

# PERSONAL AND STATE SECURITY: PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS



2022



**Funded by  
the European Union**



**SOCIAL  
JUSTICE  
CENTER**



**CRRC  
GEORGIA  
CAUCASUS  
RESEARCH  
CENTER**



## **Personal and State Security: Public Attitudes and Perceptions**

This publication has been produced with the assistance of the European Union. Its contents are the sole responsibility of CRRC-Georgia, Social justice Center and Georgian Young Lawyers' Association and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Union.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of figures.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Methodology.....	6
Executive summary .....	7
Survey results .....	10
General opinions about the state of security in the country and the perception of being secure.....	11
Perception of security and threats by ethnic minority representatives .....	17
The Level of public awareness of security agencies .....	18
Attitude towards the main institutions making up the security system.....	21
The Ministry of Interior.....	23
Ministry of Defense .....	25
The State Security Service.....	26
Opinions about the security sector and marginal groups .....	28
Views on how people live along the dividing lines of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia .....	31
Conclusion.....	34
Annex: Frequency tables.....	36
II Block: General questions .....	37
III Block: People’s awareness of the work of state security agencies .....	42
IV Block: People’s perceptions of state security agencies.....	45
V Block: Security sector and marginal groups .....	50
VI Block: People living close to the administrative border line of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia.....	52

## TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: In general, how secure do you feel in Georgia? (%) .....	11
Figure 2: In general, how secure do you feel in Georgia? (% , differences among different population groups) .....	12
Figure 3: Choosing from the list on the card, which constitutes the highest risk to Georgia's security? Name up to three (%).....	14
Figure 4: Please, tell me which of the two statements you agree with. (%) .....	16
Figure 5: Do you feel that the security of your ethnic group is protected in Georgia? (%) (The question was asked only to ethnic minority representatives) .....	17
Figure 6: There are various views about what security means. Now, I will read out different statements and please tell me, which one is closest to your view (%). .....	18
Figure 7: What would you do if state security services violated your rights? (%).....	22
Figure 8: Please tell me how much you trust or distrust ...? (%) .....	23
Figure 9: In your opinion, how independent is the Ministry of Interior of Georgia from political/partisan influence? (%) .....	24
Figure 10: In your opinion, how independent is the Ministry of Defense of Georgia from political/partisan influence? (%) .....	26
Figure 11: How effectively does the State Security Service protect...? (%).....	27
Figure 12: In your opinion, ethnic/religious minorities are overrepresented, properly represented, or underrepresented in the...? (%).....	28
Figure 13: Now I will read several statements. Please, tell me, how much do you agree or disagree with each of them? (%).....	30
Figure 14: In your opinion, how sufficient or insufficient are security measures taken by the government of Georgia in the administrative border line villages? (%) .....	32
Figure 15: What should the government of Georgia do in order to ensure safety of people living next to the ABL? (%).....	33

## INTRODUCTION

Under the project “Supporting accountable and human rights oriented security sector through research, advocacy and inclusive dialogue”, which is carried out by the Social Justice Center alongside the Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association and CRRG-Georgia, CRRG-Georgia conducted a population survey on personal and state security. The survey took place from May 27<sup>th</sup> to July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2022 and included 2,544 interviews. The results of the survey are representative and, within the margin of error, can be generalized for the adult population of Georgia as well as the populations of the capital, other urban and rural settlements, and areas largely populated by ethnic minorities.

The main goal of the project is to improve the monitoring of the security system and to enhance the human rights protection standards in the security system through the programs aimed at increasing analytical, advocacy and awareness capacities. Part of the activities planned to reach this goal is to study the attitudes and perceptions of the population to understand how well-informed people are about the state security system, how protected they feel, and how various social groups perceive their security.

The present report shortly reviews the research methodology and summarizes the results of the survey of Georgia’s adult population regarding the following topics: general opinion of the Georgian population on the state of security in the country and perception of security, awareness about state security bodies, attitude towards the main institutions that make up the security system, opinions on the security sector and marginal groups, and impressions of the life conditions of people living along the dividing lines of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia.

## METHODOLOGY

The survey of the Georgian population on personal and state security was conducted between May 27<sup>th</sup> and July 3<sup>rd</sup> 2022. The survey was made up of several stages. First, the research topic was determined and the questionnaire was prepared in close collaboration with the Social Justice Center and the Georgian Young Lawyers' Association. Then a sample was drawn and pilot interviews were conducted resulting in some changes to the questionnaire. After that, the fieldwork began. The data obtained as a result of the survey was processed (data was cleaned and weighted according to the selection probability and the distribution of respondents by demographic groups) and then analyzed.

The survey covered the adult population of the country, although it did not include members of the population living in South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia. In total, 2,544 people were interviewed through CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing) method. The sample represented Georgia at the level of the capital, other urban and rural settlements, as well as the areas largely populated by ethnic minorities (Azerbaijani and Armenian), which means that within the margin of error, the survey results can be generalized about the mentioned groups. The stratified cluster design was used for sampling. Clusters were chosen according to probability proportional to size. Households within the selected clusters were selected on the basis of random sampling (random walk protocol). Each respondent within a household was chosen using the Kish grid. The average margin of error on the country level is 2.1%.

The tables and diagrams presented in the report have been prepared in Microsoft Excel. Therefore, as Excel rounds up numbers, in a number of cases the total percentage may not always add up to 100 but instead be 99/101.



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Under the project “Supporting accountable and human rights oriented security sector through research, advocacy and inclusive dialogue”, carried out by the Social Justice Center alongside the Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association and CRRC-Georgia, CRRC-Georgia conducted a population survey on people’s views and perceptions of personal and state security. Through the course of the period from May 27<sup>th</sup> to July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2022, CRRC-Georgia conducted 2,544 interviews. Results of the survey are representative and, within the margin of error, can be generalized to discuss Georgia’s adult population as well as the population of the capital, other urban and rural settlements, and areas largely populated by ethnic minorities.

The survey revealed that the population’s assessment of the situation in the country varies. Thirty-eight per cent of the population thinks that the country is going in the right direction, one third assesses the country’s course negatively, and one fifth thinks that Georgia is not changing. To greater or lesser degree the majority of the people (69%) feel themselves secure. Men, people employed in public sector, residents of villages, viewers of the government-supporting TV channels and supporters of the ruling party feel themselves more secure. It is interesting to observe that compared to 2012, feelings of security have not changed for one-third of the population, whereas 38% feel more secure now.

As for the highest perceived security risk, half of the population named poverty and threat of possible military aggression from Russia. Also, over one-fifth of the population views the Russia-Ukraine war, crime, and natural catastrophies as security threats to Georgia. Over half the population gives a positive assessment to how the country is dealing with security risks. This assessment is still positive in the case of those who said Russia-Ukraine war was the primary main security risk, while the assessment is negative in case of those who named poverty as the main threat to Georgia’s security.

Despite the positive assessment of the general state of security in the country by a significant part of the population, a big majority (69%) agrees that there are significant shortcomings in Georgia’s security system and it requires reforms.

As for the ethnic minorities, their 73% thinks that the security of their ethnic group is protected in Georgia. Only 13% of these minorities do not feel secure. According to them, threats are mostly coming from Russia and Azerbaijan. When asked about the kind of threats that they view facing

their ethnic group, their answers do not coincide with the named sources of threat. The three most frequently named answers are the following: the threat of losing their language, the threat of excessive control and punishment from the police and other state bodies, and the threat of losing social welfare.

Security for the population is primarily connected with military security and physical security. Political stability and economic security are the next important dimensions. In this context, people consider the Ministries of Interior and Defense, as well as state security services, as state institutions responsible for security.

About half of the population says that they are not informed about the work of the aforementioned bodies. The level of awareness is particularly low in case of the State Security Service and the National Security Council. Television and social media are main sources of information for people. A significant part of the population gives correct answers to the questions about four state agencies connected with the country's security. It is interesting that quite a large part of the population identifies citizens' protection as a function of these agencies. There is, however, a lack of information about the functions of the State Security Service and the National Security Council. Only a very small part of the population named analytical work, which is a significant component of all four agencies' work, as their function, which again shows lack of awareness among people.

As for the attitude towards the institutions responsible for security, a majority of the population does not feel their control and intrusion in their everyday life. Over half of the population, and in some cases a significant majority, says that security services do not listen to their phone conversations, do not control their social media, and do not control them through informants or spying. However, 36% of the people said that their phones are tapped all the time or sometimes.

In case of encountering human rights violations by the security services, one-third of the population would approach human rights organizations. The second most frequent answer to this question given by one-tenth of the population was: I will suffer and keep quiet, because ordinary people cannot fight against this.

Questions about specific agencies revealed that a large share of the population has quite a positive attitude towards them. For example, the majority fully or at least partially trusts the Ministry of Defense, The Ministry of Interior, and the State Security Service. More than half of the people (and in the case of the State Security Service more than 40% of the people) consider the work of these



agencies' to be effective. Three democratic values that all three agencies fully or partially have are patriotism, professionalism, and respect for human rights. However, over 40% of the population thinks that these agencies are not free from political/partisan influences.

As for the security sector and marginal groups, the large majority of the population thinks that the Ministry of Interior and the State Security Service treat ethnic/religious minorities equally. Half of the people could not answer the question about the cases of injustice towards ethnic/religious minorities since 2012. And 16% said that such things did not happen in the mentioned time period.

The attitude towards ethnic/religious minorities is positive. A large majority of the population shares the view that ethnic/religious minorities in Georgia are not strangers (88%) and that the state must fully protect their rights (90%), and do more to include them in socio-political life (70%). On the other hand, about 40% of the population think that ethnic/religious minorities are adequately represented in the Parliament, executive and local governments, political parties, and media. However, about a quarter of the population in this case thinks that the minorities are underrepresented. One-fourth or more of the population does not have an answer to these questions.

The level of people's awareness is quite low regarding the situation in the villages located along the dividing lines of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia. At the same time, the majority thinks that the security measures taken by the government of Georgia are not enough and that the government should increase control of administrative borders along the dividing lines and reinforce the work of the police in these regions to protect the security of people.



## **SURVEY RESULTS**

The population survey about personal and state security covers several topics: the population's general opinion about the state of security in the country and the perceptions of their security, awareness of state security agencies, namely: the Ministry of Interior of Georgia, the Ministry of Defense, the National Security Council and the State Security Service, attitude towards these institutions, and perceptions about the security of minorities and marginal groups, as well as the perceptions of the situation in the villages along the dividing lines of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia, and what the government should do to guarantee security there.

## GENERAL OPINIONS ABOUT THE STATE OF SECURITY IN THE COUNTRY AND THE PERCEPTION OF BEING SECURE

Before asking to assess the state of security in the country, respondents were asked to assess the direction in which the country is going. Thirty-eight percent of the population said that Georgia is moving in the right direction, one third (33%) had a negative view of the direction in which the country is heading, one-fifth (20%) thought the course of Georgia’s development was not changing, and about one tenth (9%) had no answer to this question (Don’t know/refuse to answer).

As for the sense of security, to what degree people feel secure in Georgia, a majority of the population (69%) says that they feel fully secure (28%) or more secure than insecure (41%). Over one-fifth of the population (22%) feels more insecure than secure, and 9% said that they feel completely insecure.

