

## Survey on Political Attitudes

April 2017

### Country's direction

1. [Show CARD 1] **There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Using this card, please, rate your answer.**

Georgia is definitely going in the <u>w</u> rong 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 <u>r</u> ight direction	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

2. **Is Georgia a better place than 15 years ago?**

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

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

[Interviewer: Read out. One answer only.]

<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

**4. In your opinion, is Georgia a democracy now?**

[**Interviewer:** If respondents answer that the country is partially a democracy, explain that we need specific yes-no answer.]

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

**5. [Show CARD 5] 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

**6. In your opinion, is Russia a democracy?**

[**Interviewer:** If respondents answer that the country is partially a democracy, explain that we need specific yes-no answer.]

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

**7. Is Germany a democracy?**

[**Interviewer:** If respondents answer that the country is partially a democracy, explain that we need specific yes-no answer.]

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

**8. Are the U.S. a democracy?**

[**Interviewer:** If respondents answer that the country is partially a democracy, explain that we need specific yes-no answer.]

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

**9. Is France a democracy?**

[**Interviewer:** If respondents answer that the country is partially a democracy, explain that we need specific yes-no answer.]

Yes	1
No	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1

<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
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**10. Is Poland a democracy?**

[**Interviewer:** If respondents answer that the country is partially a democracy, explain that we need specific yes-no answer.]

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

**11. Overall, do you expect the next generation to be better off than yours, the same or worse off than yours?**

Better off	3
The same	2
Worse off	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**12. [Show CARD 12] How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: In terms of national security Georgia is a secure country?**

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

**Performance of Institutions**

13. [Show CARD 13] How would you rate the performance of...

		Very badly	Badly	Average	Well	Very well	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	<b>Prime Minister Giorgi Kvirikashvili</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
2	<b>President Giorgi Margvelashvili</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
3	<b>The Speaker of the Parliament Irakli Kobakhidze</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
4	<b>Mayor of Tbilisi Davit Narmania (Tbilisi only)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
5	<b>Tbilisi Sakrebulo (Tbilisi only)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
6	<b>Ministry of Finance (Dimitri Kumsishvili)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
7	<b>Ministry for Labor, Healthcare and Social Affairs (Davit Sergeenko)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
8	<b>Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure (Zurab Alavidze)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
9	<b>Ministry of Internal Affairs (Giorgi Mgebrishvili)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
10	<b>Ministry of Justice (Thea Tsouloukiani)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
11	<b>Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Mikheil Janelidze)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
12	<b>Ministry of Education and Science (Aleksandre Jejelava)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
13	<b>Ministry of IDPs from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia (Sozar Subari)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

14	<b>Ministry of Defense (Levan Izoria)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
15	<b>State Ministry for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration (Viktor Dolidze)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
16	<b>Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development (Giorgi Gakharia)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
17	<b>Ministry of Agriculture (Levan Davitashvili)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
18	<b>Ministry of Energy (Kakha Kaladze)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
19	<b>The Parliament</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
20	<b>The Courts</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
21	<b>Georgian army</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
22	<b>Georgian police</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
23	<b>Office of the Ombudsman</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
24	<b>Office of the Chief Prosecutor</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
25	<b>Public Service Halls</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
26	<b>Georgian Orthodox Church</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

**14. [Show CARD 14 (Rotated)] 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 15.]

	First Choice	Second Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-	1	1

Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)		
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3	3
United Democratic Movement (Nino Burjanadze)	4	4
Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)	5	5
Left Alliance (Kakhaber Dzagania, Soso Shatberashvili)	6	6
United National Movement	7	7
European Georgia - Movement for Freedom (Gigi Ugulava, Davit Bakradze)	8	8
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Giorgi Kvirikashvili)	9	9
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze, Kakhaber Shartava, Revaz Shavishvili)	10	10
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze, Tamar Kordzaia)	11	11
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	12	12
Georgian Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	13	13
Free Democrats (Shalva Shavgulidze)	14	14
Georgian Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	15	15
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	16	16
Movement State for People (Paata Burchuladze)	17	17
Georgian Party (Irakli Okruashvili)	18	18
Civic Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	19	19
New Christian Democrats (Nikoloz Joglidze)	20	20
Traditionalists (Akaki Asatiani)	21	21

