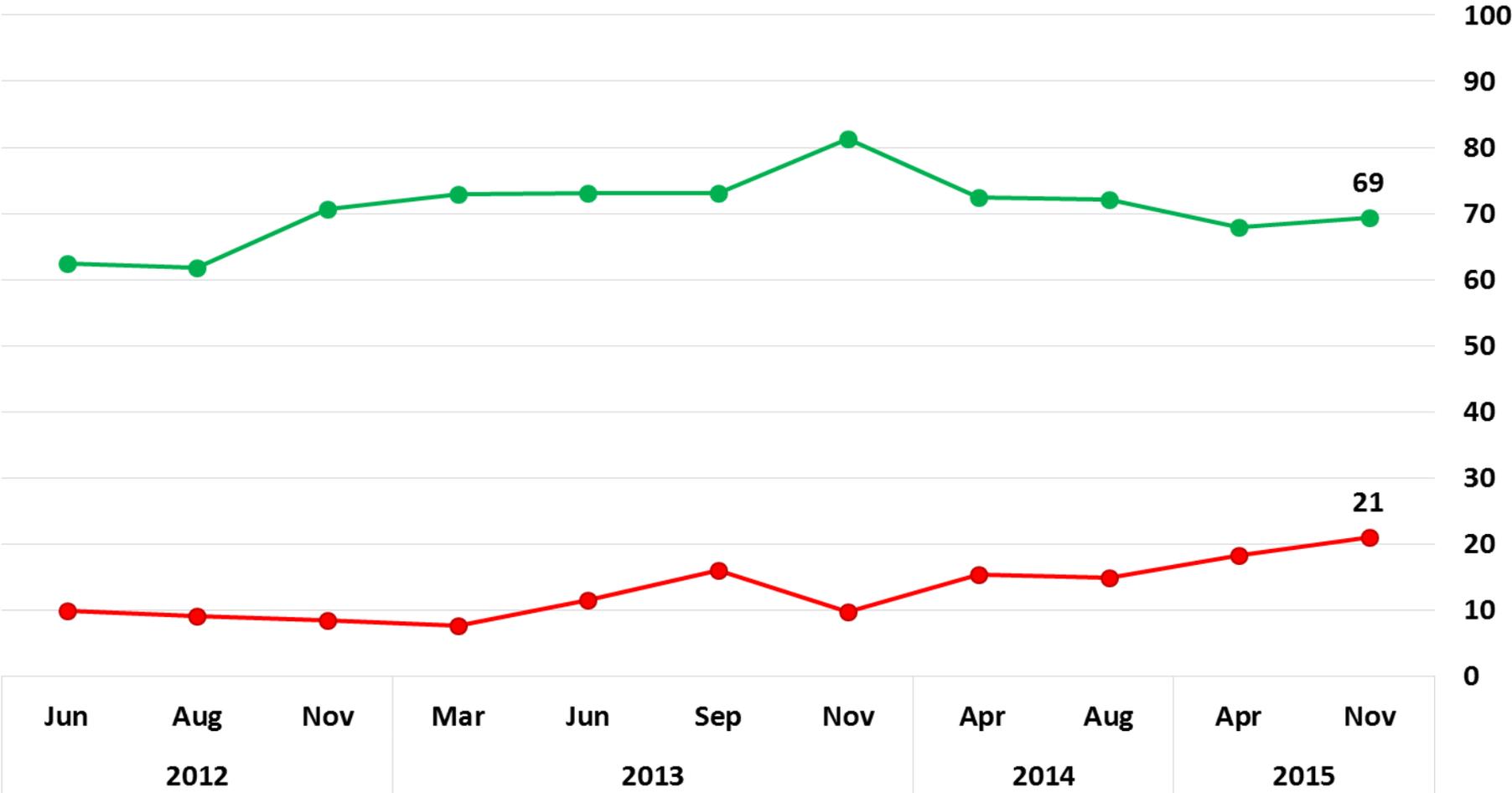
Foreign Affairs

Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join NATO? (q14)



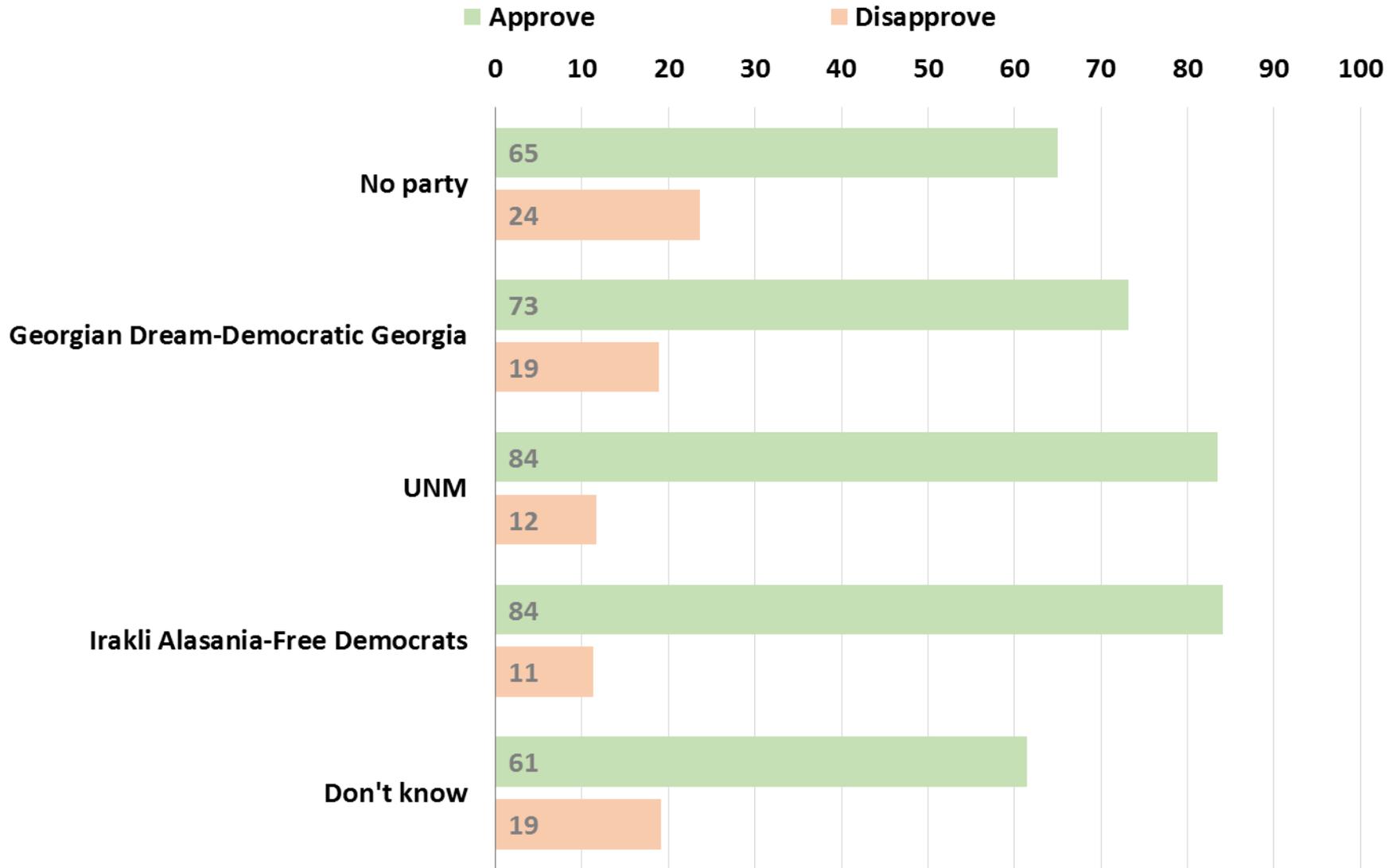
Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join NATO? (q14)

● Approve ● Disapprove

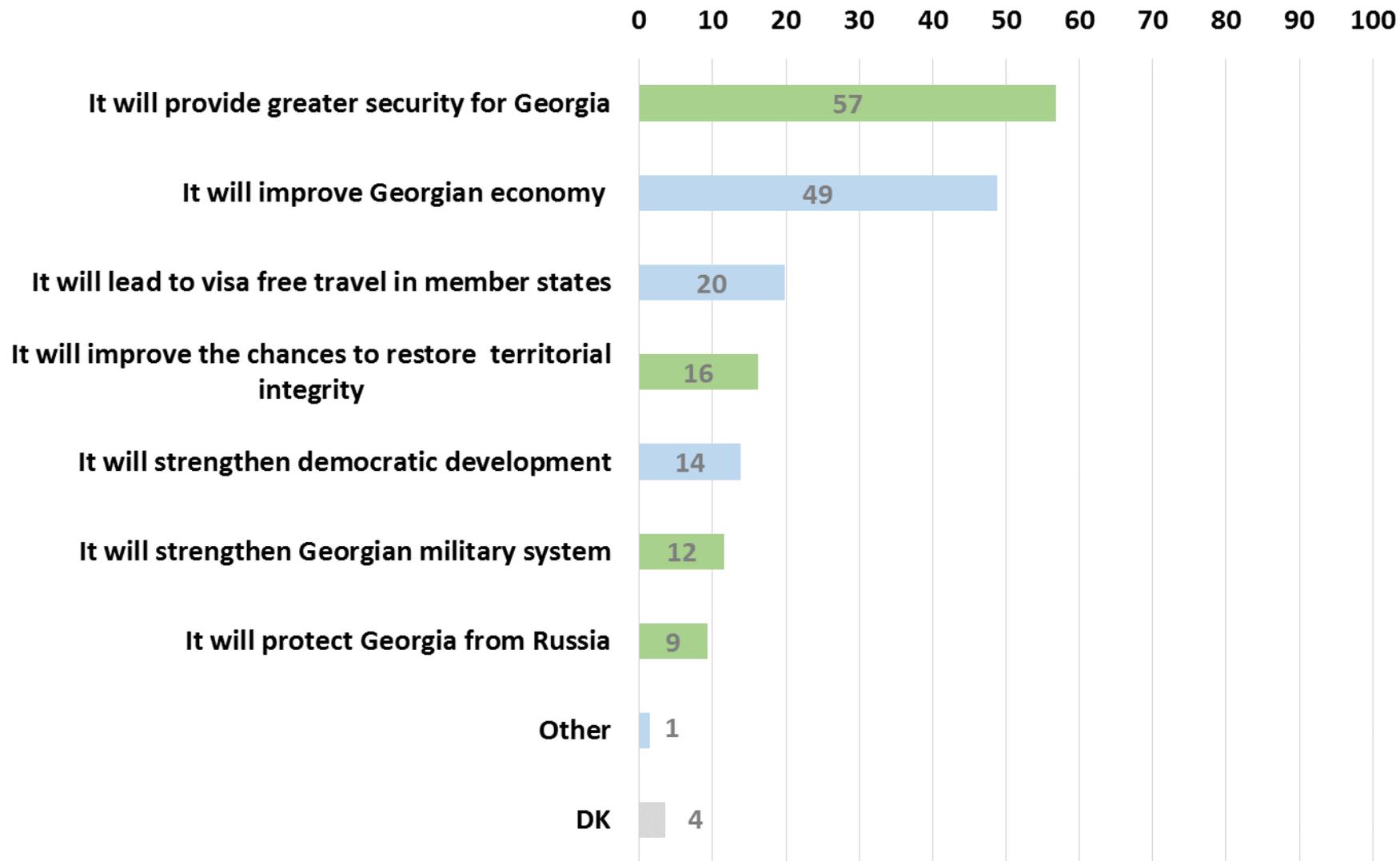


All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers

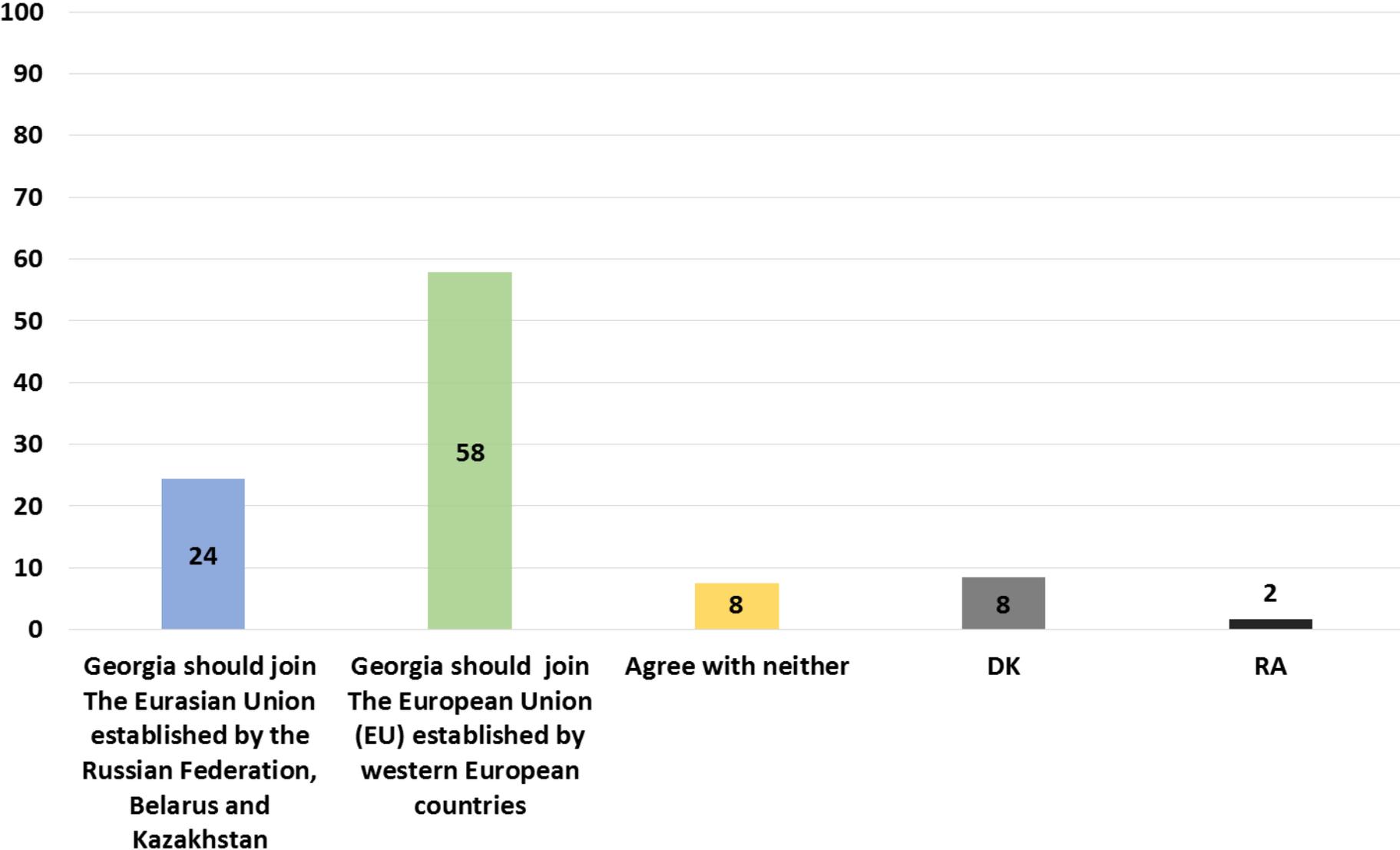
Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join NATO? (q14 X Party closest to you)



Why do you approve it? - of the 69% who approve Georgian government's stated goal to join NATO (q15)

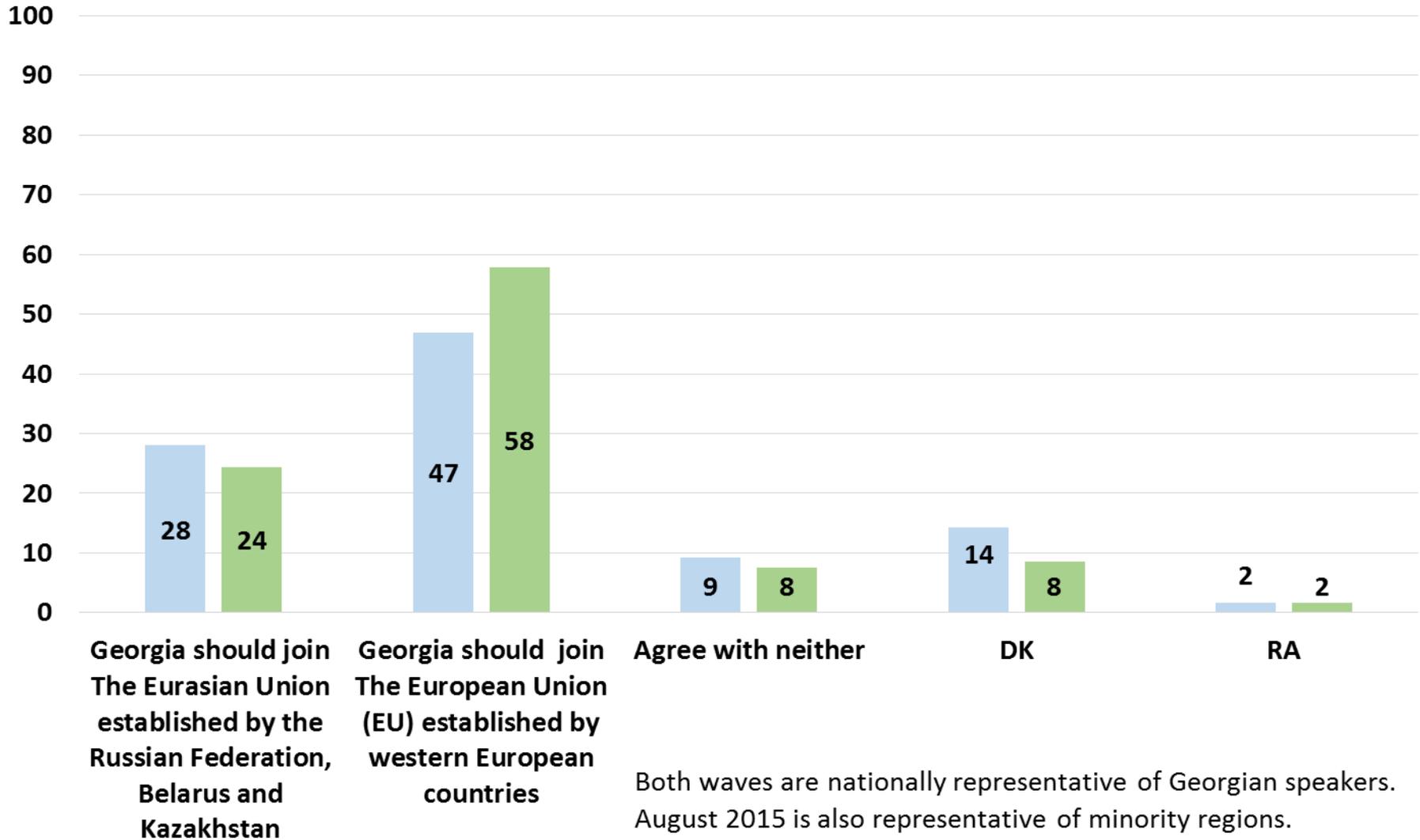


Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17)

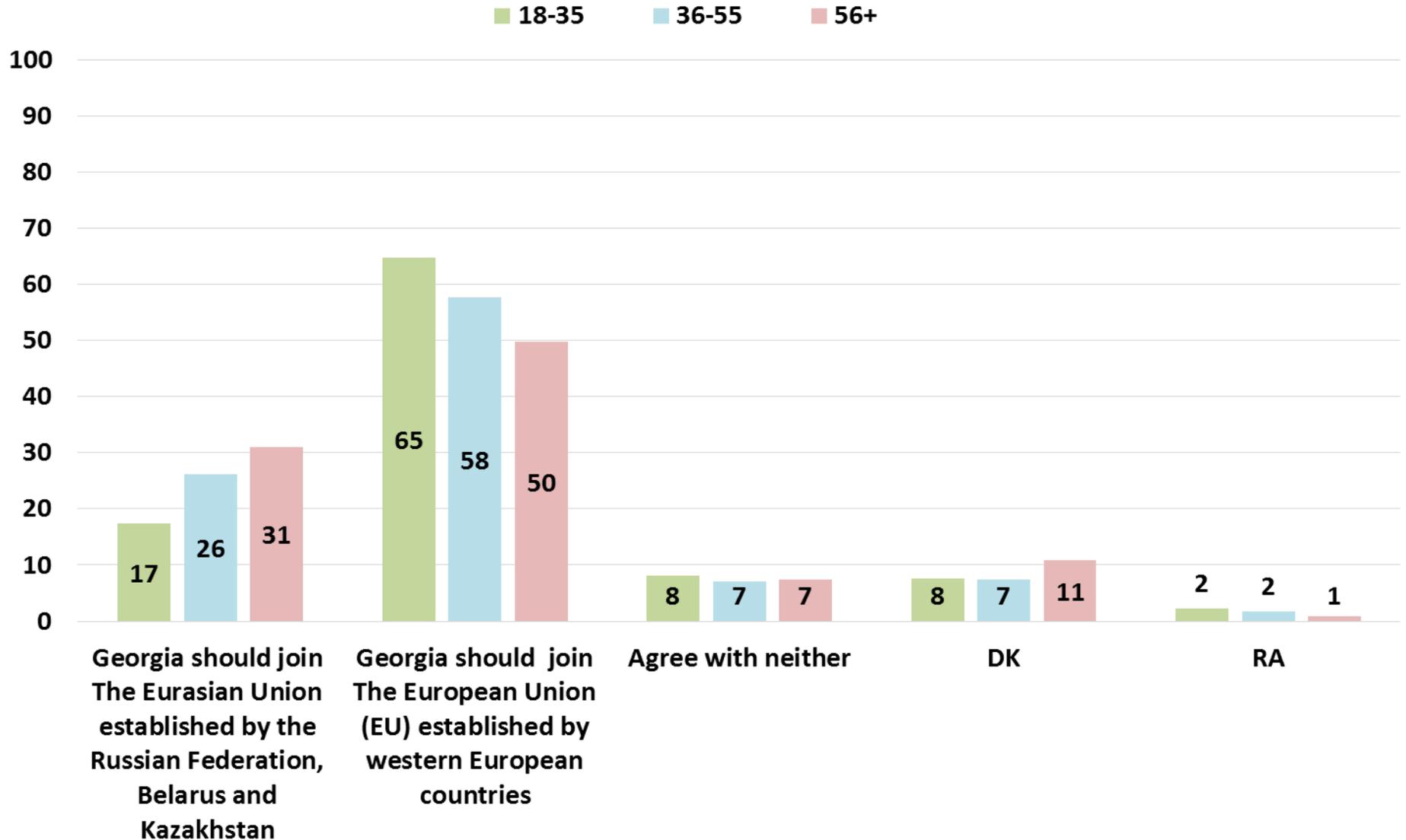


Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17)

■ August 2015 ■ November 2015

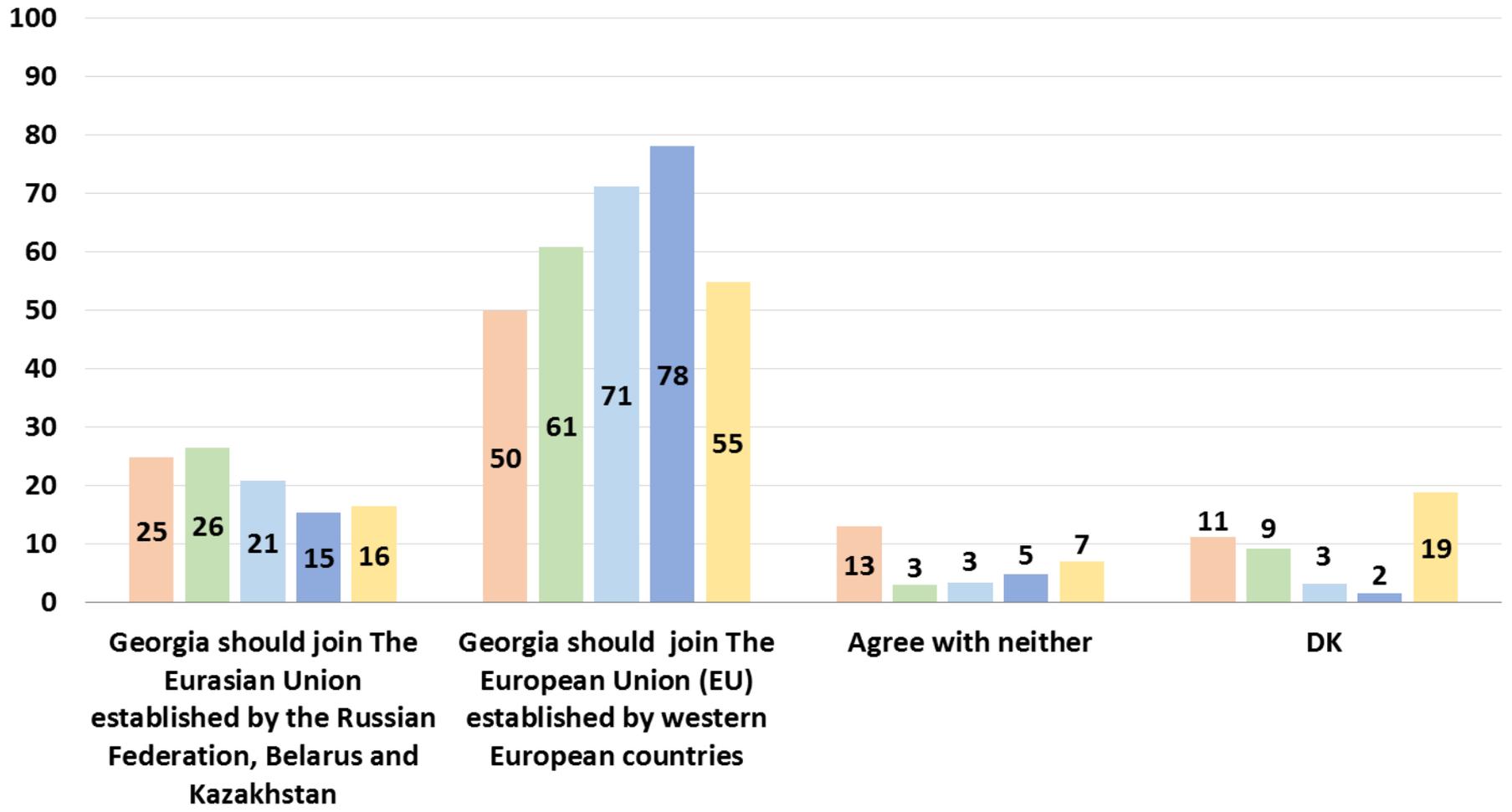


Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17 X Age)



Which of the following statements do you agree with? (q17 X Party closest to you)

- No party
- UNM
- Don't know
- Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democrats



How much do you agree or disagree that ...? (q18/q19)

■ Agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Disagree ■ DK

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Georgia would benefit economically from closer ties with the United States

56

13

19

12

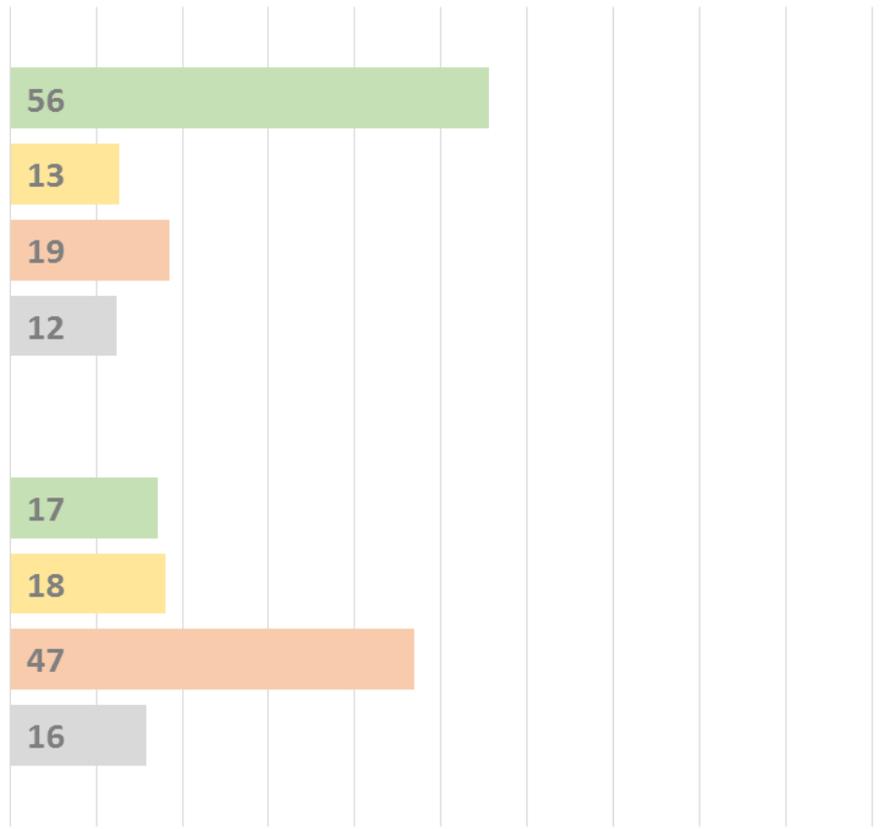
Georgia would benefit economically from abandoning closer US relationship

17

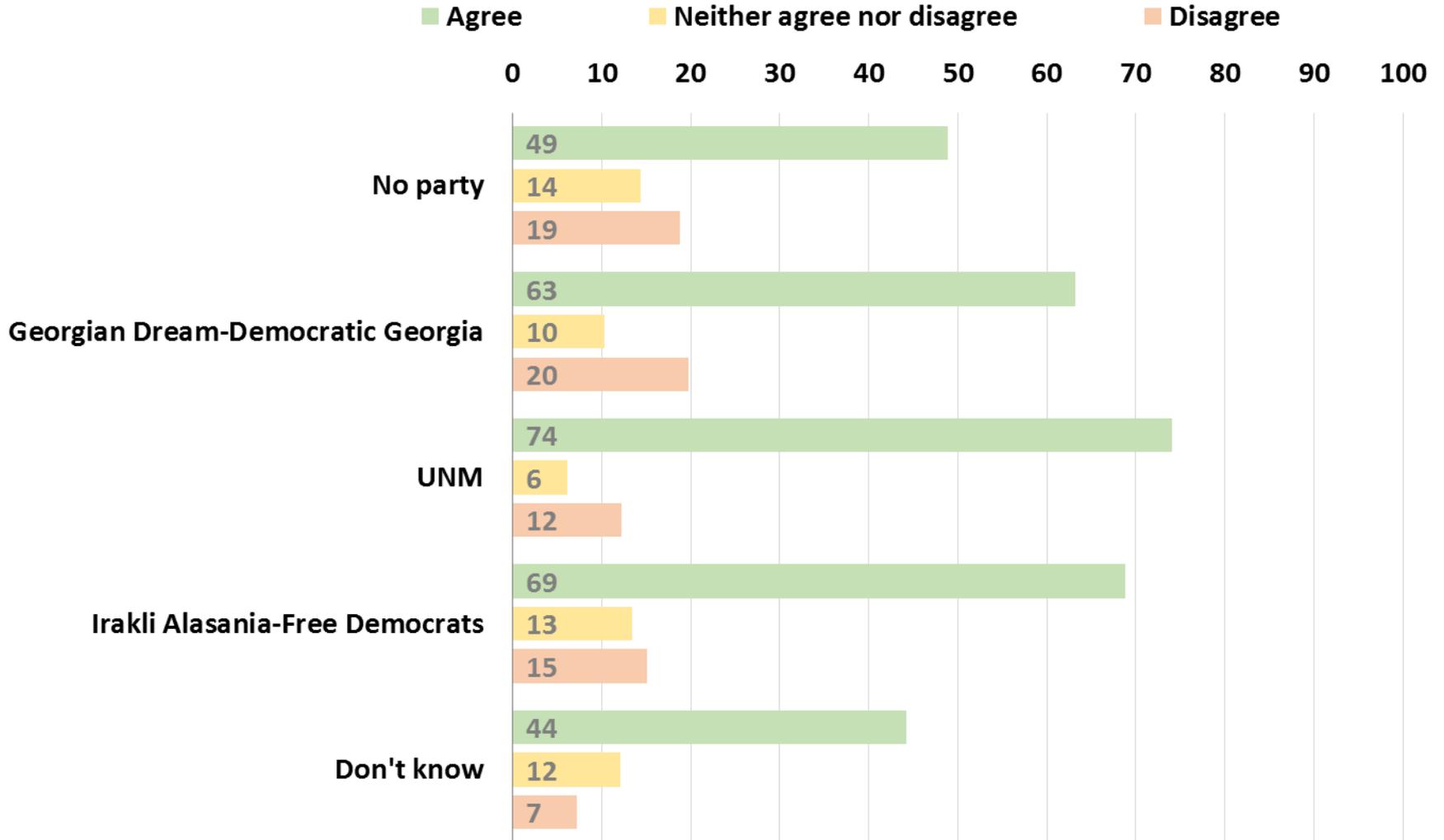
18

47

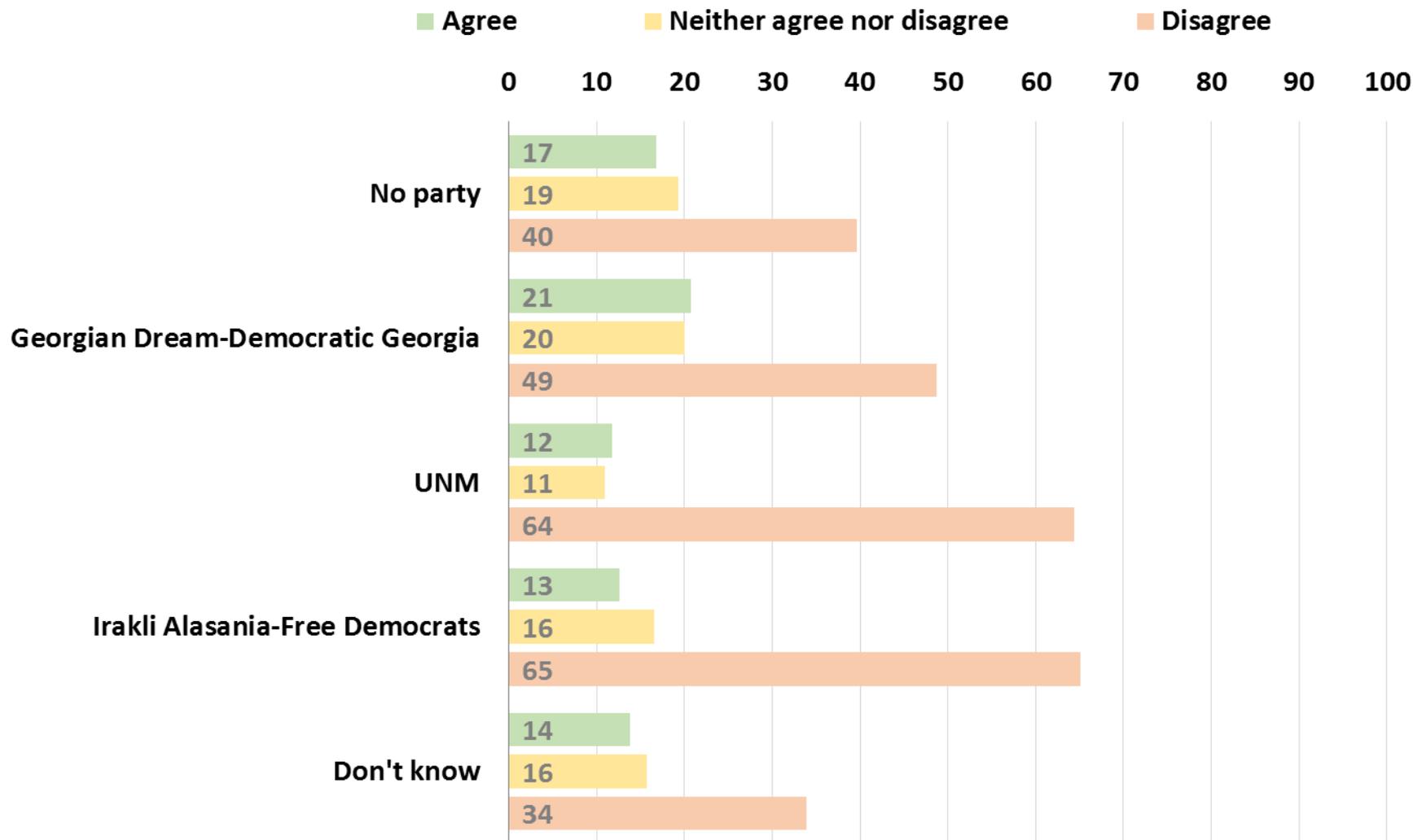
16



Do you agree or disagree that Georgia would benefit economically from closer ties with the US? (q18 X Party closest to you)