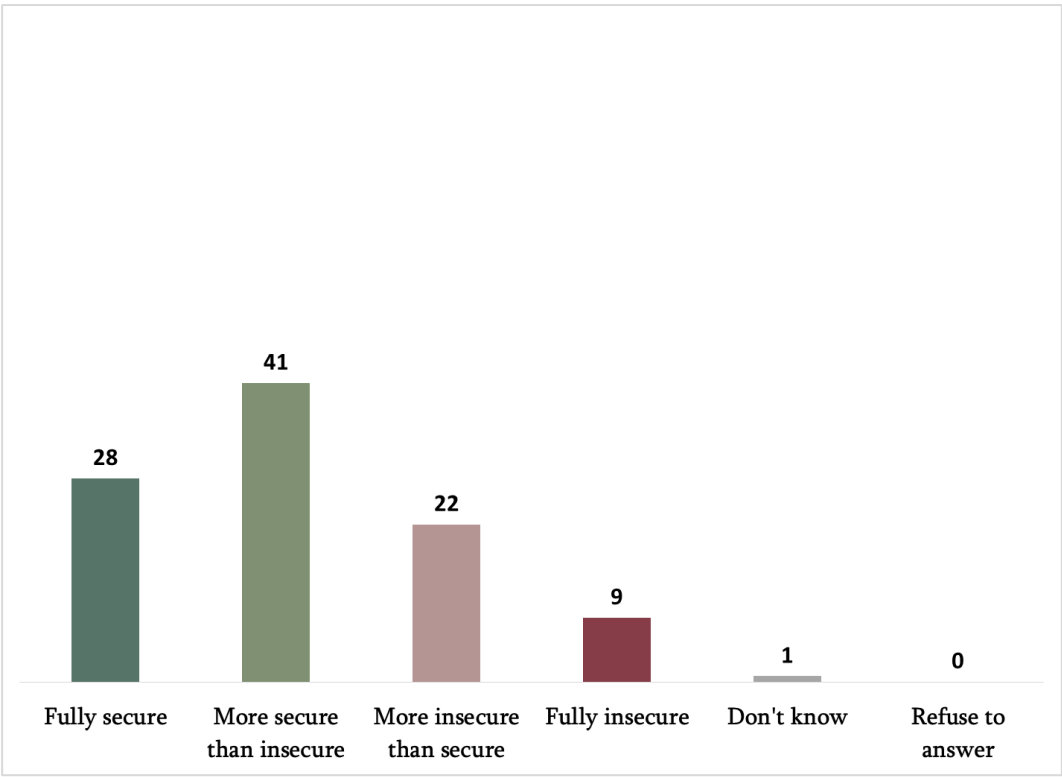


Figure 1: In general, how secure do you feel in Georgia? (%)

Respondent’s gender, employment status, religion, settlement type, and trust in a specific television channel and a political party to a certain degree determines the general sense of security. Namely, men feel more secure than women; people employed in the public sector feel more secure than

those employed in the private sector or unemployed; Muslim people feel more secure than Orthodox Christians; those living in villages feel more secure than those living in the capital. The sense of security is lower amongst those who watch opposition channels and those who do not watch television at all, than amongst those who watch pro-governmental TV channels. People who support opposition parties and those who do not support any party feel less secure than supporters of the ruling party.<sup>1</sup>

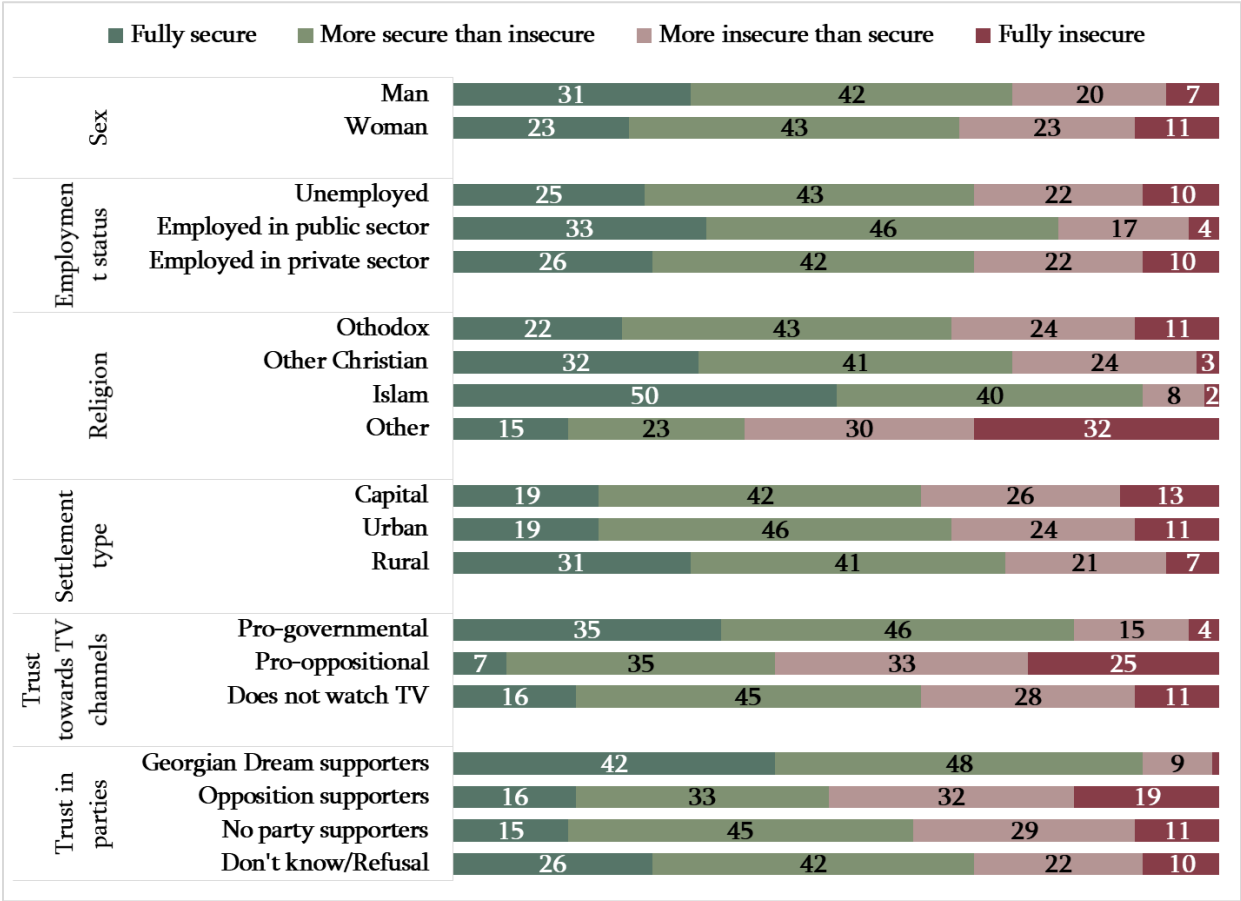


Figure 2: In general, how secure do you feel in Georgia? (% , differences among different population groups)

<sup>1</sup> In order to show the difference between the groups' feeling of security we used the ordinal logistic regression. The regression model of predictors included: respondent's gender, age, employment status, education, ethnic origin, religious belonging, frequency of involvement in religious practices, economic welfare, the status of an internally displaced person, settlement type, main source of information, trust in television channels and political parties. The report only includes information about the statistically significant differences.

Interestingly, about one-third (32%) of the population's sense of security has not changed since 2012. Thirty-eight per cent feel more secure now than in 2012, whereas 26% feel more insecure now.

If we look at respondents in groups, particularly women, people watching pro-oppositional channels, and people supporting opposition parties or no party are more likely to say that their sense of security has decreased compared to the pre-2012 period. Asked whether they feel more, less, or equally secure, 30% of women and 25% of men answer that they feel less secure. Fifty-six percent of the people who watch pro-oppositional TV channels say that their feeling of security has decreased. Only 17% of those who watch pro-governmental TV channels feel the same way. Almost half (46%) of the people supporting opposition parties say that they feel less secure than in the pre-2012 period, whereas only 10% of those supporting the Georgian Dream Party feel that their sense of security has decreased.

Interestingly enough, the higher the financial well-being of the household, the higher the likelihood that the respondent's sense of security has not changed compared to the pre-2012 period.

The survey attempted to find out how several factors such as the proximity of a police station or the knowledge and ability to contact security services determine the feeling of security. Out of four possible reasons given to the respondents as to why they felt secure, the largest share of people (67%) agreed that they felt secure because they knew how to contact security services and would easily do so. About half of the people (49%) said that they felt secure because people living around them knew well how to act in crises situations. Less than half (45%) feel secure because they live in the proximity of a police station. It turns out that the reason least contributing to the sense of security of the population is the existence of shelters (bunkers) near their houses. Eighty-four per cent said that in case of danger they would not hope for a shelter.

As for people's perception of what constitutes the highest risk for the security of Georgia, half of the population named poverty. The second most frequently given answer was the threat of possible military aggression from Russia. It was named as the highest risk to the security by 48% of the people. The top five security risks were rounded out by the Russia-Ukraine War (23%), crime (22%), and environmental threats/natural disasters (21%). It is worth mentioning that one-tenth of the population named disinformation as the highest risk to the country's security. More people chose

this answer than kidnapping from villages on the administrative border lines of Abkhazia and South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region (9%) and terrorism (6%).<sup>2</sup>

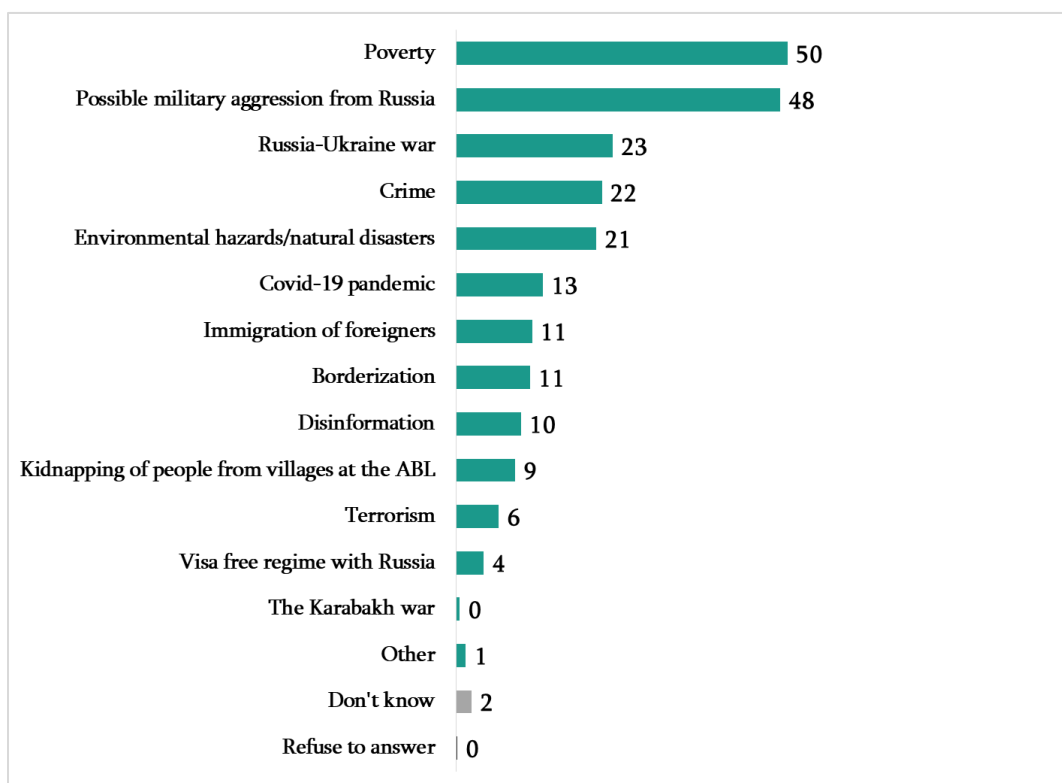


Figure 3: Choosing from the list on the card, which constitutes the highest risk to Georgia's security? Name up to three (%).

Age, religious belonging, and trust in political parties somewhat determine answers to the question on security risks. 18-34-year olds (58%) name *poverty* as the main risk to the security. Only 46% of people aged 55 or more give the same answer. Interestingly, people who do not know or do not name a political party they trust the most, are more likely (62%) to point to poverty as the main risk to security, compared to 52% of people who trust opposition parties and 51% of people who trust no party at all. The supporters of the Georgian Dream Party are the ones least likely to name poverty as the main risk to security (40%). Gender, ethnic and religious belonging, settlement type, well-being index of the family, education, employment, and trust towards specific television

<sup>2</sup> Respondents could give a maximum of three answers to this question. Therefore, the total percentage of the answers does not add up to 100%.



channels have no effect on the likelihood of people naming poverty as the main security risk of Georgia.

Religion and trust in political parties somewhat predicts the naming of *possible military aggression from Russia* as the main security risk by respondents. Namely, Orthodox Christians (54%) more than other Christian groups (16%) and the Muslim people (32%) are likely to mention the possible military aggression from Russia as the main security risk. As for trust in political parties, it is the supporters of the opposition parties (56%) and those with no party allegiance (55%) who are more likely to name possible military aggression from Russia as the main risk for the country's security. Supporters of the Georgian Dream Party (51%) and those who do not know which party they trust or do not wish to reveal it (36%) are less likely to view potential military aggression from Russia as the main security risk to Georgia.

