

Introduction

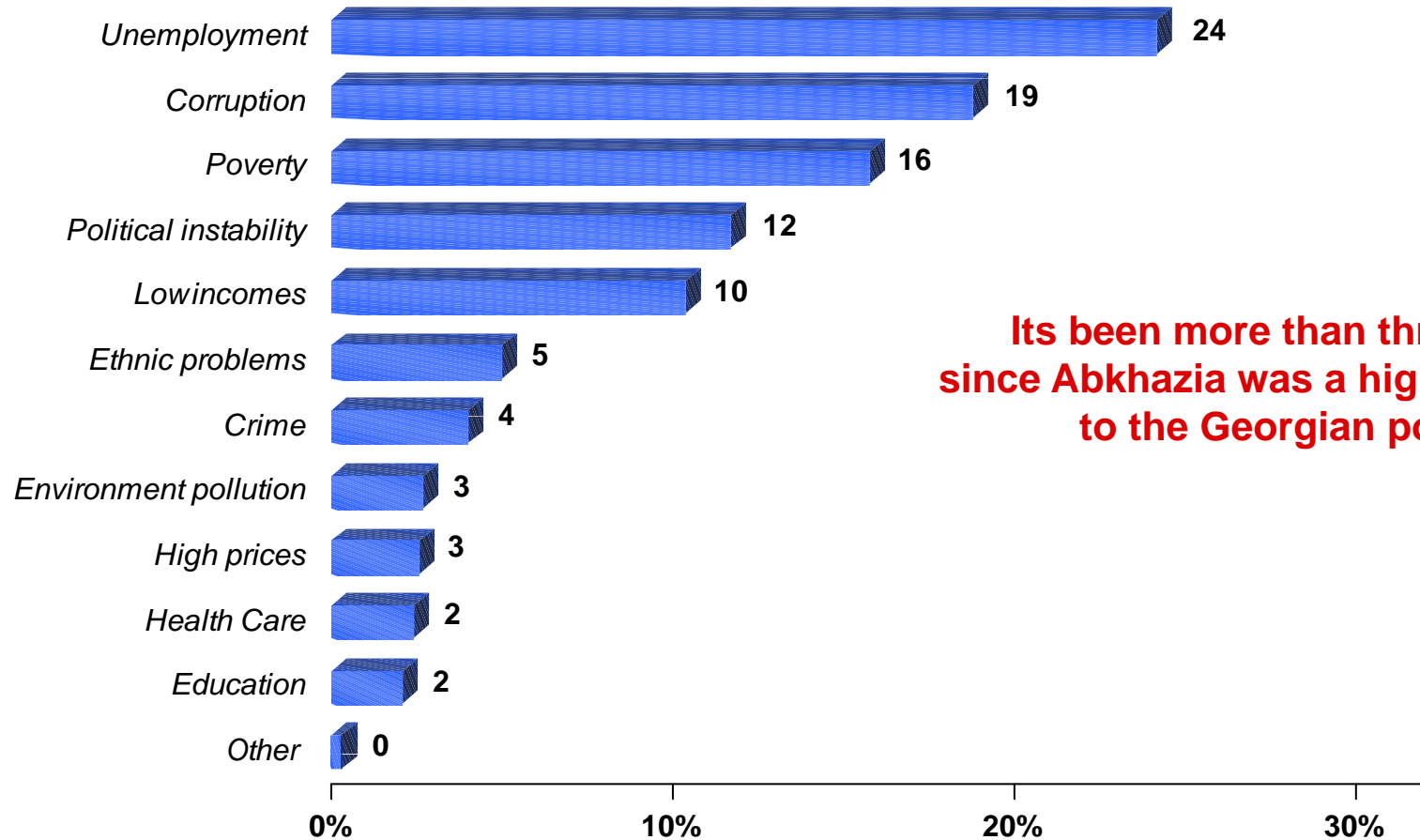
- **A unique study for the measurement of the Georgian population's attitudes towards political parties and candidates and the general situation in Georgia**
- **Ad hoc survey conducted by Georgian Opinion Research Business International (GORBI)**
- **Carried out through face-to-face interviewing method**
- **Sample size (n) = 1,000**
- **100 Sampling points**
- **Conducted in 19 principal regions throughout Georgia (including both urban and rural areas)**
- **Employs a nationally representative sample through multi-stage random probability sampling of the Georgian adult population (age 16+)**
- **Conducted by GORBI's team of experienced and well-trained local interviewers and supervisors**
- **Processed/analyzed in Tbilisi at the headquarters of GORBI**
- **Fieldwork conducted from May 25 – June 02, 2001**
- **For additional information, contact GORBI at the coordinates listed on the cover page**

CORRUPTION INDEXES OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Georgia is one of the “top” countries among those listed in terms of negative corruption indices - Georgia has the highest negative rate in 3 categories out of 7

	Acceptability in Principle	Susceptibility to corruption	Corruption pressure	Involvement in corrupt practices	Spread of corruption	Practical efficiency of corruption	Corruption Expectations
Georgia (May 01)	3.0	3.7	2.5	1.4	6.6	7.1	5.7
Albania (Jan 00)	1.9	3.2	2.6	1.1	6.2	6.7	5.4
Bosnia and Herzegovina (Jan 01)	2.8	3.3	2.0	1.4	6.2	6.4	5.2
Macedonia (Dec 00)	2.5	3.1	1.4	0.8	5.8	5.5	5.4
Romania (Dec 00)	1.7	4.4	1.8	1.5	7.3	7.5	4.8
Croatia (Dec 00)	2.5	3.4	1.4	0.9	5.8	6.5	4.9
Serbia (Dec 00)	1.8	2.8	2.3	1.8	6.6	7.0	4.3
Montenegro (Dec 00)	1.9	2.7	2.1	1.5	5.8	6.7	4.7

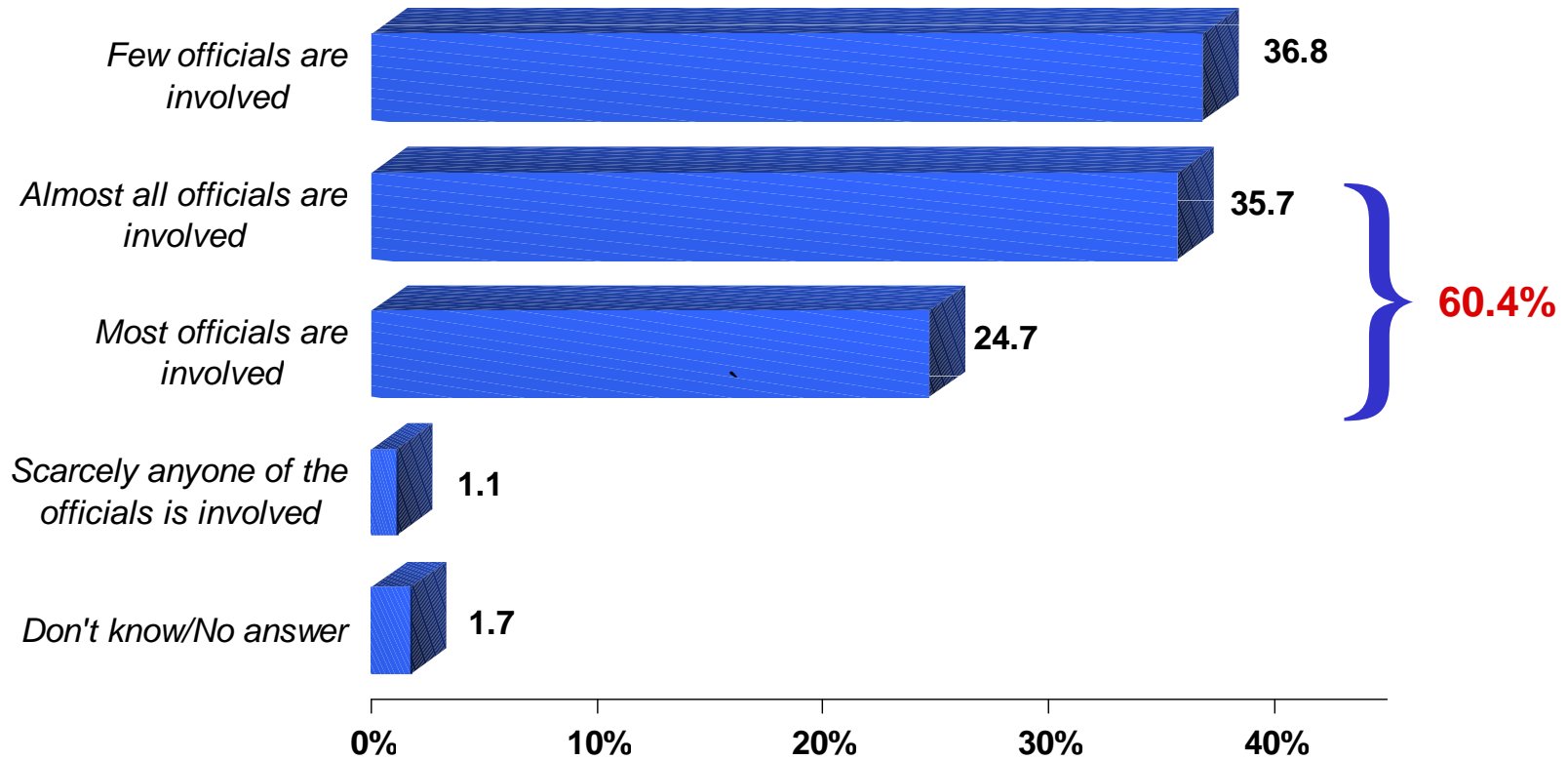
CORRUPTION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY ARE THREE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS FACING GEORGIA TODAY



Its been more than three years since Abkhazia was a high priority to the Georgian population

