

Survey on Political Attitudes

April 2019

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

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

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

2. [SHOW CARD 2] Using this card, please tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government?

Very badly	1
Badly	2
Well	3
Very well	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

Performance of Institutions and Leaders

3. [SHOW CARD 3] How would you rate the performance of...? [Read out]

		Very badly	Badly	Average	Well	Very well	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	Prime Minister Mamuka Bakhtadze	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
2	President Salome Zourabichvili	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
3	The Speaker of the Parliament Irakli Kobakhidze	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
4	Mayor of Tbilisi Kakha Kaladze (Tbilisi only)	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
5	Your Sakrebulo	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
6	The Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
7	The Courts	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
8	Georgian army	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
9	Georgian police	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
10	Office of the Ombudsman	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
11	Office of the Chief Prosecutor	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
12	Public Service Halls	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
13	Georgian Orthodox Church	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

4. [SHOW CARD 4] Do you have a positive or negative attitude about the following leaders and political figures?

		Positive	Neither positive nor negative	Negative	(Never heard)	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	Kakha Kaladze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
2	Salome Zourabichvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
3	Irakli Kobakhidze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
4	Mamuka Bakhtadze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
5	Davit Sergeenko	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
6	Giorgi Gakharia	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
7	Thea Tsouloukiani	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
8	Davit Zalkaliani	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
9	Levan Izoria	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
10	Giorgi Kobulia	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
11	Ivane Machavariani	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
12	Maia Tskitishvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
13	Mikheil Batiashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
14	Levan Davitashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
15	Tamar Chugoshvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
16	Archil Talakvadze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
17	Mamuka Mdinaradze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
18	Nika Melia	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
19	Grigol Vashadze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
20	Zaal Udumashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2

21	Roman Gotsiridze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
22	Elene Khoshtaria	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
23	Sergi Kapanadze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
24	Oto Kakhidze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
25	Irakli Abesadze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
26	Eka Beselia	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
27	Davit Usupashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
28	Irma Inashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
29	Zurab Japaridze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
30	Shalva Natelashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
31	Nino Burjanadze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
32	Aleko Elisashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
33	Khatuna Samnidze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
34	Shalva Shavgulidze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
35	Mikheil Saakashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
36	Bidzina Ivanishvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
37	Giorgi Vashadze (Political Platform - New Georgia)	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2

5. [SHOW CARD 5 (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 6.]

	First Choice	Second Choice
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Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3	3
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	4	4
Left Alliance (Kakhaber Dzagania, Soso Shatberashvili)	5	5
United National Movement	6	6
Bakradze-Ugulava - European Georgia (Gigi Ugulava, Davit Bakradze)	7	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili)	8	8
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)	9	9
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze, Tamar Kordzaia)	10	10
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	11	11
Georgian Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	12	12
Free Democrats (Shalva Shavgulidze)	13	13
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	14	14
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	15	15
Movement State for People (Nika Matchutadze)	16	16
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	17	17
New Christian Democrats (Nikoloz Joglidze)	18	18

Unity of Georgian Traditionalists (Akaki Asatiani)	19	19
Freedom – Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s Way (Konstantine Gamsakhurdia)	20	20
Tamaz Mechiauri for United Georgia (Tamaz Mechiauri)	21	21
Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)	22	22
European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)	23	23
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	24	
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____		24
No party	25	
<i>(No second choice)</i>		-5
<i>(Don’t know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

6. If Parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you say you are decided or undecided about how you would vote?

Decided	1
Undecided	0
<i>(Do not know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

7. [SHOW CARD 7] **If Parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? Please use the 10-point scale where “1” means “I absolutely will not vote” and “10” means “I absolutely will 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

[If the answer to question 7 is 1, -1 or -2 go to question 9.]

8. [SHOW CARD 8 (Rotated)] **If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for? Which party would be 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 9.]