Political Movement of Veterans and Patriots of Georgia (Gia Berdzenidze)	22	22
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	23	
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____		23
No party	24	
<i>(No second choice)</i>		-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

**EU**

Sample 1

**15a. Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU?**

Approve	1	
Disapprove	0	GO TO 18
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 20
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

Sample 2:

**15b. Do you approve or disapprove of Georgia joining the EU?**

Approve	1	
Disapprove	0	GO TO 18
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 20
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**16. If approve, how much do you approve?**

Strongly approve	1
Somewhat approve	0



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

**17. If Approve, Why do you approve it?**

[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond! Accept up to 3 answers.]

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 20
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	
1	It will improve Georgian economy		
2	It will provide greater security for Georgia		
3	It allows Georgians to travel in EU without visa		
4	It will strengthen democratic development		
5	It will improve the chances to restore territorial integrity		
6	It will create more jobs		
7	Europe is where Georgia belongs historically		
8	Other (Specify) _____		

**18. If disapprove, how much do you disapprove?**

	Strongly disapprove	1
	Somewhat disapprove	0
	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**19. If Disapprove, Why do you disapprove it?**

[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond! Accept up to 3 answers.]

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

1	It will create conflict with Russia	
2	It is unrealistic/will never happen	
3	It puts too many regulatory burdens on Georgia	
4	It will weaken Georgian cultural identity	
5	It allows Western interference in Georgia's internal politics	
6	Georgia does not historically belong in Europe	
7	It will hurt the chances to restore territorial integrity	
8	It will hurt Georgia's economy	
9	Other (Specify) _____	

20. [Show CARD 20] **If Georgia applies for EU membership now, when do you think Georgia will be granted EU membership?**

Within the next 5 years (2017-2022)	<b>1</b>
After 5 to 10 years (2023-2027)	<b>2</b>
After 10 years ( 2028 and after)	<b>3</b>
Never	<b>4</b>
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

21. [Show CARD 21] **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: Georgia should join The Eurasian Union established by the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan.</b>	<b>Statement 2: Georgia should join The European Union (EU) established by western European countries.</b>
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<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	

### Visa Liberalization

**22. Have you heard about the visa liberalization for Georgian citizens traveling to most of EU member countries?**

Yes	1	Skip to Q24
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**23. If yes, do you feel you have enough information about the procedures/rules of Visa free travel?**

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

**24. [Show CARD 24] Where would you like to receive information about Visa free travel from?**

**[Interviewer! Accept up to 3 answers]**

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
	<i>I don't want to receive information about Visa free travel.</i>	-5
1.	Newspapers/Journals	
2.	Booklets/other print materials	
3.	Radio	

4.	National Television	
5.	Regional Television	
6.	Social networks (for example, Facebook)	
7.	Web-pages of Ministries	
8.	News web-pages	
9.	Friends/colleagues	
10.	Other (Please record)_____	

**25a. Do you agree or disagree that Visa free travel will benefit people like you?**

Agree	1
Disagree	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**25b. Do you agree or disagree that Visa free travel will benefit you?**

Agree	1
Disagree	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**27. There are different opinions regarding visa free regime. Do you agree or disagree with the following?**

		Agree	Disagree	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>As a result of visa free regime with the EU countries Georgia will lose its national identity.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>As a result of visa free regime with the EU countries the Georgian economy will suffer.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>Even if we have visa free regime with the</b>	1	0	-1	-2