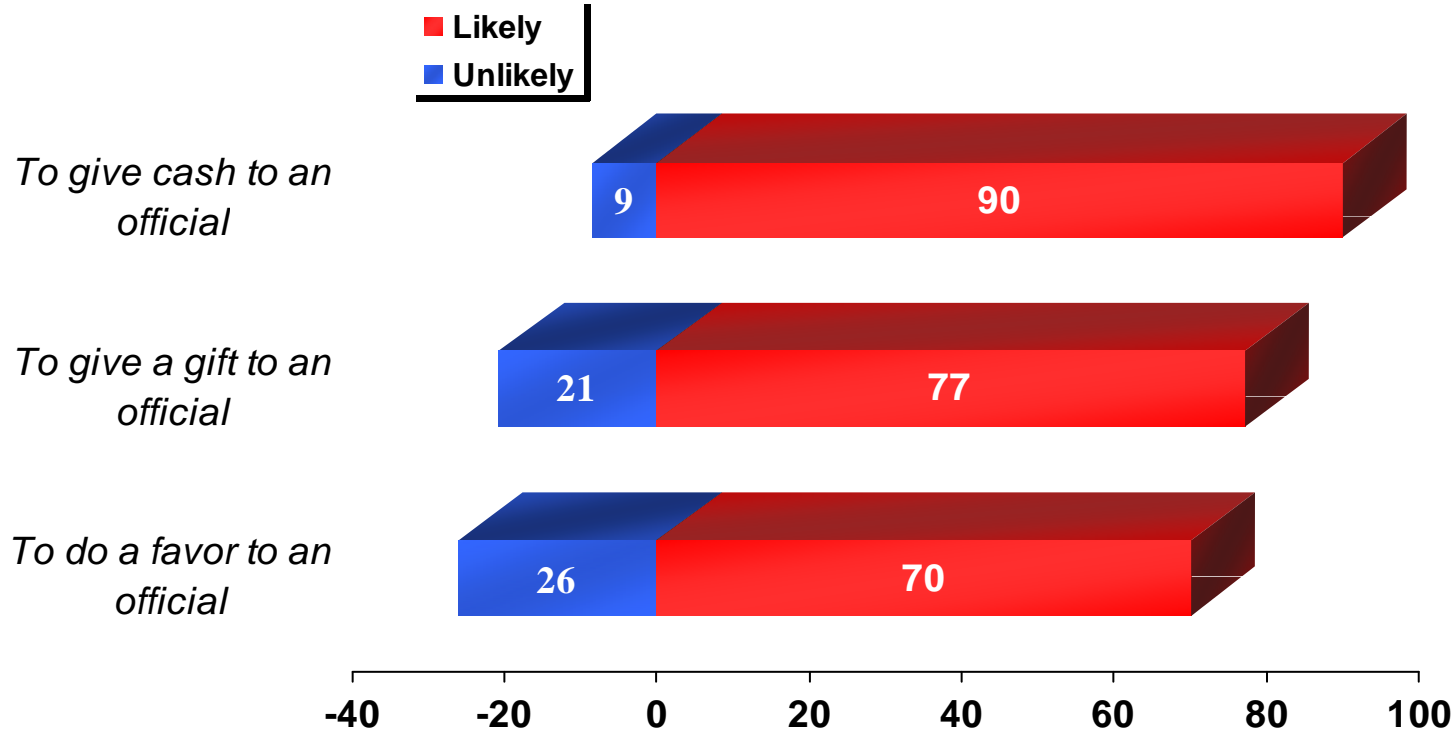
Q. Which are the three most important problems Georgia is facing today?

CORRUPTION IS AS WIDESPREAD AS KHACHAPURI IN GEORGIA



Q. How far has corruption proliferated among officials working in the public sector?

EFFECTIVENESS OF BRIBING AN OFFICIAL



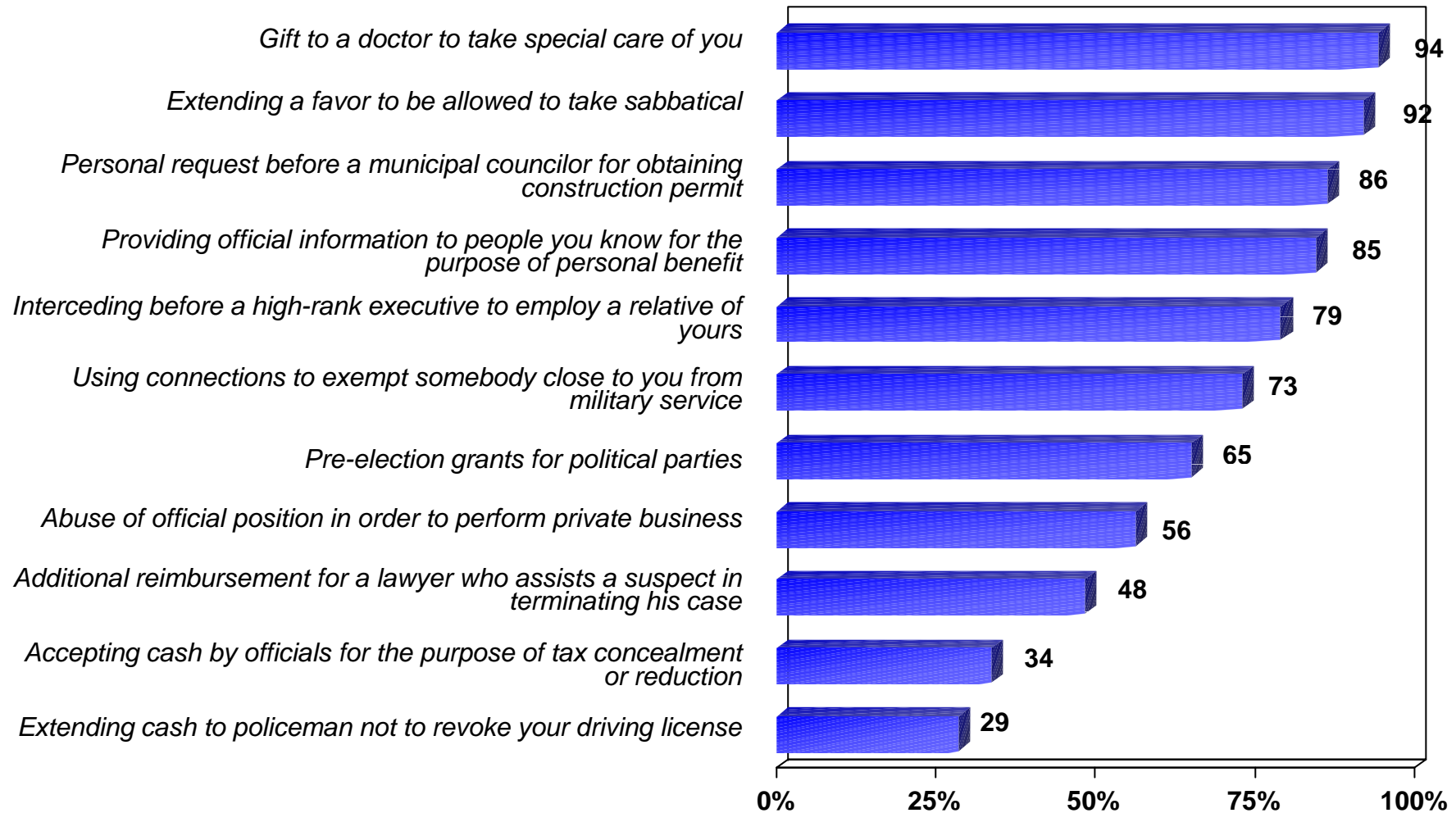
Q. In order to successfully solve one's problems is it likely or not likely that he/she will have to:

SPREAD OF CORRUPTION IN DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS

	Most or almost most involved, %	Few or scarcely anyone involved, %	Don't know/ No answer, %
Customs officers	73	23	4
Police officers/ Investigating officers	70	27	3
Tax officials	66	29	5
Ministry of revenue	60	33	7
Public prosecutors	59	36	5
Ministers	57	37	6
Judges	56	39	5
Members of parliament	56	39	5
Officials at ministries	54	40	7
Lawyers	47	47	6
Municipal officials	47	47	7
Staff of chamber of control	46	45	9
Administration officials in the judicial system	46	45	9
Bankers	36	52	12
Business people	33	60	7
Local political leaders	30	57	13
Political party and coalition leaders	30	57	13
Doctors	27	70	3
University officials or professors	21	72	7
Representatives of non-governmental organizations	20	63	17
Journalists	10	82	8
Teachers	8	88	4

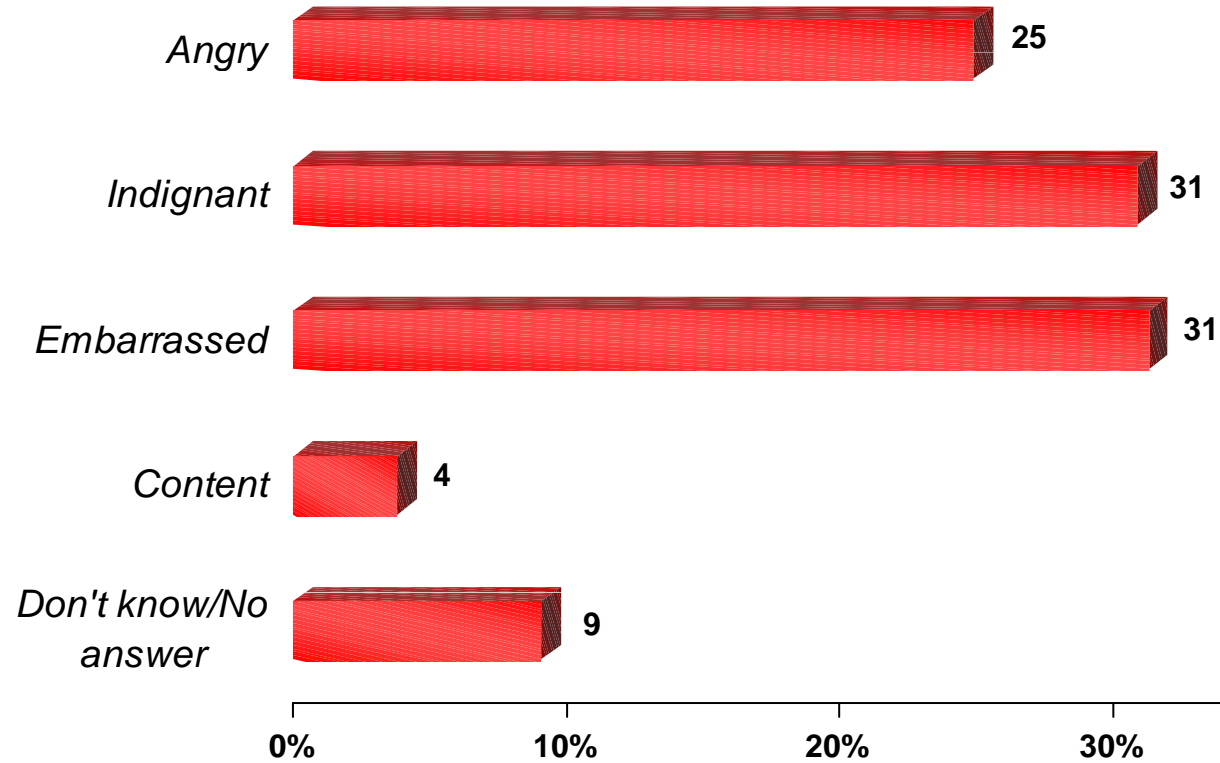
Q. *In your opinion, how far has corruption proliferated among the following groups:*

