

**NED survey on political polarization and foreign threats**  
August-September 2022

## Demography

**D1. Now, let's talk about your occupation. Which of the following best describes your situation?  
Please, tell me how you consider your employment status.**

[Interviewer: Read out. One answer only]

I am retired and do not work	1	→ D3
I am a student and do not work	2	
I am a housewife and do not work	3	
I am unemployed	4	
I work fully or part-time (even if the respondent is retired / a student), including seasonal jobs	5	→ D2
I am self-employed (even if the respondent is retired / a student), including seasonal jobs	6	→ D3
I am disabled and cannot work	7	
Other	8	
<i>Don't know</i>	<i>-1</i>	
<i>Refuse to answer</i>	<i>-2</i>	

**D2. Are you employed in the private sector or the public sector?**

In the private sector	1
In the public sector	0
<i>Don't know</i>	<i>-1</i>
<i>Refuse to answer</i>	<i>-2</i>

**D3. Speaking of your education, which of the following describes your highest level of your education?**

(Interviewer: Read out. One answer only)

Incomplete or complete basic education (grades 8-9) or lower	1
Complete primary education (grades 10-12)	2
Vocational education [complete vocational education: technical school, etc. obtained vocational/technical degree]	3
Incomplete higher education	4

Complete higher education	5
<i>Don't know</i>	-1
<i>Refuse to answer</i>	-2

**D4. There are multiple ethnic groups in Georgia. Which ethnic group do consider yourself a part of?**

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

Armenian	1
Azerbaijani	2
Georgian	3
Other (specify)	4
<i>Don't know</i>	-1
<i>Refuse to answer</i>	-2

**D5. Please, tell me, how many people, including you, are there in your household...**

D5.1. who are from 0 to 17 years old?      |\_|\_|\_|\_|

D5.2. who are 18 or older?                    |\_|\_|\_|\_|

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

**D6A. In your household, how many adults (18 or older), including you, own a mobile phone?**

Number: |\_|\_|\_|\_|

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

**D6B. How many other adults in your household use this mobile phone – or are you the only one who uses this mobile phone?**

Total number of people who use this mobile phone: |\_|\_|\_|\_|

1	<i>I am the only one who uses this mobile phone</i>
-1	<i>Don't know</i>
-2	<i>Refuse to answer</i>

**D6C. How many other personal phone numbers do you have? – Or do you only have this phone number?**

Total number of phone numbers: |\_|\_|\_|

1	<i>This is the only phone number I have</i>
-1	<i>Don't know</i>
-2	<i>Refuse to answer</i>

**D9. Which religion or denomination do you consider yourself a part of?**

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

1	Armenian Apostolic Church	
2	Catholic Church	
3	Orthodox Church	
4	Protestant Church	
5	Other Christian denominations or sects (Jehovah's Witnesses, etc.)	
6	Sunni Islam	
7	Shia Islam	
8	Islam (no reference)	
9	Judaism	
10	Other	
-5	None	→ P1
-1	<i>Don't know</i>	
-2	<i>Refuse to answer</i>	

**D10. Last year, other than special events such as weddings and funerals, how often did you attend religious services?**

[Interviewer: Read out the answer options.]

1	At least once in a week
2	At least once in a month
3	Only on special religious events
4	Less often
5	Never
-1	<i>Don't know</i>
-2	<i>Refuse to answer</i>

**D11. How often do you pray? [Do not read. Correspond.]**

At least once a day	1
Several times a week, not everyday	2
Less often	3
Never	4
<i>Don't know</i>	<i>-1</i>
<i>Refuse to answer</i>	<i>-2</i>

## Polarization

### P1. Which political party is closest to you?

[Interviewer: Read out the answer options.]

1	Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia	→P4
2	Other party	→P2
-5	<i>(There is no such party)</i>	→P3
-1	<i>Don't know</i>	
-2	<i>Refuse to answer</i>	

### P2. [Ask if the respondent named “Other party”] Which political party do you identify with most?

[Interviewer: Do not read. Correspond.]

