

## Survey on Political Attitudes

December 2021

### Demography

1. 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 Yezidi  | 6  |
| Other ethnicity   | 7  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>   | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                                     | -2 |

2. What is the highest level of education you have achieved to date?

[Interviewer! Do not read. Correspond.]

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| 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 |
|---------------------------|----|

**3. Do any of the following live in your household?**

[Interviewer! Read out.]

|   |  | Yes | No | <i>(Don't know)</i> | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> |
|---|--|-----|----|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <b>Children under 12</b>   | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 2 | <b>People over 60</b>  | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |
| 3 | <b>People with serious chronic disease (diabetes, cirrhosis, hepatitis, cancer, arthritis, Parkinson, Cardiovascular disease etc.)</b> | 1   | 0  | -1                  | -2                        |

**Country direction**

**4. There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Which one do you agree with?**

[Interviewer! Read out. Only one answer.]

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>Georgia is definitely going in the <u>wrong</u> direction</b> | 1  |
| <b>Georgia is mainly going in the wrong direction</b>            | 2  |
| <b>Georgia is not changing at all</b>                            | 3  |
| <b>Georgia is going mainly in the right direction</b>            | 4  |
| <b>Georgia is definitely going in the <u>right</u> direction</b> | 5  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  | -2 |

**National Issues**

**5. What are the most important national level issues facing you and your family? Please name up to three.**

**[Interviewer! Do not read. Correspond. Up to 3 answers.]**

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

|    |                        |  |
|----|------------------------|--|
| 23 | Restoration of justice |  |
| 24 | Covid-19               |  |
| 25 | Other (specify)_____   |  |

**6. What is the biggest issue facing the Georgian economy today?**

[Interviewer! Do not read. Correspond. Up to 3 answers.]

|    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
|    | <i>(Don't know)</i>                                  | -1 |
|    | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                            | -2 |
|    | <i>(There are no issues facing Georgian economy)</i> | -5 |
| 1  | Unemployment   |    |
| 2  | Low wages  |    |
| 3  | Lack of access to credit/loans                       |    |
| 4  | High taxes   |    |
| 5  | Corruption/nepotism                                  |    |
| 6  | Rising prices/ Inflation                             |    |
| 7  | GEL devaluation                                      |    |
| 8  | High prices on fuel                                  |    |
| 9  | Lack of tourists                                     |    |
| 10 | COVID-19   |    |
| 11 | Closing the borders                                  |    |
| 12 | Poverty  |    |
| 13 | Other (specify)_____                                 |    |

**7. For each issue, how do you think the situation has changed in Georgia in the last 10 years?**

[READ OUT FROM THE LIST] **Has it gotten worse, stayed the same or gotten better?**

[Interviewer! Read out.]

|   |                              | <b>Worse</b> | <b>Same</b> | <b>Better</b> | <i>(Don't know)</i> | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> |
|---|------------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <b>Corruption</b>            | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |
| 2 | <b>Court system</b>          | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |
| 3 | <b>Freedom of speech</b>     | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |
| 4 | <b>Poverty</b>               | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |
| 5 | <b>Territorial integrity</b> | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |
| 6 | <b>Affordable healthcare</b> | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |
| 7 | <b>Education</b>             | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |
| 8 | <b>Crime</b>                 | 1            | 2           | 3             | -1                  | -2                        |

**State of democracy**

8. Overall, how important or unimportant is it for you to live in a democratic country?  
[Interviewer! Read out. Only one answer.]

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| <b>Not important at all</b> | 1  |
| <b>Not important</b>        | 2  |
| <b>Important</b>            | 3  |
| <b>Very important</b>       | 4  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>         | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   | -2 |

9. 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 |

**10. Which statement comes closest to your view? Democracy in Georgia ...**

[**Interviewer!** Read out. Only one answer.]