ASSOCIATION WITH THE PHENOMENON OF CORRUPTION



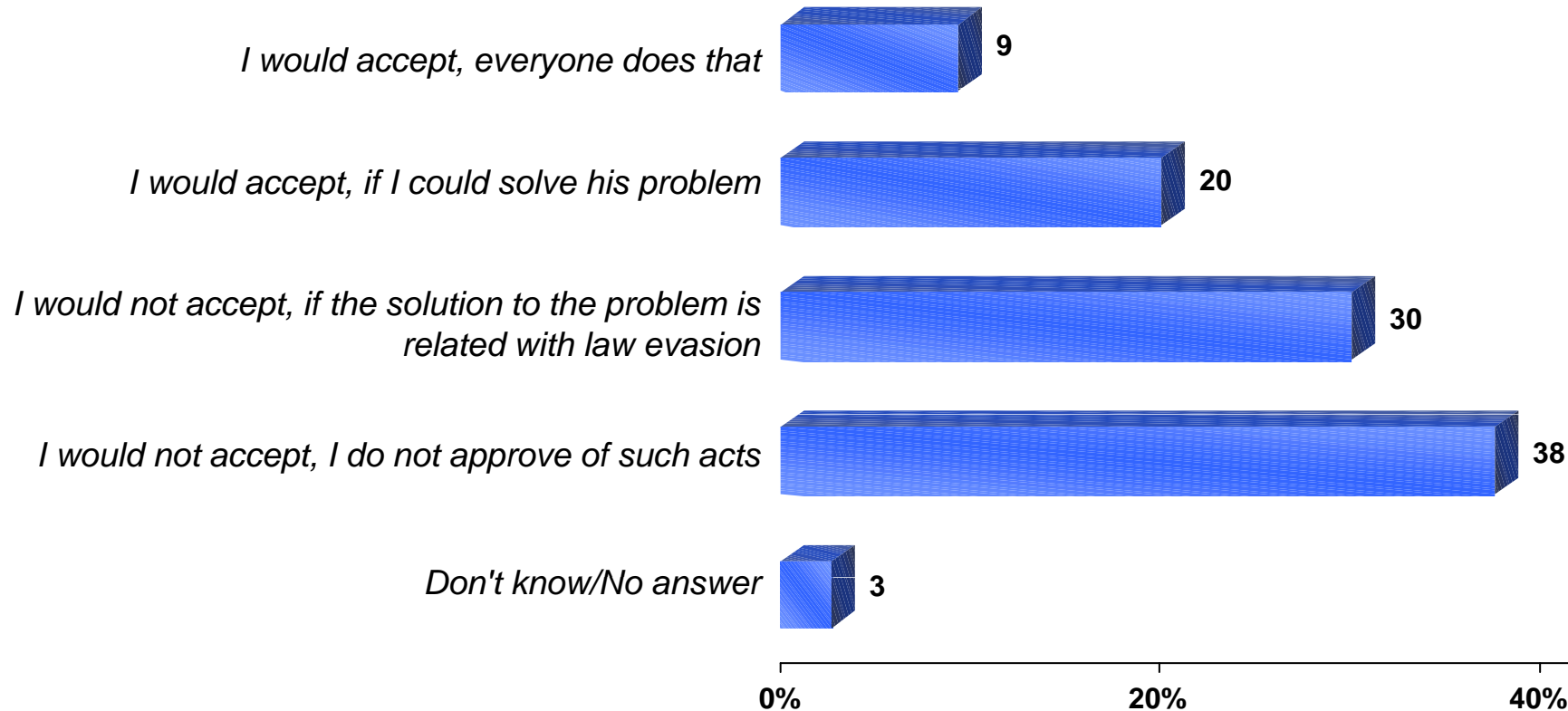
Q. In your opinion, which of the acts listed below fall under the public phenomenon of "corruption"?

REACTION AFTER BRIBING AN OFFICIAL



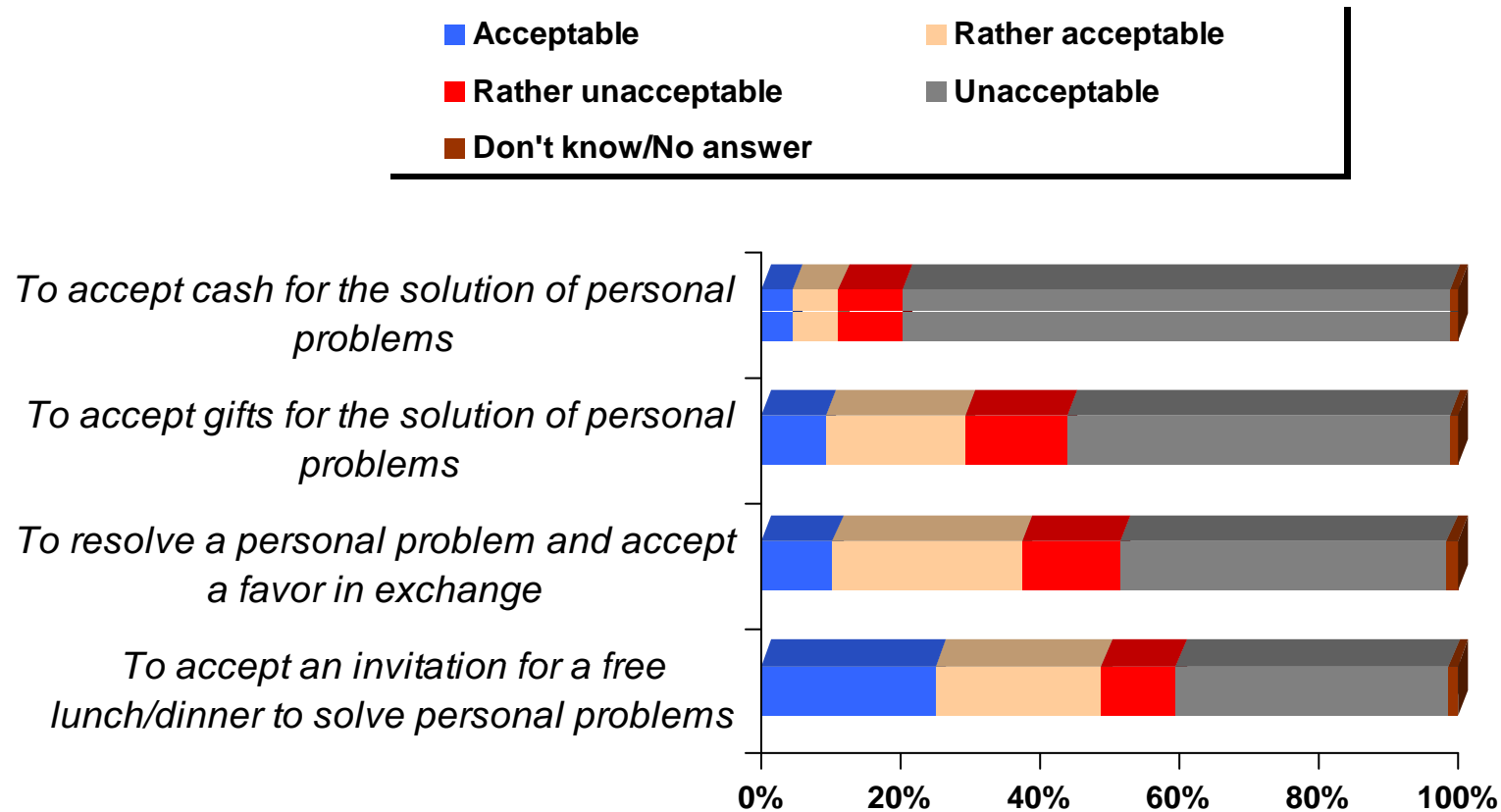
Q. Suppose someone gave cash or a gift to an official and got what he/she wanted. How, in your view, is this citizen most likely to feel?

POTENTIAL REACTION IN CASE GIFT OR CASH IS OFFERED



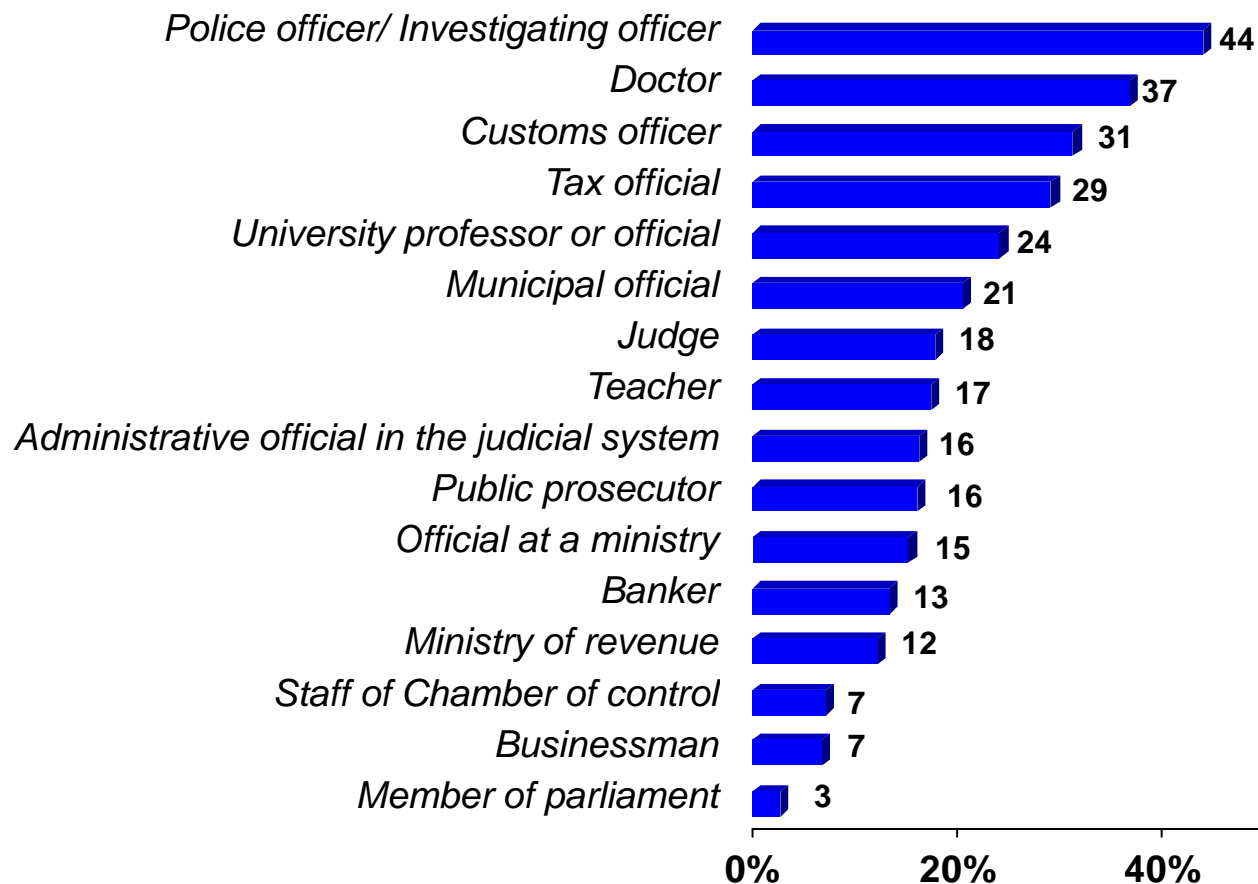
Q. *Imagine yourself in an official, low-paid position and you are approached by someone offering cash, a gift or favor to solve his problem. What would you do?*

