

NDI Survey on Political Attitudes

November 2015

1. [Show card 1 (Rotated)] **What are the most important national issues facing you and your family? Please name up to three**

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
1	Corruption	
2	NATO membership	
3	Pensions	
4	Relations with Russia	
5	Property rights	
6	Fair elections	
7	Jobs	
8	Court system	
9	Freedom of speech	
10	Human Rights	
11	Poverty	
12	Territorial integrity	
13	Rising prices / inflation	
14	Affordable healthcare	
15	Wages	
16	Media independence	
17	Education	
18	EU Membership	
19	Crime	
20	Prisons/Prisoners	
21	Minority rights	
22	Restoration of justice	
23	<i>Other (Please specify)</i> _____	

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. [Show card 3] **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

4. [Show card 4] **For each of the following, please tell me, how important or unimportant is it for Georgia's democratic development?**

		Very important	Somewhat important	Neutral	Somewhat unimportant	Completely unimportant	DK	RA
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1	Freedom of speech	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
2	Rule of law	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
3	Government responding to citizen concerns	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
4	Curbing corruption	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
5	Protection of human rights	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
6	Free and fair elections	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
7	Citizens' participation in public life	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

5. [Show card 5] **How would you assess the condition of the following in Georgia?**

		Very good	Somewhat good	Neither good nor bad	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK	RA
1	Freedom of speech	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
2	Rule of law	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
3	Government responding to citizen concerns	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
4	Curbing corruption	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
5	Protection of human rights	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
6	Free and fair elections	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
7	Citizens' participation in public life	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

Current Events

6. **European Union has introduced embargo on Russian goods do you agree or disagree that Georgia should join these efforts?**

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

7. [Show card 7] **How much do you agree or disagree that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly politically motivated and aims at restricting freedom of media?**

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1

8. [Show card 7] **How much do you agree or disagree that Rustavi 2 ownership case is mainly motivated by a dispute between two private bodies and aims at determining a legal owner of the organization?**

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

9. **Do you feel safe or unsafe to share an opinion about current political events in Georgia with a friend through a phone?**

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

Foreign Affairs

10. [SHOW CARD 10 (Rotated)] **Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with Russia?** [List of parties]

	Best Choice	Worst Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3	3
United Democratic Movement (Nino Burjanadze)	4	4
Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)	5	5
Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili)	6	6
United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)	7	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili)	8	8
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)	9	9
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze)	10	10
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	11	11
Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	12	12
Irakli Alasania – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)	13	13
Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	14	14

Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)	15	15
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	16	
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____		16
No party	17	17
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

11. [SHOW CARD 10 (Rotated)] **Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with the EU?** [List of parties]

	Best Choice	Worst Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3	3
United Democratic Movement (Nino Burjanadze)	4	4
Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)	5	5
Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili)	6	6
United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)	7	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili)	8	8
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)	9	9
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze)	10	10
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	11	11
Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	12	12
Irakli Alasania – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)	13	13
Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	14	14
Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)	15	15
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	16	
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____		16
No party	17	17
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

12. [SHOW CARD 10 (Rotated)] **Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with NATO?** [List of parties]

	Best Choice	Worst Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3	3
United Democratic Movement (Nino Burjanadze)	4	4
Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)	5	5
Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili)	6	6
United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)	7	7

Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili)	8	8
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)	9	9
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze)	10	10
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	11	11
Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	12	12
Irakli Alasania – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)	13	13
Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	14	14
Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)	15	15
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	16	
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____		16
No party	17	17
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

13. [SHOW CARD 10 (Rotated)] Which political party do you trust most and least to manage relations with the U.S.?

	Best Choice	Worst Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3	3
United Democratic Movement (Nino Burjanadze)	4	4
Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)	5	5
Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili)	6	6
United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)	7	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili)	8	8
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)	9	9
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze)	10	10
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	11	11
Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	12	12
Irakli Alasania – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)	13	13
Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	14	14
Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)	15	15
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	16	
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____		16
No party	17	17
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

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

Approve	1	GO TO 16
Disapprove	0	
(Don't know)	-1	
(Refuse to answer)	-2	

15. Why do you approve it?

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

	(Don't know)	-1
	(Refuse to answer)	-2
1	It will improve Georgian economy	
2	It will provide greater security for Georgia	
3	It will lead to visa free travel in 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	Other (Specify) _____	

16. [SHOW CARD 16] When do you think Georgia will be granted NATO membership?

