

## Survey on Political Attitudes

April 2015

2. [SHOW CARD 2] **There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia as a country is going. Using this card, please, rate your answer.** [POLDIRN]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Georgia is definitely going in the wrong direction | 1  |
| Georgia is mainly going in the wrong direction     | 2  |
| Georgia is not changing at all                     | 3  |
| Georgia is going mainly in the right direction     | 4  |
| Georgia is definitely going in the right direction | 5  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                                | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                          | -2 |

3. **Generally, taking everything into account, since October 2012 you and your household are. . .**[READ OUT] [LIFECOND]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Worse off.</b>                   | 1  |
| <b>The same,<br/>or Better off?</b> | 2  |
| <b>or Better off?</b>               | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                 | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>           | -2 |

4. [Show card 4 (Rotate)] **What are the most important national issues facing you and your family?**

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest.

Accept up to 3 answers.]

|    |                                      |    |
|----|--------------------------------------|----|
|    | <i>(Don't know)</i>                  | -1 |
|    | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>            | -2 |
| 1  | Corruption [NATCORR]                 |    |
| 2  | NATO membership [NATNATO]            |    |
| 3  | Pensions [NATPENS]                   |    |
| 4  | Relations with Russia [NATRU]        |    |
| 5  | Property rights [NATROP]             |    |
| 6  | Fair elections [NATELECT]            |    |
| 7  | Jobs [NATJOBS]                       |    |
| 8  | Court system [NATCOURT]              |    |
| 9  | Freedom of speech [NATSPEECH]        |    |
| 10 | Human Rights [NATHR]                 |    |
| 11 | Poverty [NATPOV]                     |    |
| 12 | Territorial integrity [NATERR]       |    |
| 13 | Rising prices / inflation [NATPRICE] |    |
| 14 | Affordable healthcare [NATHCARE]     |    |
| 15 | Wages [NATWAGES]                     |    |
| 16 | Media independence [NATMEDIA]        |    |
| 17 | Education [NATEDU]                   |    |
| 18 | EU Membership [NATEU]                |    |
| 19 | Crime                                |    |
| 20 | Prisons/Prisoners                    |    |
| 21 | Minority rights                      |    |

|    |                                    |
|----|------------------------------------|
| 22 | <i>Other (Please record)</i> _____ |
|----|------------------------------------|

5. [Show card 5] **For each issue how do you think the situation has changed in Georgia?**  
**Compared to October 2012, is . . . [READ OUT FROM THE LIST] worse, the same or better?**

|    |                                      | <b>Worse</b> | <b>Same</b> | <b>Better</b> | Don't know | Refuse to answer |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|------------------|
| 1  | Corruption [CHACORR]                 | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 2  | Jobs [CHAJOBS]                       | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 3  | Court system [CHACOURT]              | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 4  | Freedom of speech [CHASPEECH]        | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 5  | Poverty [CHAPOV]                     | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 6  | Territorial integrity [CHATERR]      | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 7  | Rising prices / inflation [CHAPRICE] | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 8  | Affordable healthcare [CHAHCARE]     | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 9  | Education [CHAEDU]                   | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 10 | Crime                                | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 11 | Minority rights                      | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |
| 12 | Rights of women                      | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1         | -2               |

6. **To what extent do you agree or disagree that the current government is making the changes that matter to you?** [GOVCHNG]

[Interviewer: Read out options. Only one answer]

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| <b>Completely disagree</b> | 1 |
| <b>Somewhat disagree</b>   | 2 |
| <b>Somewhat agree</b>      | 3 |

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <b>Completely agree</b>   | 4  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

7. To what extent do you agree or disagree that if the Parliamentary opposition was in charge they would make the changes that matter to you? [OPPCHNGI]

[Interviewer: Read out options. Only one answer]

|                            |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| <b>Completely disagree</b> | 1  |
| <b>Somewhat disagree</b>   | 2  |
| <b>Somewhat agree</b>      | 3  |
| <b>Completely agree</b>    | 4  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>        | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  | -2 |

