

## Survey on Political Attitudes

November 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. **What does democracy mean to you? Please, name up to three things.**

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

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
1.	Freedom of speech/media / hearing different views	
2.	Equality before the law / protection of justice	
3.	The ability to do what you want (Liberty)	
4.	Government responding to my concerns	
5.	Jobs	
6.	Protection/defense of human rights	
7.	Instability	
8.	Free and fair elections	
9.	Ability to purchase a variety of products	
10.	Other (Please record) _____	

3. **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
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4. [SHOW CARD 4] 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

5. [SHOW CARD 5] How would you rate the performance of...? [Read out]

		Very badly	Badly	Average	Well	Very well	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Prime Minister Giorgi Gakharia</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
2	<b>President Salome Zourabichvili</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
3	<b>The Speaker of the Parliament Archil Talakvadze</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
4	<b>Mayor of Tbilisi Kakha Kaladze (Tbilisi only)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
5	<b>Ministry of Finance (Ivane Machavariani)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
6	<b>Ministry of IDPs from Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs (Ekaterine Tikaradze)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

7	<b>Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure (Maia Tskitishvili)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
8	<b>Ministry of Internal Affairs (Vakhtang Gomelauri)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
9	<b>Ministry of Justice (Thea Tsouloukiani)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
10	<b>Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Davit Zalkaliani)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
11	<b>Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport (Mikheil Chkhenkeli)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
12	<b>Office of the State Minister for Reconciliation and Civic Equality of Georgia (Ketevan Tsikhelashvili)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
13	<b>Ministry of Defense (Irakli Gharibashvili)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
14	<b>Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development (Natia Turnava)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
15	<b>Ministry of Environment Protection and Agriculture (Levan Davitashvili)</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
16	<b>The Parliament</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
17	<b>The Courts</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
18	<b>Georgian army</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
19	<b>Georgian police</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
20	<b>Georgian Orthodox Church</b>	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

6. [SHOW CARD 6] 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)	to (Refuse answer)
1	<b>Kakha Kaladze</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
2	<b>Salome Zourabichvili</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
3	<b>Archil Talakvadze</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
4	<b>Giorgi Gakharia</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
5	<b>Tamar Chugoshvili</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
6	<b>Gia Volski</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
7	<b>Mamuka Mdinardze</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
8	<b>Nika Melia</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
9	<b>Grigol Vashadze</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
10	<b>Salome Samadashvili</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
11	<b>Levan Khabeishvili</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
12	<b>Davit Bakradze</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
13	<b>Elene Khoshtaria</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
14	<b>Gigi Ugulava</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
15	<b>Gigi Tsereteli</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
16	<b>Eka Beselia</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
17	<b>Davit Usupashvili</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
18	<b>Irma Inashvili</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
19	<b>Zurab Japaridze</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
20	<b>Shalva Natelashvili</b>	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2

21	Nino Burjanadze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
22	Aleko Elisashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
23	Khatuna Samnidze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
24	Shalva Shavgulidze	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
25	Mikheil Saakashvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
26	Bidzina Ivanishvili	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2
27	Giorgi Vashadze (Political Platform - New Georgia)	3	2	1	-5	-1	-2

## Party support and future elections

### Split sample – group 1

7a. [SHOW CARD 7a (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 8.]

	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
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	7	7

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

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

**Split sample – group 2**

**[INTERVIEWER! THE RESPONDENT SHOULD MARK ANSWERS TO THE NEXT QUESTION BY HIMSELF/HERSELF. FIRST READ OUT THE QUESTION AND THEN PASS THROUGH THE TABLET COMPUTER]**

**Now I will give you the tablet computer. Please answer the next question by yourself. After marking the desired answer option on the tablet, please swipe next/tap next.**

**[INTERVIEWER! GO TO THE NEXT SCREEN AND HAND THE TABLET COMPUTER TO THE RESPONDENT]**

**7b\_1. There are a number of political parties in Georgia. Which political party is closest to you?**

Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili)	1
United National Movement	2
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	3
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	4
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	5
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	6
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	7
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	8
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	9
Other (specify)_____	10
<i>No party</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Thank you, please, give the tablet back to the interviewer.**

**[INTERVIEWER! IF THE RESPONDENT SAID THAT NO PARTY IS CLOSE TO HIM/HER, OR REFUSED TO ANSWER, OR DOES NOT KNOW MARK THE CORRESPONDING ANSWER OPTION AND ASK next question.**