ACCEPTANCE OF RECEIVING CASH, GIFTS OR FAVORS BY STATE OFFICIALS



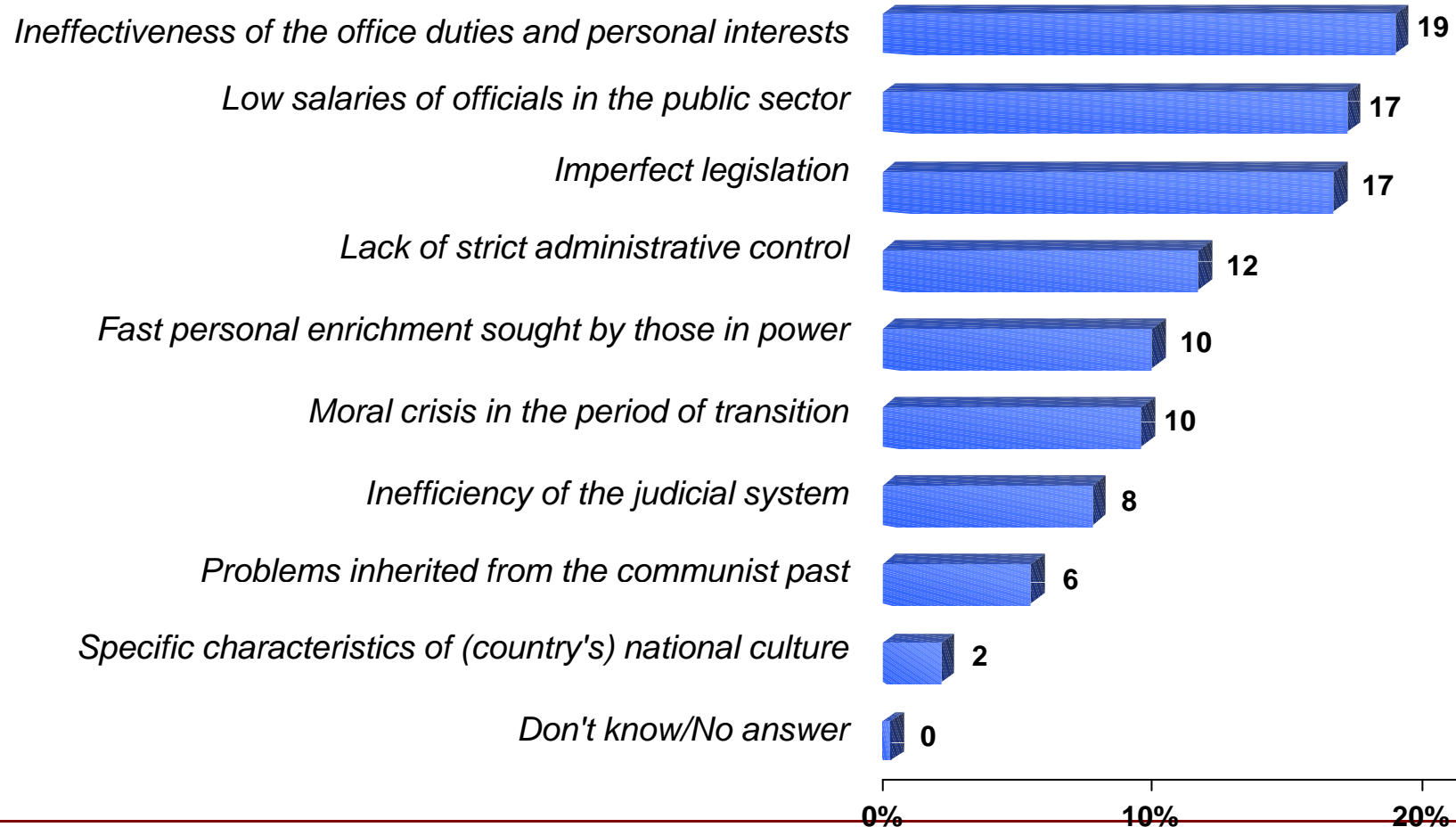
Q. In your opinion, how acceptable are the following, if performed by officials at Ministries, municipalities and mayoralities?

ACCEPTANCE OF RECEIVING CASH, GIFTS OR FAVORS BY OFFICIALS



Q. If in the course of the past year you have been asked for something in order to have a problem of yours solved, you were asked by:

MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS AFFECTING CORRUPTION



Q. In your opinion, which are the three most important factors affecting the proliferation of corruption in Georgia?

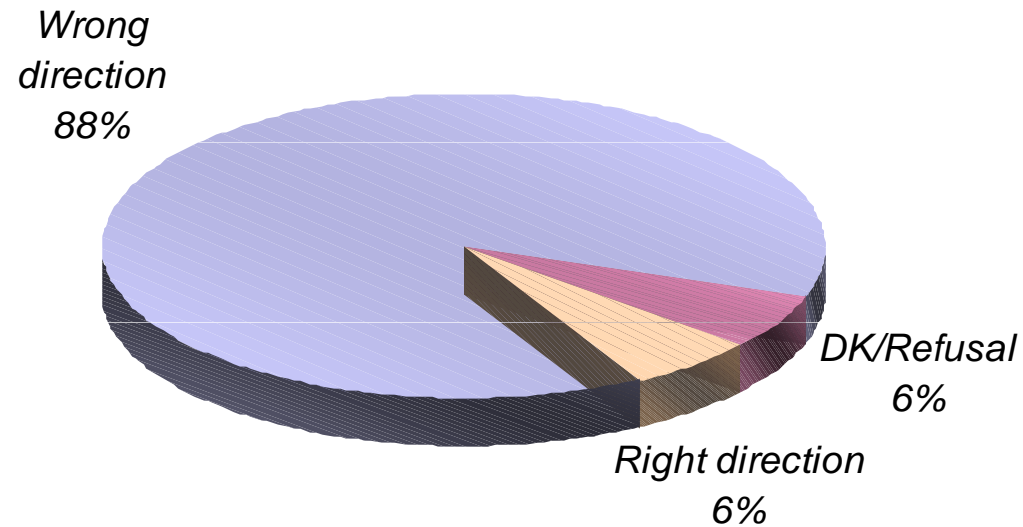
ACCEPTANCE OF CASH, GIFTS OR FAVORS BY STATE OFFICIALS



Q. Please tell me to what extent you agree with each one of these statements?

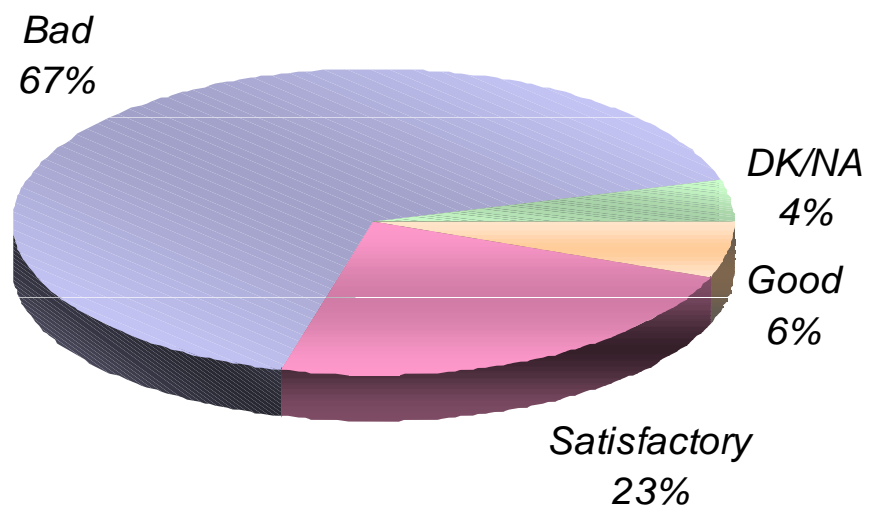
5-point scale, 1=disagree completely, 5=agree completely

COUNTRY'S DIRECTION - RIGHT OR WRONG



Q: Generally speaking, are political and economic events in Georgia developing in the right or wrong direction?

EVALUATION OF PRESIDENT SHEVARDNADZE'S PERFORMANCE



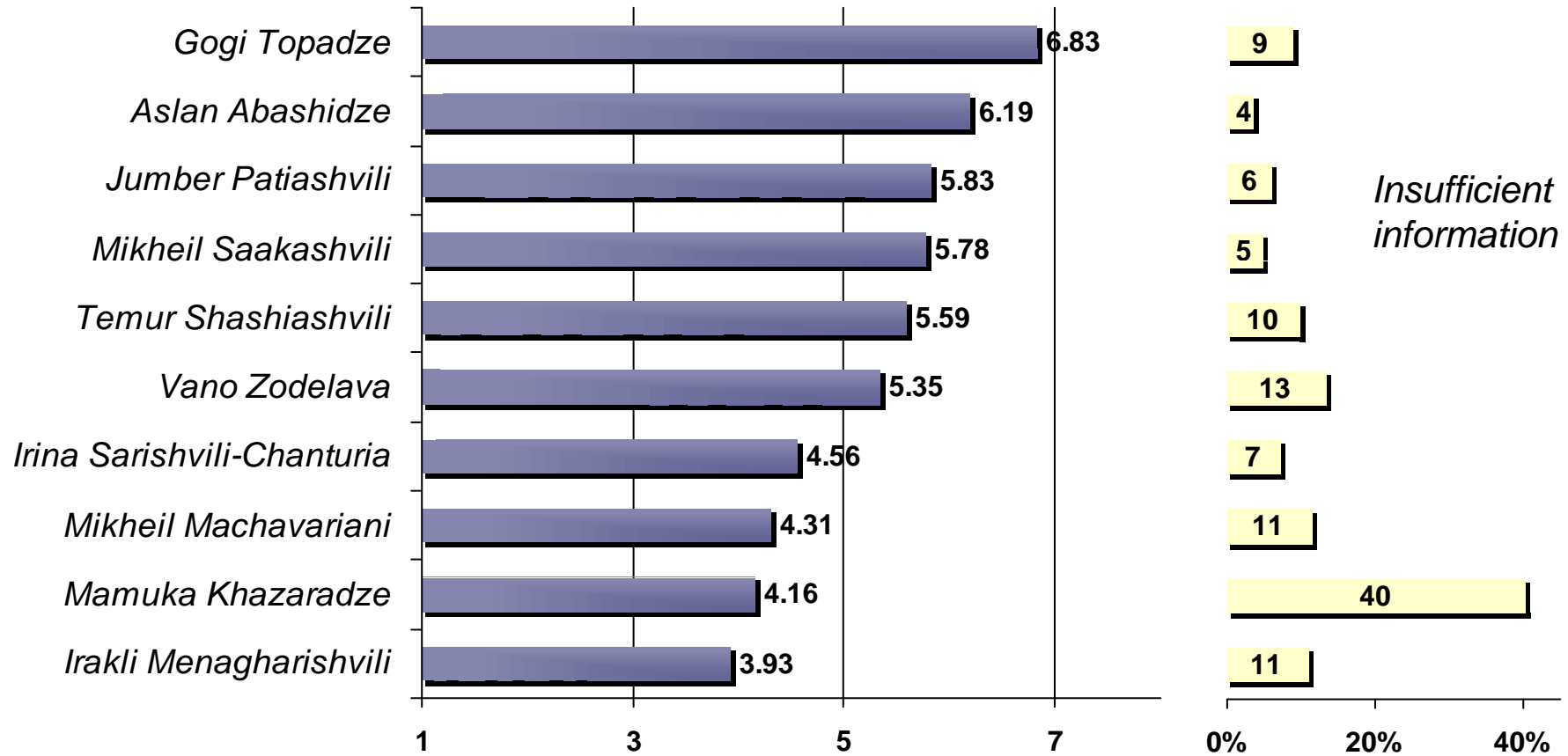
Q: *How do you think President Shevardnadze is handling his job?*