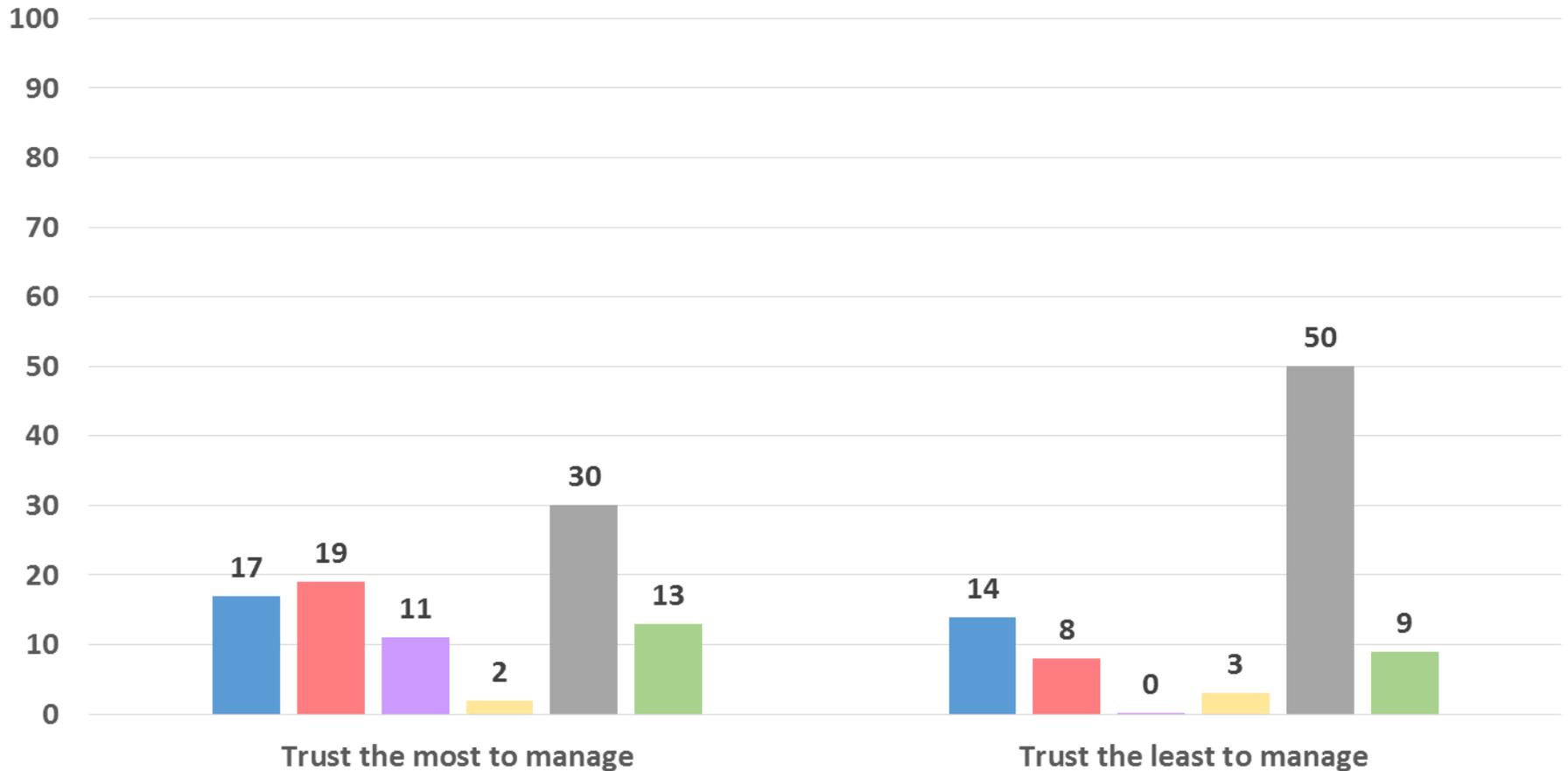


Do you agree or disagree that Georgia would benefit economically from abandoning closer US relationship? (q19 X Party closest to you)



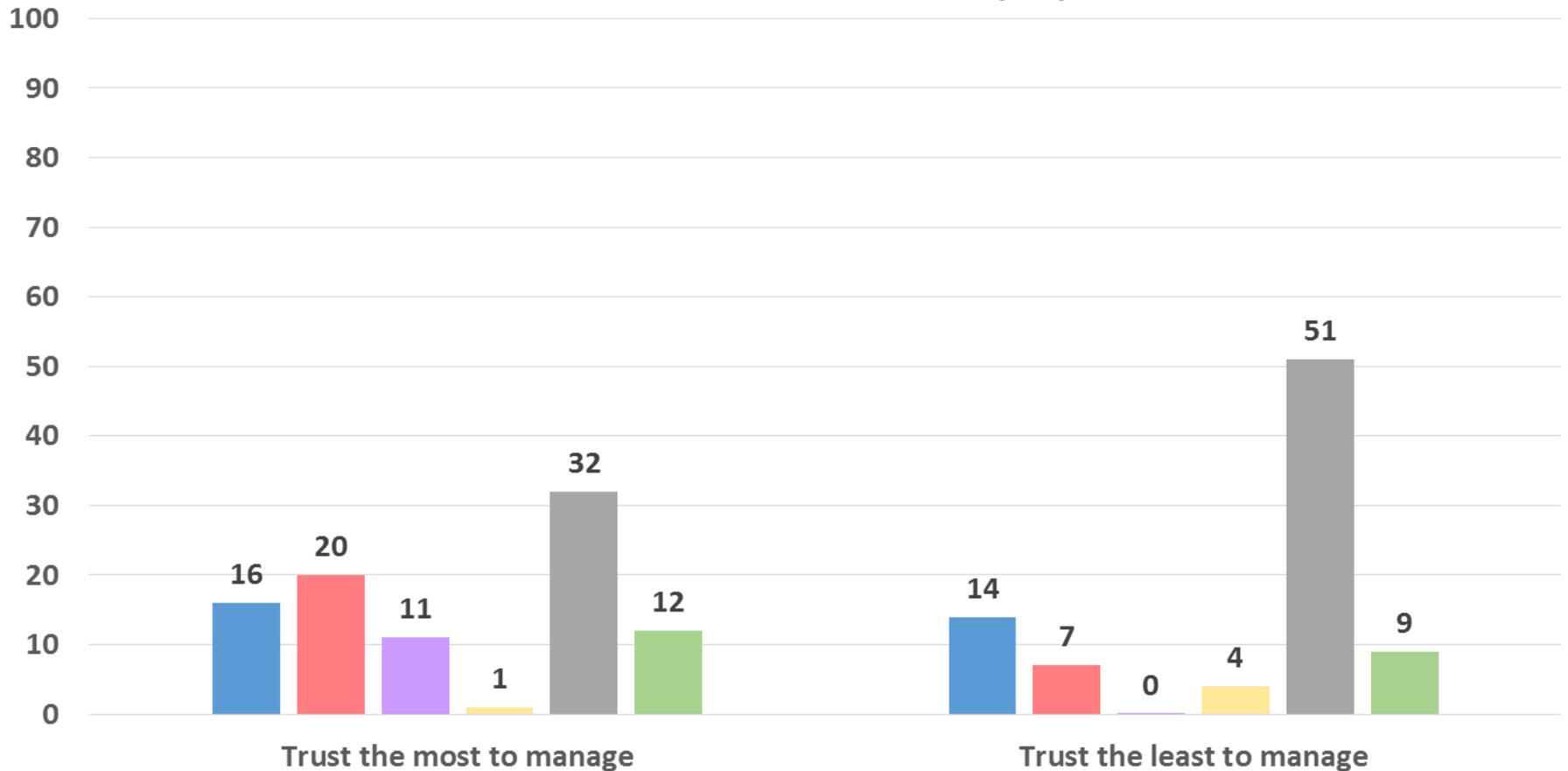
Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with EU? (q11)

- Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia
- UNM
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc
- United Democratic Movement
- Don't know
- No party



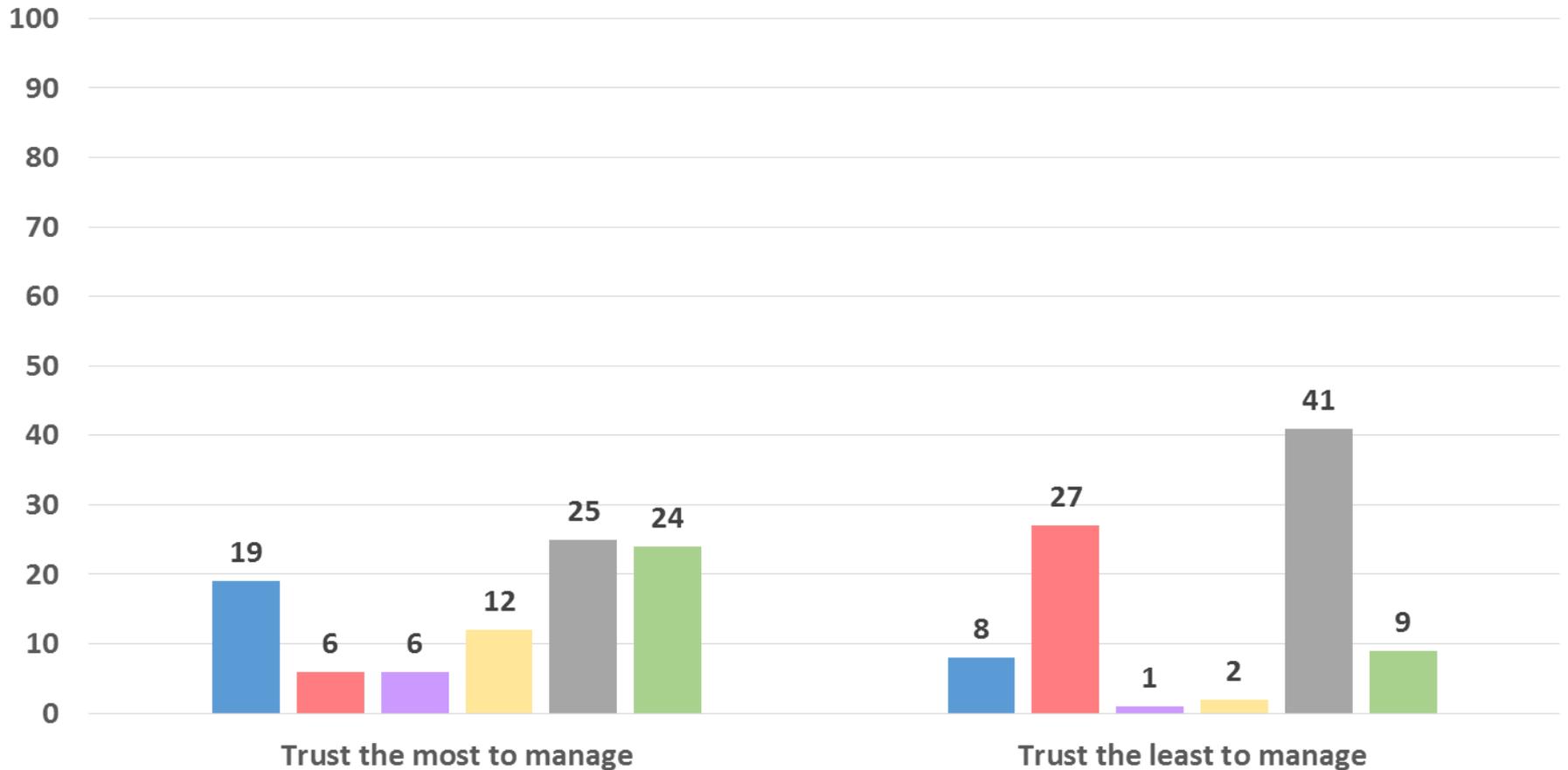
Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with **NATO**? (q12)

- Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc
- Don't know
- UNM
- United Democratic Movement
- No party



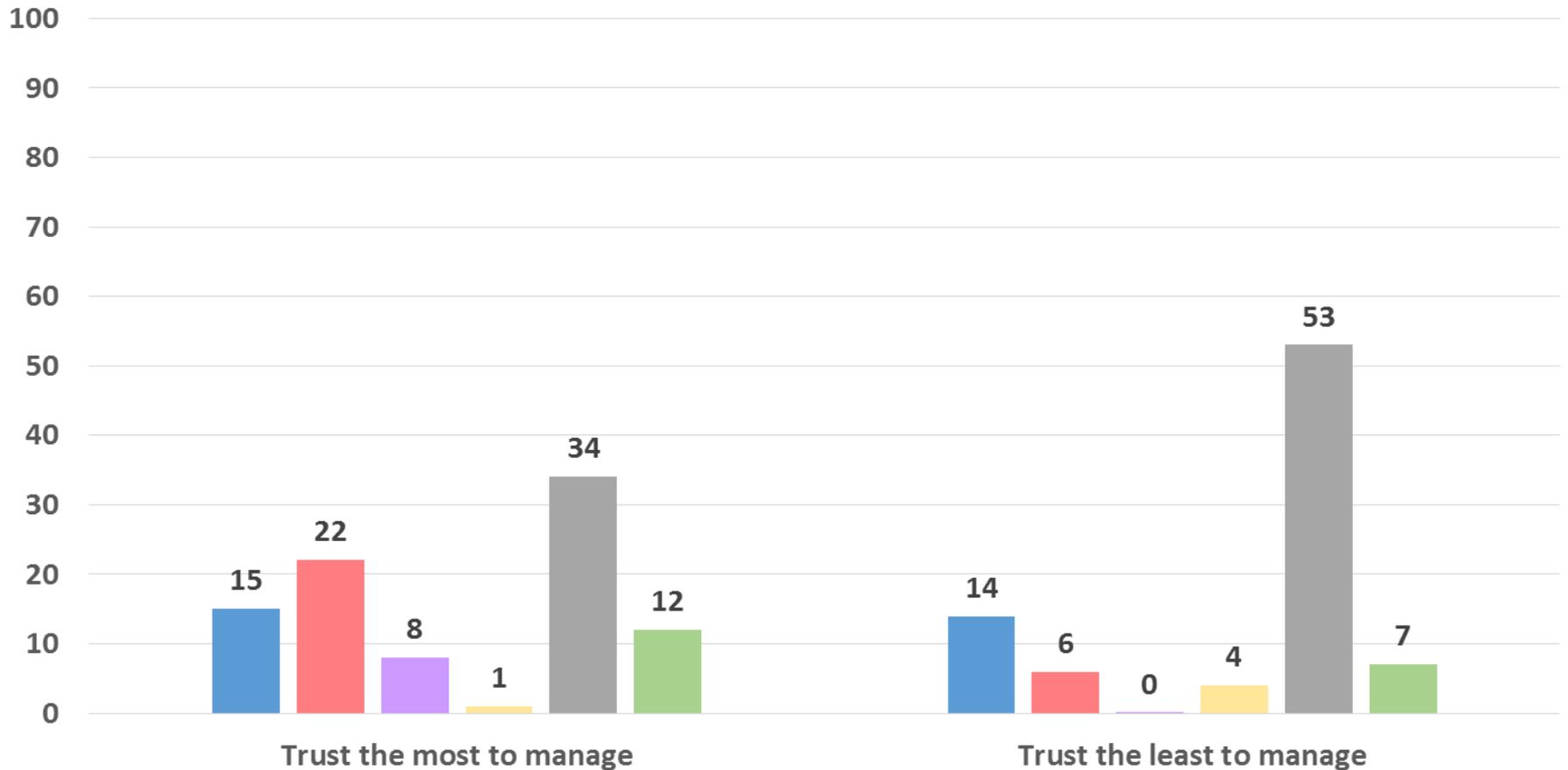
Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with Russia? (q10)

- Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia
- UNM
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc
- United Democratic Movement
- Don't know
- No party



Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with USA? (q13)

- Georgian Dream-Dem. Georgia
- Irakli Alasania-Free Democratc
- Don't know
- UNM
- United Democratic Movement
- No party

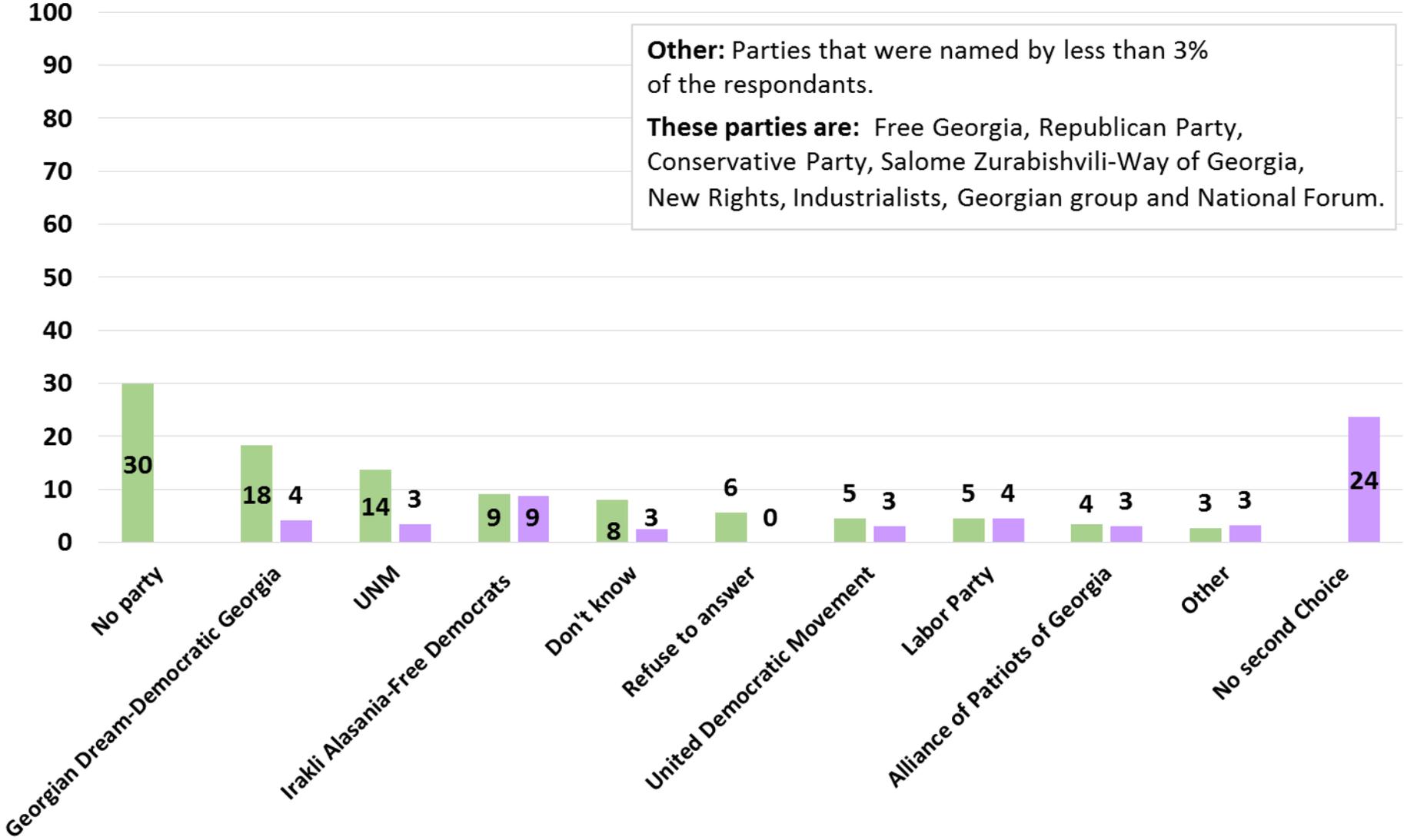


Party Support

Which party is closest to you? (q24)