People who name *the Russia-Ukraine War* as the main security risk have different demographic characteristics than other respondents. A respondents' primary source of information predicts whether they consider the Russia-Ukraine War as a main security threat. Namely, those who receive information mostly from other people around them (28%) view the Russia-Ukraine War as the main security risk, compared to people who receive information mostly from social media (23%) or television (21%).

Along with naming security risks, respondents were asked to describe the way Georgia was protecting itself from those risks. Public opinion split almost in half, 49% said that the way Georgia protects itself is either good or very good, while 44% think that it is poor or very poor, and 7% refrained from giving an answer. If we look at the three risks named most frequently, respondents who said that poverty is the biggest security risk for Georgia, mostly think that the country is not doing so well in managing this risk. Positive or negative assessments of risk management do not differ statistically in case of those who said that the main security risk to Georgia is the possibility of military aggression from Russia. Those respondents who think that the main security risk for Georgia is the Russia-Ukraine War, report that Georgia is doing relatively well in mitigating this risk.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> To evaluate the ability of the country to deal with the main security risks we used the multinomial regression analysis, which predicts how public assesses the country's handling of its risks. In order to simplify the interpretation of the answers the category "poor" includes the answers "very poor" and "poor", and the category "good" includes answers "very good" and "good".

To assess the general state of the security system of Georgia, respondents were asked to make a choice between two opinions. The large majority of people (69%) agreed with the idea that there are serious shortcomings in the Georgian security system and reforms are necessary; 40% *strongly* agreed with this opinion. At the same time, 22% of people agreed with the statement that the security system of Georgia is functioning quite well and does not need reforms.

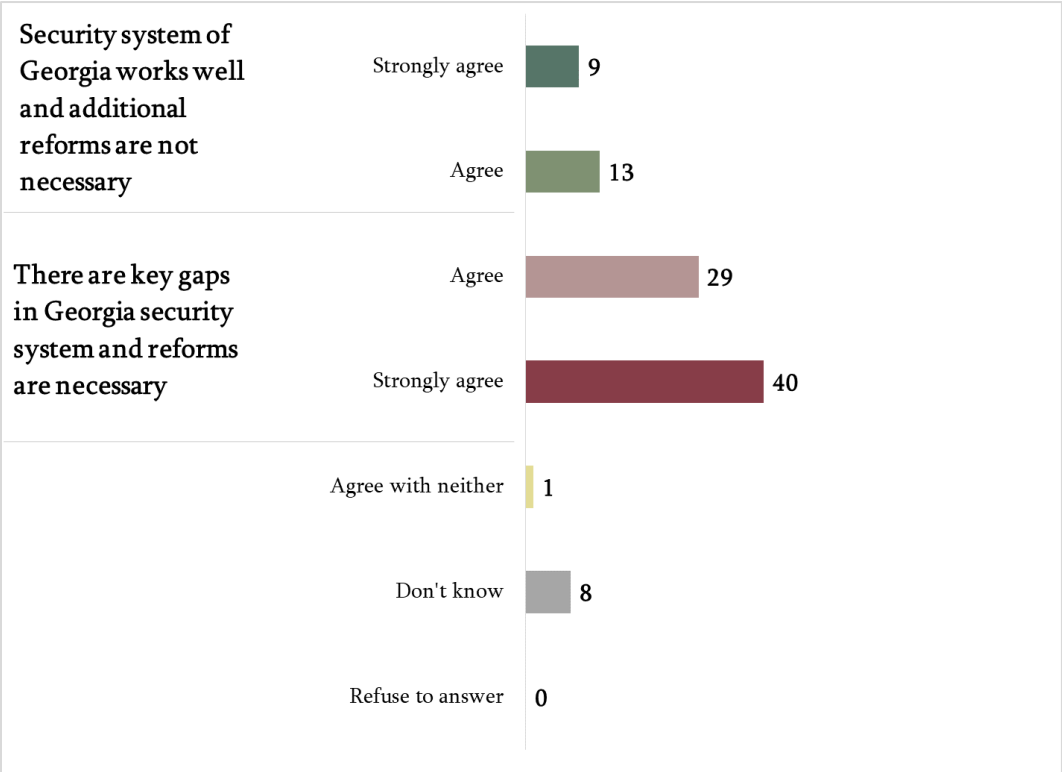


Figure 4: Please, tell me which of the two statements you agree with. (%)

Respondents' religion and trust towards specific TV channels and political parties somewhat predict the likelihood of answering that there are problems in the security system and that reforms are needed. Orthodox Christians are more likely than other Christian groups and Muslim people to support reforms in the security system. Those who watch opposition TV channels and those who do not watch any television are most supportive of conducting reforms in the security system. The viewers of pro-governmental TV channels are least supportive. Supporters of the Georgian Dream Party are least likely to see problems in the security system and the need for reforms. Those who support opposition parties or no parties at all are likely to see the problems and call for reforms in the security system. Even among the supporters of the ruling party the majority (63%) agrees with the need to have reforms in the security system.

### Perception of security and threats by ethnic minority representatives

Representatives of ethnic minorities, particularly ethnic Armenians and Azerbaijanis, were additionally asked how protected they thought the security of their ethnic groups was in Georgia and what kind of threat they felt most often and from whom.

According to a large majority of ethnic minorities (73%), the security of their ethnic group in Georgia is protected (more protected than unprotected and fully-protected). Their 42% say that their security is fully protected. At the same time, 13% say that the security of ethnic minorities in Georgia is more unprotected than protected or not protected at all.

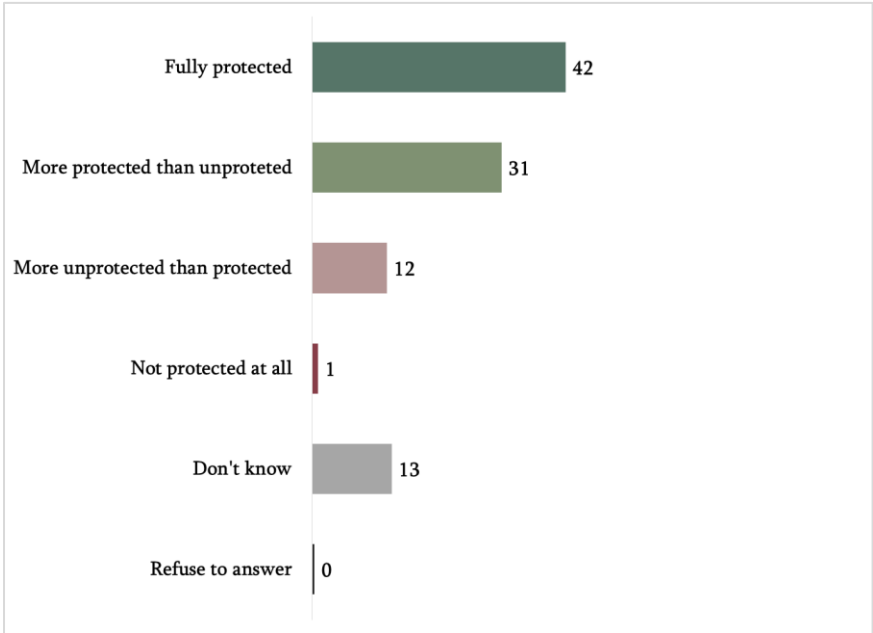


Figure 5: Do you feel that the security of your ethnic group is protected in Georgia? (%) (The question was asked only to ethnic minority representatives)

This small group of respondents, ethnic minority representatives who think that security of their ethnic group is not protected in Georgia, answered the next set of questions about threats. Three countries that were named as a source of danger were Russia (31%), Azerbaijan (27%) and Turkey (15%).<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that 15% of the minority representatives see danger potentially coming from the Georgian government. Only a very small share of respondents named other ethnic groups (5%), Georgian law-enforcement agencies (2%), and other groups as sources of danger.

<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that in this case 12% of ethnic minorities who said that security of their ethnic group in Georgia is not protected is taken as the total (100%) of this question. This is important to consider when interpreting the data.

As for the type of threat that representatives of ethnic minorities feel for their ethnic groups in Georgia, the most frequently named response, named by 23%, was the threat of losing their language. Additionally, 21% think that the type of threat they face is the excessive control and punishment from the police and other agencies towards them and their family members. Just under a fifth (19%) said that losing social welfare was a threat. Other types of threats listed on the show card that was shown to respondents were selected by a smaller share of respondents.

**THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC AWARENESS OF SECURITY AGENCIES**

State and personal security is connected to a number of different dimensions: military, economic, political, environmental, etc. Before summarizing public opinions about the security topics, it is important to know how respondents understand security. When asked what security means for them, the following answers were provided: military security (29%), physical security of people (23%), political stability (16%), and economic security (14%). Only 5% of the population named security from disinformation and only 4% mentioned environmental security.

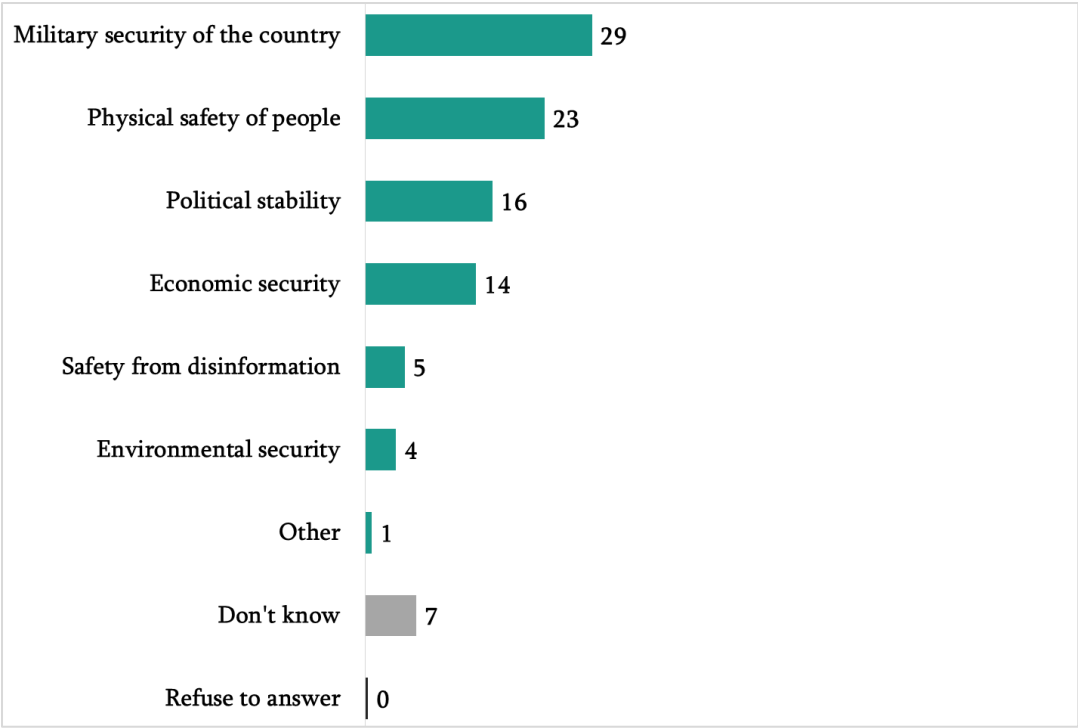


Figure 6: There are various views about what security means. Now, I will read out different statements and please tell me, which one is closest to your view (%).

This definition of security is reflected in other answers of respondents as well and first and foremost the view on which state agency people think is responsible for security. Half of the population says that the Ministry of Interior/Police is responsible for the country’s security; 45% says that it is the Ministry of Defense/Army; 37% says that it is the State Security Service. Fewer people mention the Prime Minister (30%), the President (24%) and the National Security Council (16%) as institutions responsible for security.

The survey explored how much people know about these agencies: where they get information from, if they know who their leaders and what their main functions are. The survey focused on the four main agencies responsible for state security: the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Defense, the State Security Service, and the National Security Council.

First of all, it should be noted that over half the population admits to know little or very little about the work of these four agencies. People think that they have more information about the work of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Defense. Overall, 39% of the population says that they know the work of these two ministries well or very well. Less than one-fourth thinks the same about the State Security Service and less than one-fifth about the National Security Council. Interestingly, 9% of the population has not even heard of the latter.