- *When evaluating state officials' performances, the highest positive overall rate went to Gogi Topadze – leader of the “Industry Will Save Georgia” party;*
- *Other highly ranked officials were Aslan Abashidze, Jumber Patiashvili, Mikheil Saakashvili and Temur Shashiashvili;*
- *Among 21 officials, President Shevardnadze's rank was 16th;*
- *Head of the Supreme Council of Adjara Aslan Abashidze and leader of Didgori Party Jumber Patiashvili are most popular among older members of the population, while current Minister of Justice Mikheil Saakashvili is mostly supported by younger citizens;*

- *Gogi Topadze has a stronger support in Tbilisi and central and eastern parts of Georgia;*
- *Unsurprisingly, support of Aslan Abashidze is extremely high in Adjara;*
- *Topadze strongly overcame Abashidze in all regions but Adjara;*
- *Patiashvili is most supported in central parts of the country, while he is less favored in the capital;*
- *Support for Mikheil Saakashvili is weak in western regions of Georgia, while he is strongly supported in Tbilisi and south and east Georgia.*

EVALUATION OF STATE OFFICIALS' PERFORMANCES AMONG POPULATION

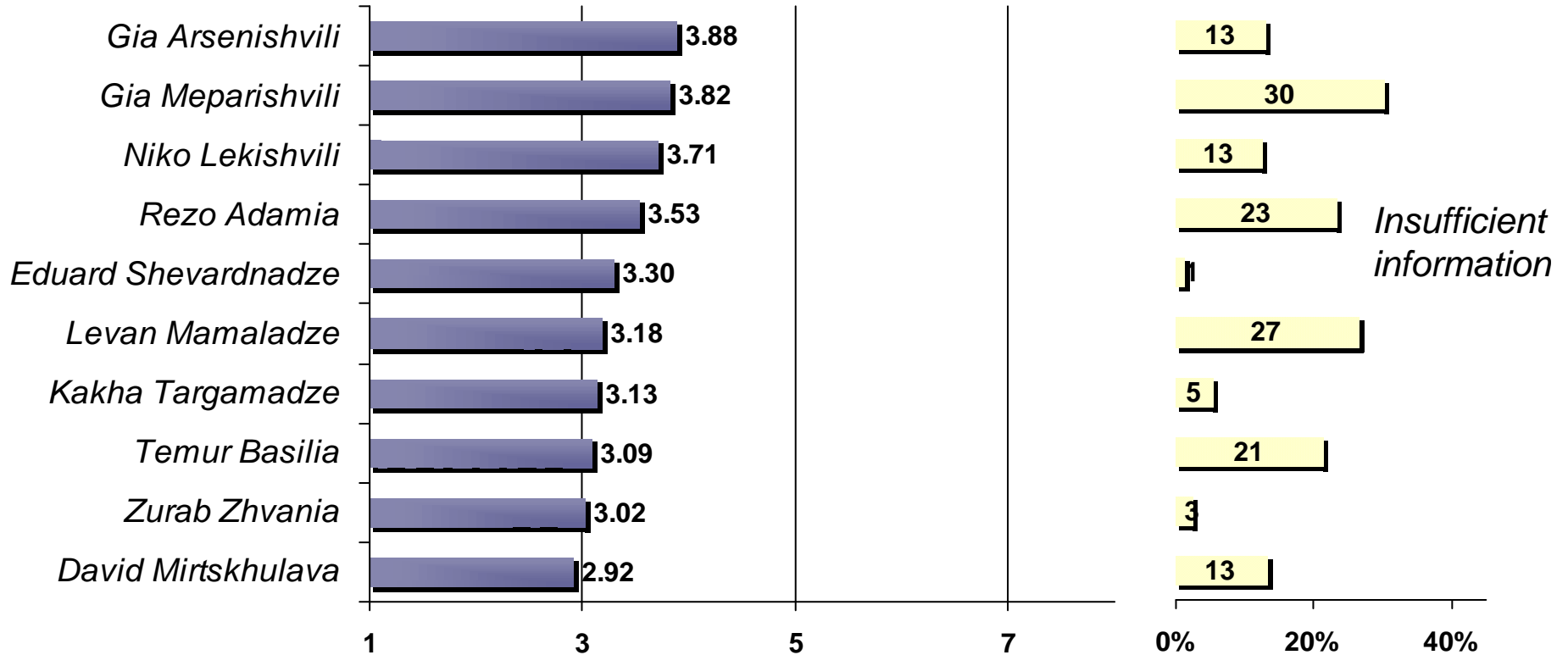
Average mean, 10-point scale



Q: On a 10-point scale, where '1' means absolutely negative and '10' means absolutely positive, how would you evaluate following state officials' activities?

EVALUATION OF STATE OFFICIALS' PERFORMANCES AMONG POPULATION

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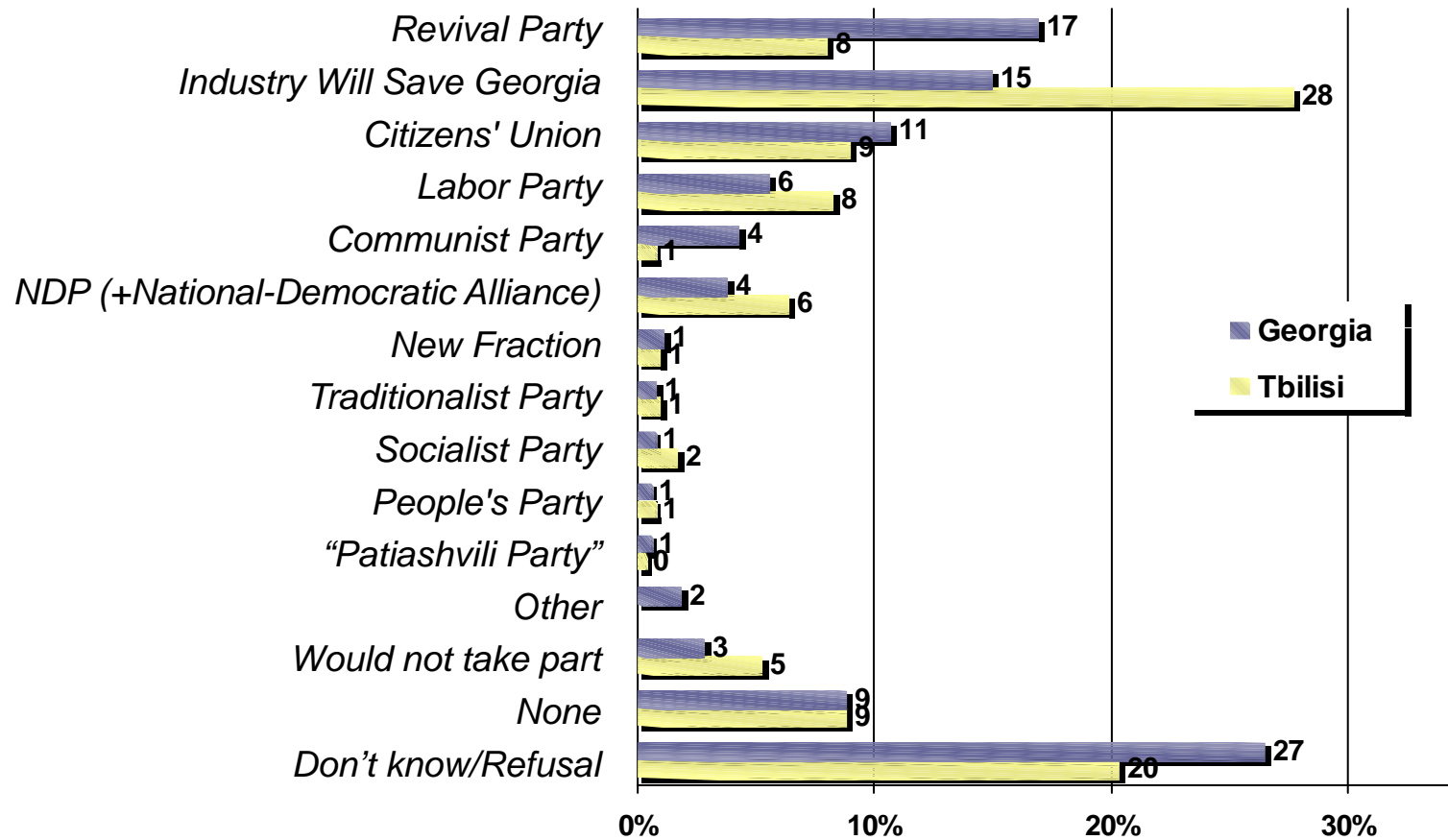


Reference: Gogi Topadze - Leader of "Industry will save Georgia". Aslan Abashidze - Head of Supreme Council of Adjara. Jumber Patiashvili - Leader of "Didgori" party. Mikheil Saakashvili - Minister of Justice. Temur Shashiashvili - Governor of Imereti. Vano Zodelava - Mayor of Tbilisi. Irina Sarishvili-Chanturia - Leader of NDP. Mikheil Machavariani - Minister of Tax Revenues. Mamuka Khazaradze - Head of TBC Group. Irakli Menagharishvili - Minister of Foreign Affairs. Gia Arsenishvili - State Minister. Gia Meparishvili - Prosecutor General. Niko Lekishvili - Head of Tax Payers' Union. Rezo Adamia - Leader of Majority in Parliament. Eduard Shevardnadze - President of Georgia. Levan Mamaladze - Governor of Kvemo Kartli. Kakha Targamadze - Minister of Interior. Temur Basilia - Advisor of the President. Zurab Zhvania - Speaker of the Parliament. Davit Mirtskhulava - Minister of Energetic.