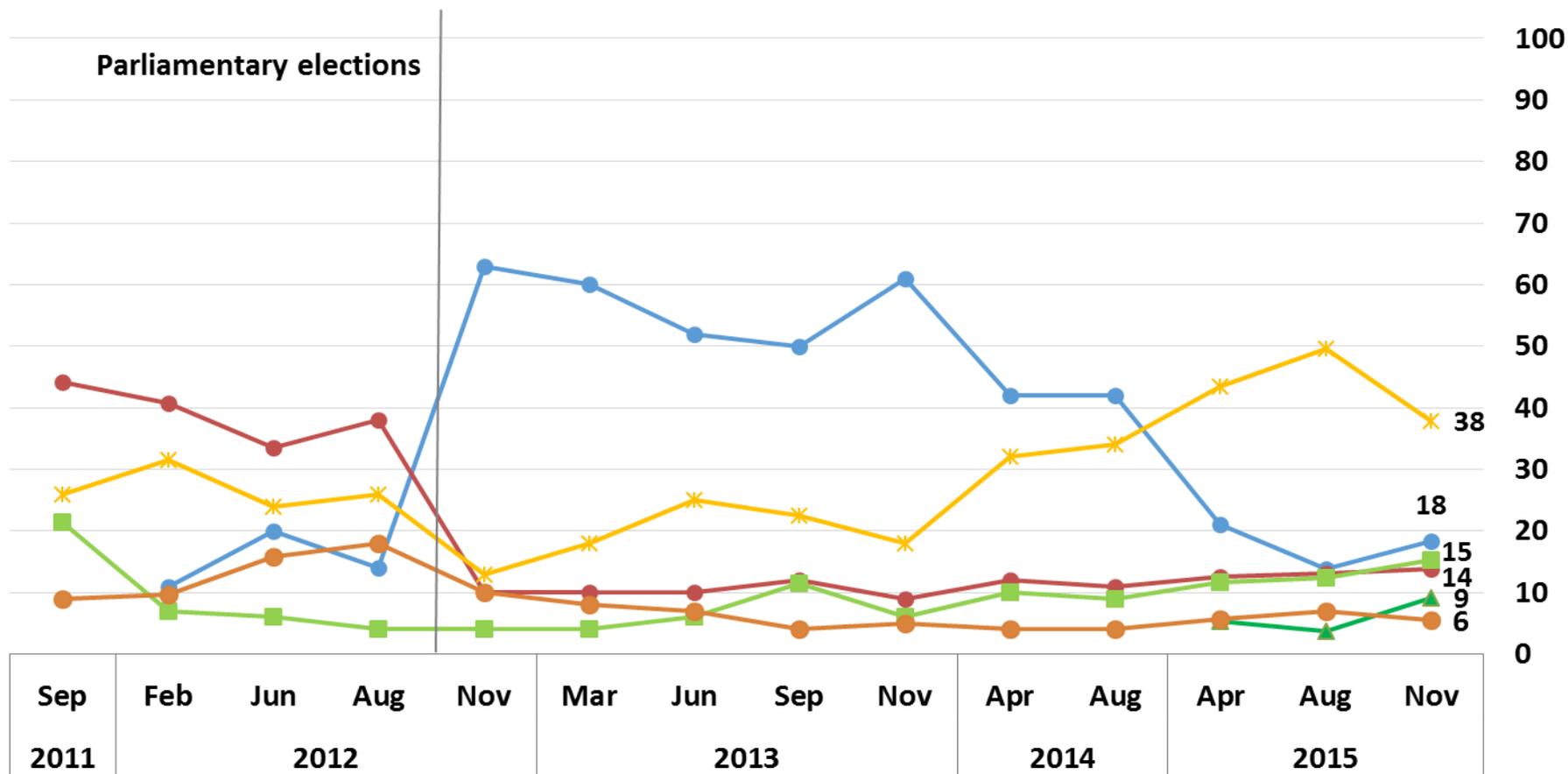
■ First choice ■ Second choice

Other: Parties that were named by less than 3% of the respondents.
These parties are: Free Georgia, Republican Party, Conservative Party, Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia, New Rights, Industrialists, Georgian group and National Forum.



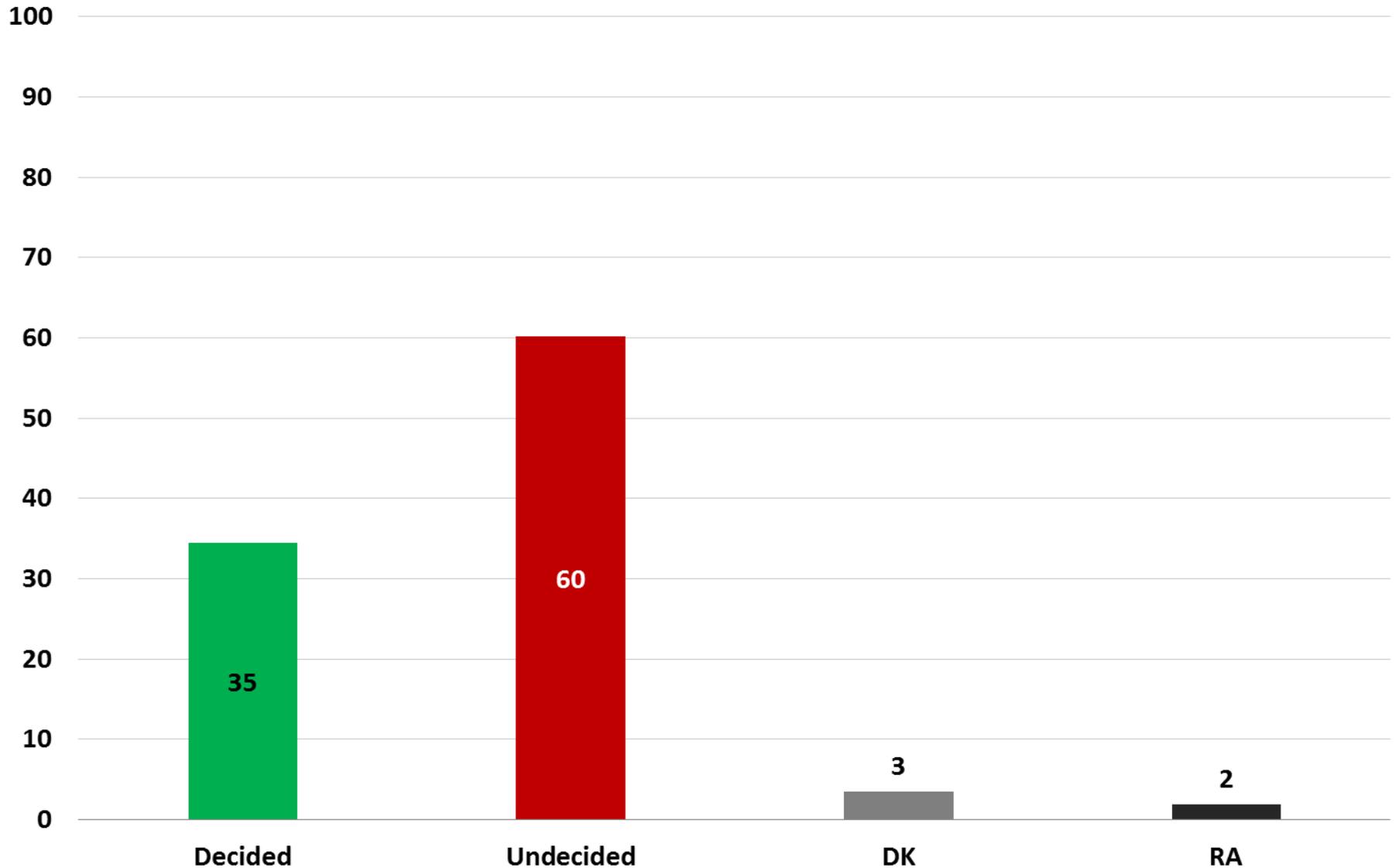
Which party is closest to you? (q24)

● Georgian Dream
 ● UNM
 ▲ Irakli Alasania-Free Alasania
 ■ Other
 ✱ No Party+DK
 ● RA



All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015 and August 2015 are also representative for minority regions.

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote? (q26)

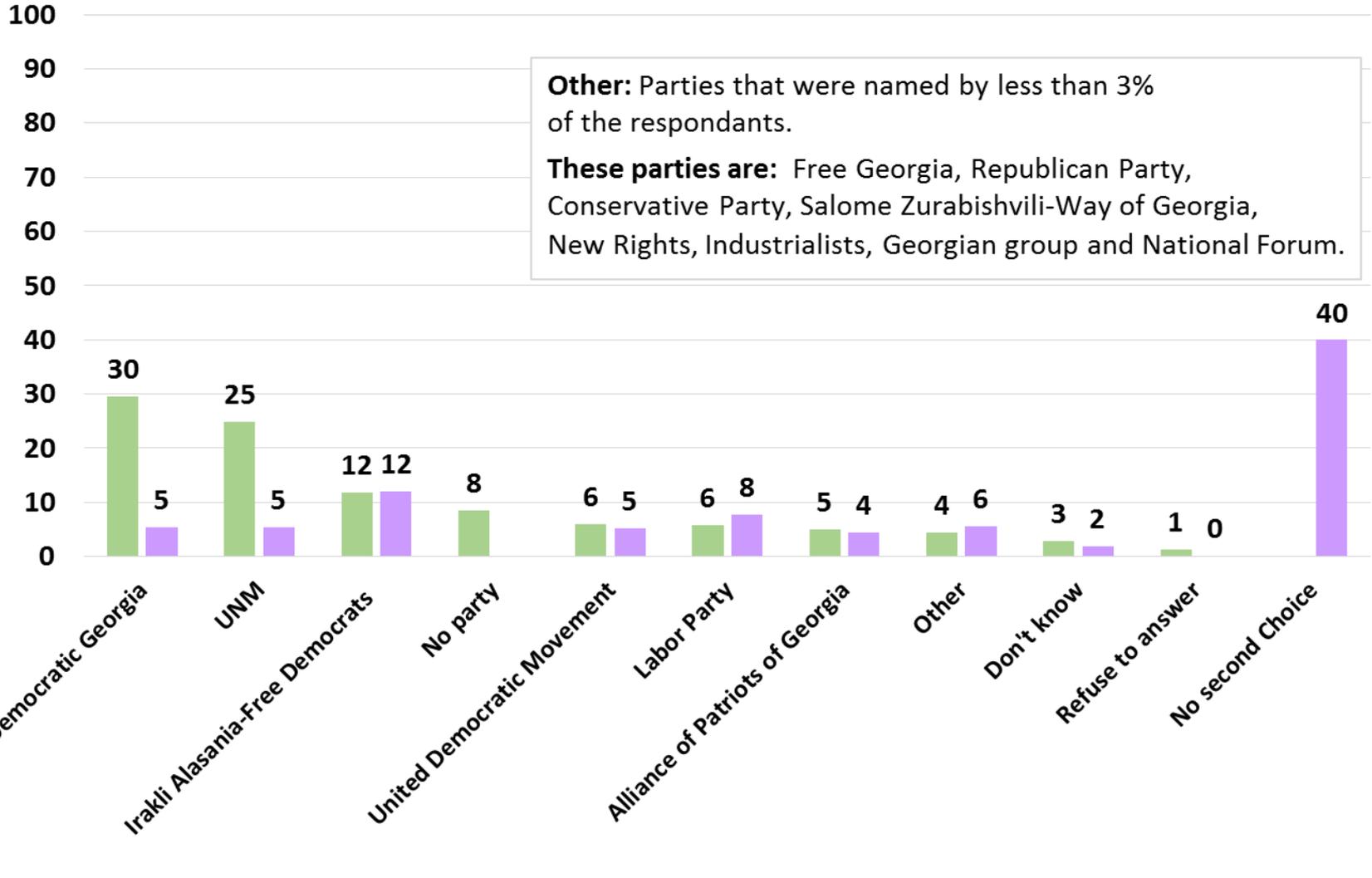


Which party is closest to you? First choice

Decided people only (q24)

■ First choice ■ Second choice

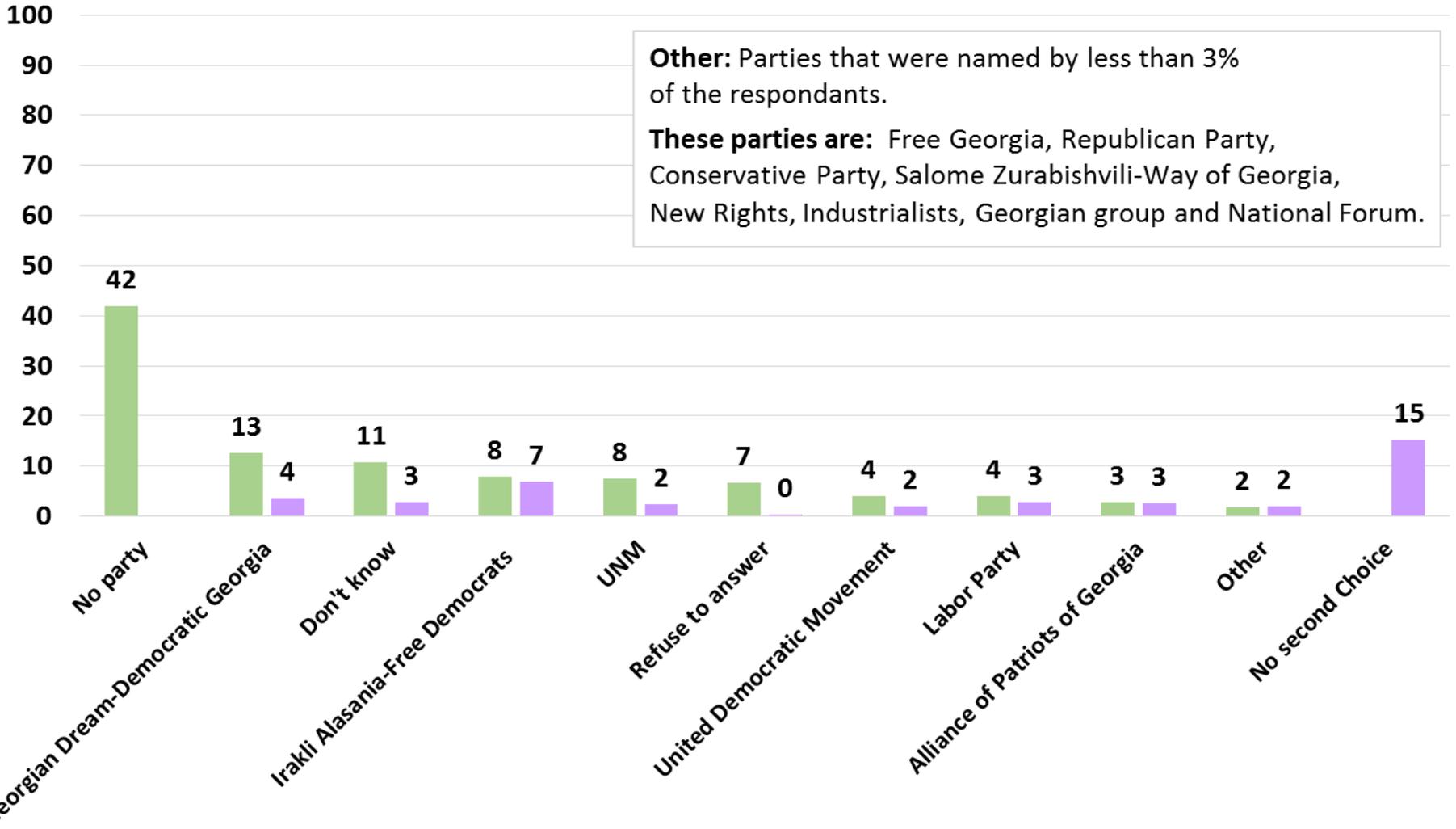
Other: Parties that were named by less than 3% of the respondents.
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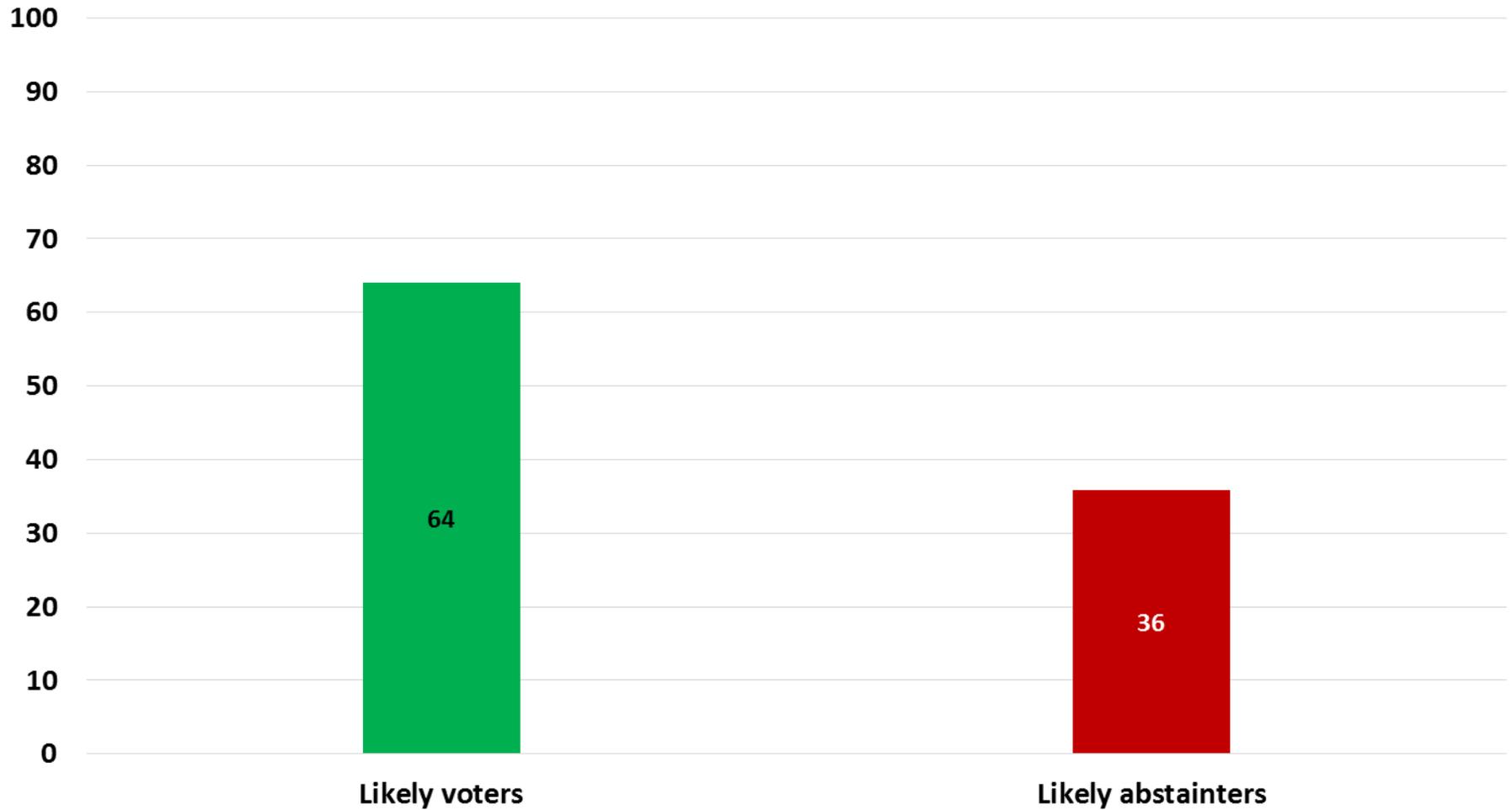
Which party is closest to you? First choice