8. To what extent do you agree or disagree that if the non-Parliamentary opposition was in charge they would make the changes that matter to you? [OPPCHNGI]

[Interviewer: Read out options. Only one answer]

|                            |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| <b>Completely disagree</b> | 1  |
| <b>Somewhat disagree</b>   | 2  |
| <b>Somewhat agree</b>      | 3  |
| <b>Completely agree</b>    | 4  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>        | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  | -2 |

9. Looking ahead to the next two years how do you feel about the future of Georgia?

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>Everything will be good</b>                     | 1  |
| <b>Compared to today, situation will be better</b> | 2  |
| <b>Nothing will change</b>                         | 3  |
| <b>Compared to today, situation will be worse</b>  | 4  |
| <b>Everything will be bad</b>                      | 5  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                                | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                          | -2 |

10. In the past one year have you addressed following institutions?

[Interviewer: Read out institutions.]

11. [Show card 11] If yes, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the service you received?

|   |   | 10  |    |              |                    | 11                   |           |              |                         |              |                    |
|---|---|-----|----|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
|   |   | Yes | No | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) | Completely satisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Completely dissatisfied | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 1 | Police                                      | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |
| 2 | Court                                       | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |
| 3 | Prosecutor's office                         | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |
| 4 | Sakrebulo                                   | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |
| 5 | Mayor's office/Gamgeoba                     | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |
| 6 | Parliament                                  | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |
| 7 | Public Service Hall                         | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |
| 8 | Emergency and Operative Response Centre 112 | 1   | 0  | -1           | -2                 | 4                    | 3         | 2            | 1                       | -1           | -2                 |

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

13. Has anyone from your family including yourself used the insurance package provided under healthcare reform?

|  |     |   |                 |
|--|-----|---|-----------------|
|  | Yes | 1 | <b>GO TO 15</b> |
|  | No  | 0 |                 |

|                    |    |  |
|--------------------|----|--|
| (Don't know)       | -1 |  |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |  |

14. [SHOW CARD 14] If yes, how satisfied or dissatisfied were you with the service?

|                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| Completely satisfied    | 4  |
| Somewhat satisfied      | 3  |
| Somewhat dissatisfied   | 2  |
| Completely dissatisfied | 1  |
| (Don't know)            | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)      | -2 |

15. [SHOW CARD 15] Using this CARD, how would you rate the performance of ... [READ OUT]?

[Interviewer: Read out one by one.]

|   |  | Very badly | Badly | Neither badly nor well | Well | Very well | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|---|--|------------|-------|------------------------|------|-----------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Prime Minister Irakli Gharibashvili                        | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |
| 2 | President Giorgi Margvelashvili                            | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |
| 3 | The Speaker of the Parliament - Davit Usupashvili          | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |
| 4 | Leader of the Parliamentary Minority - Davit Bakradze      | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |
| 5 | Leader of the Parliamentarian Majority – Davit Saganelidze | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |

|    |  |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| 6  | Ministry of Finance (Nodar Khaduri)  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 7  | Ministry for Labor, Healthcare and Social Affairs (Davit Sergeenko)                              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 8  | Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure (Davit Shavliashvili)                        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 9  | Ministry of Internal Affairs (Vakhtang Gomelauri)  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 10 | Ministry of Justice (Thea Tsouloukiani)  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 11 | Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tamar Beruchashvili)  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 12 | Ministry of Education and Science (Tamar Sanikidze)  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 13 | Ministry of IDPs from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia (Sozar Subari) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 14 | Ministry of Defense (Mindia Janelidze)   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 15 | State Ministry for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration – (David Bakradze)                     | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 16 | Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development (Giorgi Kvirikashvili)                           | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |

|    |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| 17 | Ministry of Agriculture<br>(Otar Danelia)         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 18 | The Parliament [PERFPARL]                         | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 19 | Central Election<br>Commission (CEC)<br>[PERFCEC] | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 20 | The Courts [PERFCRT]                              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 21 | Georgian army [PERFARMY]                          | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 22 | Georgian police [PERFPOLC]                        | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 23 | Office of the Ombudsman                           | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 24 | Office of the Chief<br>Prosecutor                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 25 | Public Service Halls                              | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 26 | Georgian Orthodox Church                          | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