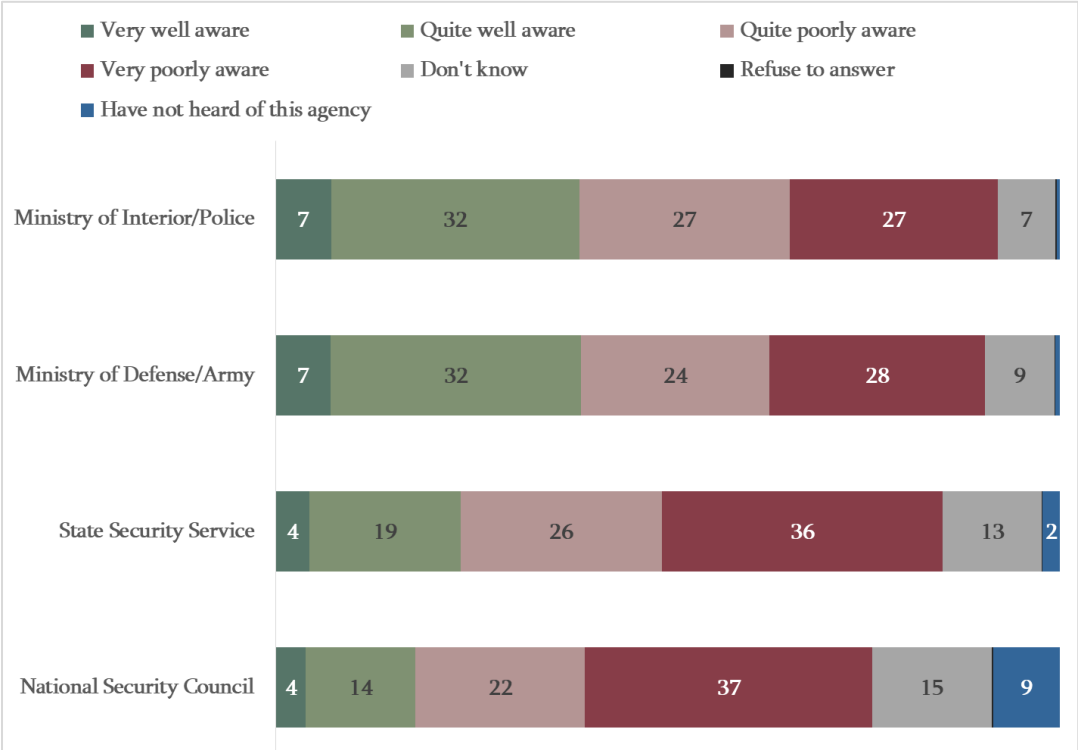


Figure 7: To what extent are you aware of the work of the following state agencies? (%)

The main source of information for people about all four aforementioned agencies is television, followed by social media (approximately 17% of people get information about these agencies from social media). Also, 28% of the population say they receive no information about the National Security Council at all, and 20% says the same about the State Security Service.

As for the functions of the four agencies, a large part of the population admits that they don't know the functions of the State Security Service (19%) and the National Security Council (40%). Three main functions that over one-fifth of the people think the State Security Service has are the following: protection of citizens (26%), internal intelligence (26%), and security policy planning (23%). Of the National Security Council, about one-fifth of the population says that its main functions are: security policy planning (22%) and protection of citizens (19%). These were the two most frequently given answers.

The level of awareness is higher in case of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Defense. About half of the population (over 40%) managed to name the main functions of the Ministry of Interior: protection of citizens (57%), crime investigation (52%), and crime prevention (42%). However, quite a large part of the people (41%) think that punishment of offenders is part of the job of the Ministry of Interior as well. Only 3% says that analytical work, which is an important direction of the Ministry of Interior, is part of the Ministry's functions.

The population named two main functions of the Ministry of Defense: Averting attack on the country/Protection of the country's territorial integrity (named by 79%), and protection of citizens (named by 34%).

A similar picture was revealed with regards to awareness of the leaders of the four agencies. People know best who the Minister of Interior is, with 40% correctly giving his name and 10% providing an incorrect answer, whereas half said that they did not know the answer to the question. In case of the three other agency leaders, including the Ministry of Defense, a large majority of the population (73-86%) admitted not knowing who their leaders were. Only 15% of the respondents correctly named the Chair of the State Security Service (8% did so incorrectly). And 18% correctly identified the Minister of Defense (9% did so incorrectly). Only 7% knew the name of the Secretary of the National Security Council (with 7% giving an incorrect name).



## ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MAIN INSTITUTIONS MAKING UP THE SECURITY SYSTEM

In the light of the spread of secret phone recordings and other information in media in recent years, it is interesting to know what people think about being under observation and control of security services: how much they think that their phones are being tapped and their social media accounts controlled, whether they think that secret services have informants in their neighborhoods or jobs, or are directly spying on them. People’s answers to these questions show their attitudes towards the security system agencies.

The majority of the population says that security services never do the things listed above. Respondents think that listening to phone conversations is the most probable behavior of state security services from the list: 36% of the population thinks that their phone calls are tapped sometimes or all the time. One-fifth of the population thinks that their social media accounts are controlled, and that informants are nested in their neighborhoods and jobs. Very few people (6%) think that they are being watched by security services in their everyday lives. It is worth noting that when answering questions about the control of social media and informants, the share of “Don’t know” answers is relatively high—about one-fifth of the population refrains from answering those questions.

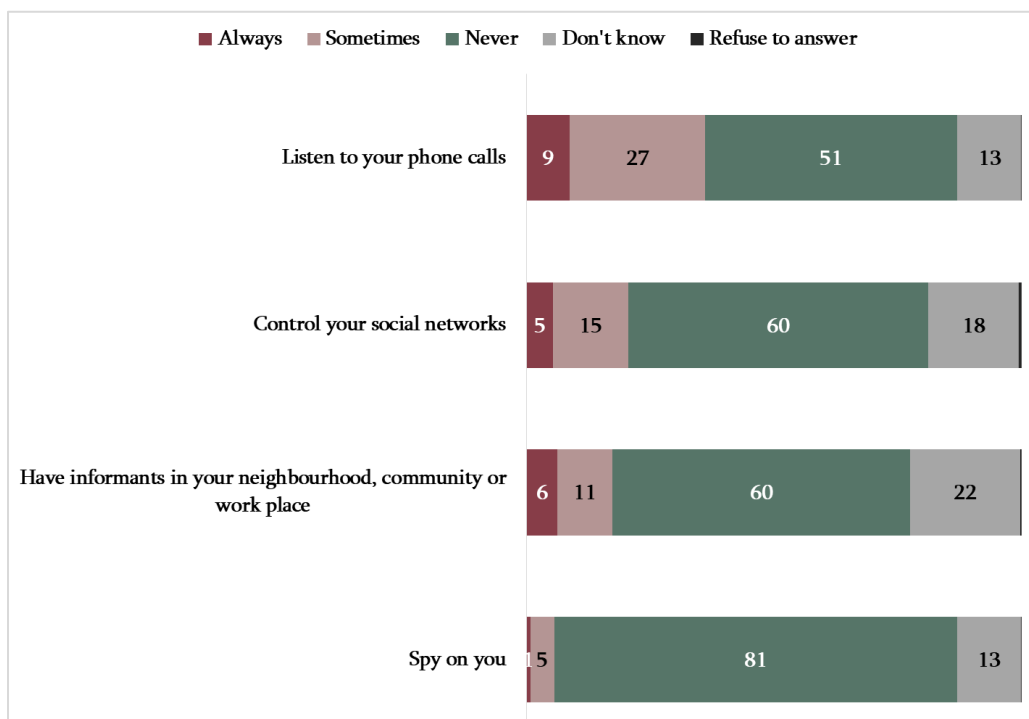


Figure 8: To what extent do you or your family members feel in your everyday life that the state security services ... You feel that always, sometimes or never? (%)

Moreover, it is interesting to know what people say they would do if security services violated their rights. Respondents could choose one answer from the list on the showcard. The most frequently given answer (32%) was approaching human rights organizations. Interestingly, 15% of the people surveyed said that they would put up with it and keep quiet because ordinary people cannot fight against this. Thirteen percent of the population said they would go to court and 11% would approach the public defender. Other answers were given by less than 5% of the respondents. Overall, 8% of the population said that such a thing would never happen.

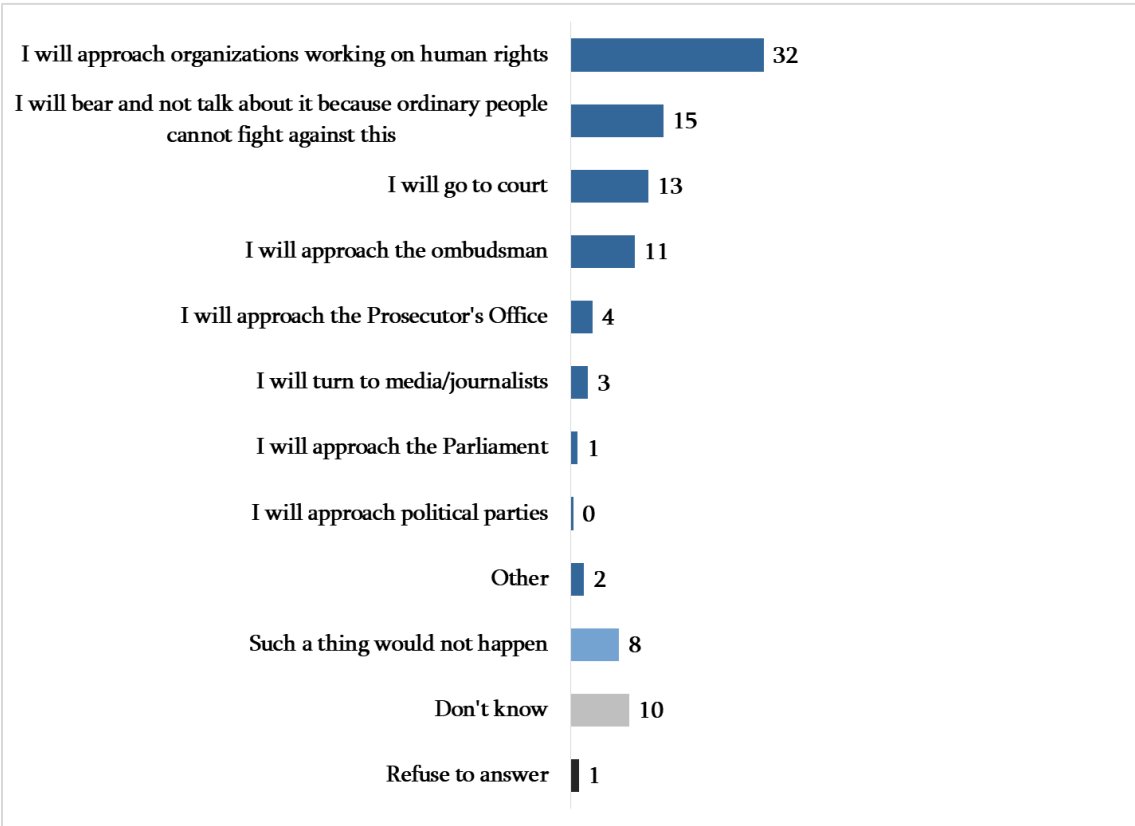


Figure 7: What would you do if state security services violated your rights? (%)

The study started exploring public attitudes towards the state institutions making up the security system with a question about general trust towards those institutions. Respondents answered questions about trust towards the main security institutions such as the State Security Service, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Defense (along with more detailed questions) and some other important state institutions such as the President, the Parliament and the Prime Minister.

The population fully or partially trusts three state institutions making up the national security system: the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Interior, and the State Security Service. People

have the highest trust in the Ministry of Defense (69% trust this agency, of which 27% fully trust it). Out of the six state institutions the question asked about, people demonstrate the lowest trust towards the Parliament of Georgia and the President, but still about half of the population fully or partially trust these institutions.