	First Choice	Second Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3	3
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	4	4
Left Alliance (Kakhaber Dzaganian, Soso Shatberashvili)	5	5
United National Movement	6	6

Bakradze-Ugulava - European Georgia (Gigi Ugulava, Davit Bakradze)	7	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili)	8	8
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)	9	9
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze, Tamar Kordzaia)	10	10
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	11	11
Georgian Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	12	12
Free Democrats (Shalva Shavgulidze)	13	13
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	14	14
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	15	15
Movement State for People (Nika Matchutadze)	16	16
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	17	17
New Christian Democrats (Nikoloz Joglidze)	18	18
Unity of Georgian Traditionalists (Akaki Asatiani)	19	19
Freedom – Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s Way (Konstantine Gamsakhurdia)	20	20
Tamaz Mechiauri for United Georgia (Tamaz Mechiauri)	21	21
Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)	22	22
European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)	23	23
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	24	
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____		24
No party	25	
<i>(No second choice)</i>		-5

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

National security

9. [SHOW CARD 9 (rotated)] **In your opinion, what is the top threat to Georgia's national security?**

[Interviewer! One answer only.]

Occupation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia	1
Terrorism	2
Cyber security related issues/threat of cyber attack	3
Extremist groups (besides terrorists)	4
Russian propaganda	5
Russian military aggression	6
Western values	7
Economic dependency on Russia	8
Energy dependence on Russia	9
Illegal migrants coming to Georgia	10
Political tension in Turkey	11
Turkey's interests in Georgia	12
Political tension between Armenia and Azerbaijan	13
Political instability in the North Caucasus	14
Mass demonstrations on social grounds in Georgia	15

Mass demonstrations on political grounds in Georgia	16
Ethnic disputes	17
Religious disputes	18
Integration in EU	19
Integration in NATO	20
Other (specify)_____	21
None	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

10. [SHOW CARD 10 (rotated)] **In your opinion, which of the following would help the most to ensure Georgia's national security?**

[Interviewer! One answer only.]

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 NATO integration	8

Abandoning EU integration	9
Refusing membership in military organizations	10
Strengthening democracy in Georgia	11
Strong leader who makes all the decisions singlehandedly	12
Other (specify)_____	13
None	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

- 11. Parliament adopted a new military reserve law, according to which citizens will be able to get enrolled in paid voluntary military reserve with their non-military profession. Have you heard about it?**

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

- 12. If the armed forces has a need for someone with your profession, would you be willing to voluntarily get enrolled in the reserve?**

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

13. Please, tell me, do the following push us apart/divide or bring us together/unite us as a society:

		Unites	Devides	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	Politicians	1	0	-1	-2
2	Georgian Media	1	0	-1	-2
3	Religion	1	0	-1	-2
4	Educational institutions	1	0	-1	-2
5	Country's leaders	1	0	-1	-2
6	Current economic system	1	0	-1	-2
7	Law-enforcement bodies	1	0	-1	-2
8	Civil society organizations/NGOs	1	0	-1	-2
9	European Union	1	0	-1	-2
10	NATO	1	0	-1	-2
11	Russia	1	0	-1	-2

EU

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

Approve	1	
Disapprove	0	GO TO 17
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 19
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

15. 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

16. 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 19
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	
1	It will improve Georgian economy		
2	It will protect Georgian culture and values		
3	It will provide greater security for Georgia		
4	It will improve consumer safety		
5	It secures Georgians right to travel in EU without visa		
6	It will strengthen democratic development		
7	It will improve the chances to restore territorial integrity		
8	It will create more jobs		
9	Europe is where Georgia belongs historically		
10	Because political party I support approves of it		
11	Because my family approves of it		
12	Other (Specify) _____		

17. 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

18. 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	I prefer to have closer ties with Russia	
3	Because political party I support disapproves of it	
4	Because my family disapproves of it	
5	It is unrealistic/will never happen	
6	It puts too many regulatory burdens on Georgia	
7	It will weaken Georgian cultural identity	
8	It allows Western interference in Georgia's internal politics	
9	Georgia does not historically belong in Europe	
10	It will hurt the chances to restore territorial integrity	
11	It will hurt Georgia's economy	
12	Other (Specify) _____	