**I would like to ask you some question concerning international issues.**

**16. I would now like to ask you about specific actions. Please, tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the following: [READ OUT]**

[Interviewer: Read out the options.]

|  |  |         |            |              |                    |
|--|--|---------|------------|--------------|--------------------|
|  |  | Approve | Disapprove | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|--|--|---------|------------|--------------|--------------------|



|    |  |   |   |    |    |
|----|--|---|---|----|----|
| 1. | Georgian government's stated goal to join NATO [GENATO]              | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |
| 2. | Georgian government signing association agreement with the EU [GEEU] | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |
| 3. | Georgia joining the Eurasian Union                                   | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |

18. [SHOW CARD 18] Using this card, which of the following statements do you agree with the most?

[Interviewer: Only one answer]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Russia is a real and existing threat to Georgia     | 1  |
| Russia is a threat to Georgia but it is exaggerated | 2  |
| Russia is no threat to Georgia at all               | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                                 | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                           | -2 |

19. [SHOW CARD 19] Which of the following statements do you agree with?

|  |    |                 |
|--|----|-----------------|
| Russia has a lot of influence over Georgia | 1  | <b>GO TO 21</b> |
| Russia has some influence over Georgia     | 2  |                 |
| Russia has no influence over Georgia       | 3  |                 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                        | -1 |                 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                  | -2 |                 |

ASK Q20 TO ONLY TO THOSE WHO SAY RUSSIA HAS A LOT OF INFLUENCE OR SOME INFLUENCE:

20. In your opinion, is this influence...? [Read Out]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <b>Positive</b>           | 1  |
| <b>Negative</b>           | 0  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

21. Looking ahead to the next two years, how likely or unlikely is it that the Russia's influence over Georgia will increase?

[Interviewer: Read out]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <b>Not at all likely</b>  | 1  |
| <b>Not likely</b>         | 2  |
| <b>Likely</b>             | 3  |
| <b>Very likely</b>        | 4  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

22. [SHOW CARD 22] Please tell me which of the following statements you agree with?

[**INTERVIEWER!** AFTER THE RESPONDENT CHOOSES THE STATEMENT, ASK: "Do you agree with this statement or do you agree very strongly with this statement?" ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

|   |                               |   |   |
|---|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Statement 1: <b>Georgia will benefit more from Euro-Atlantic integration (joining EU and NATO).</b> |                               | Statement 2: <b>Georgia will benefit more from abandoning Euro-Atlantic integration in favor of better relations with Russia.</b> |   |
| <i>Agree very strongly with Statement 1</i>   | <i>Agree with Statement 1</i> | <i>Agree with Statement 2</i>   | <i>Agree very strongly with Statement 2</i> |
| 1   | 2                             | 3   | 4   |
| <i>[DO NOT READ] Agree with neither</i>   |                               | 5   |   |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>   |                               | -1  |   |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   |                               | -2  |   |

**23. In your opinion, who bears the most responsibility for the crisis in Ukraine?**

**[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond. Accept only one answer.]**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Russian government                              | 1  |
| Separatists                                     | 2  |
| Former Ukrainian Government (Viktor Yanukovich) | 3  |
| Current Ukrainian Government (Petro Poroshenko) | 4  |
| Maidan movement                                 | 5  |
| USA   | 6  |
| NATO  | 7  |
| EU  | 8  |
| Other (specify) _____                           | 9  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                             | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                       | -2 |

**DEMOCRACY**

**24. [SHOW CARD 24] Please tell me, which statement do you agree with the most?**

**[Interviewer: Only one answer.]**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Georgia is a democracy already and no further improvement is needed                           | 6  |
| Georgia is a democracy already but there is still room for improvement                        | 5  |
| Georgia is not a democracy yet, but it is developing in that direction                        | 4  |
| Georgia is a democracy for only a specific part of society                                    | 3  |
| Georgia might become a democracy in the future but it is not developing in that direction now | 2  |
| Georgia is not a democracy and never will be  | 1  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>   | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   | -2 |

25. [SHOW CARD 25] For each statement, tell me whether you completely agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or completely disagree?