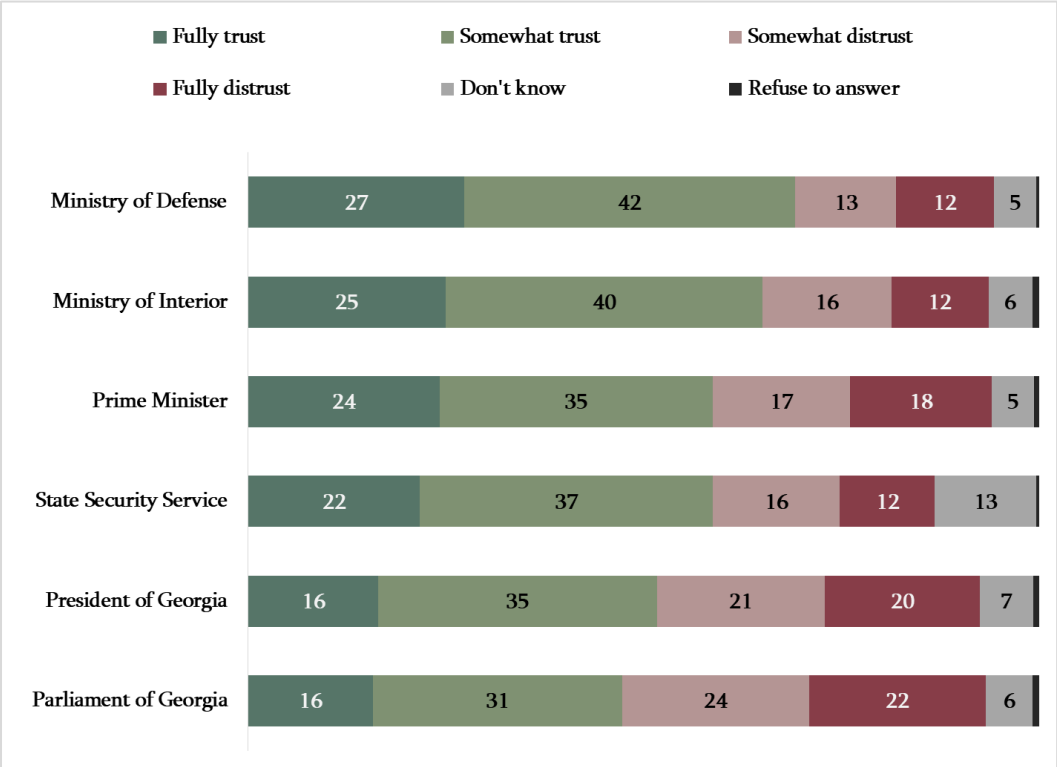


Figure 8: Please tell me how much you trust or distrust ...? (%)

The survey explores the public attitude towards three state institutions in greater detail: the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Defense, and the State Security Service.

**The Ministry of Interior**

Before asking about the attitude towards the Ministry of Interior, the survey asked respondents to evaluate the effectiveness of its work. Over half of the population gave a positive assessment: 13% said that this institution works very effectively and 38% said that it works more effectively than ineffectively. At the same time, 31% of the population assessed the work of the Ministry of Interior as ineffective or very ineffective.

Moreover, 31% of the population think that the work of the Ministry of Interior over the past seven years has improved; 26% say that it has remained the same and 23% says that it has deteriorated. One-fifth of the population has no answer to this question.

The survey asked respondents how much the following democratic values were characteristic of the Ministry of Interior: transparency, accountability, professionalism, patriotism, impartiality, and respect for human rights. About half of the population (47-51%) responded that the Ministry of Interior partially has those values. 24% of people said that two values that the Ministry of Interior fully embodies are professionalism and patriotism.

As for political/partisan influences, 47% of the population said that the Ministry of Interior is not independent from political/partisan influences, of which 21% said that it is not independent from political/partisan influences at all. At the same time, 32% of the population has an opposite view and says that the Ministry of Interior is more independent or fully independent from political/partisan influences. Also, 21% of the population preferred to respond “Don’t know” to this question.

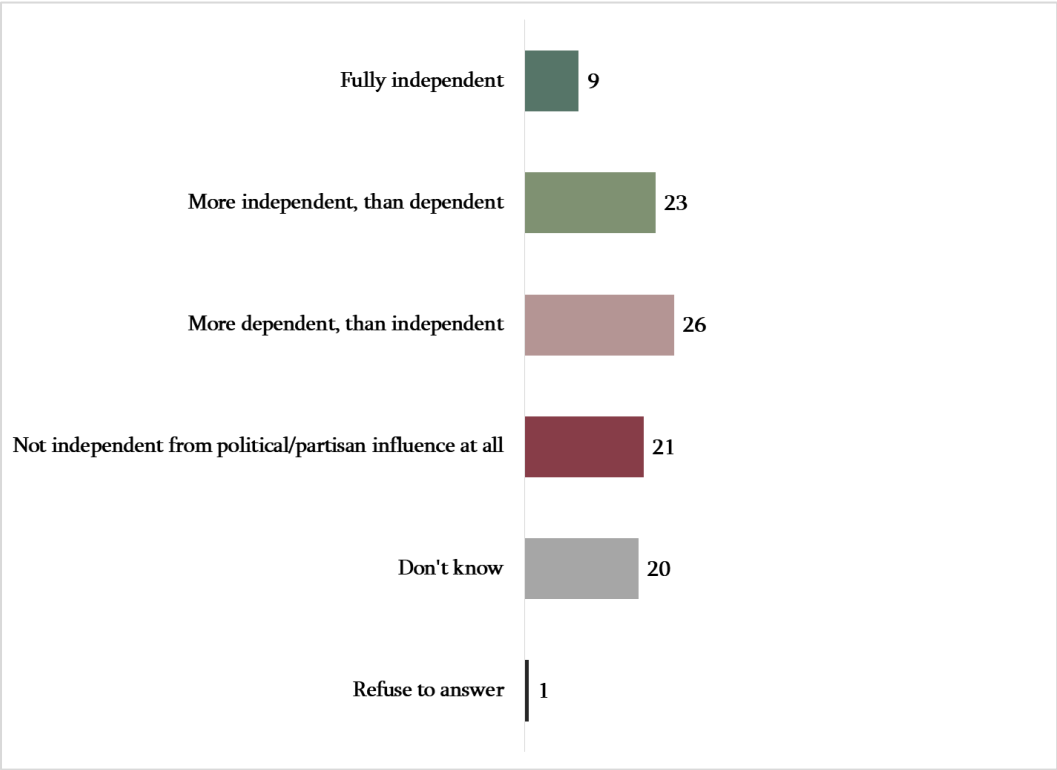


Figure 9: In your opinion, how independent is the Ministry of Interior of Georgia from political/partisan influence? (%)

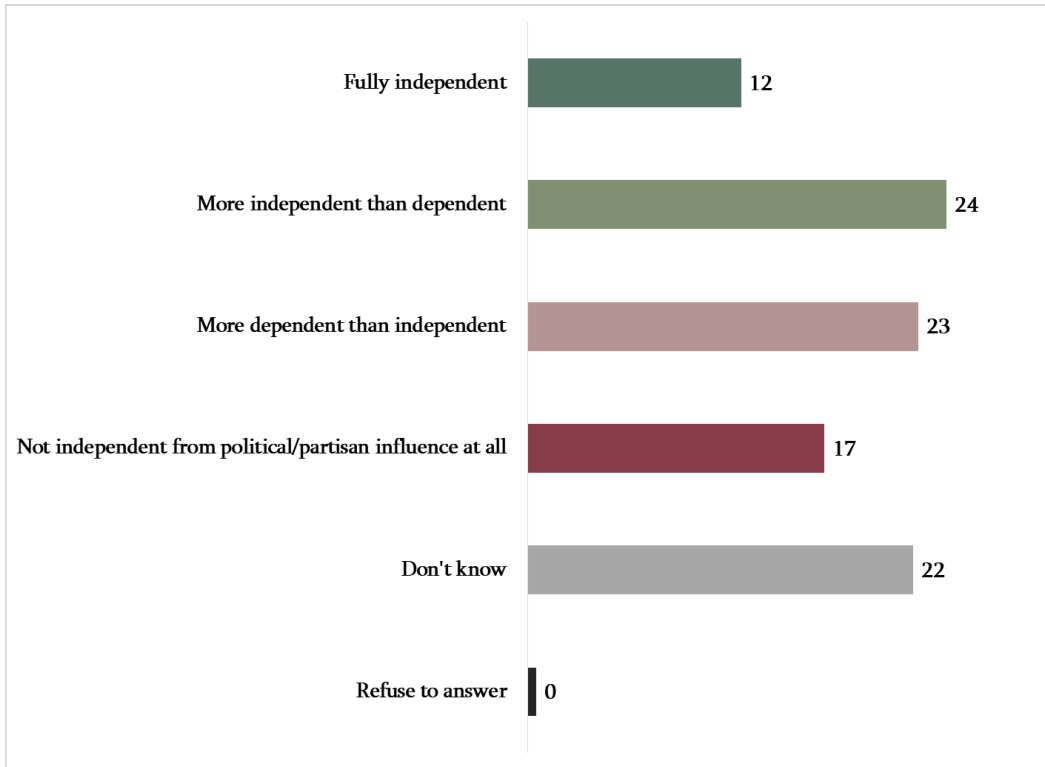
## Ministry of Defense

Over half the population (54%) assessed the work of the Ministry of Defense as effective (14% as very effective, 40% as more effective than ineffective). Over one fourth of the population (26%) assessed its work negatively and 22% could not make any assessment.

Like in case of the Ministry of Interior, about one-third (34%) of the population reported that the work of the Ministry of Defense has improved in the last seven years. At the same time, 26% claimed that the work of the Ministry of Defense has not changed and 19% expressed that it has deteriorated. An additional 21% could not answer whether the work of the Ministry of Defense has improved or not over the past seven years.

When answering the questions about values, less than half but a significant share of the population (41-46%) said that the Ministry of Defense is partially characterized by patriotism, professionalism, respect for human rights, impartiality, accountability, and transparency. As for the values that the majority of the population thinks fully describes the Ministry of Defense, these are: patriotism (35%), professionalism (31%), and respect for human rights (29%). Interestingly, when asked about impartiality, accountability, and transparency, over one-fifth of the population chose the “Don’t know” answer.

When asked about the political/partisan influences in the Ministry of Defense, 36% of the population responded that the Ministry of Defense is fully or relatively independent from political/partisan influences. At the same time, 40% said that it is more dependent than independent, or not independent at all from political/partisan influences. Over one-fifth (22%) of the population has no answer to this question.



*Figure 10: In your opinion, how independent is the Ministry of Defense of Georgia from political/partisan influence? (%)*

### **The State Security Service**

A great part of the population either had no answer or refrained from answering by choosing to say “Don’t know” when asked about the State Security Service.

In case of the State Security Service, respondents were not just asked to assess its effectiveness, but to say how effectively it protected national security interests and personal security interests of people. With regards to national interests, 43% of the population stated that the State Security Service protects them relatively effectively or very effectively while 29% did not agree with that. With regards to the personal security of people, the picture is not much different: 42% gave a positive assessment, 35% - negative. A significant part of the population (28% and 24%) chose to say “Don’t know” to both questions.



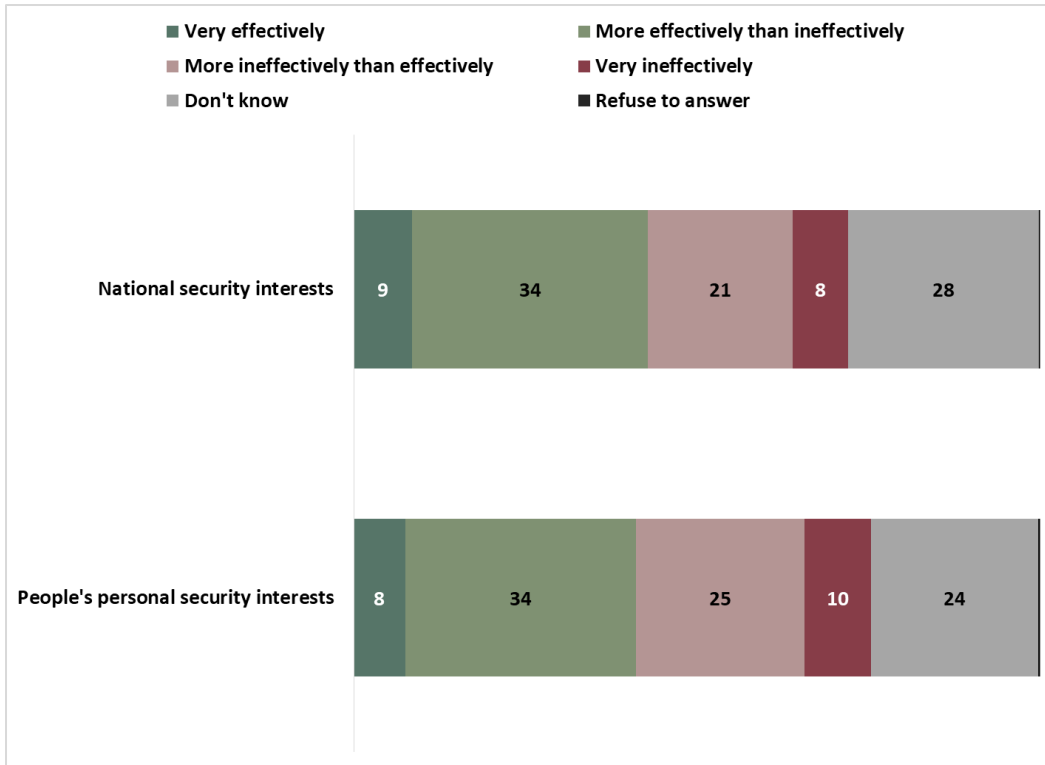


Figure 11: How effectively does the State Security Service protect...? (%)

Overall, 26% of the population said that the work of the State Security Service has improved over the past seven years. 22% said that it has remained the same and 21% said that it has deteriorated. The share of the “Don’t know” answers was again quite high (31%).