19. [SHOW CARD 19] **Please tell me which of the following statements do 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: Georgia will benefit more from European and Euro-Atlantic integration (joining EU and NATO).		Statement 2: Georgia will benefit more from abandoning European and Euro-Atlantic integration in favor of better relations with Russia.	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1	Agree with Statement 1	Agree with Statement 2	Agree very strongly with Statement 2
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	

20. **Is Georgia ready for EU membership?**

Is ready	1
Is not ready	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

21. [SHOW CARD 21] **In your opinion, what are the main factors preventing Georgia from EU membership?**

[Interviewer: Accept up to 3 answers.]

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
	<i>Nothing is preventing</i>	-5
1.	Problems regarding environment protection	
2.	Public servants' low level of professionalism	
3.	Lack of political will of the government of Georgia	

4.	Lack of political will of the EU	
5.	Lack of supporters of EU membership in Georgia	
6.	Territorial conflicts in Georgia	
7.	Underdeveloped civil society	
8.	Lack of democracy	
9.	Low level of education of the population	
10.	Illegal Georgian migrants living in EU/Illegal migration	
11.	Underdeveloped economy	
12.	Georgian legislation/regulations do not meet EU standards	
13.	Political instability in Georgia	
14.	Russia	
15.	European values are in conflict with our values	
16.	Corruption	
17.	Other	

Experiment

Control group: [Read the question directly.]

Experimental group 1: **Close relations with EU can improve people’s economic situation in the country and they will live better life.**

Experimental group 2: **Close relations with EU will increase prices and it will negatively impact people’s quality of life.**

Experimental group 3: **Getting close to EU may cause Russia to increase military pressure on Georgia. However, close relations with EU can improve people’s economic situation in the country and they will live better life.**

Experimental group 4: **Getting close to EU may cause Russia to increase military pressure on Georgia. Close relations with EU will also increase prices and it will negatively impact people’s quality of life.**

22. If there were a referendum tomorrow regarding Georgia’s membership in the European Union, would you vote for or against it?

[Interviewer: One answer only]

I would vote for EU membership	1	GO TO 24
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I would vote against EU membership	2	
<i>(Would not vote at all)</i>	3	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

23. **Despite your answer on previous question, which way is your opinion more inclined? Would you rather vote for or against?**

I would rather vote for	1
I would rather vote against	2
<i>(Would not vote at all)</i>	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

24. [SHOW CARD 24] **Lots of people talk about EU in Georgia. Please tell me, how is your attitude towards EU?**

[Interviewer: One answer only]

Very negative	1
More negative rather positive	2
Neutral	3
More positive rather negative	4
Very Positive	5
<i>(don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(refuse to answer)</i>	-2

25. [SHOW CARD 25] **I will now read you some statements about the EU. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement?**

		Fully disagree	Rather disagree than agree	Rather agree than disagree	Fully agree	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	The EU supports the development of democracy in non-member countries.	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
2	The EU is a source for peace and security in Europe.	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
3	The EU threatens Georgian values.	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
4	The EU is a democratic union.	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
5	The EU is a new form of empire.	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
6	The EU supports the economic development of non-member countries.	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
7	The EU is ready to accept any European country as its member.	1	2	3	4	-1	-2

26. [SHOW CARD 26] Do you think the following groups would benefit or be disadvantaged if Georgia became a member of the EU?