[Interviewer: Read out the statements]

|   | Statements  | Completely agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Completely disagree | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|---|---|------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 | If I tell my elected official about issues in my community, they will take action to help solve the problem.            | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 2 | People like me can have an influence on government.   | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 3 | It does not matter how I vote – nothing will change.  | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 4 | Citizens can speak freely about their opinions.   | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 5 | NGOs have freedom to operate and monitor the government actions.  | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 6 | People should have a right to say and write whatever they want regardless of how offensive it may be to certain groups. | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 7 | Government should restrict certain types of speech that may offend certain groups.                                      | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |

26. [SHOW CARD 26] In your opinion, how important or unimportant is it, that there is a strong opposition in the country?

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Very important            | 5  |
| Important                 | 4  |
| Neutral                   | 3  |
| Not important             | 2  |
| Not important at all      | 1  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

27. [SHOW CARD 26] In your opinion, how important or unimportant is the protection of minority rights to Georgia's democratic development?

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Very important            | 5  |
| Important                 | 4  |
| Neutral                   | 3  |
| Not important             | 2  |
| Not important at all      | 1  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

28. [SHOW CARD 26] Using this card, please tell me how important or unimportant is the protection of rights of the following minorities?

|   |                          | Very important | Important | Neutral | Not important | Not important at all | <i>(Don't know)</i> | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Sexual minorities (LGBT) | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1                  | -2                        |
| 2 | Ethnic minorities        | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1                  | -2                        |
| 3 | Religious minorities     | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1                  | -2                        |

|   |                          |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |
|---|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| 4 | People with disabilities | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | -1 | -2 |
|---|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|

**PARLIAMENT**

**29. How do you receive information about the parliament?**

[Interviewer: Do not read. Correspond. Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

|   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
|   | <i>(Don't know)</i>   | -1 |
|   | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                                       | -2 |
|   | <i>None (I do not receive information about the parliament)</i> | -5 |
| 1 | Parliament's web-site   |    |
| 2 | People around you   |    |
| 3 | Online news agencies  |    |
| 4 | Social media  |    |
| 5 | Newspapers  |    |
| 6 | Radio   |    |
| 7 | TV  |    |
| 8 | Other (Please record) _____                                     |    |

**30. Please tell me who is your majoritarian member in the Parliament of Georgia?**

[MAJNAME]

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Record any name the respondent mentions<br>_____ | 1  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                              | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                        | -2 |

**31. What do you expect from a Member of the Parliament (MP)?**

[Interviewer: Read out.]

|   |   | Yes | No | <i>(Don't know)</i> | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> |
|---|---|-----|----|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <b>He/she will represent your interests</b> [MAJMYREP]        | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 2 | <b>Will only serve his/her own interests</b> [MAJHEREP]       | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 3 | <b>He/she will be active</b> [MAJNOACT]                       | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 4 | <b>Will do what the party tells him/her to do</b> [MAJDOTELL] | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |

**32. Have you addressed a member of the Parliament or their bureau/office with any request or concern since the October 2012 parliamentary election?** [ADDMAJ]

|                           |    |                 |
|---------------------------|----|-----------------|
| Yes                       | 1  | <b>GO TO 34</b> |
| No                        | 0  |                 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |                 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |                 |

**33. [If addressed] Did you receive a response?** [ADDMAJR]

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

**34. Have you personally been contacted by a MP since the October 2012 parliamentary elections? [CONMAJ]**

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

**35. If a MP were to contact you, what would be the best form? [CONTBEST]**

[Interviewer: Read out the options. Only one answer.]

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Home visit                                 | 1  |
| Public meeting                             | 2  |
| In their office                            | 3  |
| In written communication                   | 4  |
| By phone                                   | 5  |
| Email (internet)                           | 6  |
| <i>I don't want to be contacted at all</i> | 7  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                        | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                  | -2 |

**36. [SHOW CARD 36] Gender quota is a temporary mechanism, which makes it mandatory for Georgian political parties to include certain number of different gender (mostly women) in their party lists. This mechanism ensures women's better representation in the parliament, as well as at other decision-making levels. Please tell me, to what extent do you support or oppose adopting mandatory quota in the parliament to increase women's participation?**



|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Strongly oppose           | 1  |
| Somewhat oppose           | 2  |
| Somewhat support          | 3  |
| Strongly support          | 4  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

**PARTY SUPPORT AND AFFILIATION**

**37. [SHOW CARD 37 (Rotated parties)] Which party is closest to you? And what is your first and second choice?**

**[Interviewer! One answer in each column. If the respondent names the same option for the second choice, it means he/she has no second choice and circle -5 ('No second choice') in the second column. If the respondent's first choice is "No party", "Don't know" or "Refuse to answer", skip to question 38.]**

|  | First Choice | Second Choice |
|--|--------------|---------------|
| Alliance for Patriotic Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)     | 1            | 1             |
| Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)                                | 2            | 2             |
| New Rights (Pikria Chikhradze)                             | 3            | 3             |
| Democratic Movement-United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)       | 4            | 4             |
| Christian-Democratic Movement (Giorgi Akhvlediani)         | 5            | 5             |
| Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)                          | 6            | 6             |
| Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili)                        | 7            | 7             |
| United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)             | 8            | 8             |
| Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili) | 9            | 9             |
| National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)                           | 10           | 10            |
| Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze)                        | 11           | 11            |
| Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Gogi Topadze)   | 12           | 12            |
| Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)                      | 13           | 13            |
| Our Georgia – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)             | 14           | 14            |
| Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)                         | 15           | 15            |
| Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)   | 16           | 16            |
| <i>Other (specify) _____</i>                               | 17           |               |
| <i>Other (specify) _____</i>                               |              | 17            |

|                    |    |    |
|--------------------|----|----|
| No party           | 18 |    |
| (No second choice) |    | -5 |
| (Don't know)       | -1 | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 | -2 |

**38. [SHOW CARD 38] Please tell me which of the following statements you agree with?**

[**Interviewer:** AFTER THE RESPONDENT CHOOSES THE STATEMENT, ASK: “Do you agree with this statement or do you agree very strongly with this statement?” ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

|  |                               |   |   |
|--|-------------------------------|---|---|
| <b>Statement 1: Former Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili continues to be a decision-maker in the actions of the government.</b> |                               | <b>Statement 2: Former Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili is not a decision-maker in the actions of the government since he stepped down.</b> |   |
| <i>Agree very strongly with statement 1</i>  | <i>Agree with Statement 1</i> | <i>Agree with Statement 2</i>   | <i>Agree very strongly with Statement 2</i> |
| 1  | 2                             | 3   | 4   |
| <i>[DO NOT READ] Agree with neither</i>  |                               | 5   |   |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  |                               | -1  |   |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  |                               | -2  |   |

**39. [SHOW CARD 39] Which of the following statements you agree with:**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| It's preferable if Bidzina Ivanishvili is a political decision maker in an unofficial capacity | 1  |
| It's preferable if Bidzina Ivanishvili is a political decision maker in an official capacity   | 2  |
| It's preferable if Bidzina Ivanishvili isn't involved in a decision making process             | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  | -2 |

**41. Which opposition force do you consider to be the strongest opposition in Georgia?**

**Please tell me your first and second choice.**

[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond! If the respondent names the same option for the second choice, it means he/she has no second choice and circle -5 ('No second choice') in the second column. If the respondent's first choice is "No party", "Don't know" or "Refuse to answer", skip to question 42.]