With regards to democratic values, the picture is similar for the State Security Service. Around 40-47% of the population said that all values are partially characteristic to the agency. Over one-fifth of the population (23%) says that the agency is professional and 21% says that it is patriotic. Close to one fourth (24%) of the people surveyed said that the agency is not characterized by transparency at all. Again the share of “Don’t know” answers is quite high (19-27%).

A large part of the population (46%) think that the State Security Service is not independent from political/partisan influences. At the same time, 27% noted that the agency is more independent than dependent or fully independent from political/partisan influences. Another 27% did not have an answer to this question.

The trust towards a specific TV channel or a political party, as well as respondents’ religion, predicts how independent from political influences they perceive the Ministry of Interior and the State Security Service. The viewers of pro-opposition TV channels and those who do not watch TV at all

are likely to indicate that the Ministry of Interior and the State Security Service are not independent at all or more dependent than independent from political/partisan influences. The supporters of the Georgian Dream Party are more likely to think that the mentioned agencies are fully independent or more independent from political influences than those who support the opposition or do not support any party. As for religion, the Muslim people are more likely to think that the Ministry of Interior and the State Security services are fully independent or more independent than dependent on political influences than other religious groups.

**OPINIONS ABOUT THE SECURITY SECTOR AND MARGINAL GROUPS**

The survey also explores the topic of security in the context of marginal groups and attempts to study public opinion about the situation of ethnic minorities, the attitude of state security agencies towards them, cases of injustice in the last ten years, and the state’s general attitude towards them.

Interestingly, 39-45% of the population shared that ethnic/religious minorities are adequately represented in the state and public space of Georgia: media (45%), local governments (43%), political parties (41%), the Parliament (40%) and the executive government (39%). About one-fourth of the population (22-26%) reported that ethnic/religious minorities are underrepresented in the mentioned institutions and 25-29% had no answer to this question.

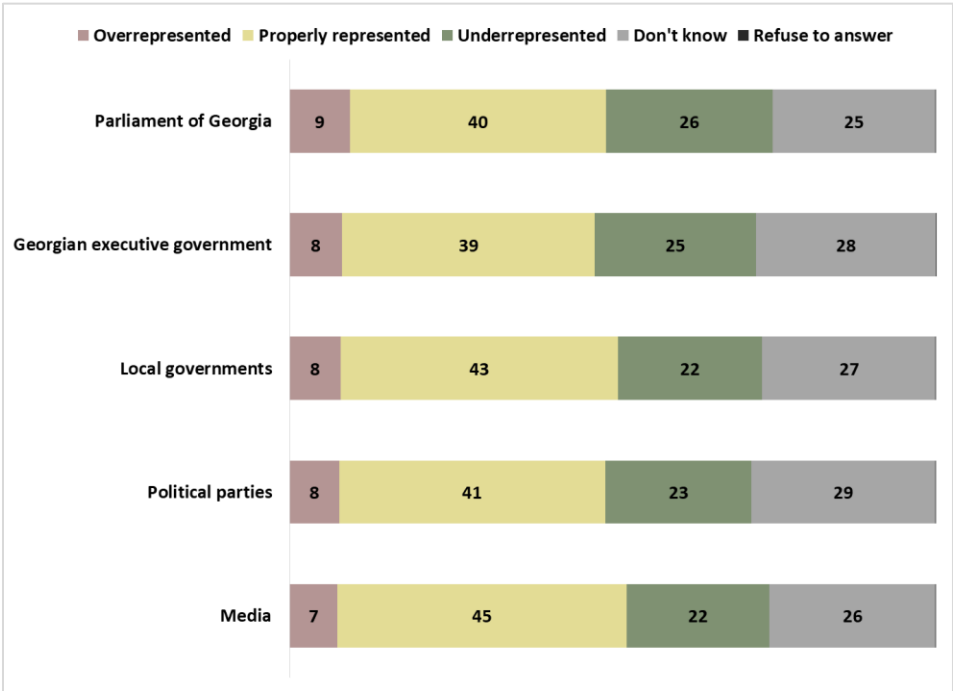


Figure 12: In your opinion, ethnic/religious minorities are overrepresented, properly represented, or underrepresented in the...? (%)

Notably, according to about one-tenth of the population, ethnic/religious minorities are overrepresented in the Parliament of Georgia. In fact, out of 144 members of Parliament, 7 (roughly 5%) represent an ethnic minority whereas ethnic minorities make up about 13% of the country's population.<sup>5</sup>

The views of Georgians and ethnic minorities<sup>6</sup> differ only with regards to the executive government and media, namely with regards to whether ethnic minorities are underrepresented, properly represented, or overrepresented in government agencies and media. Representatives of ethnic minorities are less likely than Georgians to think that religious/ethnic minorities are properly represented or overrepresented in the executive government and media. In regards to political parties, local governments, and the Parliament, there were no significant differences between the opinions of ethnic Georgians and ethnic minorities.

The general attitude towards ethnic/religious minorities is positive. A large part of the population (83%) claimed that ethnic/religious minorities have lived in Georgia historically and are not strangers/guests and an even greater part of the population (90%) purported that they are citizens of Georgia and that the state should fully protect their rights. According to 70%, the Georgian government should do more to include ethnic/religious minorities in socio-political life so that they are fully integrated into society; 19% of the population disagreed with that. A large majority (76%) disagreed with the idea that the government should isolate ethnic/religious minorities to better control them, however, 15% of the people agreed with this idea.

---

<sup>5</sup> Source: the list of MPs on the website of the Parliament of Georgia and the results of a general search in different online sources by the first and last names of the MPs. The census results: according to the census of 2014, about 86.8% of the population of Georgia is made of Georgians, followed by Azerbaijanis (233,000 people, 6.3%), Armenians (168,100 people, 4.5%), Russians (26,500 people, 0.7%), Ossetians (14,400 people, 0.4%).

<sup>6</sup> To determine the difference between the groups we used an ordinal logistic regression, which predicts the opinion of respondents towards over-, proper or under-representation of the minorities in government agencies and media. The predictor variable is the ethnic belonging of a respondent. Only statistically significant results are included in the report.

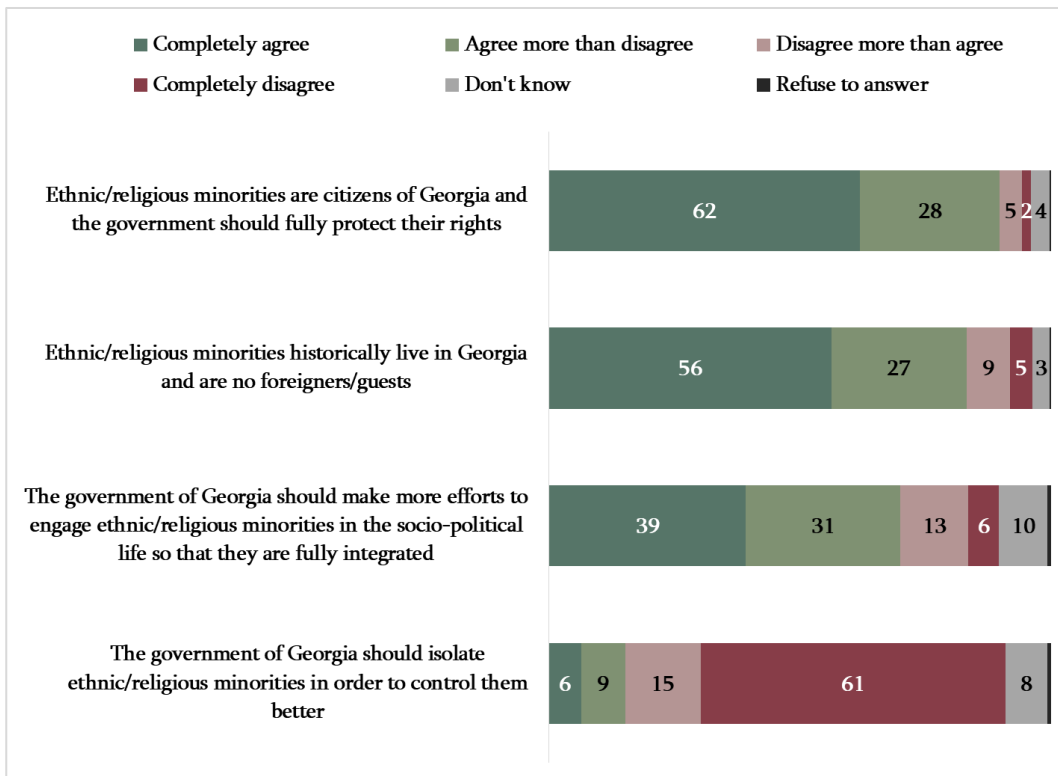


Figure 13: Now I will read several statements. Please, tell me, how much do you agree or disagree with each of them? (%)

With regards to how state security services (namely the Ministry of Interior and the State Security Service) treat ethnic/religious minorities, a majority agreed that they treat ethnic/religious minorities mostly or fully equally (74% for the Ministry of Interior and 69% for the State Security Service). About one-tenth of the population said that they are treated either mostly or fully unequally. In the case of the State Security Service, the share of the “Don’t know” answers is quite high (22%).

As for the injustices that occurred towards ethnic/religious minorities since 2012, respondents found it very difficult to answer this question despite the answer choices given on the showcard. Half the population (exactly 50%) could not answer this question. Another 16% said that in the given period no cases of injustice towards ethnic/religious minorities took place while 22% of people named the refusal of the local Batumi government to grant permission for building of a mosque to a local Muslim community. Besides this fact, about one-tenth of respondents remembered the case of dismantling of a minaret in the Tchela village that coincided with the beating of local Muslims. Additionally, 9% mentioned the negative state response Azerbaijanis living in Georgia received

when they requested a declared day off for Novruz Bayram. Two more incidents were listed on the card (refusal to the campaign of returning last names and a sharp decline in the number of ethnic minority representatives in Parliament) but only 4% and 3% of the population respectively chose these two answers. Only several people named different incidents not listed on the showcard as examples of injustice, which were the beating of the Mtavari Channel Azerbaijani journalist, a conflict between Svans and Azerbaijanis in Marneuli, the murder of Machalikashvili's son, and taking away of Davit Gareji.