		Would be disadvantaged	Would neither benefit nor be disadvantaged	Would benefit	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	Students	1	2	3	-1	-2
2	Pensioners	1	2	3	-1	-2
3	Unemployed people	1	2	3	-1	-2
4	Business people	1	2	3	-1	-2
5	Politicians	1	2	3	-1	-2
6	Farmers	1	2	3	-1	-2

7	State employees	1	2	3	-1	-2
8	Ethnic minorities	1	2	3	-1	-2
9	Religious minorities	1	2	3	-1	-2
10	Sexual minorities	1	2	3	-1	-2
11	People living below poverty line	1	2	3	-1	-2

27. [SHOW CARD 27] Imagine Georgia is EU member, how would the situation regarding following issues be: better, worse, or the same, compared to today:

		Better	The same	Worse	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	Corruption	3	2	1	-1	-2
2	Pensions	3	2	1	-1	-2
3	Fairness of elections	3	2	1	-1	-2
4	Number of available jobs	3	2	1	-1	-2
5	Independence of courts	3	2	1	-1	-2
6	Freedom of speech	3	2	1	-1	-2
7	Poverty	3	2	1	-1	-2
8	Consumer and Food safety	3	2	1	-1	-2
9	Territorial integrity	3	2	1	-1	-2
10	Affordability of healthcare	3	2	1	-1	-2
11	Population's income	3	2	1	-1	-2
12	Georgia's security	3	2	1	-1	-2
13	Quality of education	3	2	1	-1	-2
14	Protection of minority rights	3	2	1	-1	-2
15	Respect for Georgian traditions	3	2	1	-1	-2

28. [SHOW CARD 28] Now I will ask about people with different nationalities. Please tell me, people like you ... [read out nationalities]

[Interviewer: One answer only fo each nationality.]

	(rotate nationality)	Would marry	Would be friends with	Would work with	Would be neighbours with	Would be acquaintances	Would not be a neighbours	Would not live with in the same country	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	Georgians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
2	Italians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
3	Spanish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
4	British	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
5	French	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
6	Greek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
7	Russian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
8	Polish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
9	Hungarians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
10	Ukrainians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
11	Americans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
12	Chinese	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
13	Armenians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
14	Azerbaijanis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
15	Indians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
16	Turks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
17	Iranians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
18	Abkhazians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2
19	Ossetians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-1	-2

29. Since visa liberalization, since spring 2017, have you traveled in in any European country within schengen area?

Yes, once	1
Yes, several times	2
No	3
<i>(Dont' know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

30. Since 1991, have you, or your family member, lived in a foreign country for at least three months?

Yes	1	GO TO 32
No	0	
<i>(Dont' know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

31. If yes, which country or region?

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

	<i>(Dont' know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
1	Russia	
2	Other former Soviet Union country	
3	Europe	
4	USA	
5	Asia	
6	Turkey	
7	Near East	
8	Other	

NATO

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

Approve	1	
Disapprove	0	GO TO 35
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 37
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

33. 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

34. If approve, why?

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

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	GO TO 37
	<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 defense capacity		
8	Because political party I support approves of it		

9	Because my family approves of it		
10	<i>Other (Specify)</i> _____		

35. 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

36. 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/Georgia will not benefit	
9	Because Turkey is NATO member	
10	We will lose occupied territories forever	
11	Because political party I support disapproves of it	

12	Because my family disapproves of it	
13	<i>Other (Specify)</i> _____	

37. Is Georgia ready for NATO membership?

Is ready	1
Is not ready	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

38. [SHOW CARD 38] When do you think Georgia will be granted full NATO membership?

Within the next 5 years (2019-2024)	1
Within 5 to 10 years (2025-2029)	2
After 10 years (2030 and after)	3
Never	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

39. [SHOW CARD 39] What factors, if any, are preventing Georgia from joining NATO?

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
	<i>Nothing is preventing</i>	-5
1.	Insufficient defense budget	
2.	Russia prevents us	
3.	Occupied regions	
4.	Poor military capacity	
5.	Level of democracy	
6.	Internal NATO politics	
7.	Anti-NATO disinformation campaigns	
8.	Lack of Georgian Government efforts internally to secure support	
9.	Lack of Georgian Government efforts externally to secure support	
10.	Other	

40. **Thinking about current Georgia-NATO relationship and joint initiatives and exercises, do you think that this relationship ...** [Read out]

Makes Georgia more secure	1
Makes Georgia less secure	2
Or has no impact on Georgia's security level?	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

41. **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

42. **In general, do you think Rose revolution was 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

43. **In general, do you think change of a government in 2012 was 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

Russia

44. In December 2018, Ukraine announced the creation of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church and split from Russian Orthodox Church. Were you aware?