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

Within the next three years (between now and 2018)	1
After 2018	2
Never	3
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

17. [SHOW CARD 17] 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: Georgia should join The Eurasian Union established by the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan		Statement 2: Georgia should join The European Union (EU) established by western European countries	
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	

18. [SHOW CARD 18] How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia would benefit economically from closer ties with the United States?

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

19. [SHOW CARD 18] How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia would benefit economically from abandoning closer US relationship.

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

Foreign policy - Experimental section

Control:

Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and Russia.

Treatment 1:

Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and Russia. Some people believe that Georgia should be very cautious towards Russia. It should avoid confrontation by any means, including calling Russia the occupant on international forums. This will improve Georgian economy by increasing export of Georgian products in Russia and tourism.

Treatment 2:

Georgia faces many important foreign policy choices going forward including its relationship with the European Union, United States, and Russia. Some people believe that Georgia should pursue assertive policy towards Russia: while military confrontation is not an option, Georgia should cut off trade relations and use every possible occasion to demonstrate to international community that Russia is the occupant. This will strengthen Georgia's relations with the western countries and improve our economy: increase tourism and flow of Georgian products in the western market.

Follow-up questions – ask to all:

20. [SHOW CARD 18] **How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the government of Georgia should pursue cautious policy towards Russia?**

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

21. [SHOW CARD 18] **How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the government of Georgia should pursue assertive policy towards Russia?**

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

22. [SHOW CARD 18] **How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia will benefit economically from European and Euro-Atlantic integration (joining EU and NATO)?**

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

23. [SHOW CARD 18] How much do you agree or disagree that Georgia will benefit economically from abandoning European and Euro-Atlantic integration in favor of better relations with Russia?

Completely agree	5
Somewhat agree	4
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	2
Completely disagree	1
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

Party Support and Future Vote questions

24. [SHOW CARD 24 (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 25.]

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

25. [SHOW CARD 25 (Rotated)] If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would win? Second runner?

[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 26.]

	First Choice	Second Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	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
Irakli Alasania – 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

26. 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

27. [SHOW CARD 27] If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote?

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

[Interviewers: If the answer to the question 27 is 1, -1 or -2 skip to question 29.]

28. SHOW CARD 28 (Rotated)] which party would you vote for? Which party would be your 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 29.]

	First Choice	Second Choice
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)	1	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	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
Irakli Alasania – 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 (<i>No second choice</i>)	11	
		-5
(<i>Don't know</i>)	-1	-1
(<i>Refuse to answer</i>)	-2	-2

29. [SHOW CARD 29 (Rotated)] Which party you would never vote for?

[One answer only!]

Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi)	1
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	2
New Rights (Mamuka Katsitadze)	3
United Democratic Movement (Nino Burjanadze)	4
Georgian Group (Jondi Baghaturia)	5
Left Alliance (Soso Shatberashvili)	6
United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili)	8
National Forum (Gubaz Sanikidze)	9
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze)	10
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	11

Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	12
Irakli Alasania – Free Democrats (Irakli Alasania)	13
Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	14
Salome Zurabishvili-Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)	15
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	16
No such party	17
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

30. [Show card 30] There are different reasons which influence people's political choice. Thinking about next parliamentary elections, how important are the factors in making your decision?

		Very important	Somewhat important	Neither important nor unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Very unimportant	DK	RA
1	Electoral platforms and promises	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
2	Trust towards specific members of political parties	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
3	Political opinion of the people close to me (family, friends)	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
4	Parish and priests' political opinions	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
5	Party's past performance	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
6	The likelihood of a party winning	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
7	Political opinion of people you work for and colleagues	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
8	Political opinion of popular people	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

Demographic questions:

I will ask you questions about yourself and your household.

31. [SHOW CARD 31] 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

32. **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

33. **[SHOW CARD 33] 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

34. **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 Q36
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

T4. [Interviewer: Write down the number of people attending the interview, including the respondent and yourself]

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T5. Would you agree or not to participate in the same survey after several months?

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

T6. If yes, please write down the address and description of the household in detail

Address:
Description:

T7. Would you agree or not to participate in the online survey after several months?

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

T8. If yes, please write down the email address:

Address: