

## Survey on Political Attitudes

April 2014

### Important issues

1. [SHOW CARD 1(Rotated issues)] **Of the list on this CARD, which national issues are most important to you and your family? Please name up to three.**

[**Interviewer:** Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest.  
Accept up to 3 answers.]

|     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
|     | <i>(Don't know)</i>                         | -1 |
|     | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                   | -2 |
| 1.  | <b>Corruption [NATCORR]</b>                 |    |
| 2.  | <b>NATO membership [NATNATO]</b>            |    |
| 3.  | <b>Pensions [NATPENS]</b>                   |    |
| 4.  | <b>Relations with Russia [NATRU]</b>        |    |
| 5.  | <b>Property rights [NATROP]</b>             |    |
| 6.  | <b>Fair elections [NATELECT]</b>            |    |
| 7.  | <b>Jobs [NATJOBS]</b>                       |    |
| 8.  | <b>Court system [NATCOURT]</b>              |    |
| 9.  | <b>Freedom of speech [NATSPEECH]</b>        |    |
| 10. | <b>Human Rights [NATHR]</b>                 |    |
| 11. | <b>Poverty [NATPOV]</b>                     |    |
| 12. | <b>Territorial integrity [NATTERR]</b>      |    |
| 13. | <b>Rising prices / inflation [NATPRICE]</b> |    |
| 14. | <b>Affordable healthcare [NATHCARE]</b>     |    |
| 15. | <b>Wages [NATWAGES]</b>                     |    |
| 16. | <b>Media independence [NATMEDIA]</b>        |    |
| 17. | <b>Education [NATEDU]</b>                   |    |
| 18. | <b>EU Membership [NATEU]</b>                |    |
| 19. | <b>Crime</b>                                |    |
| 20. | <b>Prisons/Prisoners</b>                    |    |
| 21. | <b>Minority rights</b>                      |    |
| 22. | <i>Other (Please record)</i> _____          |    |

2. [SHOW CARD 2] Using this card, for each issue how do you think the situation has changed in Georgia? Compared to October 2012, is . . . [READ OUT FROM THE LIST] worse, the same or better?

[Interviewer: One answer in each row.]

|     |                                      | Worse | Same | Better | DK | RA |
|-----|--------------------------------------|-------|------|--------|----|----|
| 1.  | Corruption [CHACORR]                 | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | NATO membership [CHANATO]            | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | Pensions [CHAPENS]                   | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | Relations with Russia[CHARU]         | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | Property rights [CHAROP]             | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | Fair elections [CHAELECT]            | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | Jobs [CHAJOBS]                       | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | Court system [CHACOURT]              | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | Freedom of speech [CHASPEECH]        | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | Human Rights [CHahr]                 | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 11. | Poverty [CHAPOV]                     | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | Territorial integrity [CHATERR]      | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 13. | Rising prices / inflation [CHAPRICE] | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 14. | Affordable healthcare [CHAHCARE]     | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 15. | Wages [CHAWAGES]                     | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 16. | Media independence [CHAMEDIA]        | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 17. | Education [CHAEDU]                   | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 18. | EU Membership [CHAEU]                | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 19. | Crime                                | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 20. | Prisons/Prisoners                    | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 21. | Minority rights                      | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |

3. [SHOW CARD 3] Using this CARD, for each issue can you please tell me whether politicians in Georgia talk about . . . [READ OUT FROM THE LIST] too little, the right amount or too much?

[Interviewer: One answer in each row.]

|     |                                     | Too little | Right | Too much | DK | RA |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------------|-------|----------|----|----|
| 1.  | Corruption [TALCORR]                | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | NATO membership [TALNATO]           | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | Pensions [TALPENS]                  | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | Relations with Russia [TALRU]       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | Property rights [TALROP]            | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | Fair elections [TALELECT]           | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | Jobs [TALJOBS]                      | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | Court system [TALCOURT]             | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | Freedom of speech [TALSPEECH]       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | Human Rights [TALHR]                | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 11. | Poverty [TALPOV]                    | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | Territorial integrity [TALTERR]     | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 13. | Rising prices/ inflation [TALPRICE] | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 14. | Affordable healthcare [TALHCARE]    | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 15. | Wages [TALWAGES]                    | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 16. | Media independence [TALMEDIA]       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 17. | Education [TALEDU]                  | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 18. | EU Membership [TALEU]               | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 19. | Crime                               | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 20. | Prisons/Prisoners                   | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 21. | Minority rights                     | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |

4. [SHOW CARD 4 (Rotated issues)] **Of the list on this CARD, which local issues are most important to you and your family? Please name up to three.**

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

|     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
|     | <i>(Don't know)</i>                               | -1 |
|     | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                         | -2 |
| 1.  | <b>Gas supply [LCLGAS]</b>                        |    |
| 2.  | <b>Roads [LCLROAD]</b>                            |    |
| 3.  | <b>Sewage [LCLSEWAGE]</b>                         |    |
| 4.  | <b>The cost of communal services [LCLCOMSERV]</b> |    |
| 5.  | <b>Trash collection [LCLTRASH]</b>                |    |
| 6.  | <b>Drug addiction [LCLDRUG]</b>                   |    |
| 7.  | <b>Falling agricultural production [LCLAGRIC]</b> |    |
| 8.  | <b>Transportation costs [LCLTRANSP]</b>           |    |
| 9.  | <b>Water supply [LCLWATER]</b>                    |    |
| 10. | <b>Availability of kindergartens</b>              |    |
| 11. | <b>Availability of local medical services</b>     |    |
| 12. | <b>Parks and green space</b>                      |    |
| 13. | <b>Other (Please record) _____</b>                |    |

**DO NOT ask in big cities: Tbilisi, Rustavi, Kutaisi, Poti, Batumi, Zugdidi, Gori and Telavi.**

|     |                                    |  |
|-----|------------------------------------|--|
| 14. | <b>Communal electricity meters</b> |  |
|-----|------------------------------------|--|

5. [SHOW CARD 5] Using this card, for each issue how do you think the situation has changed in Georgia? Compared to October 2012, is ... [READ OUT FROM THE LIST] worse, the same or better?

[Interviewer: One answer in each row.]

|     |   | Worse | Same | Better | DK | RA |
|-----|---|-------|------|--------|----|----|
| 1.  | <b>Gas supply</b> [CHALGAS]                           | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | <b>Roads</b> [CHALROAD]                               | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | <b>Sewage</b> [CHALSEWAGE]                            | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | <b>The cost of communal services</b><br>[CHALCOMSERV] | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | <b>Trash collection</b> [CHALTRASH]                   | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | <b>Drug addiction</b> [CHALDRUG]                      | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | <b>Falling agricultural production</b><br>[CHALAGRIC] | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | <b>Transportation costs</b> [CHALTRANSP]              | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | <b>Water supply</b> [CHALWATER]                       | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | <b>Availability of kindergartens</b>                  | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 11. | <b>Availability of local medical services</b>         | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | <b>Parks and green space</b>                          | 1     | 2    | 3      | -1 | -2 |

**DO NOT ask in big cities: Tbilisi, Rustavi, Kutaisi, Poti, Batumi, Zugdidi, Gori and Telavi.**

|     |                                    |   |   |   |    |    |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|
| 13. | <b>Communal electricity meters</b> | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|

6. [SHOW CARD 6] Using this CARD, for each issue can you please tell me whether politicians in Georgia talk about . . . [READ OUT FROM THE LIST] too little, the right amount or too much?

[Interviewer: One answer in each row.]

|     |  | Too little | Right | Too much | DK | RA |
|-----|--|------------|-------|----------|----|----|
| 1.  | <b>Gas supply</b> [TALGAS]                           | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | <b>Roads</b> [TALROAD]                               | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | <b>Sewage</b> [TALSEWAGE]                            | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | <b>The cost of communal services</b><br>[TALCOMSERV] | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | <b>Trash collection</b> [TALTRASH]                   | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | <b>Drug addiction</b> [TALDRUG]                      | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | <b>Falling agricultural production</b><br>[TALAGRIC] | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | <b>Transportation costs</b> [TALTRANSP]              | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | <b>Water supply</b> [TALWATER]                       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | <b>Availability of kindergartens</b>                 | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 11. | <b>Availability of local medical services</b>        | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | <b>Parks and green space</b>                         | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |

**DO NOT ask in big cities: Tbilisi, Rustavi, Kutaisi, Poti, Batumi, Zugdidi, Gori and Telavi.**

|     |                                    |   |   |   |    |    |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|
| 13. | <b>Communal electricity meters</b> | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|

7. [SHOW CARD 7] **There are discussions in the country about reforms. Using this CARD, which three reforms do you think would be most important for Georgia?**

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

|     |                                  |    |
|-----|----------------------------------|----|
|     | <i>(Don't know)</i>              | -1 |
|     | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>        | -2 |
|     | <i>None</i> [REFNONE]            | -5 |
| 1.  | Judicial reform [REFJUD]         |    |
| 2.  | Electoral reform [REFELENV]      |    |
| 3.  | Media reform [REFMEDIA]          |    |
| 4.  | Property rights reform [REFPROP] |    |
| 5.  | Tax reform [REFTAX]              |    |
| 6.  | Education reform [REFEDU]        |    |
| 7.  | Labor code reform                |    |
| 8.  | Agricultural reform              |    |
| 9.  | Healthcare reform                |    |
| 10. | Prison reform                    |    |
| 11. | Local government reform          |    |
| 12. | Constitutional reform            |    |

8. [SHOW CARD 7] **Which reforms, if any, do you expect to see achieved in the next six months?**

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

|     |                                  |    |
|-----|----------------------------------|----|
|     | <i>(Don't know)</i>              | -1 |
|     | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>        | -2 |
|     | <i>None</i> [EXPNONE]            | -5 |
| 1.  | Judicial reform [EXPJUD]         |    |
| 2.  | Electoral reform [EXPELENV]      |    |
| 3.  | Media reform [EXPMEDIA]          |    |
| 4.  | Property rights reform [EXPPROP] |    |
| 5.  | Tax reform [EXPTAX]              |    |
| 6.  | Education reform [EXPEDU]        |    |
| 7.  | Labor code reform                |    |
| 8.  | Agricultural reform              |    |
| 9.  | Healthcare reform                |    |
| 10. | Prison reform                    |    |
| 11. | Local government reform          |    |
| 12. | Constitutional reform            |    |

9. **Generally, taking everything into account, since October 2012 you and your household are. . .**[READ OUT] [LIFECOND]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| <b>Worse off,</b>         | 1  |
| <b>The same,</b>          | 2  |
| <b>or Better off?</b>     | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

10. [SHOW CARD 10] **Of the list on this card, what are the main challenges Georgian economy faces?**

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

|     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
|     | <i>(Don't know)</i>                                   | -1 |
|     | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                             | -2 |
|     | <i>None</i>   | -5 |
| 1.  | Fall of exchange rate of Lari                         |    |
| 2.  | Halted construction/infrastructure projects           |    |
| 3.  | High prices on fuel                                   |    |
| 4.  | Ineffective economic policy of the current government |    |
| 5.  | Ineffective economic policy of the former government  |    |
| 6.  | Lack of sufficiently skilled workers                  |    |
| 7.  | High taxes  |    |
| 8.  | High interest rate on business loans                  |    |
| 9.  | Lack of sufficient legislation                        |    |
| 10. | Other (specify)_____                                  |    |

11. [SHOW CARD 11] **There are different opinions regarding the direction in which Georgia is going. Using this card, please, rate your answer.** [POLDIRN]

[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 |



12. In your opinion, after the parliamentary elections of October 2012 has the number of jobs available in Georgia ... [READ OUT] [NUMJOBS]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Decreased,         | 1  |
| Stayed the same,   | 2  |
| or Increased?      | 3  |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

13. In your opinion, after the parliamentary elections of October 2012 has the level of crime in Georgia ... [READ OUT] [NUMJOBS]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Decreased,         | 1  |
| Stayed the same,   | 2  |
| or Increased?      | 3  |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

14. To what extent do you agree or disagree that the current government is making the changes that matter to you? [GOVCHNG]

[Interviewer: Read out options. Only one answer]

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Completely disagree | 1  |
| Somewhat disagree   | 2  |
| Somewhat agree      | 3  |
| Completely agree    | 4  |
| (Don't know)        | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)  | -2 |

15. To what extent do you agree or disagree that the local government is making the changes that matter to you? [GOVCHNG]

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

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Completely disagree | 1  |
| Somewhat disagree   | 2  |
| Somewhat agree      | 3  |
| Completely agree    | 4  |
| (Don't know)        | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)  | -2 |

16. To what extent do you agree or disagree that if the Parliamentary opposition was in charge they would make the changes that matter to you? [OPPCHNGI]

[Interviewer: Read out options. Only one answer]

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Completely disagree | 1  |
| Somewhat disagree   | 2  |
| Somewhat agree      | 3  |
| Completely agree    | 4  |
| (Don't know)        | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)  | -2 |