2	United National Movement	→ P4
3	Girchi – More Freedom	
4	Lelo For Georgia	
5	Alliance of Patriots of Georgia	
6	Georgian Labor Party	
7	Conservative Movement – Alt Info’s Party	
8	Strategy Aghmashenebeli	
9	European Georgia	
10	Aleko Elisashvili - Citizens	
11	Droa	
12	Girchi	
13	Ana Dolidze – For People	
14	Democratic Movement – United Georgia	
15	Conservative Party	
16	European Socialists	
17	Levan Vasadze Party - Eri	
18	Other (specify)	→ P3
-5	<i>(There is no such party)</i>	
-1	<i>Don't know</i>	
-2	<i>Refuse to answer</i>	

### P3. [Ask if the respondent mentioned "no such party," "don't know," or "refuse to answer" in P1 or P2 questions.] Which party would you lean more towards if the elections were held next week?

1	Georgian Dream- Democratic Georgia	→ P4
2	United National Movement	
3	Girchi- More Freedom	
4	Lelo For Georgia	
5	Alliance Of Patriots Of Georgia	
6	Georgian Labor Party	
7	Conservative Party (Alt-info)	
8	Strategy Aghmashenebeli	

9	European Georgia	
10	Aleko Elisashvili- Citizens	
11	Droa	
12	Girchi	
13	Ana Dolidze- For People	
14	Democratic Movement- United Georgia	
15	Conservative Party	
16	European Socialists	
17	Levan Vasadze Party- Eri	
18	Other (specify	→ P5
-5	<i>(No such party)</i>	
-1	<i>(Don't know)</i>	
-2	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	

**P4. [If the respondent mentioned any of the parties in questions P1, P2, or P3] Do you support this party because its position is similar to yours, or primarily because the positions of the other parties are unacceptable to you?**

[If the respondent says "both," please specify that we need to know which reason is more important for them.]

The position of this party is similar to mine	1
Other parties are unacceptable to me	2
<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>-1</i>
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	<i>-2</i>

**P5. In your opinion, how often does Georgian Dream do what is needed for the country?**

[INTERVIEWER: read out the answer options]

Always	1
Mostly	2
Rarely	3
Never	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>-1</i>
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	<i>-2</i>

**P6. In your opinion, how often does the opposition do what is needed for the country?**

[If the respondent says that there are different parties in the opposition, then ask about the party that they prefer. If there is no such party, then ask about the opposition generally.]

[INTERVIEWER: Read out the answer options.]

Always	1
Mostly	2
Rarely	3
Never	4

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

**P7. Experiment about social distance**

[INTERVIEWER: read out the answer options.] [If the respondent answers "It doesn't matter," then mark the answer option "very comfortably. "]

	Very uncomfortably	Not really comfortably	Pretty comfortably	Completely comfortably	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
[Ask non-party people and Georgian Dream supporters. Based on P1, P2, P3] <b>P7.1. How comfortable would you feel with a friend if they supported the opposition?</b>	1	2	3	4	-1	-2
[Ask non-party people and the opposition supporters. Based on P1, P2, P3] <b>P7.2. How comfortable would you feel with a friend if they supported Georgian Dream?</b>	1	2	3	4	-1	-2

## Foreign threats

### **EXP. Experiment**

Sample is randomly divided into three equal groups:

Group 1.

Control group – Interviewers do not read out anything.

Group 2.

Interviewers read out the following text: *"As you know, Ukraine managed to repel Russian military aggression; in particular, they preserved their statehood, defended the capital Kiev, and inflicted great damage on the Russian army."*

Group 3.