|  | First Choice | Second Choice |
|--|--------------|---------------|
| Alliance for Patriotic Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)     | 1            | 1             |
| Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)                                | 2            | 2             |
| New Rights (Pikria Chikhradze)                             | 3            | 3             |
| Democratic Movement-United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)       | 4            | 4             |
| Christian-Democratic Movement (Giorgi Akhvlediani)         | 5            | 5             |
| Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)                          | 6            | 6             |
| Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili)                        | 7            | 7             |
| United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)             | 8            | 8             |
| Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili) | 9            | 9             |
| National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)                           | 10           | 10            |
| Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze)                        | 11           | 11            |
| Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Gogi Topadze)   | 12           | 12            |
| Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)                      | 13           | 13            |
| Our Georgia – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)             | 14           | 14            |
| Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)                         | 15           | 15            |
| Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)   | 16           | 16            |
| <i>Other (specify)</i> _____                               | 17           |               |
| <i>Other (specify)</i> _____                               |              | 17            |
| No party   | 18           |               |
| <i>(No second choice)</i>                                  |              | -5            |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  | -1           | -1            |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                                  | -2           | -2            |

**42. [Show Card 42] If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?**

| Absolutely will not vote |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | Absolutely will vote | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1                        | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10                   | -1           | -2                 |

**[Interviewer: If the answer to question 42 is 1, -1 or -2 go to 44]**

**43. [Show Card 43 (Rotate)] If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?**

[Interviewer! If the respondent names the same option for the second choice, it means he/she has no second choice and circle -5 ('No second choice') in the second column. If the respondent's first choice is "No party", "Don't know" or "Refuse to answer", skip to question 44.]

|  | First Choice | Second Choice |
|--|--------------|---------------|
| Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)  | 1            | 1             |
| Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)  | 2            | 2             |
| New Rights (Pikria Chikhradze)   | 3            | 3             |
| Nino Burjanadze – United Opposition - Democratic Movement-United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)/ CDM (Giorgi Akhvlediani)/ Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)/ Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili) | 4            | 4             |
| United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)   | 5            | 5             |
| Georgian Dream Coalition (Irakli Gharibashvili)  | 6            | 6             |
| Our Georgia – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)   | 7            | 7             |
| Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)   | 8            | 8             |
| Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)   | 9            | 9             |
| <i>Other (specify)</i> _____   | 10           |               |
| <i>Other (specify)</i> _____   |              | 10            |
| No party   | 11           |               |
| <i>(No second choice)</i>  |              | -5            |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  | -1           | -1            |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  | -2           | -2            |

**44. I will now read out a list of names. Of the following people, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove... [READ OUT]?**

[Interviewer: Read out options.]

| Rotate |                       | Approve | Disapprove | Never heard | <i>Have no opinion</i> | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> |
|--------|-----------------------|---------|------------|-------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1      | Kakha Kaladze         | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 2      | Gia Volski            | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 3      | Tamar Kordzaia        | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 4      | Zurab Japaridze       | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 5      | Nika Melia            | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 6      | Sergo Ratiani         | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 7      | Goka Gabashvili       | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 8      | Davit Bakradze        | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 9      | Irakli Alasania       | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 10     | Aleksi Petriashvili   | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 11     | Tina Khidasheli       | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 12     | Davit Berdzenishvili  | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 13     | Irakli Gharibashvili  | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 14     | Giorgi Margvelashvili | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 15     | Davit Usupashvili     | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 16     | Nino Burjanadze       | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 17     | Irma Inashvili        | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |
| 18     | Bidzina Ivanishvili   | 1       | 0          | -5          | -1                     | -2                        |

|    |                     |   |   |    |    |    |
|----|---------------------|---|---|----|----|----|
| 19 | Mikheil Saakashvili | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 20 | Manana Kobakhidze   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 21 | Nino Gogvadze (MP)  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 22 | Ani Mirotadze       | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 23 | Irakli Chikovani    | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 24 | Khatuna Samnidze    | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 25 | Irma Nadirashvili   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 26 | Patrairch Ilia II   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |

**INFORMATION SOURCES**

I will now ask you a few questions about information sources.