THE RESPONDENT SHOULD MARK ANSWERS TO THE NEXT QUESTION BY HIMSELF/HERSELF. FIRST READ OUT THE QUESTION AND THEN PASS THROUGH THE TABLET COMPUTER]

**7b\_2. Despite your answer to the previous question, which political party do you like more than others?**

**Now I will give you the tablet computer. Please answer the next question by yourself. After you have marked the desired answer option on the tablet, please swipe next/tap next.**

Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili )	1
United National Movement	2
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	3
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia ( Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	4
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	5
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	6
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	7
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	8
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	9
Other (Specify)_____	10
<i>(There is no such party)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Thank you, please, give the tablet back to the interviewer.**

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

Decided	1
Undecided	0



(Do not know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

9. [SHOW CARD 9] **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 9 is 1, -1 or -2 go to question 11.]

**Split sample – group 1**

10a. [SHOW CARD 10a (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 11.]

	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
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	7	7
Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili )	8	8
Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze, Tamar Kordzaia)	9	9
Industry will save Georgia/Industrialists (Zurab Tkemaladze)	10	10
Georgian Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	11	11
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	12	12
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	13	13
Movement State for People (Nika Matchutadze)	14	14
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	15	15
New Christian Democrats (Nikoloz Joglidze)	16	16
Unity of Georgian Traditionalists (Akaki Asatiani)	17	17
Freedom – Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s Way (Konstantine Gamsakhurdia)	18	18
Tamaz Mechiauri for United Georgia (Tamaz Mechiauri)	19	19
Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)	20	20
European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)	21	21
Victorious Georgia (Irakli Okruashvili, Gubaz Sanikidze)	22	22
For Justice (Eka Beselia)	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

### Split sample – Group 2

[INTERVIEWER! THE RESPONDENT SHOULD MARK ANSWERS TO THE NEXT QUESTION BY HIMSELF/HERSELF. FIRST READ OUT THE QUESTION AND THEN PASS THROUGH THE TABLET COMPUTER]

**Now I will give you the tablet computer. Please answer the next question by yourself. After marking the desired answer option on the tablet, please swipe next/tap next.**

[INTERVIEWER! GO TO THE NEXT SCREEN AND HAND THE TABLET COMPUTER TO THE RESPONDENT]

### 10b\_1. If parliamentary elections were tomorrow which party would you vote for?

Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili )	1
United National Movement	2
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	3
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	4
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	5
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	6
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	7
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	8
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	9
<i>Other (specify)</i> _____	10

	<i>(There is no such party)</i>	-5
	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Thank you, please, give the tablet back to the interviewer.**

**[INTERVIEWER! IF THE RESPONDENT SAID THAT NO PARTY IS CLOSE TO HIM/HER, OR REFUSED TO ANSWER, OR DOES NOT KNOW MARK THE CORRESPONDING ANSWER OPTION AND ASK next question.**

THE RESPONDENT SHOULD MARK ANSWERS TO THE NEXT QUESTION BY HIMSELF/HERSELF. FIRST READ OUT THE QUESTION AND THEN PASS THROUGH THE TABLET COMPUTER]

**Now I will give you the tablet computer. Please answer the next question by yourself. After you have marked the desired answer option on the tablet, please swipe next/tap next.**

**10b\_2. Despite your answer to the previous question, which political party do you like more than others? After marking the desired answer option on the tablet, please swipe next/tap next**

Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili )	1
United National Movement	2
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	3
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	4
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	5
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	6
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	7
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	8
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	9
Other (Specify)	10
<i>(There is no such party)</i>	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Thank you, please, give the tablet back to the interviewer.**

**11. Under the new electoral reform, in the next Parliament there will no longer be majoritarian MPs who represent specific districts. Will this have positive, negative or no impact on you personally?**

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

**12. [SHOW CARD 12] Which of the following best describes your opinion?**

There is a party in Georgia that reflects my views and I will probably vote for that party	1	GO TO 14
There is a party in Georgia that reflects my views but I will probably not vote for that party	2	
None of the existing political parties in Georgia reflects my views	3	GO TO 14
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**13. [SHOW CARD 13] Why would not you vote for the party?**

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

It will not get majority anyway	1
I do not want to vote	2
I do not like the party leadership	3
I feel pressure from people around me not to vote for this party	4
I want to vote for potentially winning party	5
I prefer to vote for the party who has the chance to beat the party I don't like	6
Other	7
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**14. Will you vote for the same party that you voted for in the last parliamentary elections in 2016?**