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>Is a good example for neighboring countries to follow</b>                 | 1  |
| <b>Used to be a good example, but has not been in recent years</b>           | 2  |
| <b>Or has never been a good example for neighboring countries to follow?</b> | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  | -2 |

**Performance of the Government and institutions**

**11. Please, tell me, how would you rate the performance of the current government?**

[**Interviewer!** Read out.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <b>Very bad</b>           | 1  |
| <b>Bad</b>                | 2  |
| <b>Well</b>               | 3  |
| <b>Very well</b>          | 4  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

**12. Please tell me, how would you rate the performance of the following institutions?**

[Interviewer! Read out.]

|   |  | Very bad | Bad | Average | Well | Very well | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|---|--|----------|-----|---------|------|-----------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 | <b>The Parliament</b>                      | 1        | 2   | 3       | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |
| 2 | <b>President Salome Zourabichvili</b>      | 1        | 2   | 3       | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |
| 3 | <b>Prime minister Irakli Gharibashvili</b> | 1        | 2   | 3       | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |
| 4 | <b>Central Election Commission (CEC)</b>   | 1        | 2   | 3       | 4    | 5         | -1           | -2                 |

**13. Please, tell me, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

[Interviewer! Read out.]

|   |  | Completely agree | Somewhat agree | Somewhat disagree | Completely disagree | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|---|--|------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 | <b>Parliament communicates regularly with citizens.</b>  | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 2 | <b>Parliament is passing legislation on issues that matter to me.</b>  | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 3 | <b>If I tell a member of the Parliament about issues in my community, he/she will take action to help solve the problem.</b> | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |
| 4 | <b>Parliament is effectively overseeing the actions of the government (ministries).</b>                                      | 4                | 3              | 2                 | 1                   | -1           | -2                 |

**14. Which party is closest to you?**

[**Interviewer!** Do not read. Correspond. One answer only. If the respondent names Girchi, ask, “Which Girchi?”]

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Georgian Dream – Democratic Georgia (Irakli Gharibashvili, Kakha Kaladze, Irakli Kobakhidze) | 1  |
| United National Movement (Nika Melia, Tina Bokuchava, Mikheil Saakashvili, Roman Gotsiridze) | 2  |
| European Georgia (Giga Bokeria, Irma Nadirashvili)   | 3  |
| Free Democrats (Tamar Kekenadze)   | 4  |
| Alliance of Patriots of Georgia (Davit Tarkhan-Mouravi, Irma Inashvili)                      | 5  |
| Georgian Labor Party (Shalva Natelashvili)   | 6  |
| Democratic Movement – United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)                                       | 7  |
| New Georgia - Strategy Agmashenebeli (Giorgi Vashadze)                                       | 8  |
| Girchi - More Freedom (Zurab Japaridze)  | 9  |
| For Georgia (Giorgi Gakharia)  | 10 |
| Girchi (Iago Khvichia, Vakhtang Megrelishvili, Sandro Rakviashvili)                          | 11 |
| Lelo For Georgia (Mamuka Khazaradze, Davit Usupashvili, Badri Japaridze)                     | 12 |
| Free Georgia (Kakha Kukava)  | 13 |
| Aleko Elisashvili - Citizens (Aleko Elisashvili, Levan Ioseliani)                            | 14 |
| For Justice (Eka Beselia)  | 15 |
| Victorious Georgia (Irakli Okruashvili)  | 16 |
| Republican Party (Khatuna Samnidze, Davit Berdzenishvili)                                    | 17 |
| Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)  | 18 |
| Ana Dolidze - For People (Ana Dolidze)   | 19 |
| Tribune (Davit Chichinadze)  | 20 |
| Unity, Essence, Hope – ERI (Levan Vasadze)   | 21 |
| Georgian March - National Movement (Sandro Bregadze)   | 22 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Movement State for People (Nika Machutadze) | 23 |
| European Socialists (Pridon Injia)          | 24 |
| Droa (Elene Khoshtaria, Batu Kutelia)       | 25 |
| Other (specify)_____                        | 26 |
| <i>(No party)</i>                           | -5 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                         | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                   | -2 |

**15. Did you vote in the October 2021 Local Elections, either 1st or 2nd round?**

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

**Covid-19, vaccination**

**16. Generally speaking, to what extent do you trust or distrust the healthcare system in Georgia?**

[Interviewer! Read out.]