17. To what extent do you agree or disagree that if the non-Parliamentary opposition was in charge they would make the changes that matter to you? [OPPCHNGI]

[Interviewer: Read out options. Only one answer]

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Completely disagree | 1  |
| Somewhat disagree   | 2  |
| Somewhat agree      | 3  |
| Completely agree    | 4  |
| (Don't know)        | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)  | -2 |

## Democracy

### 18. What does democracy mean to you? Please, name up to three things.

[Interviewer: Do not read. Correspond. Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

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

### 19. In your opinion, is Georgia a democracy now? [DEMNOW]

[Interviewer: If respondents answer that Georgia is partially a democracy, explain that we need specific yes-no answer.]

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

### 20. [SHOW CARD 20] 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  |
| (Don't know)  | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)  | -2 |

21. [SHOW CARD 21] **In your opinion, how important is it, if at all, that there is a strong opposition party in the country?**

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Very important            | 5  |
| Important                 | 4  |
| Neutral                   | 3  |
| Not important             | 2  |
| Not important at all      | 1  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

22. **Which party do you consider to be the strongest opposition in Georgia?**

[Interviewer: DO NOT READ. Correspond. Only one answer.]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Coalition of Free Georgia and Georgian Group<br>(Kakha Kukava, Jondi Baghaturia)  | 1  |
| New Rights Party<br>(Pikria Chikhradze)   | 2  |
| Coalition of Christian Democratic Movement and Democratic Movement-<br>United Georgia (Giorgi Akhvlediani, Nino Burjanadze) | 3  |
| United National Movement<br>(Mikheil Saakashvili)   | 4  |
| People's Party (Koba Davitashvili)  | 5  |
| Georgian Dream Coalition<br>(Irakli Gharibashvili)  | 6  |
| Labour Party<br>(Shalva Natelashvili)   | 7  |
| Movement for Fair Georgia (Sergo Javakhidze)  | 8  |
| Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)  | 9  |
| European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)   | 10 |
| Green Party (Gia Gachechiladze)   | 11 |
| Social Democrats (Gia Zhorzholiani)   | 12 |
| National Democratic Party (Bachuki Kardava)   | 13 |
| <i>Other</i>  | 14 |
| <i>No party</i>   | -5 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>   | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   | -2 |

23. [SHOW CARD 23] **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: <b>The current prosecutions of former government officials is primarily based on the principal of holding government officials accountable for their actions</b> |   | Statement 2: <b>The current prosecutions of former UNM government leaders is primarily based upon the desire for political retribution</b> |  |
| <i>Agree very strongly with Statement 1</i><br>1  | <i>Agree with Statement 1</i><br>1<br>2 | <i>Agree with Statement 2</i><br>2<br>3  | <i>Agree very strongly with Statement 2</i><br>4 |
| <i>[DO NOT READ] Agree with neither</i>   |   | 5  |  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>   |   | -1   |  |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   |   | -2   |  |

24. [SHOW CARD 24] **In your opinion, how important or unimportant is the protection of minority rights to Georgia's democratic development?**

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Very important            | 5  |
| Important                 | 4  |
| Neutral                   | 3  |
| Not important             | 2  |
| Not important at all      | 1  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

**25. When you think of minority groups, which groups come to mind first?**

[Interviewer: Do not read! Write '1' in the column 25 with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

**26. [SHOW CARD 26] Using this card, please tell me how important or unimportant is the protection of rights of the minorities named by you?**

[Interviewer: Ask Q26 **only** for the groups that the respondent named in question x25]

|   |                               | 25 | 26             |           |         |               |                      |    |    |
|---|-------------------------------|----|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|----------------------|----|----|
|   |                               |    | Very important | Important | Neutral | Not important | Not important at all | DK | RA |
|   | DK                            | -1 |                |           |         |               |                      |    |    |
|   | RA                            | -2 |                |           |         |               |                      |    |    |
| 1 | Sexual minorities (LGBT)      |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |
| 2 | Ethnic minorities             |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |
| 3 | Religious minorities          |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |
| 4 | IDPs                          |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |
| 5 | Women                         |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |
| 6 | Prisoners                     |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |
| 7 | People with limited abilities |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |
| 8 | Other (Please record) _____   |    | 5              | 4         | 3       | 2             | 1                    | -1 | -2 |

**GENDER**

**27. Currently there are 17 women members of parliament out of 150 (11%). Do you think this is . . .? [READ OUT] [WOMPARL]**

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Too few            | 1  |
| Enough             | 2  |
| Too many           | 3  |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

28. Generally speaking, all things being equal, would you prefer to vote for a man or a woman candidate?

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Man                       | 1  |
| Woman                     | 2  |
| <i>(No difference)</i>    | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

29. Generally speaking, all things being equal, do you think people around you would prefer to vote for a man or a woman candidate?