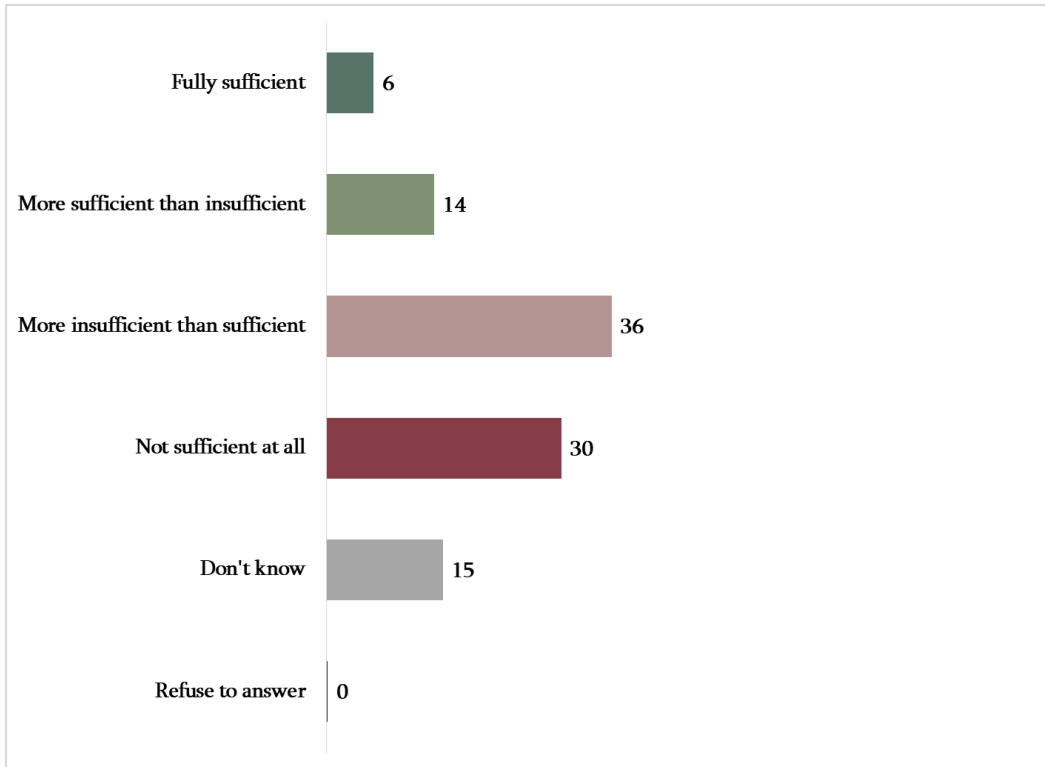
## **VIEWS ON HOW PEOPLE LIVE ALONG THE DIVIDING LINES OF SOUTH OSSETIA/TSKHINVALI REGION AND ABKHAZIA**

This study was conducted within a project whose framework includes a target audience of residents of the villages along the dividing lines of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia. Respectively, the survey attempted to find out how informed public is about the life of this group, where it gets information about the situation there, and whether security measures implemented by the government in the regions adjacent to the administrative border line are enough.

First, it should be noted that a majority of people (58%) report knowing little (36%) or very little (22%) about the situation in the villages along the dividing lines of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia. Only about one-third of the population (32%) reported knowing the situation in those communities well or very well.

The source of information for the majority of the population (64%) is television. Additionally, 16% reported receiving information about the situation in the villages along the dividing lines from social media. Respondents also mentioned receiving information from family/friends/coworkers (7%).

Despite not having wealth of information, the majority of the population (66%) claimed that the security measures adopted in the regions along the administrative border are not enough. Of them, 30% thought that these measures are not enough at all. Only 20% of the people said that the measures adopted by the government in these villages can be considered sufficient.



*Figure 14: In your opinion, how sufficient or insufficient are security measures taken by the government of Georgia in the administrative border line villages? (%)*

Age, employment status, settlement type, and trust towards specific TV channels and political parties to a certain degree predict how people understand the efficacy of security measures taken by the Georgian government in the regions along the administrative border. Despite the fact that a majority of respondents in every demographic group thought that the security measures are either insufficient or more insufficient than sufficient, fewer young people than seniors consider the government’s activity as fully sufficient or relatively sufficient. In the capital, compared to other places, the share of people who consider government security measures as sufficient or more sufficient than insufficient is the lowest.

Notably, people employed in public sector are slightly more likely to show satisfaction with the government’s security measures than people employed in private sector and the unemployed. Georgian Dream supporters and people who watch pro-governmental channels are most likely to consider government security measures in the regions close to the ABL (administrative border line) as sufficient or fully sufficient.

The survey also asked respondents what the government should do to ensure security of citizens living in villages next to the ABL. In this case, the top three answers named by more than ten per

cent of the population were: establish stricter control along the ABL (38%), reinforce the work of the policy in these regions to protect human security (21%), and provide additional social assistance/benefits to the families living there (16%).

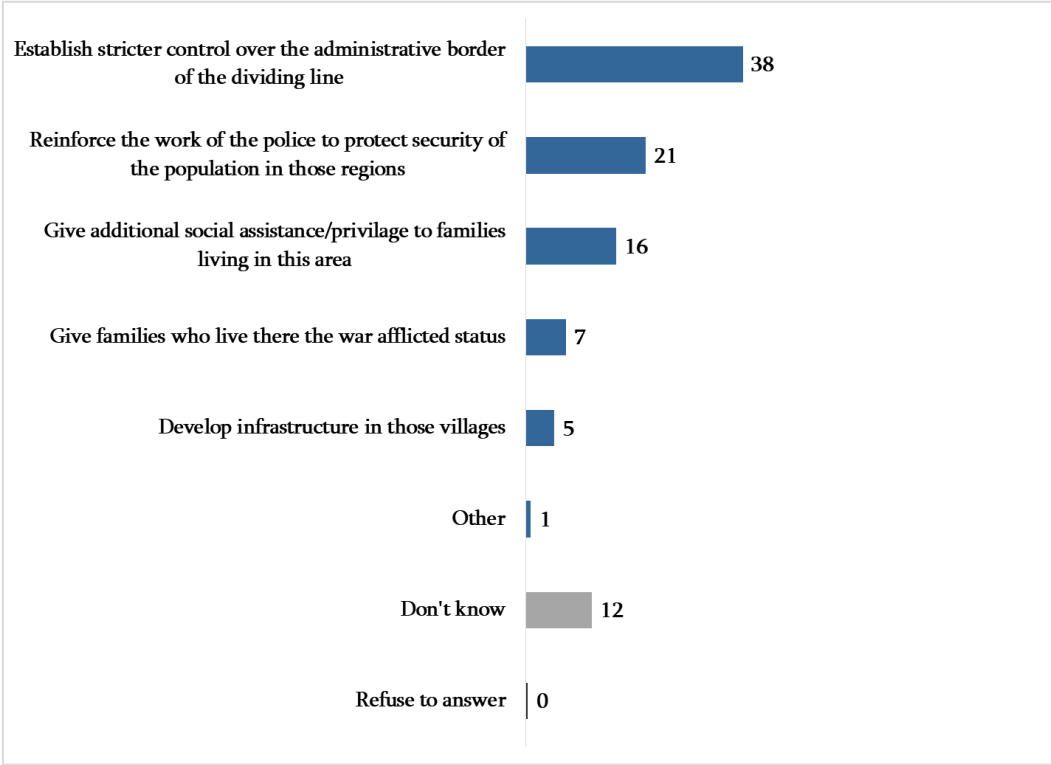


Figure 15: What should the government of Georgia do in order to ensure safety of people living next to the ABL? (%)

Comparison of respondents who reported higher or lower levels of awareness about the situation in the regions next to the ABL revealed that compared to those who feel more aware about the situation in those regions, people who are less aware support the reinforcement of police work and establishing stricter control along the ABL more than granting war-afflicted status to families living in those regions.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The differences are revealed through the multinomial regression model, which predicts respondents' views about the actions that the government should take in the regions next to the ABL. The level of respondent's awareness about the situation in the ABL regions is the predictor variable. In order to simplify interpretation of results, the level of awareness was recoded into a binary variable and respondents who said that they are "badly" or "very badly" aware of the situation in the ABL regions were grouped in the category "less aware", while respondents who responded that they are "well" or

## CONCLUSION

The survey results revealed that the population assesses the general security situation in the country quite positively: a majority feels safe and feels that Georgia is dealing well with the security risks that the country is facing: poverty, possibility of military aggression from Russia, and the Russia-Ukraine war. Thirty-eight percent of the population said that the country is going in the right direction and the same share feels more secure now compared to how they felt in 2012.

Nonetheless, despite the generally positive assessments, a large majority of the population (69%) agreed that the security system of Georgia has significant shortcomings and requires necessary reforms.

A majority of the ethnic minority people responding reported thinking that their ethnic group is protected in Georgia. Only 13 percent felt less secure and named Russia and Azerbaijan as primary sources of threat. As for the type of threat itself, they reported a fear of losing their own language, excessive control from the police and other bodies, and removal of social assistance as main threats.

The study indicates that the population of Georgia thinks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the State Security Service as state bodies responsible for security. However, about half the population is not well-aware of their work. The level of awareness is particularly low in case of the State Security Service and the National Security Council.

A majority of the population does not feel that state security services exercise a kind of control over them in their daily lives. A relatively larger share of people felt that their telephone conversations are always or sometimes tapped, their social networks are controlled, or that there are nested informants in their neighborhoods or communities. In case of the violation of their rights by security services, one third of the population would turn to human rights organizations. Notably, the second most frequent response to this question reported by more than one tenth of the population is “I will suffer and not talk about it because it is impossible for ordinary people to fight against this”.

A large part of the population has quite positive attitudes towards specific state agencies. A majority fully or partially trusts the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the State Security Service, and believes that these agencies are characterized by patriotism,

---

“very well” aware of the situation in the ABL regions were grouped into category “more aware”. The text provides information only about statistically significant links.



professionalism, and respect for human rights, and assesses their work as effective. At the same time, a large share of the population claimed that all three of these agencies are not free from political/party pressures.

As for the security sector and marginalized groups, a large majority of the population reported that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the State Security Service treat ethnic/religious minorities equally. Attitudes towards ethnic/religious minorities themselves is also positive. A large majority agreed with the statement that ethnic/religious minorities are not strangers in Georgia and that the state should fully protect ethnic minority rights and make more of an effort to integrate them into the social-political life.

The level of public awareness is quite low with regards to the situation in villages next to the ABL of Abkhazia and South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region. Despite this, the majority considered measures taken by the government to be insufficient, and reported thinking that the government should establish stricter control on the ABL and reinforce the work of the police to ensure people's security in these regions.

Overall, a large share of the population is not aware of security issues, state agencies, and minorities or marginal groups. Their primary sources of information in general, about state security agencies, and about the situation at the ABL are mostly television and social networks.



## **ANNEX: FREQUENCY TABLES**

The annex presents frequency tables of the distribution of respondent answers on all questions asked in the survey. Data is weighted based on the basic demographic characteristics of the population. Sequence of questions coincides with the flow of questions in the actual survey. The annex does not include demographics.

## II BLOCK: GENERAL QUESTIONS

**q7. In your opinion, Georgia is going in the right direction, or do you think that Georgia is going in the wrong direction? (%)**

Georgia is going in the right direction	38
[Do no read] Georgia is not changing at all	20
Georgia is going in the wrong direction	33
(Don't know)	9
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q8. Generally, how secure do you feel in Georgia? (%)**

Fully insecure	9
More insecure than secure	22
More secure than insecure	41
Fully secure	28
(Don't know)	1
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q9. Comparing to the period before 2012, now... (%)**

You feel safer,	38
Less safe,	26
Or your feel the same way?	32
(Don't know)	4
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q10. Do you agree or disagree that in case of any danger, you are safe because of the following? (%)**

	Yes	No	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
I feel safe, because I know how to apply to security services and it will not be hard for me	67	27	5	0
I feel safe, because people around me are highly aware how to behave in critical situations	49	44	7	0
I am safe because there is a police station in my neighbourhood and I can apply in case of any need	45	52	2	0
I am safe, because there is an underground shelter (bunker) in my neighbourhood and we can use it in case of any need	9	84	7	0

**q11. Please tell me how much do you trust or distrust ...? (%)**

	Fully trust	Somewhat trust	Somewhat distrust	Fully distrust	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
<b>The Ministry of Defense of Georgia</b>	27	42	13	12	5	0
<b>The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia (MIA)</b>	25	40	16	12	6	1
<b>Prime Minister of Georgia</b>	24	35	17	18	5	1
<b>The State Security Service</b>	22	37	16	12	13	0
<b>The President of Georgia</b>	16	35	21	20	7	1
<b>The Parliament of Georgia</b>	16	31	24	22	6	1

**q12. Which of the following on the card is the highest risk for security of Georgia? Please indicate up to three answers (%) [Rotation on a show card]**

Poverty	50
Possibility of military aggression from the Russian side	48
The Russia-Ukraine war	23
Crime	22
Ecological hazards / natural disasters	21
The Covid-19 pandemic	13
Immigration of foreigners	11
Borderization	11
Disinformation	10
Kidnapping of people from villages close to the administrative border line	9
Terrorism	6
Visa free regime with Russia	4
The war in Karabakh	0
Other	1
(Don't know)	2
(Refuse to answer)	0

**q13. Thinking about the risks you have mentioned above, would you describe the way Georgia protects itself from these risks as ... (%)**

Very poor	17
Poor	28
Fair	40
Very good	9
(Don't know)	7
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q14. Please tell me which of the following statements you agree with? (%)**

