

## Ethnic and secular identities

### 1. Which of the following identities is more important to you?

As a citizen of Georgia	1
As a member of my ethnic group	2
Both are equally important	3
Neither are important	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>-1</i>
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	<i>-2</i>

### 2. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements[Rotate]:

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	RA
1	Georgian citizens should speak Georgian						
2	I am proud to be a Georgian citizen						
3	Georgian citizens should be Orthodox Christians						
4	Only ethnic Georgians should be allowed to be Georgian citizens						
5	If an ethnic minority wants to work in the civil service, they should know Georgian						
6	To be Georgian means to be European						
7	I would vote for someone who is a different religion than me						
8	I would vote for someone of a different ethnicity than me						
9	I would vote for someone who does not speak Georgian						
10	The wars that Georgia has been involved in since independence show that the country and population needs to be more tolerant of ethnic minorities						
11	The separatist wars that Georgia has been involved in since independence show that the ethnic and linguistic minorities are a potential security threat for Georgia	I would vote for someone who speaks a different language than me					

### 3. Which type of issues are most important to you? Do you care most about... [Read out. Single answer]

Local (e.g. problems in my village or neighbourhood)	1
Regional (e.g. problems in my city or region)	2
National (e.g. problems in Georgia) or	3
International (e.g. problems that affect many countries) issues	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

4. Would you approve or disapprove of the following policies in predominantly minority communities:

	Approve	Disapprove	DK	RA
Providing government services in ethnic minority languages as well as Georgian				
Having street signs in minority languages				
Allowing court cases involving civil disputes between ethnic minorities to be carried out in minority languages				

5. Currently there are 21 female members of parliament out of 150 members. Do you think this is . . . ? [Read Out]

Too few	1
Too many or	2
About right	3
<i>(It does not matter)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

6. What kind of impact would increasing the number of women MPs have on Georgia? Would it have ... [READ OUT]

A positive impact	1
A negative impact	2
No impact	3
<i>(It would not matter)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

7. There are currently 11 ethnic minorities in parliament out of 150 members. Do you think this is...?

<b>Too few</b>	1
<b>Too many or</b>	2
<b>About right</b>	3
<i>(It does not matter)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

8. What kind of impact would increasing the number of ethnic minority MPs have on Georgia? Would it have ... [READ OUT]

<b>A positive impact</b>	1
<b>A negative impact</b>	2
<b>No impact</b>	3
<i>(It does not matter)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

9. What kind of impact would it have if there were more LGBTQ people in parliament? Would it have ... [Read out]

<b>A positive impact</b>	1
<b>A negative impact</b>	2
<b>No impact</b>	3
<i>(It does not matter)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

10. The Georgian Orthodox Church has a constitutional agreement which gives it a special legal status in Georgia. Do you approve or disapprove of the Georgian Orthodox Church's special status?

<b>Approve</b>	1
<b>Disapprove</b>	2

<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

11. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements[Rotate]:

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	RA
1	The Georgian Orthodox Church promotes the preservation of moral values in Georgian society						
2	The Georgian Orthodox Church benefits Georgia through bringing us closer to Russia						
3	The Georgian Orthodox Church is the foundation of our identity						
4	The Georgian Orthodox Church is very important for my family						

#### Attitudes towards the West

12. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about potential outcomes of Georgia's further integration into the European Union.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	RA
1	Georgia will have a better economy.	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
2	Georgia will have more democratic institutions and values.	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
3	Georgians will be able to go to the European Union to study and work more easily	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
4	Georgia will gain human rights protections	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
5	Georgia will be better protected from Russia	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
6	Georgia will have more functional government	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
7	Georgia will become more European	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
8	Integration will bring Georgia closer together with other Christian nations	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

13. Do you think the following have helped, hurt, or not affected Georgia in becoming closer to the European Union?

	Helped	Not affected	Hurt	DK	RA	Have not heard about this
The United Kingdom leaving the European Union						
Russian, anti-western propaganda						
Anti-western rhetoric from the Georgian Orthodox Church						
Georgian-Russian confrontation over the status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia						

14. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	RA
The European Union represents a threat to Georgian traditions						

15. Who can currently give best support to Georgia – the EU, USA or Russia?

EU	1
USA	2
Russia	3
Other _____	4
(No one)	-5
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

16. Do you support Georgia joining the European Union?

Yes	1
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No	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

17. If you had to choose between regaining control over Abkhazia and South Ossetia or membership in NATO and the EU, which would you choose?

Regaining control over Abkhazia and South Ossetia	1
Membership in NATO and the EU	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

### Attitudes towards history

There is a wide variety of opinion about events in modern Georgian history. I will now ask you a number of questions about your feelings on these issues.

18. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: [Rotate]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	RA
1	April 9, 1989 was a tragedy						
2	April 9, 1989 was a positive event insofar as it paved the way to independence for Georgia						
3	The wars in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the 90s were avoidable						
4	Everything possible was done to avoid the 2008 August War.						
5	The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 was a good thing for Georgia						

19. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: [Rotate]

		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	RA
1	Zviad Gamsakhurdia was a true Georgian patriot						
2	Without Zviad Gamsakhurdia Georgia would not have been able to become independent						

3	Zviad Gamsakhurdia was responsible for starting the war in South Ossetia						
4	Zviad Gamsakhurdia was responsible for starting the war in Abkhazia						
5	The overthrow of Zviad Gamsakhurdia was a bad thing for Georgia						

20. In your opinion what was the largest success of the government from 1992 to 2003?  
[INTERVIEWER: Correspond. Accept only one answer]

Stabilizing the conflicts	1
Ending the Tbilisi war/ Georgian civil war	2
Introducing the Lari/ stabilizing the exchange rate	3
Gaining international recognition of Georgia's independence	4
Prioritizing western foreign policy orientation	5
Building East-West Energy corridor (BTC, BTS, Shah Deniz gas pipeline)	6
Contributing to Georgian-Ossetian reconciliation on the grassroots level	7
Gaining membership in the Council of Europe	8
Gaining membership in the WTO	
Closing down the Russian military base in Vaziani	9
Other (Specify)	10
Don't know	-1
Refuse to answer	-2
The government had no successes	-5

21. In your opinion what was the largest failure of the government from 1992 to 2003?  
[INTERVIEWER: Correspond. Accept only one answer]

Economic collapse	1
Did not prevent wars in Abkhazia and South Ossetia	2
Moved away from Russia	3
Could not effectively govern the entire country	4
Could not build strong state institutions	5
Corruption	6
Failed to engage west in conflict resolution bring	7
Could not close down Russian military bases	8
Events in Pankisi	9
1998 Abkhaz Fighting/Gali Events	
Criminal situation/ lack of law and order	
Electricity shortages/blackouts	
Other (Specify)	10

Don't know	-1
Refuse to answer	-2
The government had no failures	-5

**22. In your opinion what was the largest success of the government from 2003 to 2012?**  
**[INTERVIEWER: Correspond. Accept only one answer]**

Elimination of petty corruption	1
Georgia grew closer to the European Union, NATO, and/or the west	2
Election quality improved	3
Unified entrance exams	4
Health care system reform	5
Judiciary reform	6
Closure of Russian military bases	7
Deregulation	
Economic growth	8
Fighting crime/ law and order	
Improved provision of public services	9
Other (Specify)	10
Don't know	-1
Refuse to answer	-2
The government had no successes	-5

**23. In your opinion what was the largest failure of the government from 2003 to 2012?**  
**[INTERVIEWER: Correspond. Accept only one answer]**

Human rights abuses	1
Uneven economic growth	2
Did not prevent the 2008 war	3
Cracked down on protesters	4
Did not listen to the public	5
Disrespected academic and cultural elites	6
Infringed upon property rights	7
Other (Specify)	8
Don't know	-1
Refuse to answer	-2
The government had no failures	-5

**24. In your opinion what was the largest success of the government from 2012 to present?**  
**[INTERVIEWER: Correspond. Accept only one answer]**

Introduced universal health insurance	1
Implementation of Hepatitis C program	2
Effective mitigation of COVID-19 pandemic risks	3
Transition to a parliamentary system of government	4
Improved business environment	5
Improved protection of human rights	6
Reformed election system	7
Reduced risks in relations with Russia	8
Association Agreement with EU	9
Visa free travel to the EU	
Political stability	10
Improved penitentiary system	11
No active war	

Restoration of justice	
Other (Specify)	12
Don't know	-1
Refuse to answer	-2
The government had no successes	-5

25. In your opinion what was the largest failure of the government from 2012 to present?  
[INTERVIEWER: Correspond. Accept only one answer]

Failure to follow through on promise to introduce proportional election system	1
Gavrilov nights	2
Weak economic growth	
Failure to depoliticize prosecutor's office and judiciary	3
Failure to deliver on pre-election promises	4
Ineffective decision making system	5
Ineffective PR, both domestically and internationally	6
Failure to establish platforms for direct dialogue with Sukhumi and Tskhinvali	7
Failure to slow down social estrangement between Georgians and Abkhaz/Ossetians	8
Failure to install air defense systems	9
Failure to accomplish the restoration of justice	
Other (Specify)	10
Don't know	-1
Refuse to answer	-2
The government had no successes	-5

26. In your opinion, aside from the occupation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, what was the most negative consequence of the 2008 war?