I will vote for the same party	1
I will not vote for the same party	2
I don't remember who I voted for in 2016/I did not vote	3
I will not vote at all	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1

<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
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**15. [SHOW CARD 15] Which of the following statements do you agree with?**

There are many political parties in Georgia. All parties, including those currently not in the parliament, have a chance to get many representatives into the parliament in the next election.	1
There are many political parties in Georgia, but only two parties United National Movement and Georgian Dream have a chance of getting many representatives in the parliament in the next election.	2
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**16. [SHOW CARD 16] Please, tell me, which of the issues listed on this CARD matters the most when voting in parliamentary elections?**

**[Interviewer! One answer only]**

Party foreign policy stance	1
Party economic policy	2
Party stance on rule of law	3
Party stance on national security issues	4
Party stance on healthcare issues	5
Party education policy stance	6
Other (specify) _____	7
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**17. [SHOW CARD 17] There are different reasons which influence people's political choice. Thinking about next parliamentary elections, which is the most important factor in making your decision?**

**[Interviewer! One answer only]**

Electoral platforms and promises	1
Trust towards specific members of political parties	2

Political opinion of the people close to me (family, friends)	3
Parish and priests' political opinions	4
Parties' past performance	5
The likelihood of a party winning	6
Political opinion of people you work for and colleagues	7
Political opinion of popular people	8
Other	9
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Split sample – Group 1**

**18a. [SHOW CARD 18a (Rotated)] If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would get the most votes?**

**[Interviewer! One answer only]**

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

Georgian Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)	11
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	12
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	13
Movement State for People (Nika Matchutadze)	14
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	15
New Christian Democrats (Nikoloz Joglidze)	16
Unity of Georgian Traditionalists (Akaki Asatiani)	17
Freedom – Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s Way (Konstantine Gamsakhurdia)	18
Tamaz Mechiauri for United Georgia (Tamaz Mechiauri)	19
Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)	20
European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)	21
Victorious Georgia (Irakli Okruashvili, Gubaz Sanikidze)	22
For Justice (Eka Beselia)	23
<i>Other (specify)_____</i>	24
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

### Split sample – Group 2

**INTERVIEWER!** THE RESPONDENT SHOULD MARK ANSWERS TO THE NEXT QUESTION BY HIMSELF/HERSELF. FIRST READ OUT THE QUESTION AND THEN PASS THROUGH THE TABLET COMPUTER]

**Now I will give you the tablet computer. Please answer the next question by yourself. After marking the desired answer option on the tablet, please swipe next/tap next.**

**[INTERVIEWER! GO TO THE NEXT SCREEN AND HAND THE TABLET COMPUTER TO THE RESPONDENT]**



**18b. If parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which party do you think would get the most votes?**

Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Bidzina Ivanishvili )	1
United National Movement	2
European Georgia - Free Democrats (Davit Bakradze, Shalva Shavgulidze, Gigi Ugulava)	3
Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)	4
Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)	5
Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)	6
Political Platform - New Georgia (Giorgi Vashadze)	7
New Political Center - Girchi (Zurab Japaridze)	8
Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)	9
Other (Specify)	10
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Thank you, please, give the tablet back to the interviewer.**

**19. Since 2012, would you say the tone and nature of political debate in this country has ... [Read out]**

Become more negative	1
Become more positive	2
Or not changed much?	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**20. [SHOW CARD 20] Imagine a situation where a friend invites you to a dinner with people you have never met before. People at the table are having a conversation about how much they support the current government. Using the card, please, tell me, how would you act?**

Share your critical views about the current government	1
Avoid sharing your critical views about the current government	2
Share your support for the current government	3

Avoid sharing your support for the current government	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**21. If in charge, which party will do the best job handling the following issues?**

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

		Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia	United National Movement	European Georgia - Free Democrats	Alliance of Patriots of Georgia	Georgian Labor Party	Democratic Movement – United Georgia	Political Platform - New Georgia	New Political Center - Girchi	Free Georgia	Other	No party	DK	RA
1	Foreign policy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2
2	Economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2
3	Human rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2
4	Rule of law	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2
5	Healthcare	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2
6	Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2
7	Territorial integrity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2
8	Environment protection	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-5	-1	-2

**Parliament**

**22. [SHOW CARD 22] Please, tell me how much do you agree or disagree that Members of parliament take into account opinions of people like you?**

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

**23. What do you expect from the member of the Parliament (MP)?**

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

**24. Have you personally been contacted by MP or his/her bureau during 2019?**

Yes	1	GO TO 26
No	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**25. [If contacted] Please tell me how you have been contacted.**

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

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
1.	Written communication	
2.	Face-to-face communication	
3.	Public meeting	
4.	Other (Please record)_____	

**26. If a MP were to contact you, what would be the best form?**

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

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

27. [SHOW CARD 27] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: If you wanted to, you would be able to easily arrange a meeting with the Member of Parliament.