Statement 1: Security system of Georgia works well and additional reforms are not necessary - strongly agree	9
Statement 1: Security system of Georgia works well and additional reforms are not necessary - agree	13
Statement 2: There are key gaps in the security system of Georgia and it is needs important reforms - agree	29
Statement 2: There are key gaps in the security system of Georgia and it is needs important reforms - strongly agree	40
Agree with neither	1
(Don't know)	8
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q15. To what extent do you or your family members feel in your everyday life that the state security services ... You feel that always, sometimes or never? (%)**

	Always	Sometimes	Never	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
Listen to your phone calls	9	27	51	13	0
Control your social networks	5	15	60	18	1
Have informants in your neighborhood, community, or work place	6	11	60	22	0
Spy on you	1	5	81	13	0

**q16. Do you feel that security of your ethnic minority representatives is protected in Georgia? (%)**

(The question was asked only to ethnic minority representatives)

Fully protected	42
More protected than unprotected	31
More unprotected than protected	12
Fully unprotected	1
(Don't know)	13
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q17. Please tell me whom do you mostly feel danger from? (%)**

(The question was asked only to those ethnic minorities who said that security of ethnic group is not protected in Georgia)

Russia	31
Azerbaijan	27
Turkey	15
The government of Georgia	15
Other ethnic groups	5
Religious fundamentalists	3
Georgian law-enforcement bodies	2
Armenia	1
(Don't know)	3
Total	100

**q18. Of the listed, what type of danger do you mostly feel for your ethnic group representatives in Georgia? 950**

(The question was asked only to those ethnic minorities who said that security of ethnic group is not protected in Georgia)

Losing your language	23
Exceeded control and punishment of you and your family members from the side of the police and other institutions	21
Losing your social benefit	19
Conflict between different ethnic communities	10
Losing your national traditions	3
Forcing you, your family members or other members of your ethnic community to leave Georgia	2
Other	0
(Don't know)	22
Total	100

### III BLOCK: PEOPLE'S AWARENESS OF THE WORK OF STATE SECURITY AGENCIES

**q19. There are various views on what security means. Now I will read out different statements and please tell me which one is closest to your view.**

(%)

Military security of the country	29
Physical safety of people	23
Political stability	16
Economic security	14
Safety from disinformation	5
Environmental security	4
Other	1
(Don't know)	7
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q20. Based on your information, which state institutions are responsible for the country's security? (%)**

Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia/Police	50
Ministry of Defense/Army	45
State Security Service	37
Prime Minister	30
President	24
National Security Council	16
Other*	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refuse to answer)	0

*\*The most frequently named response in the category "other" was: government, Ministry of Healthcare, and Ministry of Justice.*



**q21. To what extent are you aware of the work of the following institutions...? (%)**

	Very well aware	Quite well aware	Quite poorly aware	Very poorly aware	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)	(Never heard of the institution)
<b>Ministry of Internal Affairs/Police</b>	7	32	27	27	7	0	0
<b>Ministry of Defense/Army</b>	7	32	24	28	9	0	1
<b>State Security Service</b>	4	19	26	36	13	0	2
<b>National Security Council</b>	4	14	22	37	15	0	9

**q22-25. In your opinion, what are the main responsibility(ies) of ...? (%)**

(The question was asked only to those who have heard of the respective institution)

	<b>Ministry of Internal Affairs/Policy</b>	<b>State Security Service</b>	<b>Ministry of Defense/Army</b>	<b>National Security Council</b>
Protection of citizens	57	26	34	19
Crime investigation	52	15	3	4
Crime prevention	42	11	3	4
Punishment of offenders	41	12	3	3
Averting attack on the country / Protection of the country's territorial integrity	11	16	79	11
Security policy planning	6	23	11	22
Analytical work	3	10	4	11
Internal intelligence (within the country)	3	26	10	11
Foreign intelligence	2	21	11	11
Other	1	0	0	0
(Don't know)	3	19	6	40
(Refuse to answer)	0	0	1	0

**q26. Who is the Minister of Internal Affairs currently? (%)**

Correct answer (Vakhtang Gomelauri)	40
Incorrect answer	10
(Don't know)	50
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q27. Who is the Head of the State Security Service currently? (%)**

Correct answer (Grigol Liluashvili)	15
Incorrect answer	8
(Don't know)	76
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q28. Who is the Minister of Defense currently? (%)**

Correct answer (Juansher Burchuladze)	18
Incorrect answer	9
(Don't know)	73
(Refuse to answer)	1
Total	100

**q29. Who is the Secretary of the National Security Council currently? (%)**

Correct answer (Vakhtang Gomelauri)	7
Incorrect answer	7
(Don't know)	86
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

q30. Please tell me what is your main source of information about the following state agencies (%)

	Ministry of Internal Affairs/Policy	State Security Service	Ministry of Defense/Army	National Security Council
Television	62	55	61	51
Online media (except social networks)	3	3	2	2
Social networks	19	17	18	14
Websites of these agencies	0	0	0	0
Family members/coworkers	3	2	3	1
Radio	0	0	0	0
Print media (newspapers/magazines)	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	
(Do not get any information)	10	20	13	28
(Don't know)	1	2	2	4
(Refuse to answer)	0	0	0	0

#### IV BLOCK: PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF STATE SECURITY AGENCIES

q31. In your opinion, how independent is the State Security Service from political/party influences? 9%)

Fully independent	8
More independent than dependent	19
More dependent than independent	24
Not independent at all	22
(Don't know)	27
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q32-33. How effectively does the State Security Service defend ...? (%)**

	The national security interests?	People's personal security interests
Very effectively	9	8
More effectively than ineffectively	34	34
More ineffectively than effectively	21	25
Very ineffectively	8	10
(Don't know)	28	24
(Refuse to answer)	0	0
Total	100	100

**q34. When talking about the State Security Service, in your opinion, how much the following statements describe this agency, they fully describe, partially describe, or do not describe it at all? (%)**

	Fully describes	Partially describes	Does not describe at all	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
Professionalism	23	46	11	20	1
Patriotism	21	44	12	21	0
Respect for human rights	18	47	15	19	1
Accountability	16	44	13	26	0
Impartiality	13	42	18	27	1
Transparency	12	40	24	24	0

**q35. In your opinion, to what extent has the work of the State Security Service improved or worsened during the last seven years? (%)**

Improved	26
[Do not read] stayed the same	22
Worsened	21
(Don't know)	31
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q37. In your opinion, how independent is the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia from political/party influences? (%)**

Fully independent	9
More independent than dependent	23
More dependent than independent	26
Not independent at all	21
(Don't know)	20
(Refuse to answer)	1
Total	100

**q38. How effectively does the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia work? (%)**

Very effectively	12
More effectively than ineffectively	39
More ineffectively than effectively	22
Very ineffectively	8
(Don't know)	17
(Refuse to answer)	1
Total	100

**q39. When talking about the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, in your opinion, how much the following statements describe this agency, they fully describe, partially describe, or do not describe it at all? (%)**

	Fully describes	Partially describes	Does not describe at all	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
Patriotism	24	47	13	15	0
Professionalism	24	50	11	14	0
Respect for human rights	20	51	15	14	1
Accountability	19	47	13	20	1
Impartiality	16	47	16	20	1
Transparency	15	47	19	18	1

**q40. In your opinion, to what extent has the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia improved or worsened during the last seven years? (%)**

Improved	31
[Do not read] stayed the same	26
Worsened	23
(Don't know)	20
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q42. In your opinion, how independent is the Ministry of Defense of Georgia from political/party influences? (%)**

Fully independent	12
More independent than dependent	24
More dependent than independent	23
Not independent at all	17
(Don't know)	22
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q43. How effectively does the Ministry of Defense of Georgia work? (%)**

Very effectively	14
More effectively than ineffectively	40
More ineffectively than effectively	18
Very ineffectively	8
(Don't know)	20
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q44. When talking about the Ministry of Defense of Georgia, in your opinion, how much the following statements describe this agency, they fully describe, partially describe, or do not describe it at all? (%)**

	Fully describes	Partially describes	Does not describe at all	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
Patriotism	35	41	9	14	0
Professionalism	31	46	9	15	1
Respect for human rights	29	45	10	15	0
Accountability	24	44	11	21	0
Impartiality	20	45	13	21	1
Transparency	19	45	15	21	1

**q45. In your opinion, to what extent has the work of the Ministry of Defense of Georgia improved or worsened during the last seven years? (%)**

Improved	34
[Do not read] stayed the same	26
Worsened	19
(Don't know)	21
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q46. What would you do if state security agencies violated your rights? (%)**

I will turn to organizations working on human rights that will defend my rights in court and during the investigation process	32
I will suffer and not talk about it, because it is impossible to fight against this for common people	15
I will go to court	13
I will turn to the ombudsman	11
I will turn to the Prosecutor's Office	4
I will turn to media/journalists	3

I will turn to the Parliament	1
I will turn to political parties	0
Other*	2
Such a think will not happen	8
(Don't know)	10
(Refuse to answer)	1
Total	100

\*The most frequent responses in the "other" category were: I will turn to the police, I will turn to no one, there is no point.

## V BLOCK: SECURITY SECTOR AND MARGINAL GROUPS

**q47. In your opinion, ethnic/religious minority representatives are overrepresented, properly represented, or underrepresented in the ...? (%)**

	Overrepresented	Property represented	Underrepresented	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
Parliament of Georgia	9	40	26	25	0
Georgian executive government	8	39	25	28	0
Local governments	8	43	22	27	0
Political parties	8	41	23	29	0
Media	7	45	22	26	0

**q48. In your opinion, how equally does ... treat ethnic/religious minorities living in Georgia? (%)**

	Totally equally	Mostly equally	Mostly unequally	Totally unequally	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia	32	42	9	2	15	0
The State Security Service	29	40	8	2	22	0



**q49. Please name examples of unfairness towards ethnic/religious minorities since 2012. Please name three most important cases (%)**

Local government rejecting the Georgian Muslim community permission to build a new mosque in Batumi	22
The state cutting the minaret in the village Tchela followed by the fact of beating local Muslims	10
The state refusing to local Azerbaijanis to declare Novruz Bayram as a holiday	9
Refusal to the campaign “give my surname back”	4
Sharp decline of the share of ethnic minorities in the Parliament of Georgia	3
Other	1
(There were no cases of unfair treatment towards ethnic/religious minorities)	16
(Don't know)	50
(Refuse to answer)	2

**q50. Now I will read several statements. Please tell me how much do you agree or disagree with each of them? (%)**

	Completely agree	More agree than disagree	More disagree than agree	Completely disagree	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
Ethnic/religious minorities historically live in Georgia and are no foreigners/guests	56	27	9	5	3	0
Ethnic/religious minorities are citizens of Georgia and the government should fully protect their rights	62	28	5	2	4	0
The government of Georgia should make more efforts to engage ethnic/religious minorities in the socio-political life so that they are fully integrated	39	31	13	6	10	1
The government of Georgia should isolate ethnic/religious minorities in order to control them better.	6	9	15	61	8	1

## VI BLOCK: PEOPLE LIVING CLOSE TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE BORDER LINE OF SOUTH OSSETIA/TSKHINVALI REGION AND ABKHAZIA

**q51. How well or badly aware are you of the situation in the villages close to the administrative border lines of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia? (%)**

Very well	4
Well	28
Badly	36
Very badly	22
(Don't know)	10
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q52. Please tell me what is your main source of information about the situation in villages close to the administrative border of South Ossetia/Tskhinvali region and Abkhazia? (%)**

Television	64
Social networks	16
Family/friends/coworkers	7
Online media	3
Print media (newspapers/magazines)	0
Radio	0
Other	1
(I do not get any information)	8
(Don't know)	2
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q53. In your opinion, how sufficient or insufficient are security measures taken by the government of Georgia in the administrative border line villages? (%)**

Fully sufficient	6
More sufficient than insufficient	14
More insufficient than sufficient	36
Not sufficient at all	30
(Don't know)	15
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

**q54. What should the government of Georgia do in order to guarantee security of people living close to the administrative border line? (%)**

Establish stricter control of the administrative border around the dividing line	38
Reinforce the work of the police in these regions to ensure security of people living in this area	21
Offer additional social assistance/privilege to families living in this area	16
Give families who live there the war afflicted status	7
Develop infrastructure in these villages	5
Other	1
(Don't know)	12
(Refuse to answer)	0
Total	100