	<b>EU countries, ordinary people won't be able to afford traveling in the EU.</b>				
<b>4</b>	<b>As a result of visa free regime with the EU countries, it will be easier for Georgian students to study in the EU countries.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>5</b>	<b>As a result of visa free regime with the EU countries, it will be easier for Georgian citizens to receive medical care in the EU.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>6</b>	<b>Visa free regime with the EU countries will lead to refugees coming from other countries to Georgia.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>7</b>	<b>After visa free regime enters into force many Georgians will emigrate.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>8</b>	<b>Visa liberalization will not simplify the process of Georgians entering EU countries.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>9</b>	<b>Visa free regime with EU will degrade Georgians' morality.</b>	1	0	-1	-2

**NATO**

Split sample:

Sample 1:

**28a. Do you approve or disapprove of Georgian government's stated goal to join the NATO?**

Approve	1	
Disapprove	0	GO TO 31
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 33
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

Sample 2:

**28b. Do you approve or disapprove of Georgia joining NATO?**

Approve	1	
Disapprove	0	GO TO 31
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 33
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**29. If approve, how much do you approve?**

Strongly approve	1
Somewhat approve	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**30. If approve, why?**

[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond! Accept up to 3 answers.]

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 33
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	
1	It will improve Georgian economy		
2	It will provide greater security for Georgia		
3	It will lead to visa free travel in NATO member states		
4	It will strengthen democratic development		
5	It will improve the chances to restore territorial integrity		
6	It will protect Georgia from Russia		
7	It will strengthen Georgian military system		
8	<i>Other (Specify) _____</i>		

**31. If disapprove, how much do you disapprove?**

Strongly disapprove	1
Somewhat disapprove	0

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

**32. If disapprove, why?**

[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond! Accept up to 3 answers.]

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
1	It threatens Georgia's national identity	
2	It will cause conflict with Russia	
3	It is unrealistic/It will never happen	
4	Georgia will lose more territories	
5	It will reduce the independence of Georgia	
6	It will lead to intervention by U.S. and other NATO member states into Georgian affairs	
7	Georgia should not be aligned with any entity	
8	NATO membership would not protect Georgia	
9	<i>Other (Specify) _____</i>	

**33. [Show CARD 33] When do you think Georgia will be granted full NATO membership?**

Within the next 5 years (2017-2022)	1
After 5 to 10 years (2023-2027)	2
After 10 years ( 2028 and after)	3
Never	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**34. There are number of opinions regarding NATO. For the following opinions,**

please tell me, whether you agree or disagree with them.

		<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>If Georgia joins NATO, there will be higher risks of Russia's aggression towards Georgia.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>NATO is a threat to Russia.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>NATO dictates member and candidate countries to adopt western values.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>NATO poses a threat to the Georgian church.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
5	<b>NATO members are not interested in the security of Georgia.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
6	<b>If Georgia becomes a NATO member, it will lead to the establishment of foreign military bases in Georgia.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
7	<b>If Georgia becomes a NATO member, it will help restore territorial integrity of Georgia.</b>	1	0	-1	-2
8	<b>If Georgia becomes a NATO member, it will help create more jobs in Georgia.</b>	1	0	-1	-2

35. Over the past years, support from NATO for Georgia has ...

[Interviewer: Read out]

<b>Declined,</b>	1
<b>Stayed the same,</b>	2
<b>Or increased?</b>	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1



<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
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**36. In your opinion, are the following statements correct or wrong?**

		Correct	Wrong	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	Currently Georgia is not a member of NATO	1	0	-1	-2
2	Currently there are 28 member countries in NATO	1	0	-1	-2
3.	NATO only accepts European countries in the alliance	1	0	-1	-2
4.	NATO is primarily political-military union	1	0	-1	-2
5.	NATO is primarily economic union	1	0	-1	-2

## Security

**37. Which country would offer Georgia best security?**

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

Georgia	1
Russia	2
Azerbaijan	3
Armenia	4
Turkey	5
Iran	6
USA	7
China	8
Germany	9
France	10

UK	11
<i>Other (Please indicate)</i> _____	12
<i>None</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**38. Which country poses biggest threat to Georgia?**