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

28. Have you ever been involved in the work of the parliament in following ways...?

	Yes	No	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
<b>Made a comment on legislation</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Attended public discussion organized by Parliament/MP</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Addressed the parliament/MP with a request</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Attended a committee hearing</b>	1	0	-1	-2

[Interviewer! Ask question 29 only to those who said no in question 28]

29. [SHOW CARD 29] If no, for each ask why?

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

	I did not know I had this opportunity	I didn't need to	I can't travel to Tbilisi	I don't have time	I am not interested	Other	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
<b>Made a comment on legislation</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	-1	-2
<b>Attended public discussion organized by Parliament/MP</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	-1	-2
<b>Addressed the parliament/MP with a request</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	-1	-2
<b>Attended a committee hearing</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	-1	-2

**30. [SHOW CARD 30] Of these four ways, which would be the best for engaging with the parliament?**

[Interviewer: Accept all answers.]

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
	<i>I don't want to be engaged with the Parliament</i>	-5
1	Making a comment on legislation	
2	Attending public discussion organized by Parliament/MP	
3	Addressing the parliament/MP with a request	
4	Attending a committee hearing	

**31. [SHOW CARD 31] In September, the Parliament published 10 priorities for the next year. Which of these issues, would you say, is the most important for you and your family?**

[Interviewer! Accept up to 3 answers.]

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
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	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
	None	-5
1	Electoral reform	
2	Justice reform	
3	European and Euro-Atlantic integration	
4	Parliamentary oversight	
5	Budget	
6	Territorial integrity and anti-occupation policy	
7	Environment and ecology	
8	Children's rights	
9	Supporting business	
10	Promoting agriculture	

**32. [SHOW CARD 32] 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.]**

<b>Statement 1: The courts in Georgia favor some citizens over others.</b>		<b>Statement 2: The courts in Georgia treat all citizens equally, rather than favoring some over others.</b>	
<i>Agree 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	

**Foreign policy**

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

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

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

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

**MEDIA**

**35. [SHOW CARD 35] 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.]**

**36. [SHOW CARD 35] 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>
	35	36

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

**37. [SHOW CARD 37] Generally speaking, how much do you trust or distrust news media in Georgia?**

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



**38. 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
Mtavari Arkhi	2
Formula	3
Kavkasia	4
Rustavi 2	5
GPB 1	6
Maestro	7
Adjara TV	8
GPB 2	9
GDS	10
Obiektivi	11
Palitra TV	12
TV Pirveli	13
AzTV	14
Armenia TV	15
Other (Record) _____	16
None	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1

<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
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**39. Do you think that news about Georgian politics and current affairs on the following Georgian TV channels mostly reflect the interests of the Opposition, Georgian Dream or neither?**

		<b>Opposition</b>	<b>Georgian Dream</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Imedi</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
2	<b>Mtavari Arkhi</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
3	<b>Formula</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
4	<b>Kavkasia</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
5	<b>Rustavi 2</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
6	<b>GPB 1</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
7	<b>Maestro</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
8	<b>Adjara TV</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
9	<b>Obiektivi</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
10	<b>Palitra TV</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2
11	<b>TV Pirveli</b>	1	2	3	-1	-2

**40. Thinking about Georgian media, do you agree or disagree that generally Georgian TV stations ...?**

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
<b>Cover news stories important for you</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Present unbiased coverage of events</b>	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Conduct investigative reporting on issues that are important to you</b>	1	0	-1	-2

**41. [SHOW CARD 41] Which of the following statements do you agree with?**

Favoring one political party affects the quality of reporting in media outlets	1
--	---

Favoring one political party does not affect the quality of reporting in media outlets	2
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**42. How often do you use the Internet? Do you use the Internet ... [READ OUT]**

<b>Every day,</b>	1	GO TO 47
<b>At least once a week,</b>	2	
<b>At least once a month,</b>	3	
<b>Less often,</b>	4	
<b>or Never?</b>	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	

**43. [SHOW CARD 43] Which of the following do you do most frequently when you are browsing the Internet? Please name three most frequent activities.**