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

45. In your opinion, should Georgian Orthodox Church recognize the independence (autocephaly) of the Ukrainian Church?

Should recognize	1
Should not recognize	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

46. 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

47. 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

48. 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

49. Have you heard about the Anaklia port project?

Yes	1	GO TO 51
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

50. If yes, Do you think this project will be beneficial for Georgia?

It will be beneficial	1
It will not be beneficial	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

51. Are you aware of the Abashidze-Karasin format?

Yes	1	GO TO 53
No	0	

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

52. Do you think it is helpful or not helpful for Georgia?

It is helpful	1
It is not helpful	0
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

53. I will now read out statements. For each, please, tell me, do you think it is true or false?

		True	False	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	US sponsored Lugar lab in Georgia contributes to spread of epidemics	1	0	-1	-2
2	Russian market is more beneficial than EU market for Georgia	1	0	-1	-2
3	EU integration obligates Georgia to receive Syrian refugees	1	0	-1	-2
4	If Georgia joins NATO, Turkish army will establish military base in samtskhe javakheti	1	0	-1	-2

Media

54. [SHOW CARD 54] 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.]

55. [SHOW CARD 54] 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>
	54	55
Colleagues	1	1
Family members	2	2
Neighbors, friends	3	3
Internet/Facebook	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

56. Which TV channel do you trust the most for accurate information on politics and current events?

[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
Obiektivi	9
Palitra TV	10
TV Pirveli	11
AzTV	12
Armenia TV	13
Other (Record) _____	14
None	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

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

Yes	1	GO TO 58
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

58. 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	RTL	
5	Russia Today	
6	BBC World News	
7	Sky News	
8	Russia Channel One (1 Канал/ORT)	
9	RTR	
10	REN TV	
11	Russia 1 (Россия 1)	
12	Russia 24 (Россия-24)	
13	TV Center (ТВ Центр)	
14	RTVi	
15	НТВ	
16	ТНТ	

17	AzTV	
18	Armenia TV	
19	Other (Record) _____	

Current events

59. In December, 20 oppositional parties created a coalition, with the goal to change electoral system in 2020. Were you aware?

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

60. Do you approve or disapprove of opposition uniting around this issue?

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

61. National Bank called on two leaders of TBC, Mamuka Khazaradze and Badri Japaridze, to step down due to allegations of money laundering in 2008. Were you aware?

Yes	1	GO TO 63
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

62. **If yes, do you believe this decision was ...** [Read out]

Mostly motivated by independent investigation	1
Mostly motivated by political interests	2
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

63. **How much influence, if any, should Georgian orthodox church have over political decision-making?**

[Interviewer: Read out!]

A lot of influence	3
Some influence	2
No influence	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

64. **In February, 8 MPs left Georgian Dream. Have you heard about it?**

Yes	1	GO TO 66
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

65. **If yes, will this have a positive, negative or no impact on Georgian politics?**

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

Demographics

I will ask you questions about yourself and your household.

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

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

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

67. [SHOW CARD 67] 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

68. 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

69. 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 Q71
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

70. [SHOW CARD 70] Which of the following best describes your situation?

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 (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

71. [SHOW CARD 71] 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

72. 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	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	Refrigerator	1	0	-1	-2
2	Color TV	1	0	-1	-2
3	Smartphone (a phone with color display and with internet connection)	1	0	-1	-2
4	Tablet computer (e.g. iPad, Galaxy Tab, Lenovo etc.)	1	0	-1	-2
5	Car	1	0	-1	-2
6	Air conditioner	1	0	-1	-2
7	Automatic washing machine	1	0	-1	-2
8	Personal computer, including laptop	1	0	-1	-2
9	Hot water	1	0	-1	-2
10	Central heating	1	0	-1	-2

T3. Interview end time

|_|_|_|

Hour

|_|_|_|

Minute

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