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

Georgia	1
Russia	2
Azerbaijan	3
Armenia	4
Turkey	5
Iran	6
USA	7
China	8
Germany	9
France	10
UK	11
<i>Other (Please indicate)</i> _____	12
<i>None</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**39. [Show CARD 39 (rotated)] In your opinion, what is the top threat to Georgia's national security?**

**[Interviewer! One answer only.]**

<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
None	-5
Occupation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia	1
Islamic terrorism	2
Russian propaganda	3
Russian military aggression	4
Economic dependency on Russia	5
Energy dependency on Russia	6
Migration crisis	7
Political tension in Turkey	8
Political tension between Armenia and Azerbaijan	9
Political instability in the North Caucasus	10
Mass demonstrations on social grounds in Georgia	11
Mass demonstrations on political grounds in Georgia	12
Ethnic disputes	13
Religious disputes	14
Western Integration	15
Other (specify)_____	16

**40. [Show CARD 40 (rotated)] In your opinion, which of the following would help the most to ensure Georgia's national security?**

**[Interviewer! One answer only.]**

<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
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<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
None	-5
Membership in NATO	1
Georgia strengthening its defense capabilities on its own	2
Membership in the European Union	3
Cooperation with the United States	4
Membership in the Eurasian Economic Union	5
Pursuing pro-Russian orientation	6
NATO military base in Georgia	7
Abandoning Western orientation	8
Refusing membership in military organizations	9
Strengthening democracy in Georgia	10
Other (specify)_____	11

**41. Thinking about 15 years from now, do you agree or disagree:**

		<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Georgia will be more economically stable</b>	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>Georgia will be more protected</b>	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>There will be less risk of military conflicts in Georgia</b>	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>Poverty in Georgia will be reduced</b>	1	0	-1	-2
5	<b>Georgia will regain its territorial integrity</b>	1	0	-1	-2

## RUSSIA

42. Thinking about Georgia's relationship with Russia since 2012, what kind of impact, do you think, this relationship had on Georgian economy?

[Interviewer! Read out!]

Positive impact,	3
No impact,	2
Or Negative impact?	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

43. Thinking about Georgia's relationship with Russia since 2012, what kind of impact, do you think, this relationship had on Georgian politics?

[Interviewer! Read out!]

Positive impact,	3
No impact,	2
Or Negative impact?	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

44. Thinking about Georgia's relationship with Russia since 2012, what kind of impact, do you think, this relationship had on Georgia's national security?

[Interviewer! Read out!]

Positive impact,	3
No impact,	2
Or Negative impact?	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**45. In your opinion, how much of a military threat, if at all, is Russia to its neighboring countries? A major threat, a minor threat or not a threat at all?**

Major threat	3
Minor threat	2
Is not a threat at all	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**46. In general, do you think the dissolution of the Soviet Union has been a good thing or a bad thing for Georgia?**

A good thing	1
A bad thing	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**47. EU and USA imposed economic sanctions, freezing assets and travel bans for certain individuals because Russia occupied the Crimea in Ukraine. In your opinion, should these sanctions stay or be removed?**

Should stay	1
Should be removed	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**48. [Show CARD 48] Which of the following statement do you agree with?**

Georgian government should support Ukrainian government more	1
Georgian government supports the Ukrainian government just enough	2
Georgian government should support the Ukrainian government less	3

Georgian government should not support Ukrainian government at all	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**49. [Show CARD 49] Using the following scale how much influence, if any, do the following have in determining Georgia's future?**

		A lot	Some	A little	None	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	USA	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
2	Russia	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
3	EU	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2

**50. [Show CARD 50] In your opinion is the influence of the following, in determining Georgia's future, very negative, negative, neither positive nor negative, positive, very positive?**

		Very positive	Positive	Neither positive nor negative	Negative	Very negative	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	USA	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
2	Russia	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
3	EU	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

**Military**

**51. [Show CARD 51] Which statement do you agree with?**

In Georgia, military service should be mandatory for men only	<b>1</b>
In Georgia, military service should be mandatory for both men and women	<b>2</b>
In Georgia, military service should not be mandatory at all	<b>3</b>
<i>(Don't know)</i>	<b>-1</b>
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	<b>-2</b>

**52. Do you agree or disagree that in Georgia people choose military career because**

...