Loss of life	1
Prevention of NATO integration	2
Damaged economic development	3
Prevention of EU integration	4
Deepened alienation between Georgians and Abkhaz/Ossetians	5
Collapse of peace process as regards conflict settlement	6
Damaged relations with Russia	7
	8
	9
Other (Specify)	10
Don't know	-1
Refuse to answer	-2
There was no other negative consequence	-5

27. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	DK	RA
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Georgia is the leading democracy in the Caucasus						
Georgia is the leading democracy in the post-Soviet space						
Georgia has never developed in the right direction since independence						
Since independence, Georgian history has more failures than successes						
The current government prioritizes human rights over the modernization of the state						
The modern history of Georgia is mainly a personality rather than institution driven process						

## Demographics

28. Which party is closest to you?

	First Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	4
Left Alliance (Kakhaber Dzaganian, Soso Shatberashvili)	5
United National Movement	6
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili )	8
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze, Tamar Kordzaia)	9
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab	10

Tkemaladze)	
Georgian Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	11
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	12
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	13
Movement State for People (Nika Matchutadze)	14
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	15
New Christian Democrats (Nikoloz Jogleidze)	16
Unity of Georgian Traditionalists (Akaki Asatiani)	17
Freedom – Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s Way (Konstantine Gamsakhurdia)	18
Tamaz Mechiauri for United Georgia (Tamaz Mechiauri)	19
Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)	20
European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)	21
Victorious Georgia (Irakli Okruashvili, Gubaz Sanikidze)	22
For Justice (Eka Beselia)	23
Lelo (Mamuka Khazaradze)	24
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	25
No party	26
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**29. There are a number of ethnic groups living in Georgia. Which ethnic group do you consider yourself a part of?**

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT READ OUT. CORRESPOND. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Armenian	1
Azerbaijani	2
Georgian	3

Abkhaz	4
Ossetian	5
Russian	6
Chechen, Kist	7
Other ethnicity	8
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

30. **What languages other than /interview language/ do you use in your everyday life, such as to talk with your family members, friends and neighbors, or to do business?** [SECNDLANG]

[INTERVIEWER: DO NOT READ OUT. CORRESPOND. ACCEPT ALL ANSWERS]

Abkhaz	1 <sup>GE</sup>
Armenian	2 <sup>GE</sup>
Assyrian	3 <sup>GE</sup>
Azerbaijani	4
Avar	5 <sup>GE</sup>
Kist/Chechen	6
Georgian	7
Greek	8 <sup>GE</sup>
English	9
Kurdish languages (Zazaki, Kurmanji, etc.)	10
Mingrelian (and Laz)	12 <sup>GE</sup>
Ossetian	13 <sup>GE</sup>
Russian	14
Svan	15 <sup>GE</sup>
Turkish	15
<i>(No other language except interview language)</i>	16
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-5
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-1
<i>(No other language except interview language)</i>	-2

31. **There are a number of religious groups living in Georgia. Which religious group do you consider yourself a part of?**

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT READ OUT. CORRESPOND. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Orthodox	1	GO TO 7
Armenian Apostolic	2	GO TO X
Muslim	3	
Other Christian	4	
Other (specify)	5	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

32. Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services? [INTERVIEWER: READ OUT]

Once a week or more often	1
At least once a month	2
Only on special religious holidays	3
Less often	4
Or Never?	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

33. How often do you use the internet? You use the internet... [Read out]

Every day,	1
At least once a week,	2
At least once a month,	3
Less often,	4
or Never?	5
[Do not read] <i>(I don't know what the internet is)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

34. [SHOW CARD 38] Which of the following best describes your situation? Please think about the activity or situation which is primary for you. [EMPLSIT]

[**INTERVIEWER!** ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER REFLECTING PRIMARY ACTIVITY OF THE RESPONDENT.]

Retired and <b>not</b> working	1
Student and <b>not</b> working	2
Housewife and <b>not</b> working	3
Unemployed	4
Working either part-time or full time (even if the respondent is retired / is a student), including seasonal work	5

Self-employed (even if the respondent is retired / is a student), including seasonal work	6
Disabled and unable to work	7
Other	8
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**35. What is the highest level of education you have achieved to date? [Read out.]**

Primary education (either complete or incomplete). (8-9 grades),	1
Complete secondary education (11-12 grades)	2
Secondary vocational education (has completed specialize secondary education such as: vocation school and has obtained degree of a qualified worker)	3
Incomplete higher education	4
Complete higher education	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**36. Now, I will read you a series of household items. Please note that we are only interested in items that your household owns and that are in normal working order. Please tell me whether or not your household owns ...?**

		Owens	Does not own	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Refrigerator</b>	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>Color TV</b>	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>Smartphone (a phone with color display and with internet connection)</b>	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>Tablet computer (e.g. iPad, Galaxy Tab, Lenovo etc.)</b>	1	0	-1	-2
5	<b>Car</b>	1	0	-1	-2
6	<b>Air conditioner</b>	1	0	-1	-2
7	<b>Automatic washing machine</b>	1	0	-1	-2
8	<b>Personal computer, including</b>	1	0	-1	-2

	<b>laptop</b>				
9	<b>Hot water</b>	1	0	-1	-2
10	<b>Central heating</b>	1	0	-1	-2

**37. Since 1989 were you or any of your HH members forced to leave home due conflicts in Georgia?**

Yes	1
No	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2