**[Interviewer! Accept up to three answers.]**

	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2
1	Receive / send emails	
2	Use Skype for instant messaging and for calls	
3	Use Facebook	
4	Use social networking site(s) other than Facebook (e.g. Twitter, Odnoklassniki, MySpace, Google+, etc.)	
5	Engage in forum discussions	
6	Write a blog / read other's blogs	
7	Search for information (Google, Wiki, etc.)	
8	Shop	

9	Read, listen to or watch the news, including watching online TV, apart from news on social networking sites	
10	Download / Listen to / Watch music/videos/movies	
11	Play online games, except gambling	
12	Gamble, bet	
13	Visit dating websites	
14	Other	

**44. How often do you encounter political news on Facebook?** [Read out]

<b>Often</b>	3	<b>GO TO 46</b>
<b>Sometimes</b>	2	
<b>or Never?</b>	1	
[DO NOT READ] <i>I don't use Facebook.</i>	-5	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**45. Do you mostly trust, sometimes trust or never trust the political news you encounter on Facebook?**

<b>Mostly</b>	3
<b>Sometimes</b>	2
<b>Never</b>	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**46. [SHOW CARD 46] When thinking about getting news from social media (Facebook, Twitter, blogs etc.), which statement do you agree?**

Social media helps me better understand current events	1
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Social media has made me more confused about current events	2
Does not affect me	3
I don't use social media	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**Current events**

**Ask question 47 only in Tbilisi**

**47. During the last several months Tbilisi Mayor's Office has introduced several regulations regarding taxis including mandatory registration of taxi drivers and restricting taxis of non-white colors as a part of its' new transportation policy. Overall, do you think this was a correct or incorrect step?**

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

**48. Since December 2018 the Parliament of Georgia has been involved in the process of selecting members of Supreme Courts. Please, tell me, do you have enough information on this process or not?**

Yes, I have	1	GO TO 50
No, I don't have	0	
Have not heard of this process	-5	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

**49. To the best of your knowledge, how would you assess the process of selecting Supreme Court judges? Would you say the process is going ...[Read out]**

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

**50. On June 20th citizens of Georgia held a rally in front of the Parliament, which was prompted by the presence of Russian MP, Sergei Gavrilov, in Georgian Parliament. Who do you think is primarily responsible for the violence that occurred on June 20th? [Interviewer! Do not read. Correspond. One answer only.]**

Opposition	1
Government	2
UNM	3
Protesters themselves	4
Police	5
Special forces	6
MIA	7
Specific police officers/special force representatives	8
Giorgi Gakharia	9
Bidzina Ivanishvili	10
Nika Melia	11
Irakli Kobakhidze	12
Zakaria Kutsnashvili	13
Mikheil Saakashvili	14

Sergey Gavrillov	15
Other (specify)_____	16
Everyone is equally responsible	17
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**51. Civilians as well as law enforcement agents were involved in clashes during the night of June 20th. To the best of your knowledge, thinking about civilians involved in the events, which statement do you agree with? [Read out]**

<b>Actions taken against civilians by the government were too harsh</b>	1
<b>Actions taken against civilians by the government were too mild</b>	2
<b>Actions taken against civilians by the government were appropriate</b>	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**52. Civilians as well as law enforcement agents were involved in clashes during the night of June 20th. To the best of your knowledge, thinking about law enforcement agents involved in the events, which statement do you agree with: [Read out]**

<b>Actions taken against agents by the government were too harsh</b>	1
<b>Actions taken against agents by the government were too mild</b>	2
<b>Actions taken against agents by the government were appropriate</b>	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**53. After the June 20<sup>th</sup> demonstrations Georgian Dream agreed to the protesters' demand not to elect majoritarian members in the 2020 parliamentary elections and vote only for the parties. On November 14<sup>th</sup> 2019 parliament discussed the constitution change about the electoral system and did not support it. Were you aware?**

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

**54. How would you assess the parliament's decision not to support the changes related to electoral system? Positively or negatively?**

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

**Demographics:**

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

**55. [SHOW CARD 55] 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
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**56. [SHOW CARD 56] Using this CARD, please tell me which one of these levels best describes your ability in the following:**

		No basic knowledge	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
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

**57. 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	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Refrigerator</b>	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>Color TV</b>	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>Smartphone (a phone with color display and with internet connection)</b>	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>Tablet computer (e.g. iPad, Galaxy Tab, Lenovo etc.)</b>	1	0	-1	-2

5	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.]**