		Agree	Disagree	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Military is prestigious</b>	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>They want to protect their country</b>	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>Soldiers have stable income</b>	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>They don't have any other alternative</b>	1	0	-1	-2
5	<b>They like military field</b>	1	0	-1	-2

**53. Imagine you have a daughter and she decides to serve in military. Would you support or not her decision?**

Support	<b>1</b>
Do not support	<b>0</b>
<i>(Don't know)</i>	<b>-1</b>
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	<b>-2</b>

**54. Imagine you have a son and he decides to serve in military. Would you support or do not support his decision?**



Support	1
Do not support	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**55. Ministry of defense of Georgia receives 670 million GEL from the state budget in 2017. It is 6% of the entire budget of the country. Do you think that Georgia should increase spending on national defense, keep it about the same or decrease it?**

Increase	3
Keep the same	2
Decrease	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Current Events**

**59. Are you aware or not of the verdict by the Supreme Court of Georgia giving ownership of R2 to Kibar Khalvashi?**

Yes	1	GO TO 61
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**60. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:**

		Agree	Disagree	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Rustavi 2 trial was a fair trial</b>	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>There was government interference in</b>	1	0	-1	-2

	<b>the Rustavi 2 case</b>				
3	<b>Judges were pressured during deliberations</b>	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>This verdict will weaken media freedom in Georgia</b>	1	0	-1	-2
5	<b>Rustavi 2 case was solely a business ownership dispute that was not related to politics</b>	1	0	-1	-2

**61. [Show CARD 61] Georgian Orthodox Church receives 25 million Gel annually from the central budget. Which of the following statements do you agree with?**

The state should continue funding the Church in the same manner	1
The State should increase funding for the Church	2
The State should decrease funding for the Church	3
The state shouldn't be funding the Church at all	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**62. How much do you agree or disagree that the state should audit the spending of these state funds by the Georgian Orthodox Church?**

[Interviewer: Read out.]

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

**63. Are you aware that part of the UNM leadership formed a new party European Georgia - Movement for Freedom?**

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

**64. Do you think that establishment of the new party by the former leaders of the United National Movement will make opposition in Georgia stronger, weaker or nothing will change?**

Stronger	1
Weaker	2
Nothing will change	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**65. [Show CARD 65] The subject for how Georgia should elect its president has been a topic of recent political discussions. Which statement do you agree with most?**

**[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:</b>		<b>Statement 2:</b>	
The president should be directly elected by Georgian citizens.		The president should be elected by those who are elected by people (for example, Sakrebulo members, parliamentarians)	
<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

**66. Currently, there are 150 members of the parliament. 77 from 150 are elected by the citizens by voting for political parties and another 73 by voting for individual majoritarian candidates. In your opinion, should we keep majoritarian candidates in the parliament or not?**

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

**67. In your opinion, who understands the needs of people better, majoritarian MPs or MPs elected by the party list?**

Majoritarian MP	1
MP elected by the party list	2
Both equally	3
Neither	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**68. In your opinion, who contributes more to the work of the parliament, majoritarian MPs or MPs elected by the party list?**

Majoritarian MP	1
MP elected by the party list	2
Both equally	3
Neither	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1

<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
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**69. Are you aware that recently Georgian government signed a new deal with Gazprom?**

Yes	1	GO TO 72
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**70. Do you think that you have enough information about this deal between Gazprom and Government of Georgia?**

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

**71. [Show CARD 71] Which of the following statements do you agree with?**

Deal between Georgian government and Gazprom is a commercial deal that will have <u>no</u> political implications for Georgia	1
Deal between Georgian government and Gazprom is a commercial deal that will have political implications for Georgia	2
Agree with neither	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**72. Propaganda is an attempt to spread information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, to promote a positive image of a specific country, justify its actions and create a negative image of the opposing countries. Do you agree or disagree that there is a Russian propaganda in Georgia?**