Undecided people only (q24)

■ First choice ■ Second choice

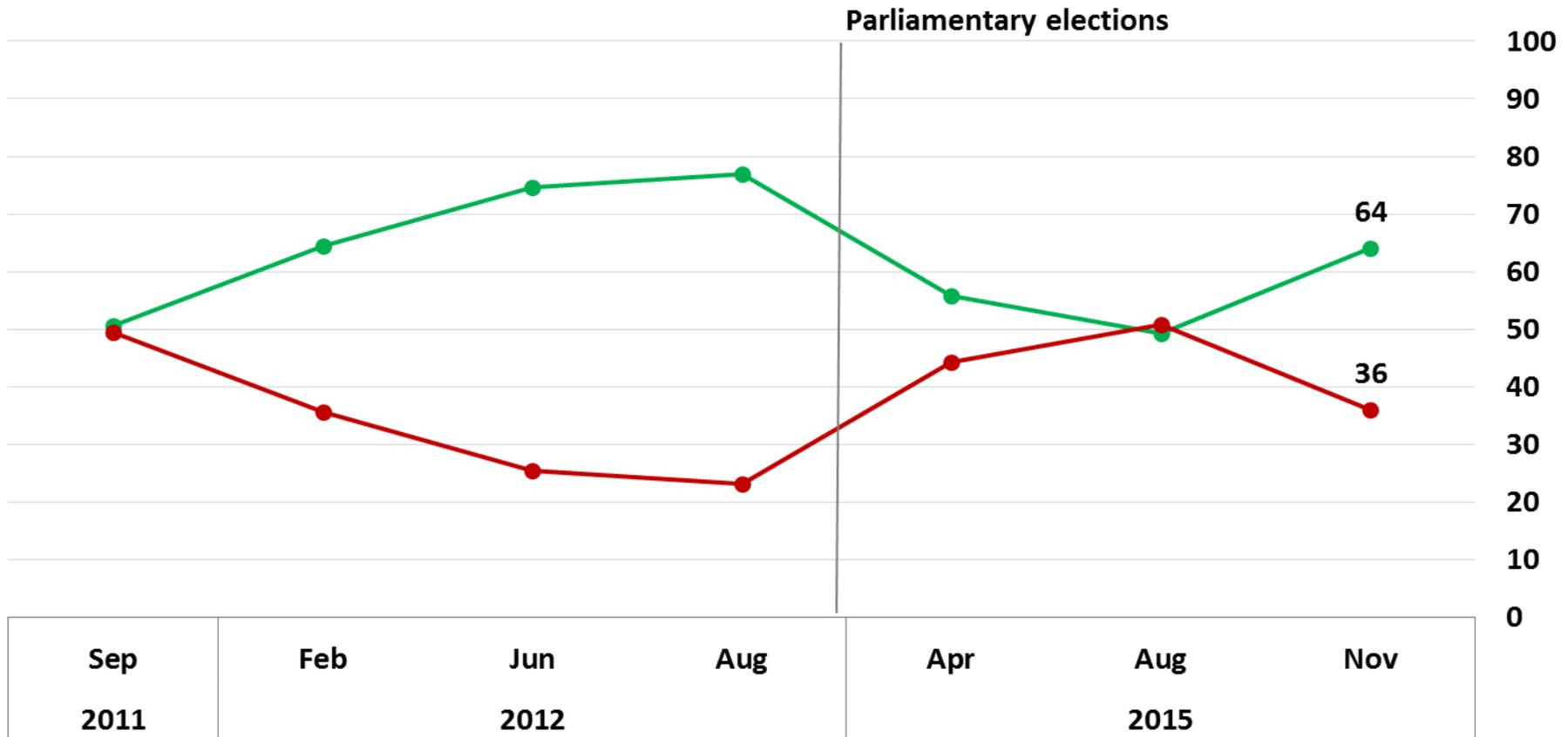


If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q27)



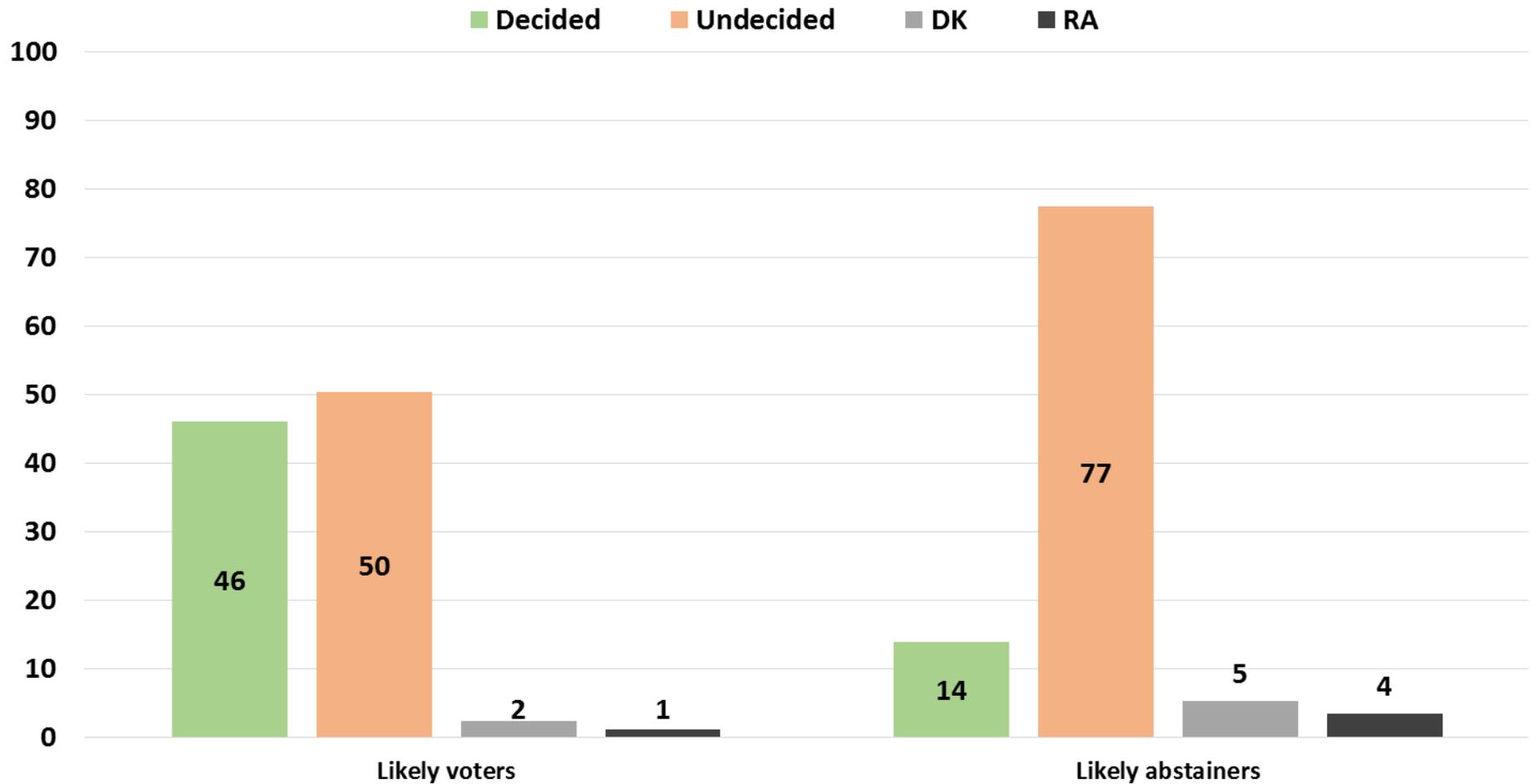
If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? (q27)

—●— Likely voters —●— Likely abstainers

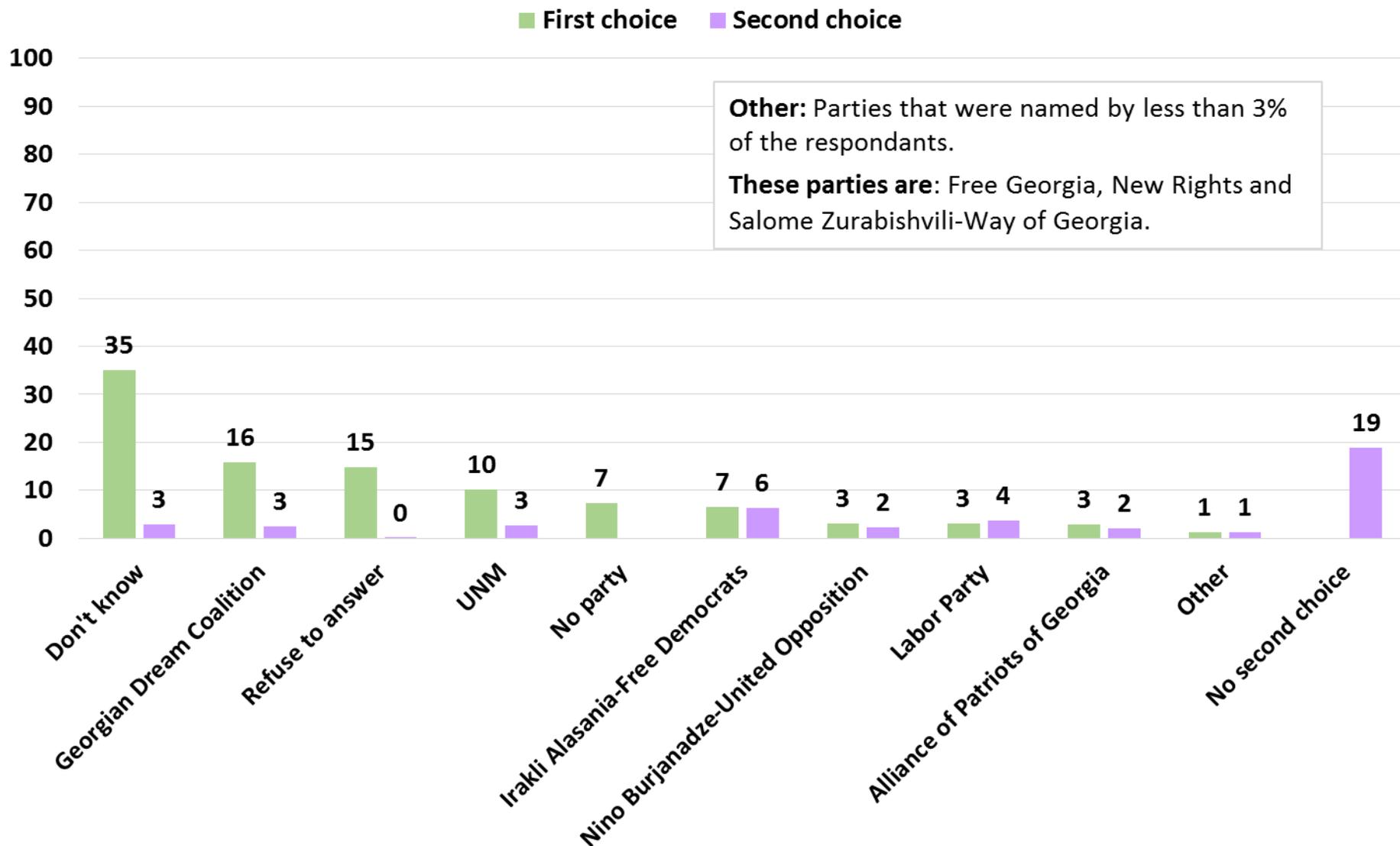


All waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. April 2015 and August 2015 are also representative for minority regions.

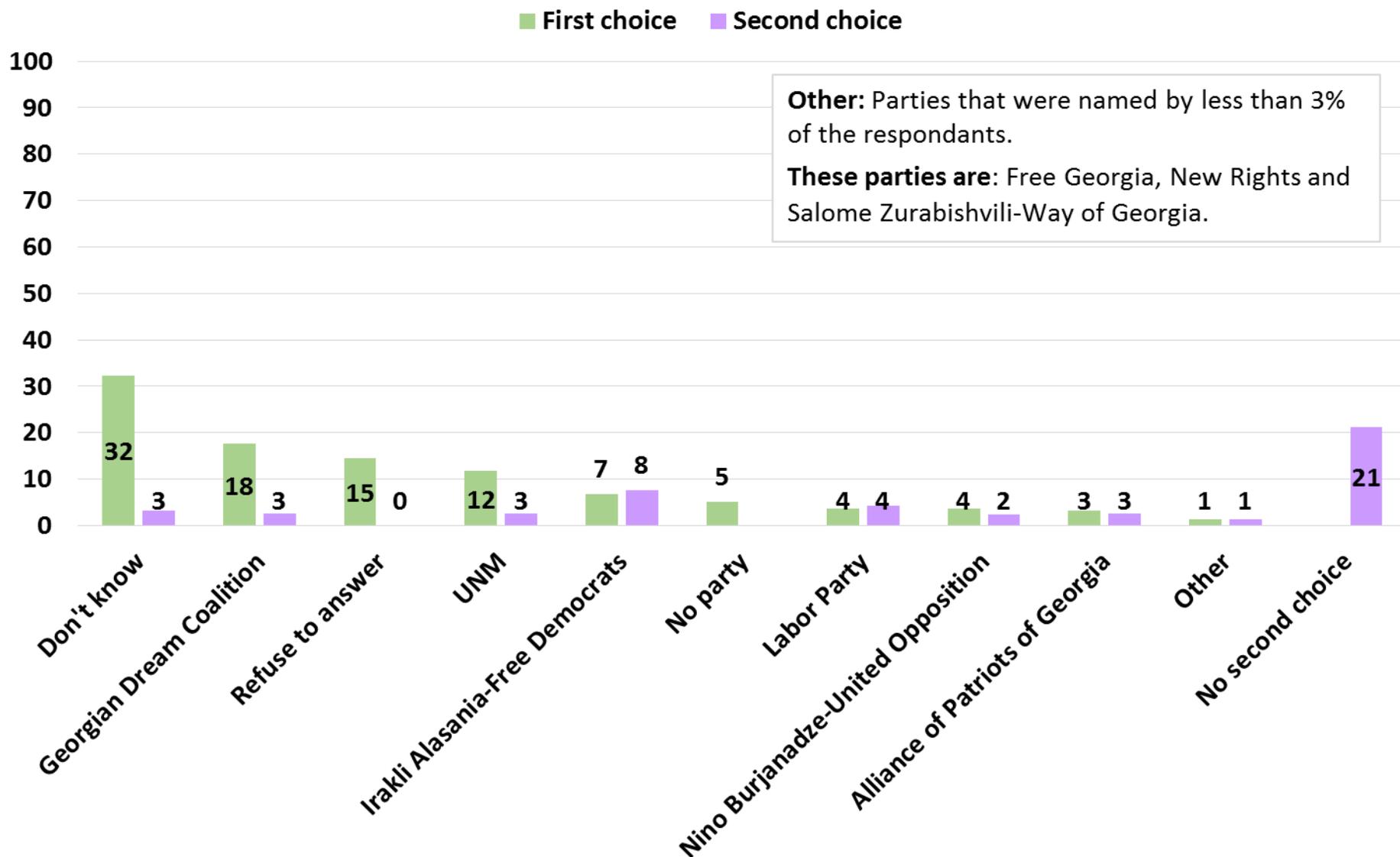
**If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote?
(q26 X If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?)**



If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party/coalition would you vote for? Whole sample (q28)