Interviewers read out the following text: *"As you know, Ukraine faced great loss as a result of Russian military aggression; in particular, they lost thousands of military and civilian lives, lost territories, and their economy was seriously damaged."*



**Exp1. Now I'll read out two points of view; please tell me which one you agree with more**

Ukraine could have avoided war with Russia if it had made certain concessions.	1
Ukraine could not avoid war with Russia, no matter how many concessions it made.	2
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse answer)</i>	-2

**Exp2.**

[Read out one by one]

	Yes	No	<i>(Do not know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
Exp2.1. Please tell me, should Ukraine have renounced the western orientation if it had avoided the war with Russia?	1	0	-1	-2
Exp2.2. Please tell me, should Ukraine have renounced part of its territories if it had avoided the war with Russia?	1	0	-1	-2
Exp2.3. Please tell me, should Ukraine have agreed to formally joining Russia if it had avoided the war with Russia?	1	0	-1	-2

**Exp3. In your opinion, what result will the Ukraine war end with?**

[INTERVIEWER: Read out the answer options]

With the complete occupation of Ukraine's territory by Russia	1
With the partial occupation of Ukraine's territory by Russia	2
with the liberation of Ukraine's territories	3
Other (specify)	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**EXP4 Now I will read out some opinions; please tell me which of them you agree with most.**

[To the interviewer: read the answer options.]

Georgia can avoid a war with Russia if it makes certain concessions.	1
No matter what concessions Georgia makes, it still cannot avoid war with Russia.	2
There is no danger of a war between Georgia and Russia in any scenario, regardless of whether Georgia will cede anything to Russia or not.	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**EXP5.**

[Read them one by one]

	Yes	No	(Do not know)	(Refuse to answer)
Exp5.1. Please tell me whether Georgia should give up its Western orientation if it wants to avoid a war with Russia.	1	0	-1	-2
Exp5.2. Please tell me whether Georgia should give up part of the territories or not, if it will avoid a war with Russia?	1	0	-1	-2
Exp5.3. Please tell me whether Georgia should agree to formally join Russia or not, if this will prevent it from going to war with Russia.	1	0	-1	-2

**F1. Please tell me which of these two opinions you agree with. (EUHAVPO)**

[Interviewer: Read out]

Georgia will benefit more from European and Euro-Atlantic integration (by joining the EU and NATO).	1
Georgia will benefit more if it abandons European and Euro-Atlantic integration in exchange for better relations with Russia.	2
[Don't read!] I don't agree with any of them.	3
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

**F2. I will read out some of the opinions, and please tell me if you agree with them.**

	Agree	Disagree	(Do not know)	(Refuse to answer)
F2.1. If Georgia becomes a member of the European Union, it will bolster the development of its economy.	1	0	-1	-2
F2.2. If Georgia becomes a member of the European Union, it will lose its national identity.	1	0	-1	-2
F2.3. If Georgia becomes a member of NATO, it will increase the possibility of Russian aggression towards Georgia. (NARUAGGR)	1	0	-1	-2
F2.4. If Georgia becomes a member of NATO, it will help restore the country's territorial integrity.	1	0	-1	-2

**F3. With which countries or unions should Georgia have the closest political cooperation? Please give me one answer.**

[Interviewer: Do not read! Correspond. Only one answer.]

United States	1
European Union	2
Russia	3
NATO	4
Armenia	5
Turkey	6
Azerbaijan	7
Ukraine	8
Iran	9
Israel	10
China	11
United Nations	12
United Kingdom	13
Other	14
(Georgia should not have close political cooperation with any country.)	-5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

**F4. For each of the following, please tell me how you would rate the actions of the following individuals regarding the ongoing war in Ukraine.**

**[Interviewer: Read out.]**

	Very positively	Mostly positively	Mostly negatively	Very negatively	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	<i>I have not heard who this person is.</i>
F4.1. President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	-5
F4.2. US President, Joe Biden	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	-5
F4.3. Prime Minister of Georgia, Irakli Gharibashvili	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	-5
F4.4. President of Georgia, Salome Zurbashvili	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	-5
F4.5. Boris Johnson, the British Prime Minister	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	-5
F4.6. President of Russia, Vladimir Putin	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	-5
F4.7. President of Belarus, Alexander Lukashenko	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	-5