45. [SHOW CARD 45] **What are your main sources of information for receiving news about Georgian politics and current events? Please tell me, which is your first main source of information.** [INFSOU1]

[Interviewer: CIRCLE THE CODE CORRESPONDING TO THE RESPONDENT'S ANSWER IN COLUMN 45 OF THE TABLE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

46. [SHOW CARD 45] **And what is your second main source of information about Georgian politics and current events?** [INFSOU2]

[Interviewer: CIRCLE THE CODE CORRESPONDING TO THE RESPONDENT'S ANSWER IN COLUMN 46 OF THE TABLE. CIRCLE CODE '-5' IF THE RESPONDENT GETS INFORMATION FROM ONLY ONE SOURCE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH COLUMN.]

|                | First<br>main source | Second<br>main source |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
|                | 45                   | 46                    |
| Colleagues     | 1                    | 1                     |
| Family members | 2                    | 2                     |

|   |    |    |
|---|----|----|
| Neighbors, friends                                | 3  | 3  |
| Internet  | 4  | 4  |
| Newspapers, news magazines                        | 5  | 5  |
| Radio   | 6  | 6  |
| TV  | 7  | 7  |
| Other   | 8  | 8  |
| <i>(Receive information from one source only)</i> |    | -5 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                               | -1 | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                         | -2 | -2 |

**47. Do you watch coverage of news and current affairs on foreign channels?**

|                           |    |                 |
|---------------------------|----|-----------------|
| Yes                       | 1  | <b>GO TO 49</b> |
| No                        | 0  |                 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |                 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |                 |

**48. If yes, which TV channels?**

**[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond. Accept all answers]**

|    |                           |    |
|----|---------------------------|----|
|    | <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
|    | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |
| 1  | CNBC                      |    |
| 2  | CNN                       |    |
| 3  | Euronews                  |    |
| 4  | Fox News                  |    |
| 5  | RTL                       |    |
| 6  | Russia Today              |    |
| 7  | Bloomberg                 |    |
| 8  | BBC World News            |    |
| 9  | Deutsche Welle            |    |
| 10 | Sky News                  |    |

|    |                                  |  |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 11 | Russia Channel One (1 Канал/ОРТ) |  |
| 12 | RTR                              |  |
| 13 | REN TV                           |  |
| 14 | Russia 1 (РОССИЯ 1)              |  |
| 15 | Russia 24 (РОССИЯ-24)            |  |
| 16 | TV Center (ТВ Центр)             |  |
| 17 | Other (Record) _____             |  |

**49. How do you receive TV signal? Do you receive it via...?**

[Interviewer: **READ OUT!** Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept all answers.]

|  |                           |    |
|--|---------------------------|----|
|  | <b>Antenna</b>            |    |
|  | <b>Satellite dish</b>     |    |
|  | <b>Cable</b>              |    |
|  | <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
|  | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

**50. How often do you use the Internet?**

[Interviewer: Only one answer]

|                                    |          |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| <b>Every day</b>                   | <b>1</b> |
| <b>Several times a week</b>        | <b>2</b> |
| <b>Once a week</b>                 | <b>3</b> |
| <b>At least once a month</b>       | <b>4</b> |
| <b>Less often</b>                  | <b>5</b> |
| <b>I don't use internet at all</b> | <b>6</b> |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                | -1       |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>          | -2       |

**Demographic questions:**

**I will ask you questions about yourself and your household.**



51. There are several ethnic group representatives living in Georgia. Which ethnic group do you consider yourself a part of?

[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond. One answer only.]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Armenian  | 1  |
| Azerbaijani   | 2  |
| Georgian  | 3  |
| Other Caucasian (Abkhazian, Lezgin, Ossetian, Talysh, etc.) | 4  |
| Russian   | 5  |
| Yezid or Kurd   | 6  |
| Other ethnicity   | 7  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>   | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                                   | -2 |

52. [SHOW CARD 52] Which is the highest step in education that you have completed?