Agree	1	GO TO 74
Disagree	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**73. [Show CARD 73] If agree, what do you believe are the channels of this propaganda?**

**[Interviewer: Receive up to two answers!]**

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
1	Georgian TV channels	
2	Non-Georgian TV channels	
3	Social media	
4	Church	
5	Political parties	
6	Civil society	
7	Newspapers	
8	Friends/Neighbors	
9	Other (Please specify)_____	

## **MEDIA**

**74. [Show CARD 74] 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.

[Interviewer: ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

75. [Show CARD 74] And what is your second main source of information about Georgian politics and current events?

[Interviewer: Mark “Receive information only from one source” if the respondent gets information from only one source. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER }

	<i>First main source</i>	<i>Second main source</i>
	<b>74</b>	<b>75</b>
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 only from one source)</i>		-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

76. Do you watch coverage of news and current affairs on non-Georgian TV channels?

Yes	1	GO TO 78
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	

<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	
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**77. 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/ORT)	
12	RTR	
13	REN TV	
14	Russia 1 (Россия 1)	
15	Russia 24 (Россия-24)	
16	TV Center (ТВ Центр)	
17	RTVi	
18	Other (Record) _____	

**78. Which TV channel do you trust the most for accurate information on foreign policy?**



**[Interviewer! Do not read! Correspond! One answer only]**

Imedi	1
Kavkasia	2
Rustavi 2	3
GPB 1	4
Maestro	5
Adjara TV	6
GPB 2	7
GDS	8
Tabula TV	9
Obiektivi	10
Palitra TV	11
TV Pirveli	12
CNBC	13
CNN	14
Euronews	15
Fox News	16
RTL	17
Russia Today	18
Bloomberg	19
BBC World News	20
Deutsche Welle	21
Sky News	22
Russia Channel One (1 Канал/ORT)	23
RTR	24

REN TV	25
Russia 1 (Россия 1)	26
Russia 24 (Россия-24)	27
TV Center (ТВ Центр)	28
RTVi	29
Other (Record) _____	30
None	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Demographic questions:**

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

**80. [Show CARD 80] Overall, how religious would you say you are? Please use this card, where '1' means "Not at all religious" and '10' means "Very religious"?**

Not religious at all										Very Religious	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-1	-2	

**81. [Show CARD 81] Using this card, apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services?**

**[Interviewer! One answer only]**

Every day	1
More than once a week	2
Once a week	3
At least once a month	4
Only on special holidays	5
Less often	6
Never	7

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

**82. Would you approve or disapprove of your family member going to work to Russia?**

Approve	1
Disapprove	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**83. [Show CARD 83] What is the highest level of education you have achieved to date? [Interviewer: One answer only.]**

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

**84. How often do you use the Internet? Do 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>	6
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**85. [Show CARD 85] Using the same CARD, please tell me your household's spending last month?**

<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

**86. 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.**

Yes	1	Go To Q88
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**87. [Show CARD 87] Which of the following best describes your situation?**

Unemployed and looking for a job.	1
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Unemployed and interested in a job, but currently NOT looking for a job.	2
Unemployed and not interested in looking for a job (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
Other (Please record)_____	10
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

**88. [Show CARD 88] Using this CARD, please tell me which one of these levels best describes your ability in the following:**

		No basic knowledge	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1.	Russian	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
2.	English	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
3.	Georgian (only for non-Georgian)	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
4.	Turkish	1	2	3	4	-1	-2

**89. 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 ...?**

		Owns	Does not own	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
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 laptop</b>	1	0	-1	-2
9	<b>Hot water</b>	1	0	-1	-2
10	<b>Central heating</b>	1	0	-1	-2

**90. [Show CARD 90] 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.**

<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

(0)	8
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

T3. Interview end time

<b>Hour</b>		<b>Minute</b>	

**[Interviewer: Use the 24-hour format. Be attentive and write the exact end time of the interview, refer to your watch.]**