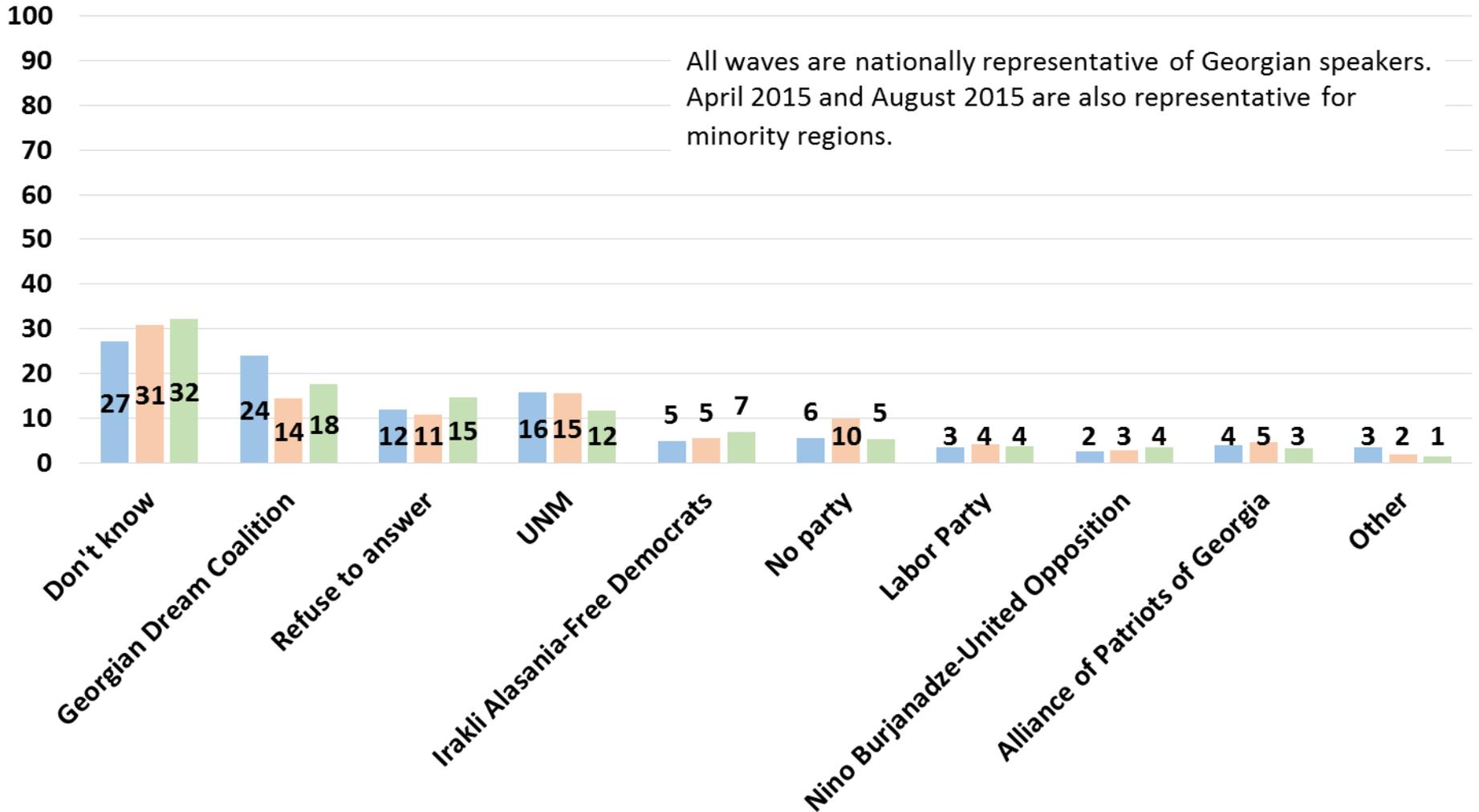


If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Likely voters only (q28)

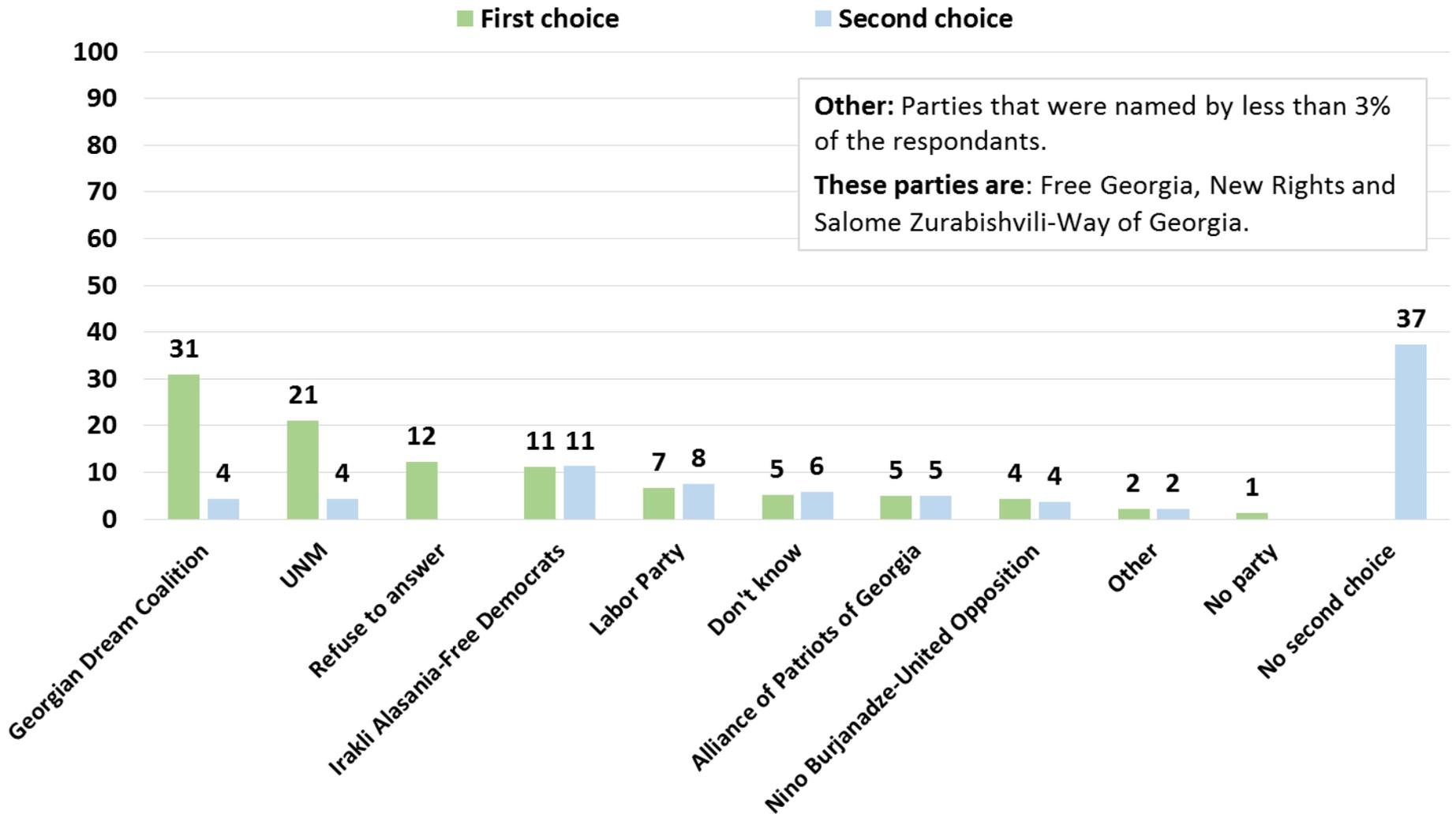


If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Likely voters only (q28)

■ April 2015 ■ August 2015 ■ November 2015

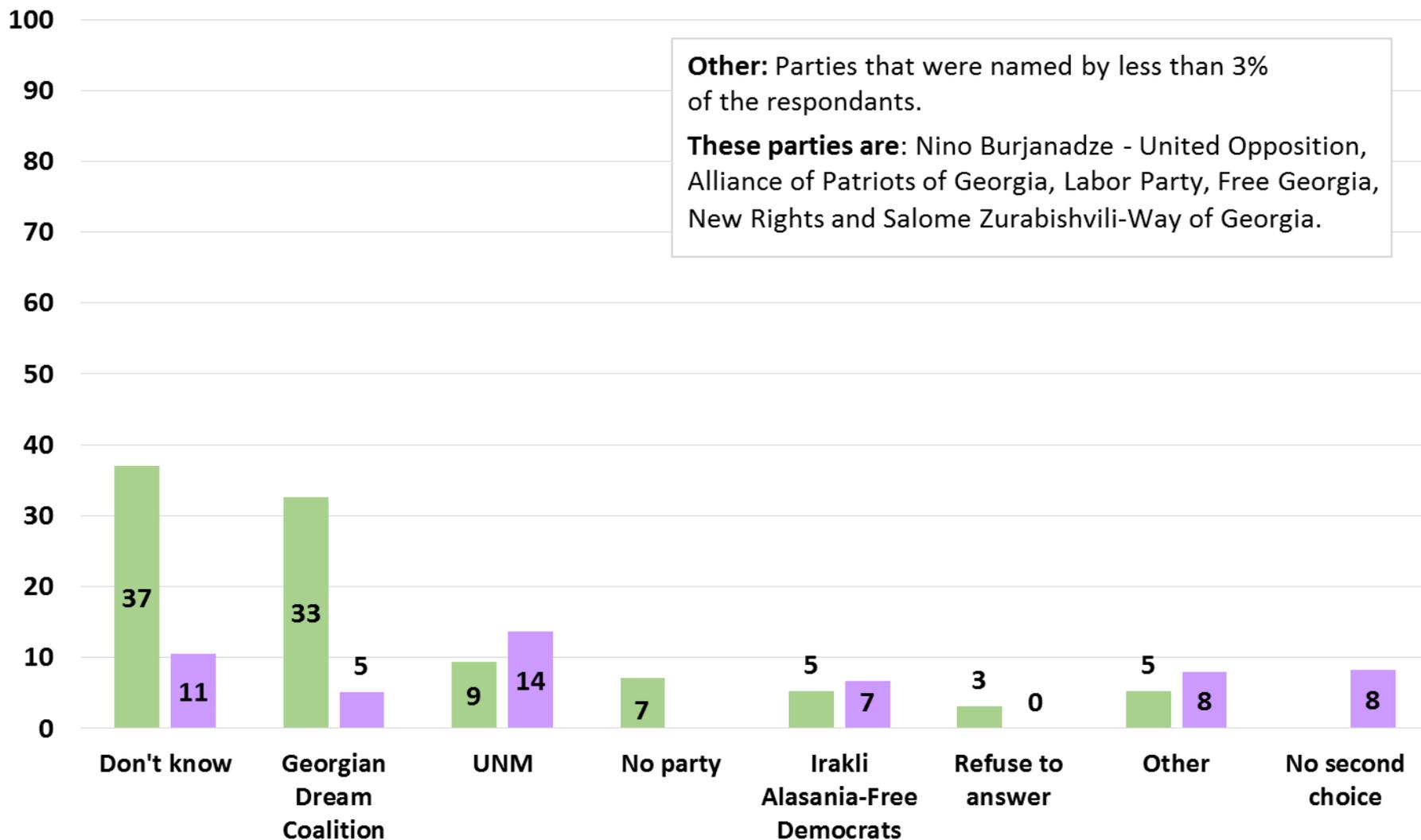


If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? Decided likely voters only (q28)

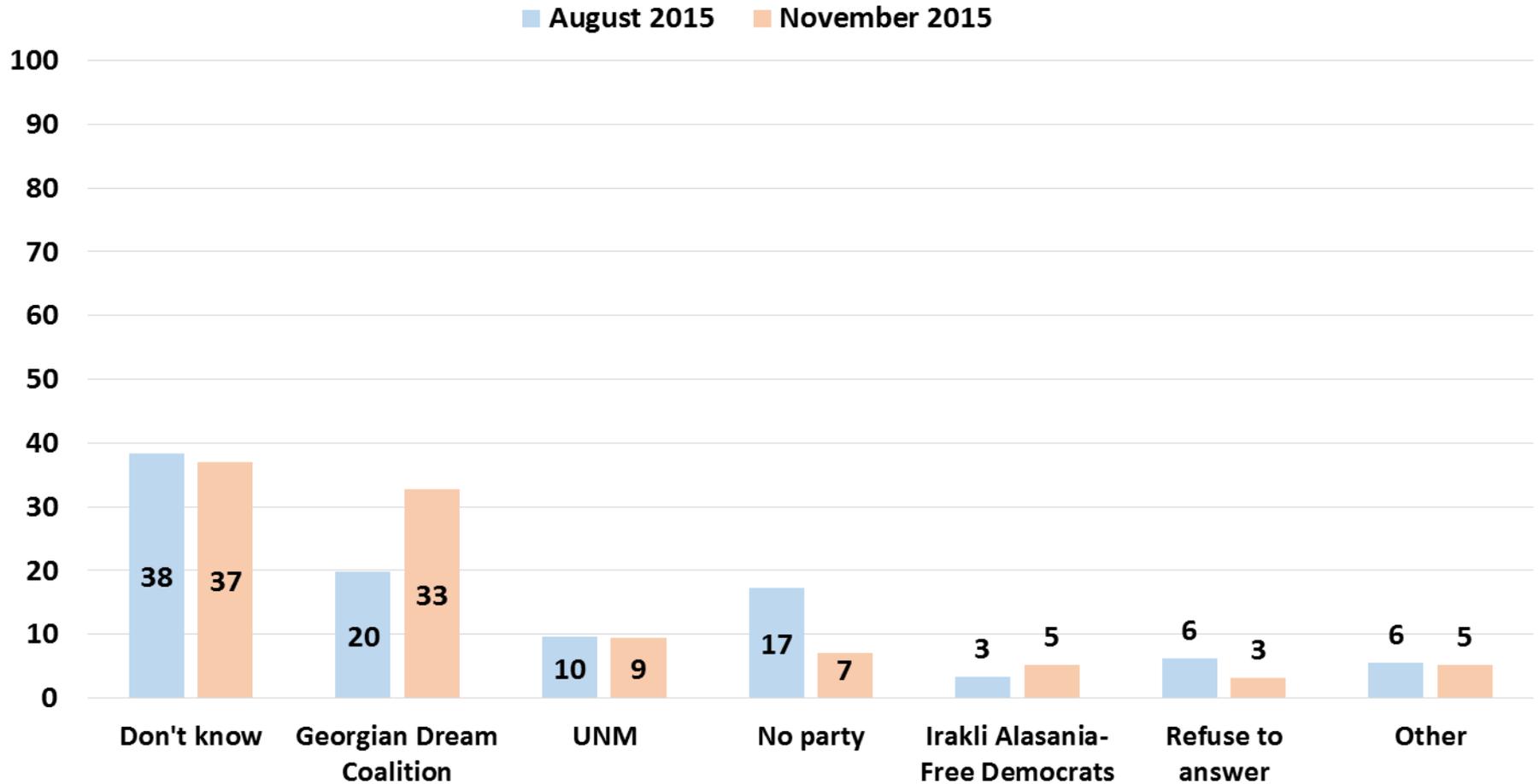


If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would win? (q25)

■ Winner ■ Second runner

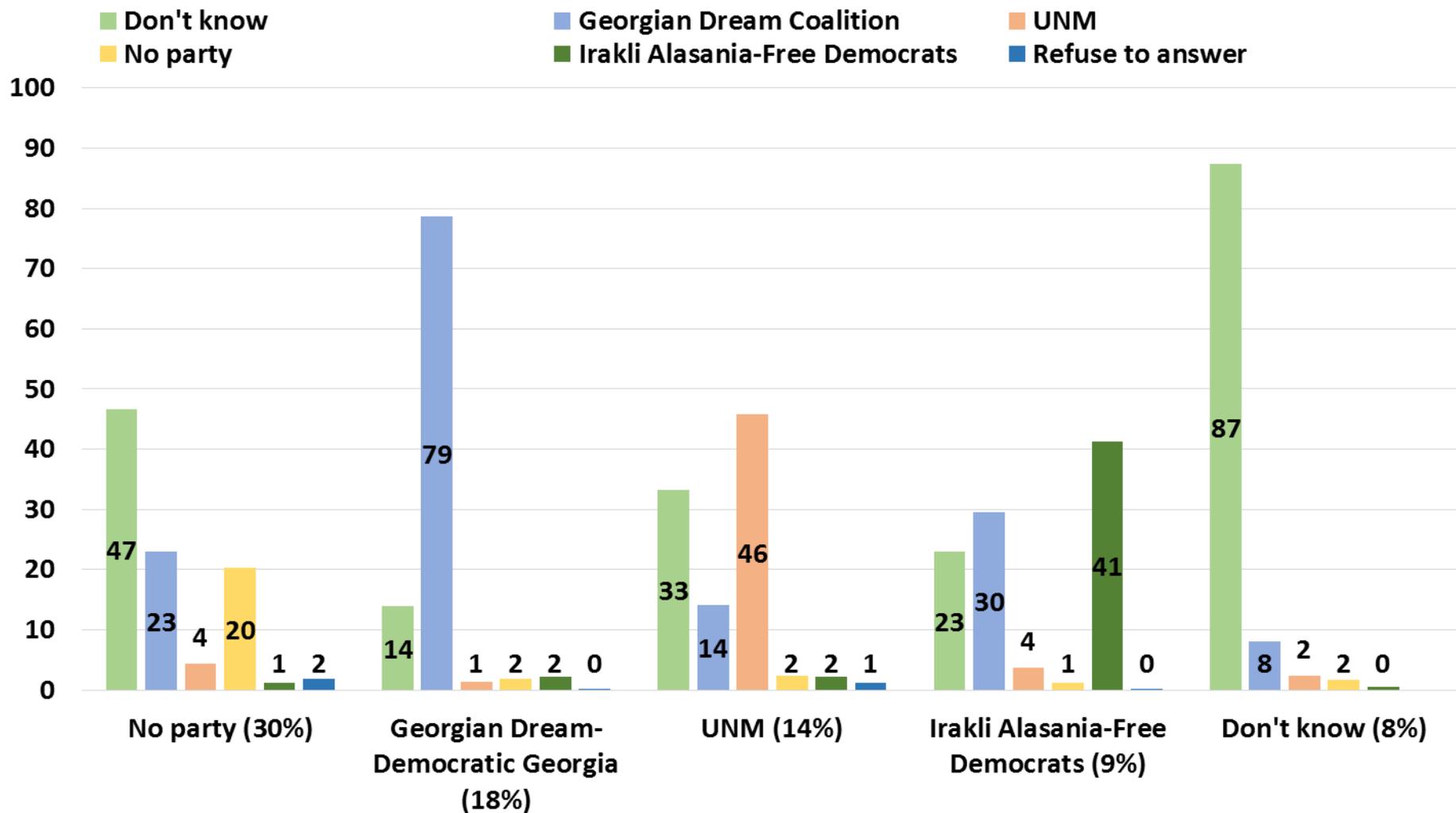


If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would win? (q25)