- *If Parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, the majority of the population throughout Georgia would vote for the Adjara-based Revival Party. Industry Will Save Georgia was the second most popular party;*
- *Industry Will Save Georgia has the strongest support in Tbilisi, with more than a quarter of potential votes;*
- *Despite the very low individual rankings of the Citizens' Union's top political figures, the party comes in third with 11%;*
- *Entrepreneurs have stronger support among younger voters;*
- *A significant part of the Revival Party electorate lives in Adjara, where 58% of voters would vote for the party, versus Tbilisi, where the Revival electorate is only 8% of voters;*

- *The Citizens' Union is mostly supported by younger members of the population - 16% would vote for them;*
- *The electorate of the Entrepreneurs is largest in urban areas, while Revival mostly relies on rural voters;*
- *Communists have relatively strong support in rural areas - 7%;*
- *The Labor Party is well supported in Tbilisi and central Georgia, while it is rather unpopular in Adjara and the east;*
- *The Labor Party is also supported by students - 15%;*
- *The higher the age of the population, the stronger the support for the Communist Party.*

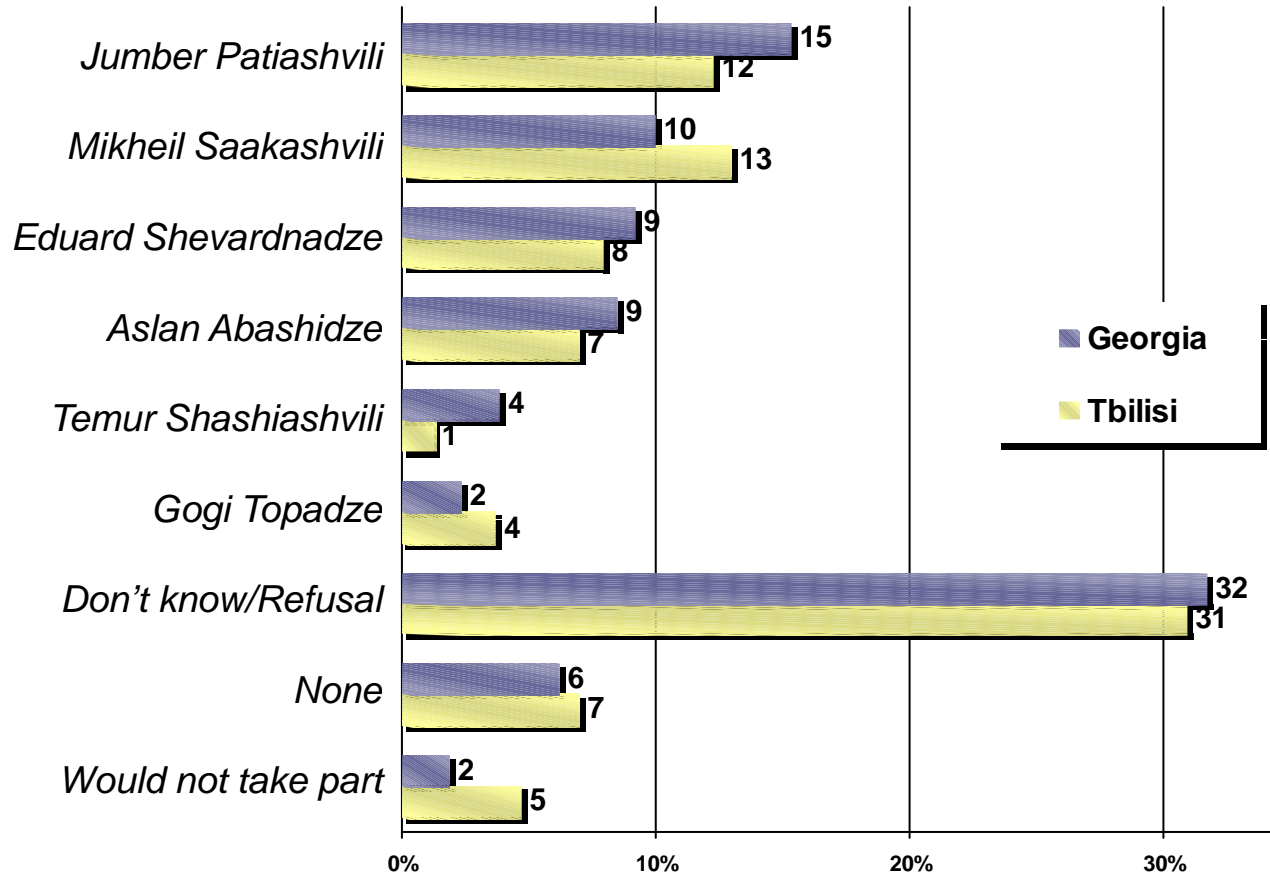
RATINGS OF POLITICAL PARTIES



Q: If the Parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which political party would you be most likely to vote for?

- *The most preferred future president for the population of Georgia is Jumber Patiashvili. The second most popular potential candidate is Mikheil Saakashvili. Current president of Georgia Eduard Shevardnadze comes in third with 9%;*
- *Saakashvili overcame Patiashvili in Tbilisi;*
- *The higher the age of the population, the stronger the support for Jumber Patiashvili, and vice versa for Mikheil Saakashvili;*
- *Abashidze is extremely popular in Adjara, where half of the population would vote for him, however his popularity in other regions of Georgia is rather weak;*
- *Patiashvili is fairly popular in central Georgia, with 38% of voters, and also in east and south.*

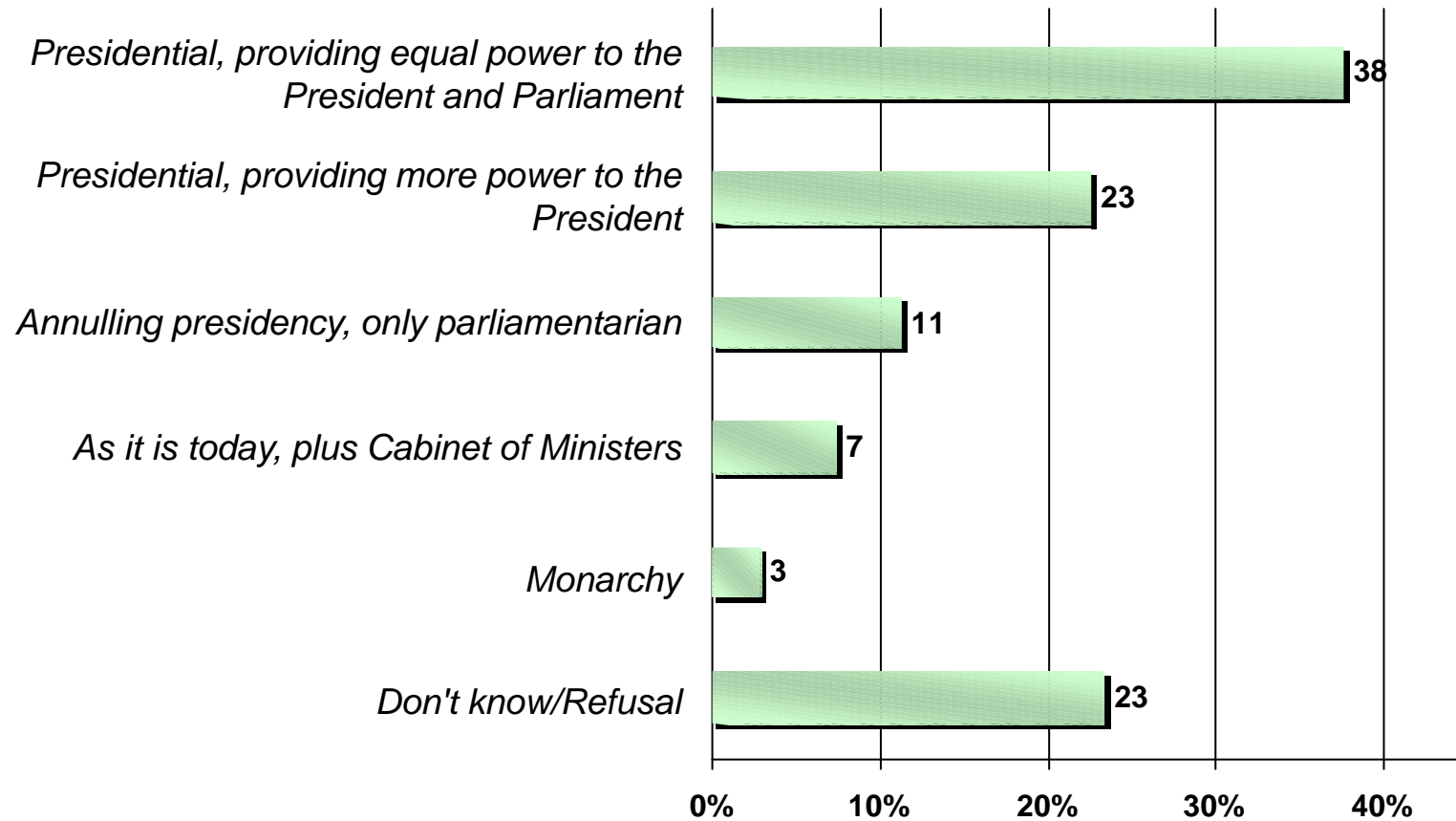
RATINGS OF POTENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY



Q: If the Presidential election was held tomorrow, which political party would you be most likely to vote for?