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

**17. Overall, how would you rate the government's handling of Covid-19 pandemic?**

[Interviewer! Read out.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <b>Very good</b>          | 4  |
| <b>Good</b>               | 3  |
| <b>Bad</b>                | 2  |
| <b>Very bad</b>           | 1  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

**18. Which of the following best describes your feelings about Covid-19 pandemic in Georgia?**  
[Interviewer! Read out.]

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| <b>The worst is behind us</b>        | 1  |
| <b>The worst is yet to come</b>      | 2  |
| <b>Covid-19 is not a big problem</b> | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                  | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>            | -2 |

**19. Do you feel you have enough information about the COVID-19 vaccination process?**

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

**20. Would you or would you not get vaccinated against Covid-19?**

|   |    |          |
|---|----|----------|
| Yes                                     | 1  |          |
| No                                      | 0  | GO TO 22 |
| <i>(I have already been vaccinated)</i> | -5 |          |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                     | -1 | GO TO 22 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>               | -2 |          |

**21. Are you planning to get a booster shot when you are eligible for it?**

|   |    |          |
|---|----|----------|
| Yes   | 1  | GO TO 23 |
| No  | 0  |          |
| <i>(Have already gotten the booster shot)</i> | -5 |          |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                           | -1 |          |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                     | -2 |          |

**22. If not, why would not you get vaccinated?**

[Interviewer! Read out. One answer only.]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>Because I am generally against vaccination</b>                         | 1  |
| <b>I don't trust the quality of Covid-19 vaccine</b>                      | 2  |
| <b>I will not do it because vaccination has alternative goals</b>         | 3  |
| <b>I believe we can handle Covid-19 pandemic without vaccination</b>      | 4  |
| <b>I won't be able to get vaccinated because of health related issues</b> | 5  |
| Other (specify)_____  | 6  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>   | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   | -2 |

**23. Vaccination age against COVID-19 has been lowered to 12 in Georgia. Would you vaccinate your child against COVID-19 or not?**

[Interviewer! If the respondent says s/he does not have children of that age, ask what would they do, if they had a child aged 12-18.]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Yes   | 1  |
| No  | 0  |
| <i>(I have already vaccinated my child/ren)</i> | -5 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                             | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                       | -2 |

**Political polarization/cross party collaboration**

**24. Imagine there is a political party which you like more than others. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that your favorite political party should cooperate with all other political parties in the parliament, even if the actions/views of some parties might be unacceptable to you?**

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

**25. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**

[Interviewer! Read out.]

|   |  | Agree | Disagree | <i>(Don't know)</i> | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> |
|---|--|-------|----------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <b>Elected opposition parties in the parliament and the local government act according to the interests of the country and Georgian people</b> | 1     | 0        | -1                  | -2                        |
| 2 | <b>Ruling party Georgian Dream is acting in the best interests of the country and Georgian people</b>  | 1     | 0        | -1                  | -2                        |

**26. At the moment, opposition parties and the ruling party have difficulty having a dialogue and agreeing on numerous issues. In your opinion, who would make the best moderator and facilitator in this process? [Rotate answer options]**

[Interviewer! Read out. One answer only.]

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Speaker of the parliament</b>                    | 1 |
| <b>President of Georgia</b>                         | 2 |
| <b>Western partners (for example, EU, USA etc.)</b> | 3 |
| <b>Parties themselves</b>                           | 4 |
| Other (specify) _____                               | 5 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <i>[Do not read!] Nobody can carry this role</i> | -5 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                              | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                        | -2 |

**Foreign policy**

**27. Do you approve or disapprove of the 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 |

**28. 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 |

**Economic situation**

**29. 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 | <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  | <b>Car</b>  | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |
| 6  | <b>Air conditioner</b>  | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |
| 7  | <b>Automatic washing machine</b>  | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |
| 8  | <b>Personal computer, including laptop</b>                                  | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |
| 9  | <b>Hot water</b>  | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |
| 10 | <b>Central heating</b>  | 1 | 0 | -1 | -2 |