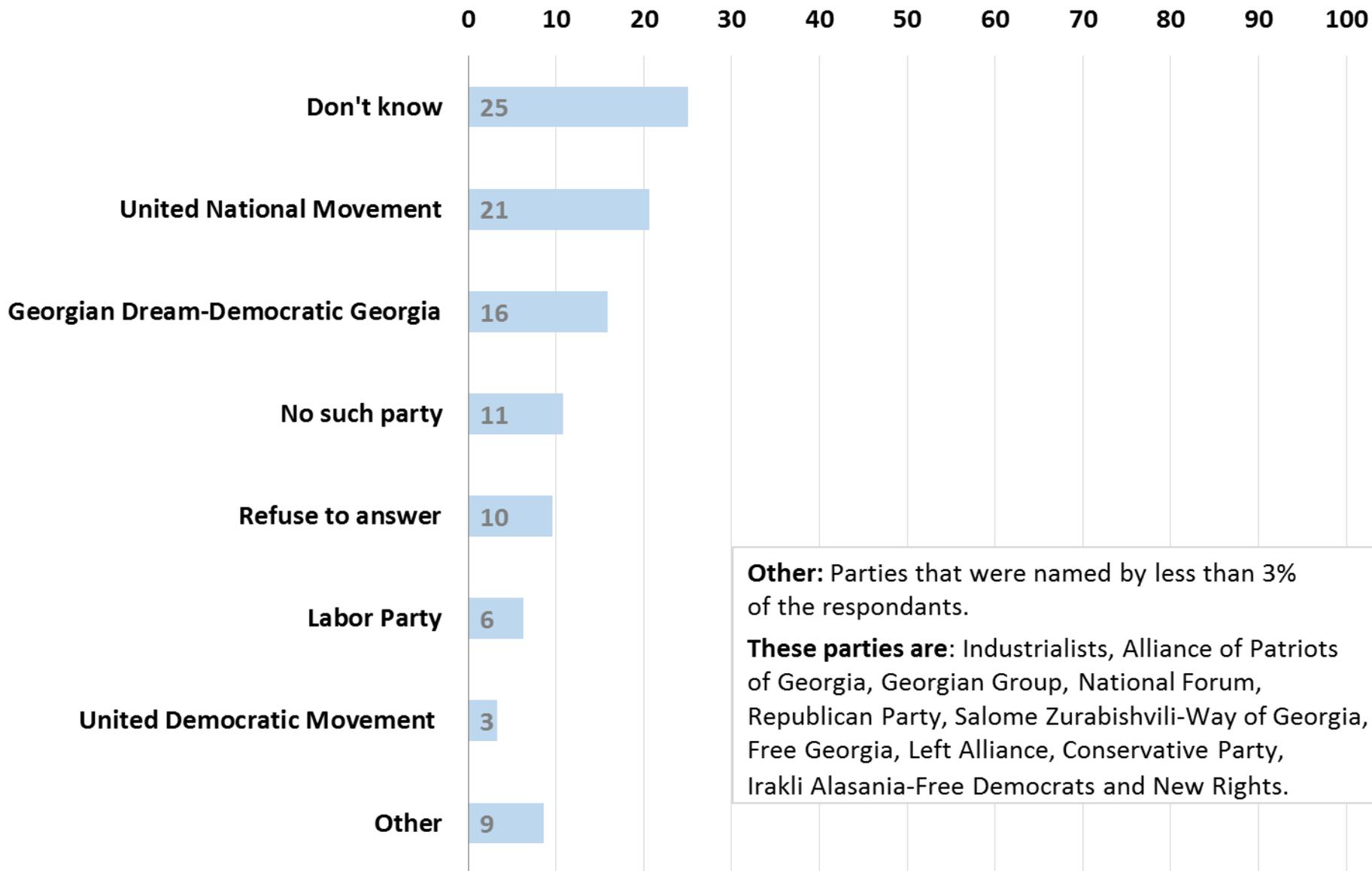


Both waves are nationally representative of Georgian speakers. August 2015 is also representative for minority regions.

If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would win? (q25 X Party closest to you)

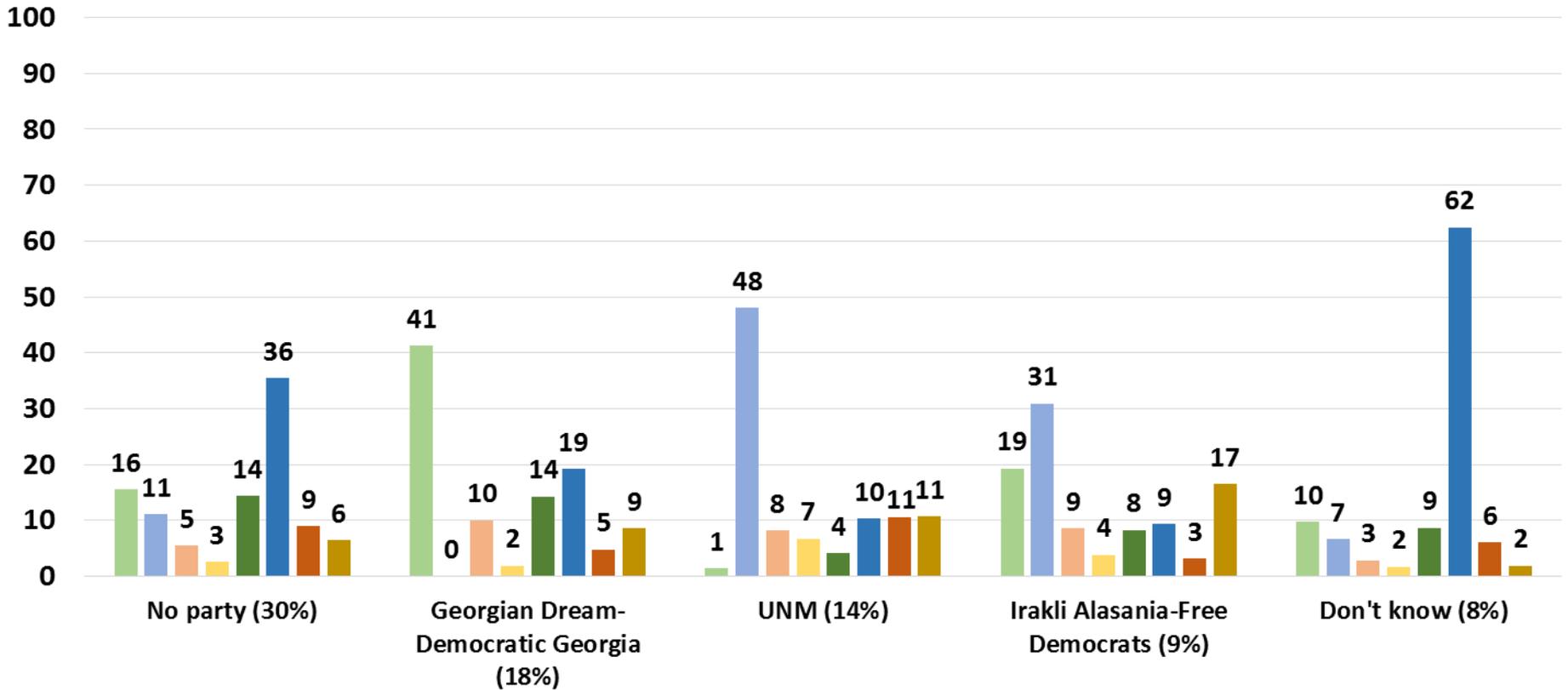


Which party you would never vote for? (q29)



Which party you would never vote for? (q29 X Party closest to you)

- UNM
- Georgian Dream-Democratic Georgia
- Labor Party
- United Democratic Movement
- No such party
- Don't know
- Refuse to answer
- Other

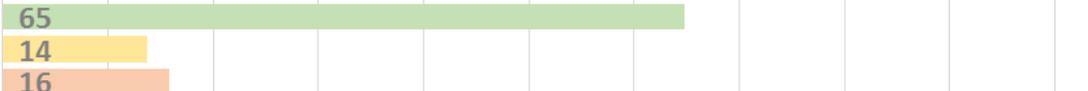


Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision? (q30)

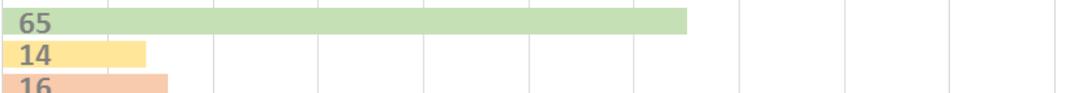
■ Important ■ Neither important nor unimportant ■ Unimportant

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

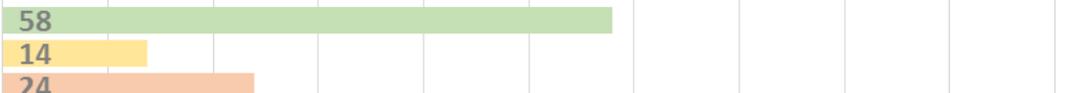
Trust towards specific members of political parties



Party's past performance



Electoral platforms and promises



Political opinion of the people close to me (family, friends)



Parish and priests' political opinions



The likelihood of a party winning



Political opinion of people you work for and colleagues



Political opinion of popular people

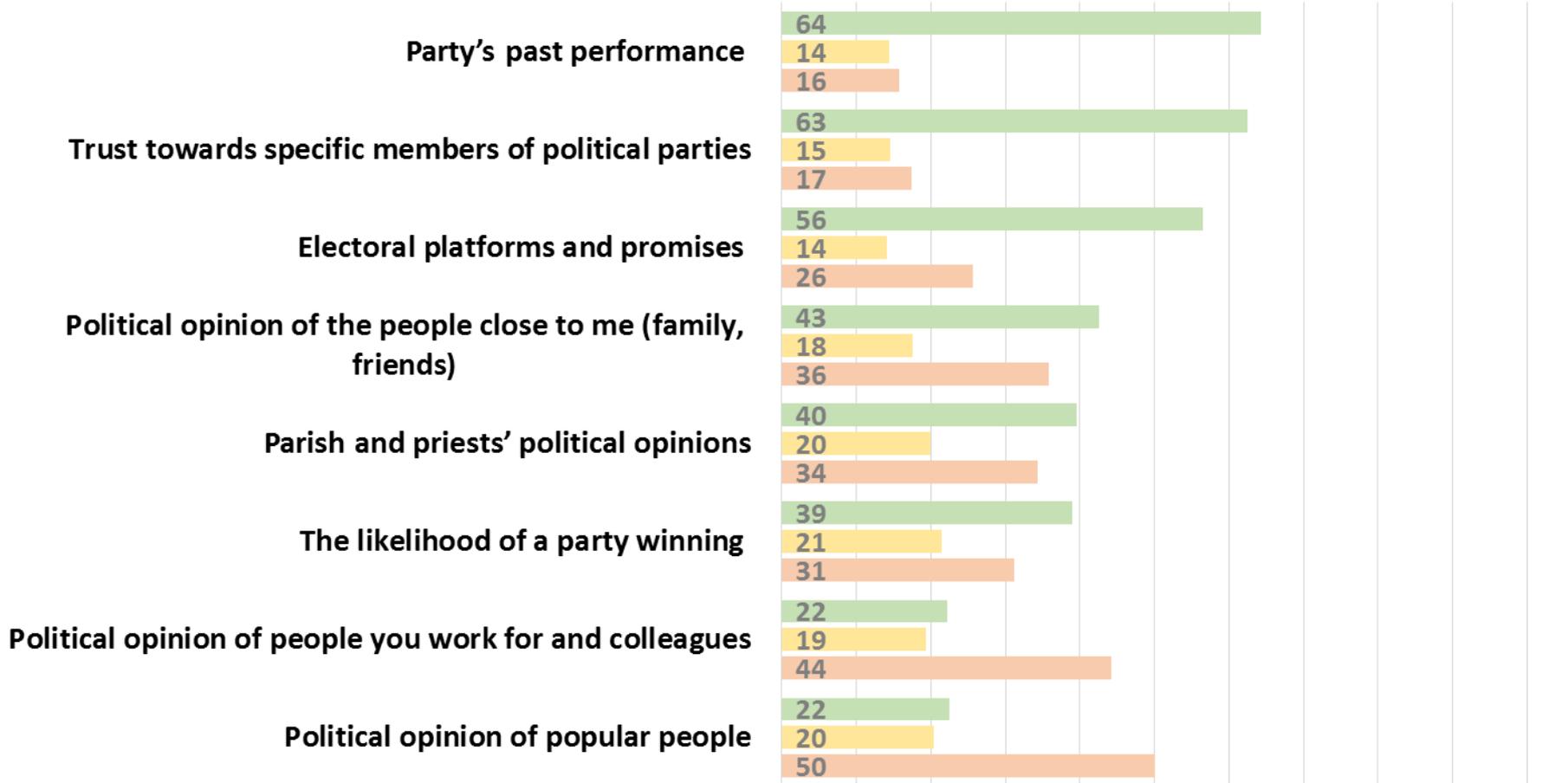


Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision?

Undecided people only (q30)

■ Important ■ Neither important nor unimportant ■ Unimportant

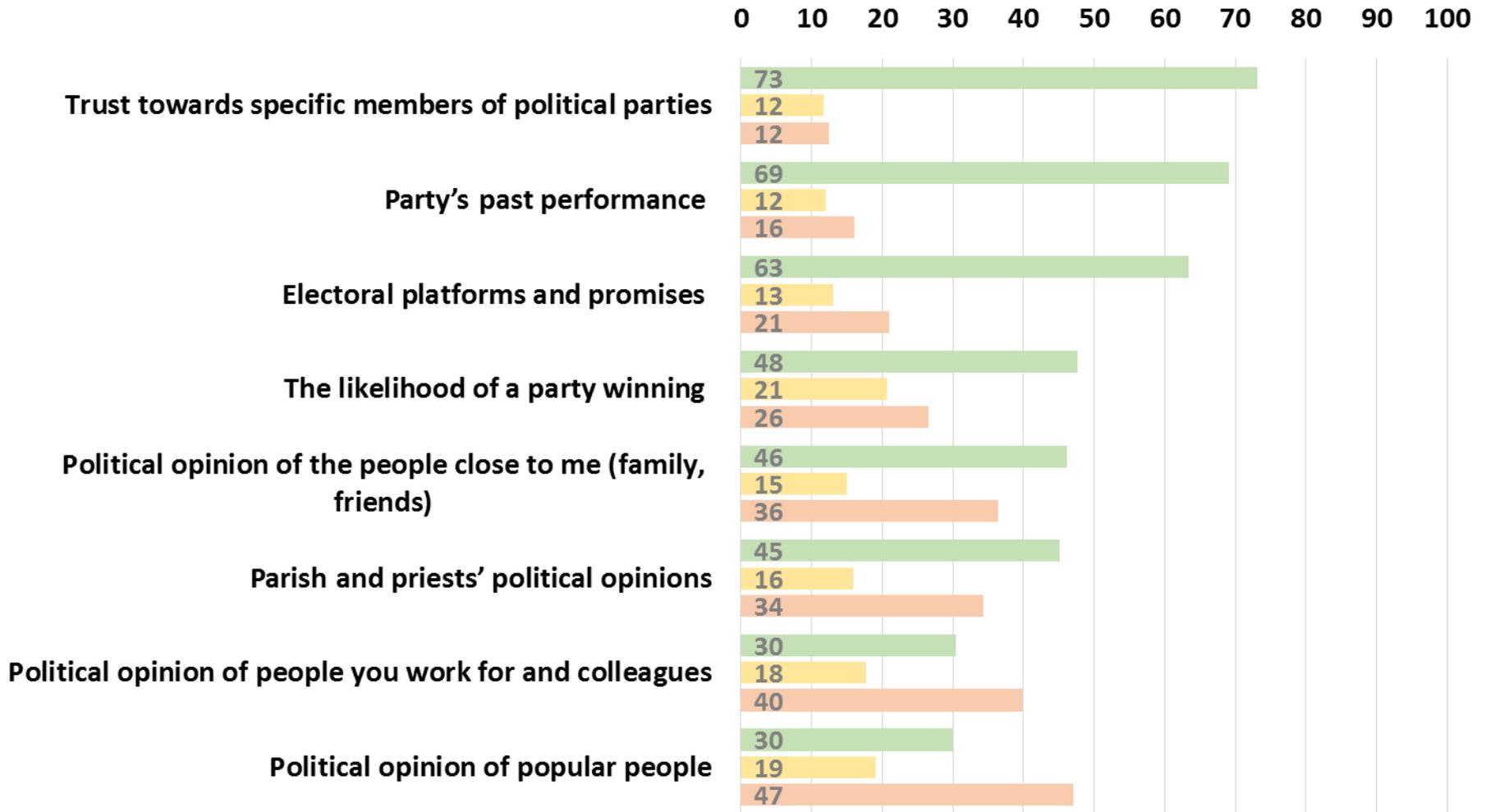
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision?