- *Citizens of Georgia tend to want a balanced partitioning of power between the legislative and executive branches of government;*
- *Younger respondents support distribution of equal power more than older ones do;*
- *As much as half of the respondents in Tbilisi support equal presidential and parliamentary power, while in other regions of Georgia the rate hardly reaches 35%;*
- *Strong presidential power is mainly supported by middle-aged members of the population;*
- *Males are more “radical” in that they mainly support a one-sided political system, while females support balanced partitioning of power.*

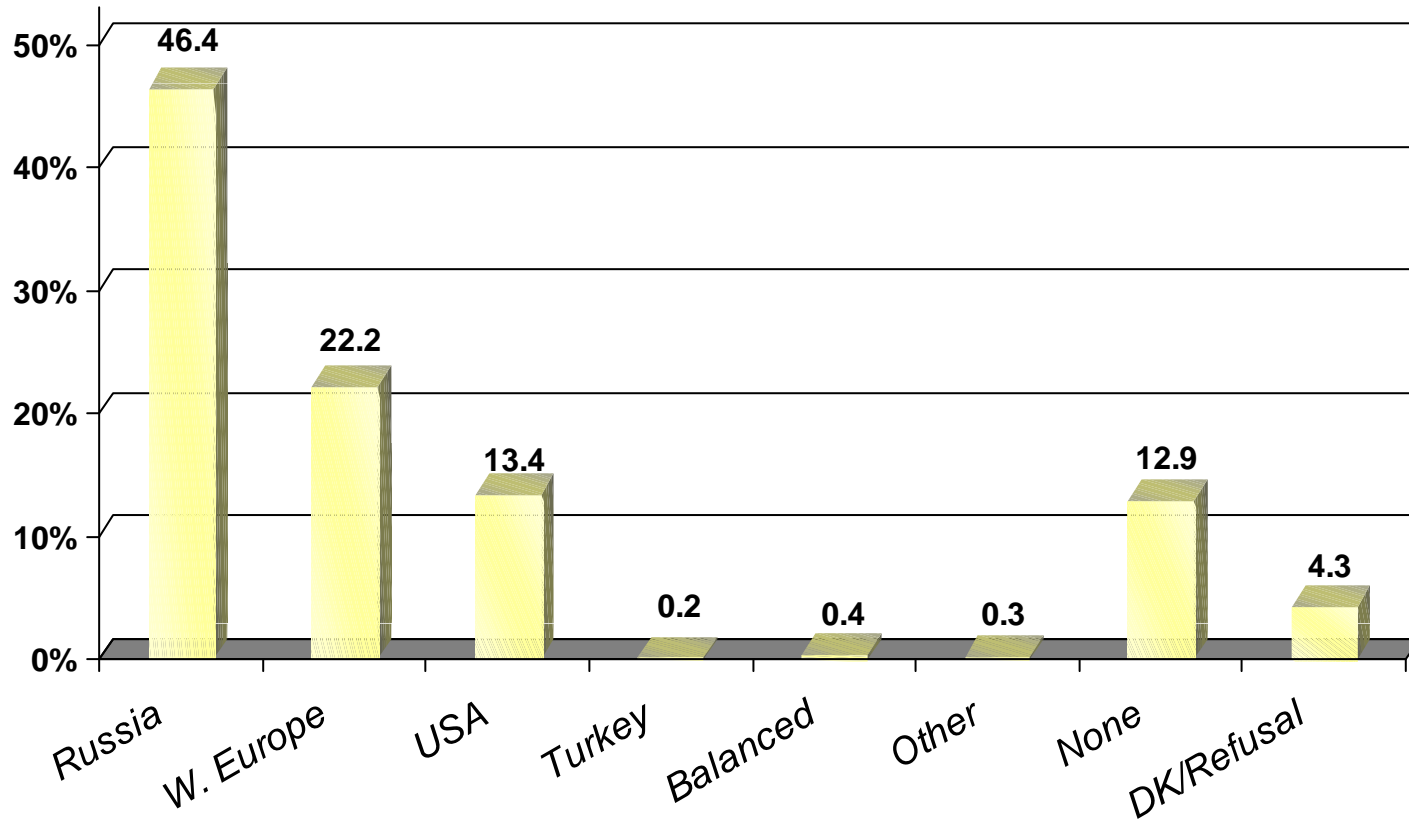
PREFERRED POLITICAL ORDER OF THE COUNTRY



Q: Which of the following political orders do you favor most for Georgia?

- *The most favored country in terms of Georgia's future political orientation is Russia - somewhat less than half of the population favors it;*
- *The younger the respondents are, the more they favor the US and Western Europe, while older respondents tend to favor Russia;*
- *The preference for Russia is rather high in Adjara and eastern regions of the country, while it is lower in Tbilisi;*
- *People with higher education and residents of urban areas are more oriented towards the US and Europe.*

PREFERRED POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF GEORGIA

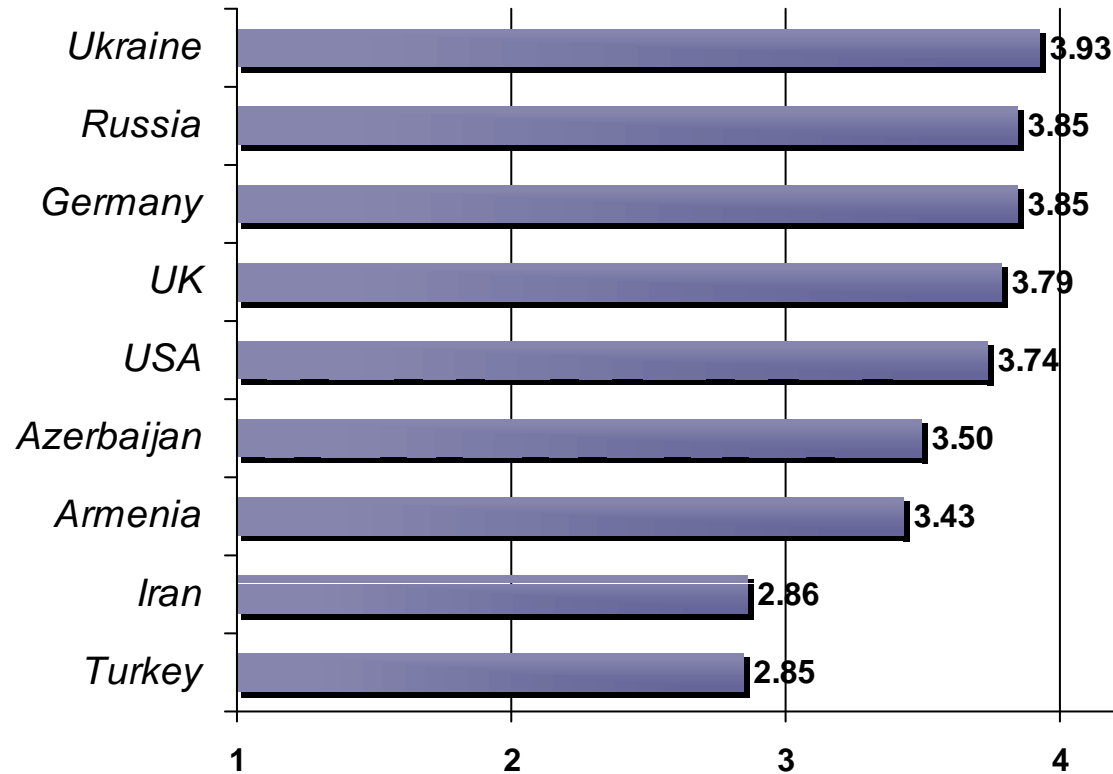


Q: Should Georgia be politically oriented towards Russia, the USA, Western Europe or Turkey?

- *In terms of perceptions towards foreign countries, the most positive evaluation went to Ukraine;*
- *Older respondents favor Ukraine and Russia more than younger ones;*
- *Support of Russia is at its highest since 1992;*
- *Younger respondents favor Russia and Ukraine less, while most favor the US, as well as the UK and Germany;*
- *Turkey and Iran were the countries with the least positive evaluations;*
- *Respondents with higher education also greatly favored Ukraine;*
- *Adjara is the most Russia-oriented region of Georgia.*

EVALUATION OF PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Average mean, 5-point scale



Evaluation by supporters of top 6 potential presidential candidates

<3.00 - Low

3.00 - 3.90 - Average

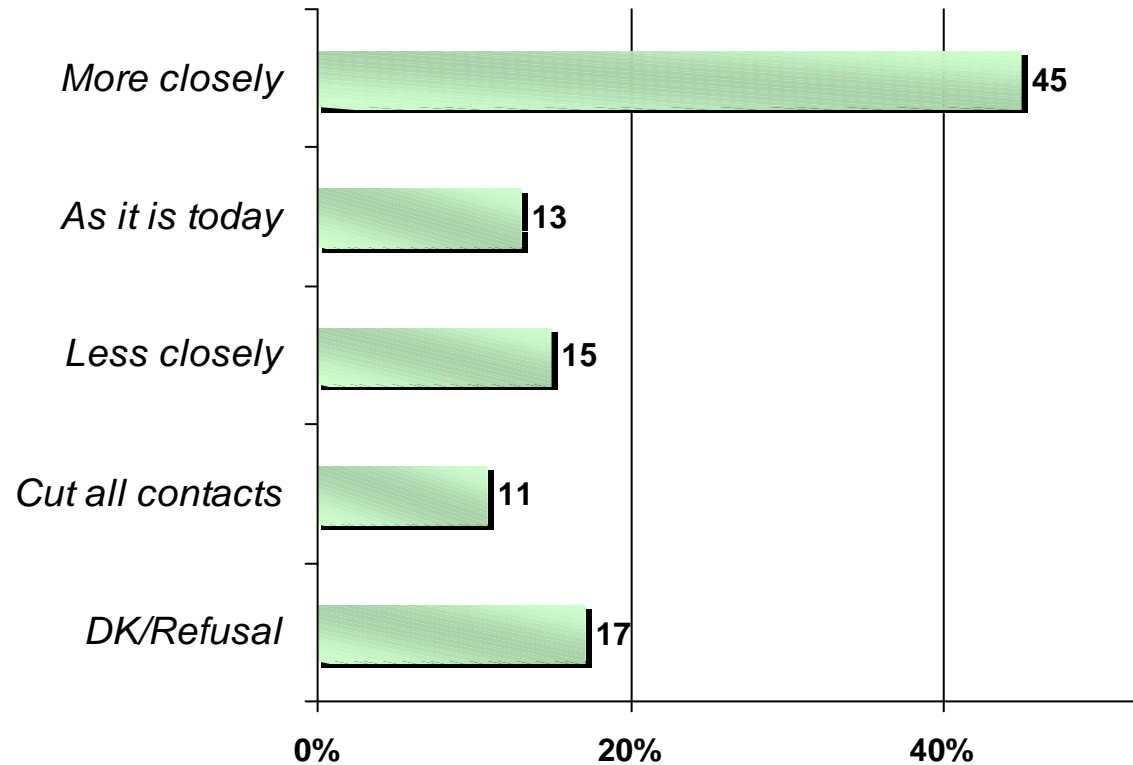
>3.90 - High

	Patiashvili	Saakashvili	Shevardnadze	Abashidze	Shashvili	Topadze
Ukraine	3.88	3.80	3.85	3.96	4.41	4.00
Russia	4.03	3.81	3.88	3.95	3.77	3.79
Germany	3.66	3.87	3.88	3.94	4.05	4.00
UK	3.58	3.86	3.72	3.98	4.11	3.96
USA	3.64	3.82	3.75	3.82	4.13	4.17
Azerbaijan	3.45	3.33	3.56	3.46	3.77	3.50
Armenia	3.51	3.26	3.55	3.38	3.44	3.63
Iran	2.70	2.70	2.98	2.89	3.00	2.83
Turkey	2.68	2.73	3.04	2.88	2.82	2.67

Q: Could you please tell me how much you favor the following countries?