[Interviewer: One answer only.]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>Did not obtain a nine year diploma</b>   | 1  |
| <b>Nine year diploma</b>                    | 2  |
| <b>High school diploma (11 or 12 years)</b> | 3  |
| <b>Vocational/technical degree</b>          | 4  |
| <b>Bachelor's degree/5 years diploma</b>    | 5  |
| <b>Any degree above bachelor's</b>          | 6  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                         | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                   | -2 |

**53. Do you consider yourself to be employed? This employment may be part-time or full-time, you may be officially employed, informally employed, or self-employed, but it brings you monetary income. [HAVEJOB]**

|                           |    |                 |
|---------------------------|----|-----------------|
| Yes                       | 1  | <b>GO TO 55</b> |
| No                        | 0  |                 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |                 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |                 |

**54. [SHOW CARD 54] Which of the following best describes your situation? [UNEMTYP]  
[Interviewer: Only one answer]**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Unemployed and looking for a job   | 1  |
| Unemployed and interested in a job, but currently NOT looking for a job    | 2  |
| Unemployed and not interested in looking for a job<br>(if not a housewife) | 3  |
| Student  | 4  |
| Housewife  | 5  |
| Retired and looking for a job  | 6  |
| Retired and interested in a job, but currently NOT looking for one         | 7  |
| Retired and NOT interested in looking for a job                            | 8  |
| Disabled   | 9  |
| <i>Other (Please record)</i> _____   | 10 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  | -1 |

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |
|---------------------------|----|

55. Many households obtain income from several sources. I will read out several possible sources of income and please, tell me whether your household had monetary income from each of these sources in the last 12 months. Please think about the income of all members of your household.

|   |  | Yes | No | <i>(Don't Know)</i> | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> |
|---|--|-----|----|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Money from family members, relatives, or friends living elsewhere in this country.                 | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 2 | Money from family members, relatives, or friends living in another country.                        | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 3 | Cash sales from agricultural products.   | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 4 | Aggregated earned income (salary) of all household members, except sales of agricultural products. | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 5 | Pensions and government benefits.  | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 6 | Income from renting of property, vehicles, or appliances.  | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 7 | Income from sale of property, vehicles, or appliances.   | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 8 | Interest or earnings on deposits or securities.  | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 9 | Other sources of income.   | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |

56. Do you have an immediate family member currently living in abroad?

|     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| Yes | 1 |  |
| No  | 0 |  |

|                           |    |                     |
|---------------------------|----|---------------------|
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 | <b>GO TO<br/>58</b> |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |                     |

**57. If YES, where?**

**[Interviewer! Do not read! Correspond. Accept up to three answers]**

|    |                           |    |
|----|---------------------------|----|
|    | <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
|    | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |
| 1  | Russia                    |    |
| 2  | Germany                   |    |
| 3  | Turkey                    |    |
| 4  | Greece                    |    |
| 5  | England                   |    |
| 6  | USA                       |    |
| 7  | Ukraine                   |    |
| 8  | Poland                    |    |
| 9  | Hungary                   |    |
| 10 | Romania                   |    |
| 11 | Italy                     |    |
| 12 | Spain                     |    |
| 13 | France                    |    |
| 14 | Canada                    |    |
| 15 | Sweden                    |    |
| 16 | Switzerland               |    |
| 17 | Armenia                   |    |
| 18 | Azerbaijan                |    |
| 19 | Other (specify _____)     |    |

**58. Has the economic downturn in Russia negatively affected you financially?**

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

59. [SHOW CARD 59] **Speaking about a monetary income last month, to which of the following groups does your household belong? Please think of all sources of income that your household had last month. [PERSINC]**

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <i>More than GEL 1600</i> | 1  |
| <i>GEL 1201 – 1600</i>    | 2  |
| <i>GEL 801 –1200</i>      | 3  |
| <i>GEL 401 –800</i>       | 4  |
| <i>GEL 261 – 400</i>      | 5  |
| <i>GEL 151 – 260</i>      | 6  |
| <i>Up to GEL 150</i>      | 7  |
| <i>(0)</i>                | 8  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

60. **Do you have an official status of IDP?**

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

61. **Do you trust the results of public opinion surveys?**

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