Decided people only (q30)

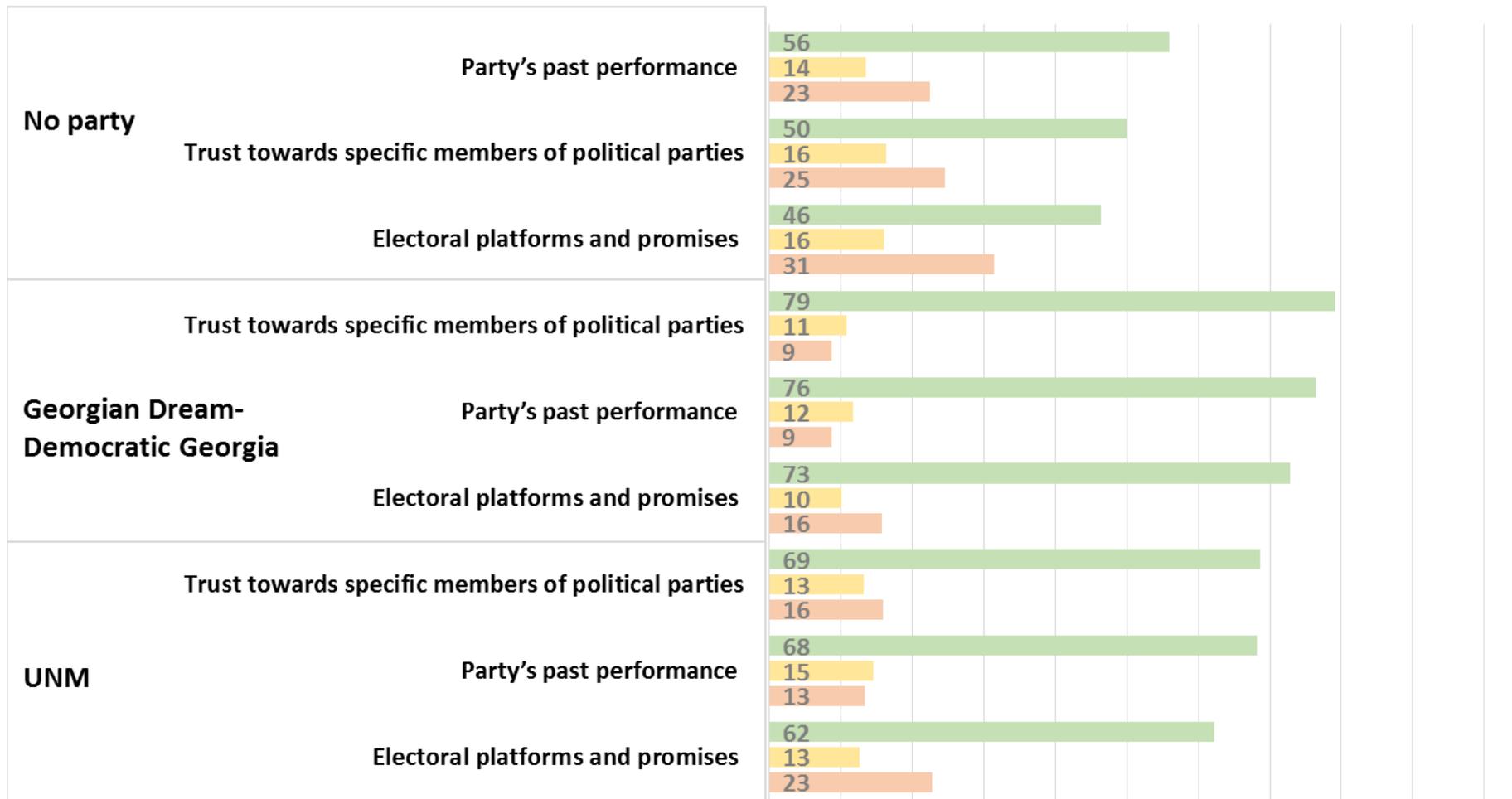
■ Important ■ Neither important nor unimportant ■ Unimportant



Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision? (q30 X Party closest to you) Part 1

■ Important ■ Neither important nor unimportant ■ Unimportant

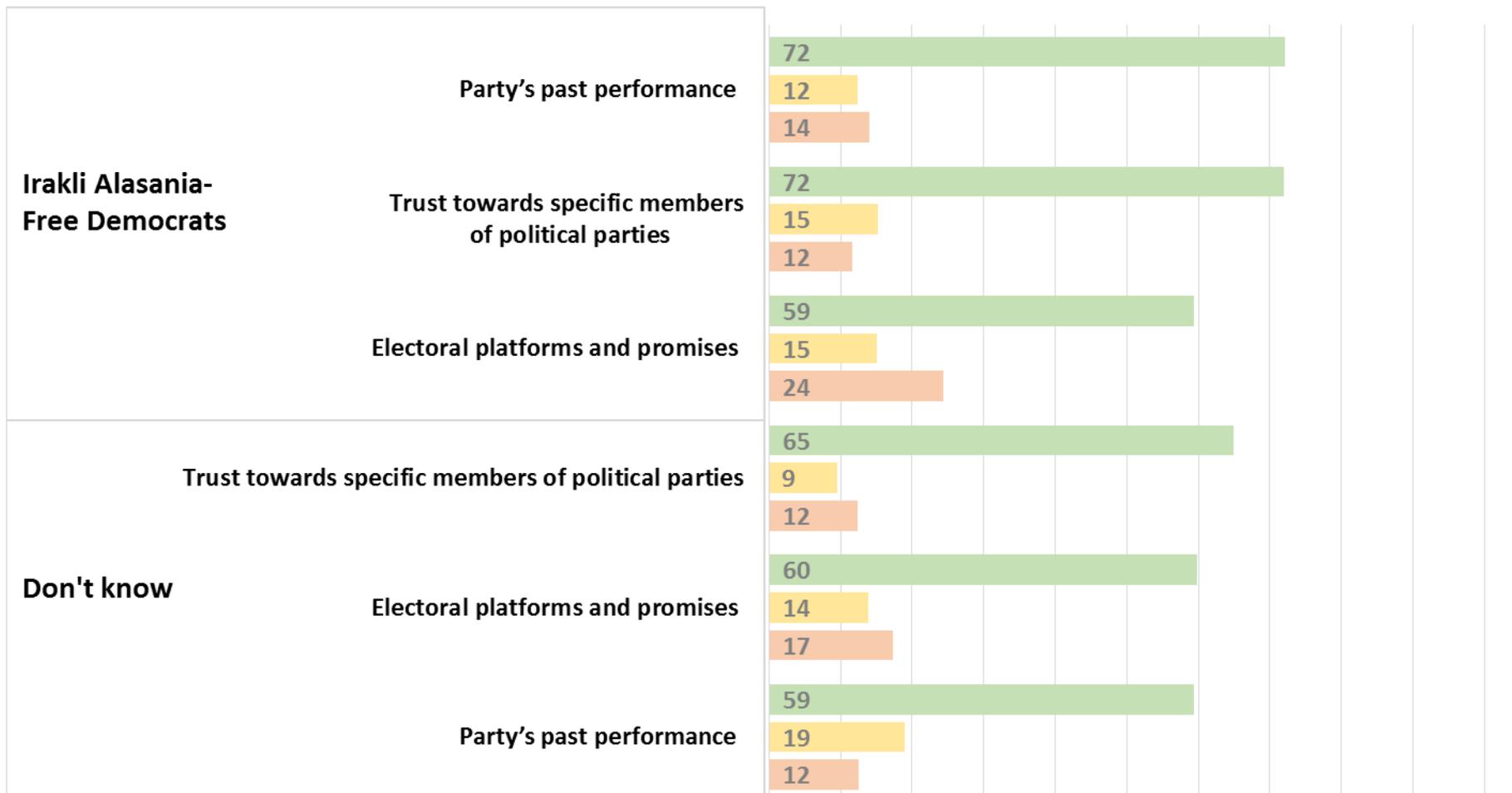
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the following factors in making your decision? (q30 X Party closest to you) Part 2

■ Important ■ Neither important nor unimportant ■ Unimportant

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



Foreign policy - Experiment

Foreign policy - Experimental section

Method: We divided our respondents into three, equal, representative groups. All three groups were asked the same questions about foreign policy, specifically about Georgia's policy toward Russia and Georgia's benefits from joining EU and NATO. However, prior to asking the questions, we exposed the groups to three different narratives, one for each group.

Purpose: The goal of the experiment was to determine, whether a specific narrative about foreign policy would change the way people respond to questions. By comparing the answers of those groups we will be able to see, whether the exposure to specific attitudes/opinions about certain foreign policy issues changes respondent's perception.

NOTE: The results of the experiment only relates to the narrative that was provided in the survey. Any other narrative could have different effect on the respondents.

1) First group, called the “**Control group**” was *not* given any specific narrative, just the general description of the topic



“Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and Russia.”

2) Group #2, which we called “**Cautious policy treatment group**” was exposed to a narrative in favor of cautious policy towards Russia



“Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and Russia. Some people believe that Georgia should be very cautious towards Russia. It should avoid confrontation by any means, including calling Russia the occupant on international forums. This will improve Georgian economy by increasing export of Georgian products in Russia and tourism.”

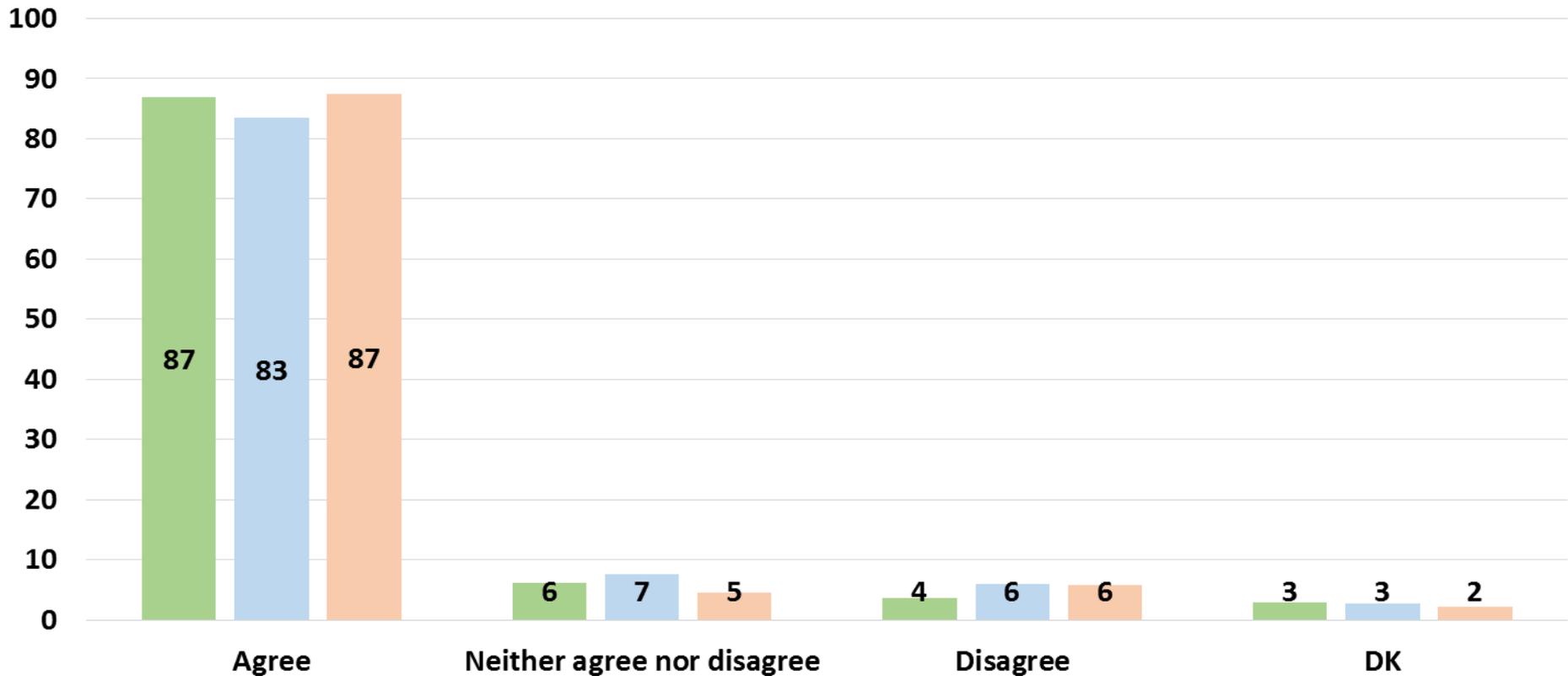
3) Group #3, which we called “**Assertive policy treatment group**” was exposed to a narrative in favor of assertive policy towards Russia



“Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and Russia. Some people believe that Georgia should pursue assertive policy towards Russia: while military confrontation is not an option, Georgia should cut off trade relations and use every possible occasion to demonstrate to international community that Russia is the occupant. This will strengthen Georgia’s relations with the western countries and improve our economy: increase tourism and flow of Georgian products in the western market.”

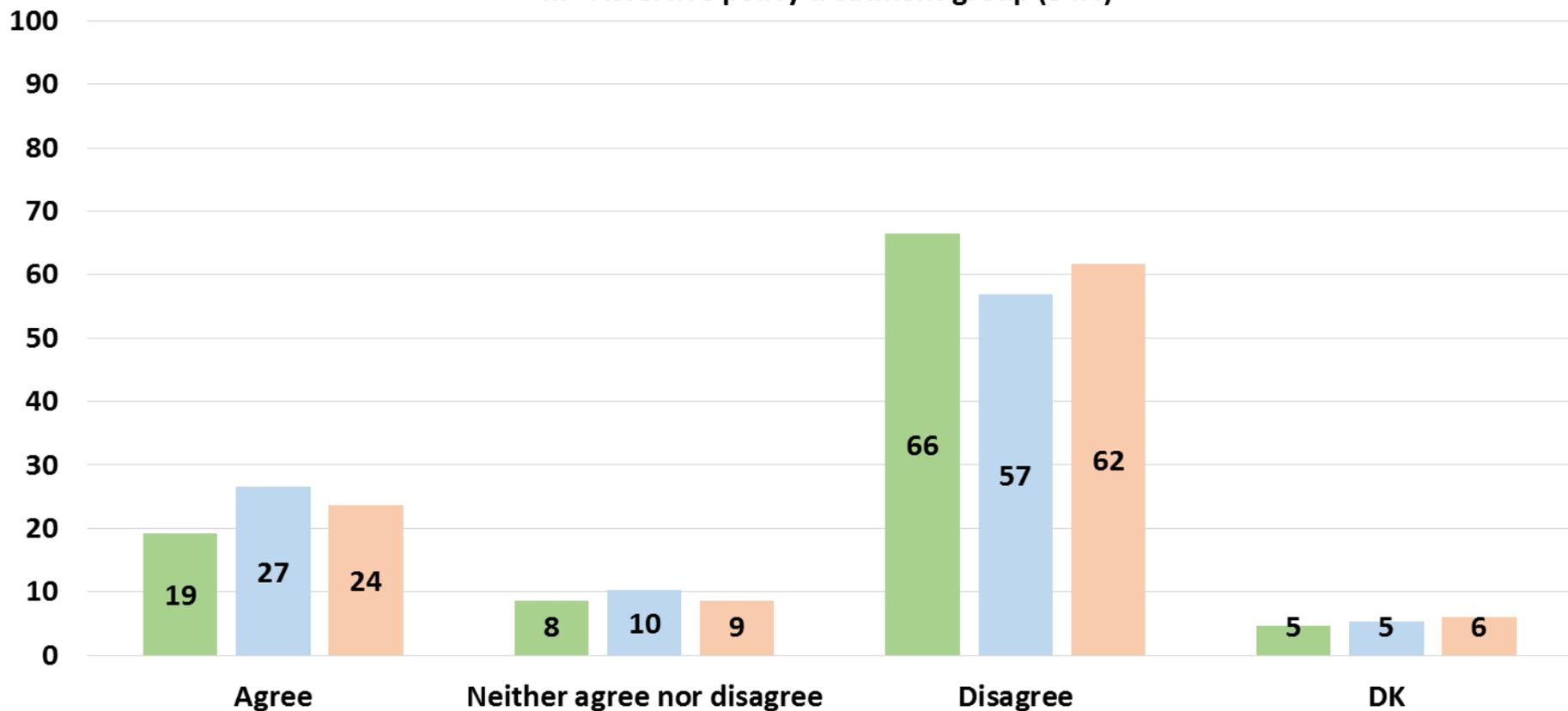
How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the government of Georgia should pursue cautious policy towards Russia? (q20)

- I - Control group (33%)
- II - Cautious policy treatment group (33%)
- III - Assertive policy treatment group (34%)



How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the government of Georgia should pursue assertive policy towards Russia? (q21)

- I - Control group (33%)
- II - Cautious policy treatment group (33%)
- III - Assertive policy treatment group (34%)

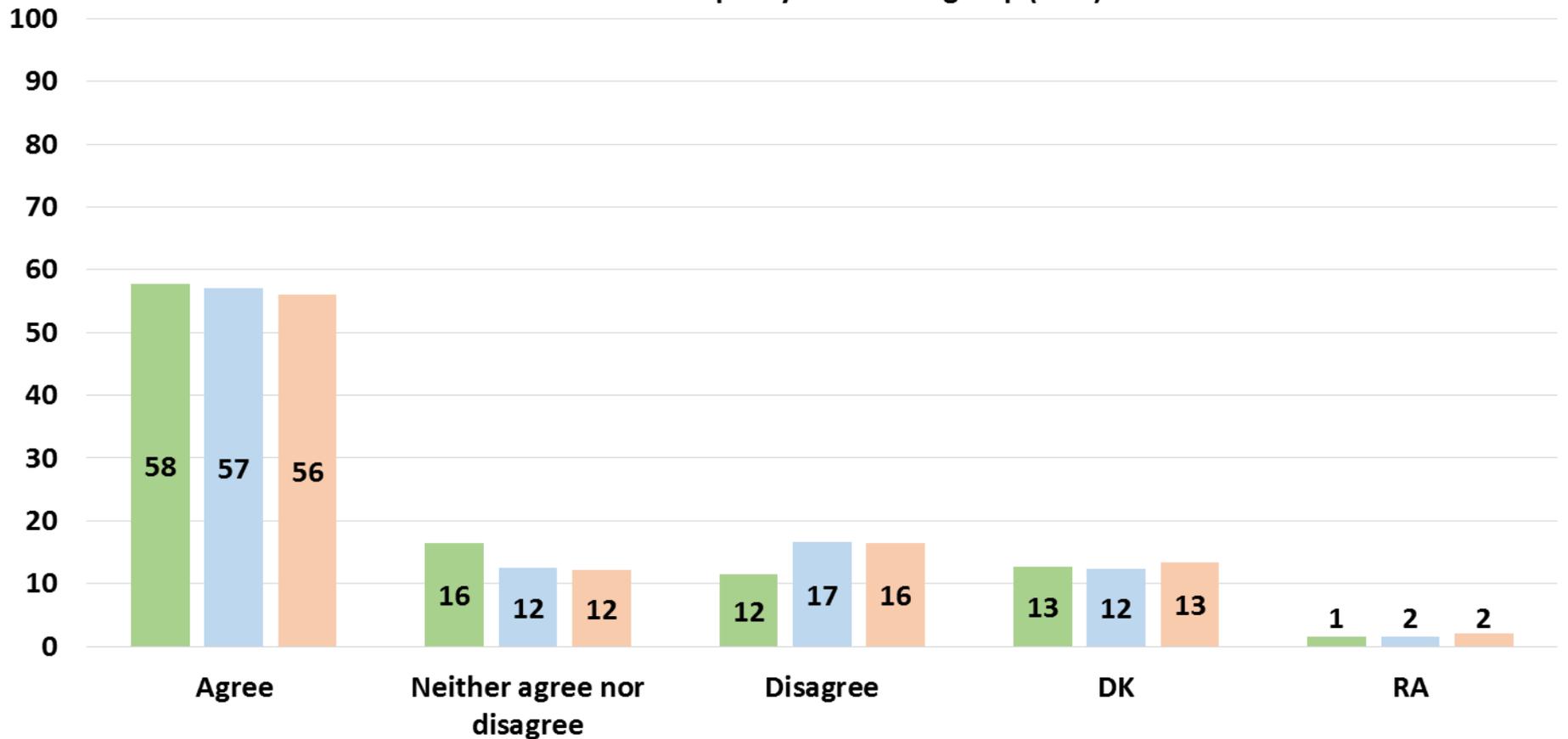


How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia will benefit economically from European and Euro-Atlantic integration (joining EU and NATO)? (q22)

I - Control group (33%)

II - Cautious policy treatment group (33%)

III - Assertive policy treatment group (34%)



How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia will benefit economically from abandoning European and Euro-Atlantic integration in favor of better relations with Russia? (q23)

I - Control group (33%)

II - Cautious policy treatment group (33%)

III - Assertive policy treatment group (34%)