- *The majority of interviewed respondents believe that Georgia should cooperate with international financial institutions (IFI) more closely, while about every tenth respondent thinks that Georgia should cut all relations with IFIs;*
- *Younger citizens support IFIs more than older ones do, and two times more males think that Georgia should cut all contacts with IFIs than do females;*
- *In their opinions, residents of Adjara are most critical towards IFIs.*
- *Supporters of Shashiashvili and Shevardnadze also support Georgia's relations with IFIs;*
- *Topadze's supporters least favor IFIs, while Saakashvili's potential electorate is most uncertain about the need for relations with IFIs.*

PREFERRED FUTURE RELATIONS OF GEORGIA AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

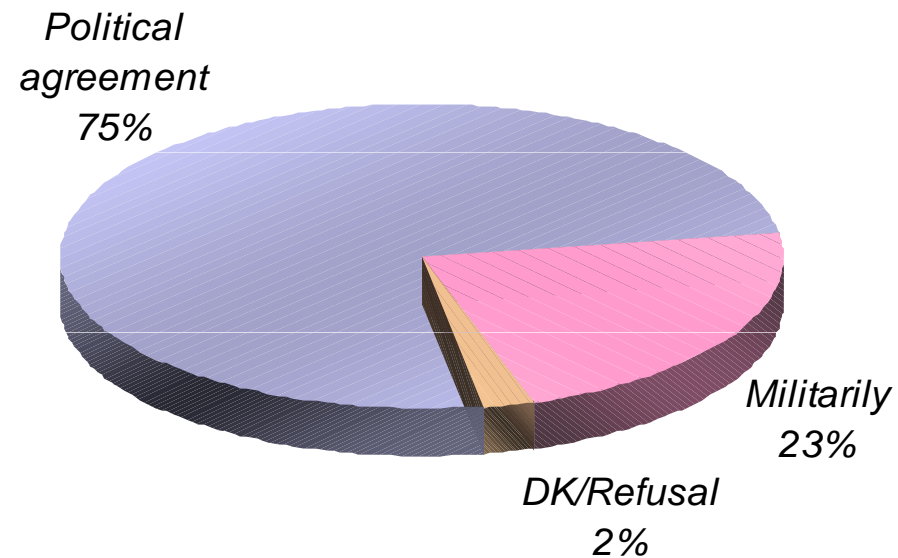


Q: How should Georgia's and International Financial Institutions' (such as the World Bank, IMF, etc) relations continue?

- *About three-quarters of the population of Georgia believes that the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia should be settled by political agreement;*
- *The population is fairly certain in their opinion about the issue, i.e. very few respondents responded “Don’t know how the conflict should be settled”;*
- *The youngest and the oldest respondents (below 24 years of age and over 55) support solution by conflict, while medium-aged respondents tend to be more peaceful;*
- *More females prefer political agreement than males;*

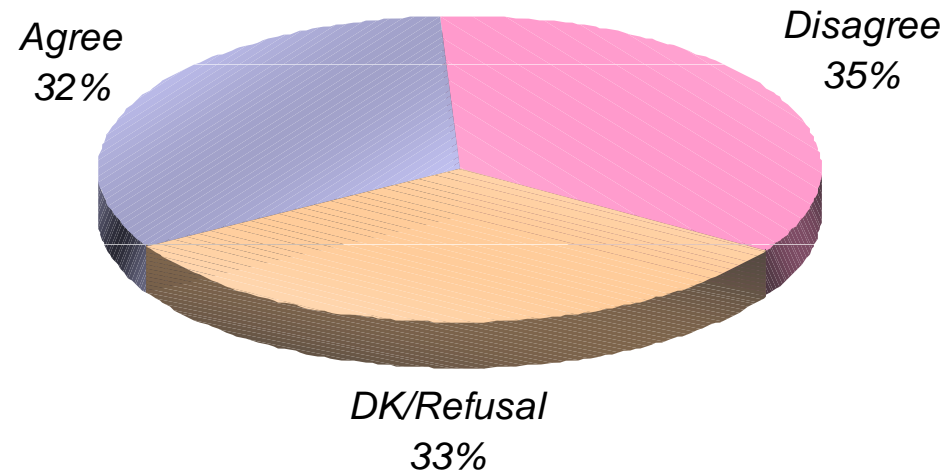
- *The higher the education level of the respondents, the more frequently they support the idea of a peaceful settlement of the problem;*
- *The population of Tbilisi and east Georgia also would support the settlement of the conflict by political agreement;*
- *Shevardnadze's potential electorate supports political dialogue with Abkhazia and South Ossetia the most;*
- *Saakashvili and Topadze voters were the most supportful of military invasion in Abkhazia.*

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS IN ABKHAZIA AND SOUTH OSSETIA



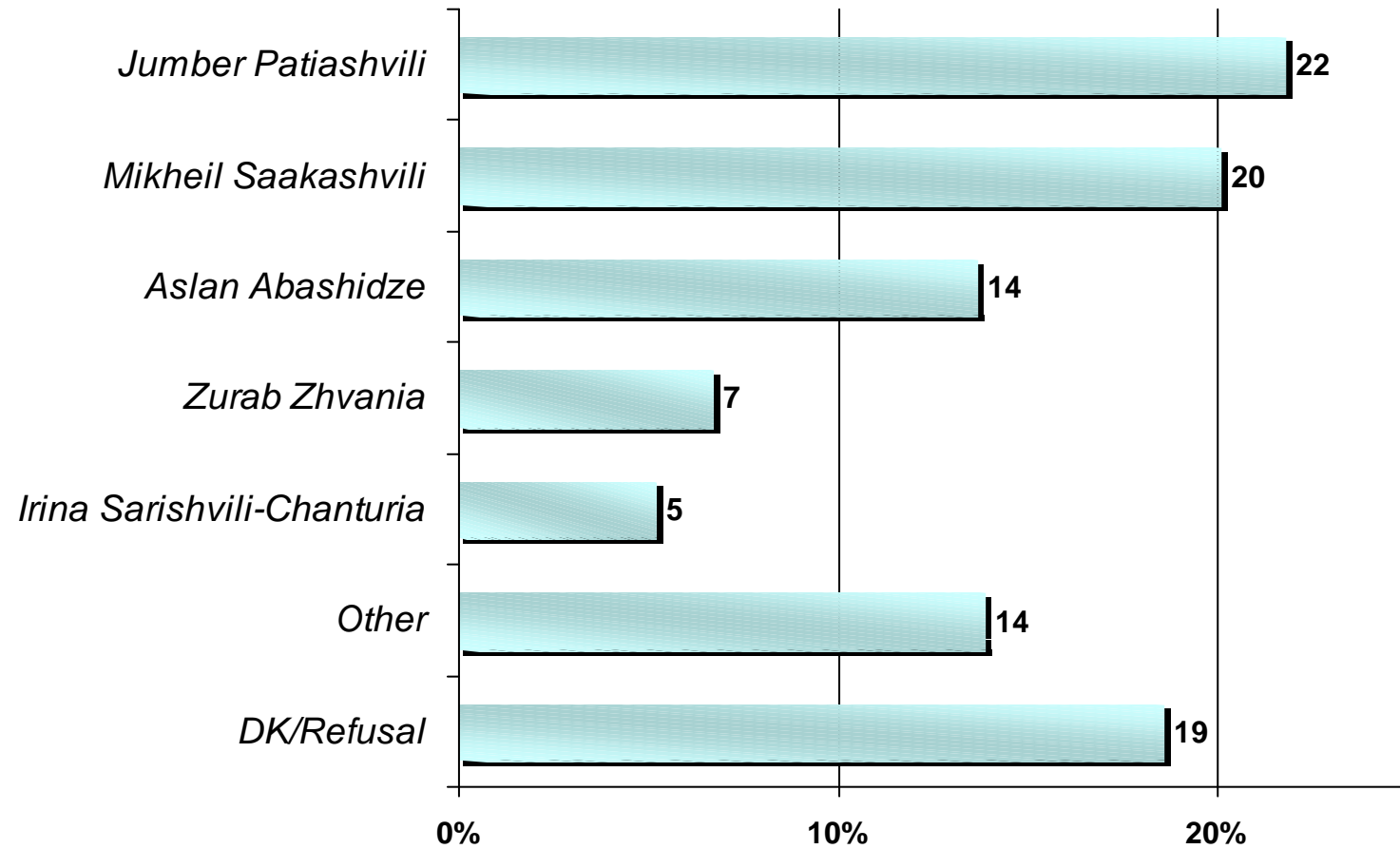
Q: How should conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia be settled - with political agreement or militarily?

ATTITUDES OF POPULATION TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF A CABINET OF MINISTERS



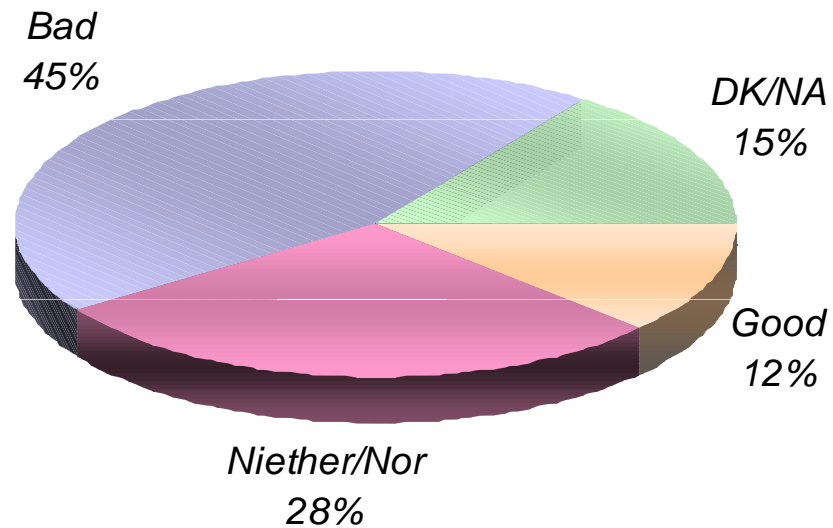
Q: *Do you agree with the introduction of a Cabinet of Ministers institution in Georgia?*

PREFERRED CANDIDATES FOR PRIME MINISTER POSITION



Q: Who would be the best candidate for the position of Prime Minister?

EVALUATION OF ZURAB ZHVANIA AS A POTENTIAL PRIME MINISTER OF GEORGIA



Q: How do you think Zurab Zhvania would handle his duties if he were appointed Prime Minister of Georgia?