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Man                       | 1  |
| Woman                     | 2  |
| <i>(No difference)</i>    | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

30. Generally, comparing the performance of men and women in elected office, do you think ...[READ OUT] [PERFGEND]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Men perform better than women</b> | 1  |
| <b>Women and men perform equally</b> | 2  |
| <b>Women perform better than men</b> | 3  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                  | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>            | -2 |

## CONSULTATIONS

### 31. How do you receive information about the parliament?

[Interviewer: Do not read. Correspond. Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

|    |   |    |
|----|---|----|
|    | <i>(Don't know)</i>   | -1 |
|    | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                                     | -2 |
|    | <i>None/I do not receive information about the parliament</i> | -5 |
| 1. | Parliament's web-site   |    |
| 2. | People around you   |    |
| 3. | Online news agencies  |    |
| 4. | Social media  |    |
| 5. | Newspapers  |    |
| 6. | Radio   |    |
| 7. | TV  |    |
| 8. | Other <i>(Please record)</i> _____                            |    |

### 32. What do you expect from your majoritarian Member of the Parliament (MP)?

[Interviewer: Read out. One answer in each row.]

|   |   | Yes | No | DK | RA |
|---|---|-----|----|----|----|
| 1 | <b>He/she will represent your interests</b><br>[MAJMYREP]     | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| 2 | <b>Will only serve his/her own interests</b><br>[MAJHEREP]    | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| 3 | <b>He/she will be active</b> [MAJNOACT]                       | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| 4 | <b>Will do what the party tells him/her to do</b> [MAJDOTELL] | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |

### 33. Please tell me who is your majoritarian member in the Parliament of Georgia?

[MAJNAME]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Record any name the respondent mentions | 1  |
|   |    |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                     | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>               | -2 |



34. Does your majoritarian have a bureau (local office, representation) in your district?

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

35. If your elected representative were to contact you, what would be the best form?  
[CONTBEST]

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

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

36. What are the issues that you would like to engage in the discussion of?

[Interviewer: Do not read. Correspond. Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to 3 answers.]

|     |                                     |    |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----|
|     | <i>(Don't know)</i>                 | -1 |
|     | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>           | -2 |
|     | None/ I don't want to engage at all | -5 |
| 1.  | Budget                              |    |
| 2.  | Constitutional amendments           |    |
| 3.  | Labor code                          |    |
| 4.  | Social issues                       |    |
| 5.  | Property rights                     |    |
| 6.  | Municipal issues                    |    |
| 7.  | Agriculture                         |    |
| 8.  | Healthcare                          |    |
| 9.  | Education                           |    |
| 10. | Other (Please record) _____         |    |

37. Have you personally been contacted by any politician or party activist since the October 2012 parliamentary elections?

|                    |    |               |
|--------------------|----|---------------|
| Yes                | 1  | →<br>GO TO 40 |
| No                 | 0  |               |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |               |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |               |

38. Have you personally been contacted by your majoritarian MP since the October 2012 parliamentary elections? [CONMAJ]

|                    |    |               |
|--------------------|----|---------------|
| Yes                | 1  | →<br>GO TO 40 |
| No                 | 0  |               |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |               |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |               |

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

[Interviewer! Do not read! Correspond. Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept all answers.]

|    |                                       |    |
|----|---------------------------------------|----|
|    | (Don't know)                          | -1 |
|    | (Refuse to answer)                    | -2 |
| 1. | Written communication [MAJWR]         |    |
| 2. | Face-to-face communication [MAJFFCOM] |    |
| 3. | Public meeting [MAJPUBL]              |    |
| 4. | Other (Please record)_____ [MAJOTHER] |    |

40. Have you addressed your majoritarian member in the Parliament or their office with any request or concern since the October 2012 parliamentary election? [ADDMAJ]

|                    |    |               |
|--------------------|----|---------------|
| Yes                | 1  | →<br>GO TO 42 |
| No                 | 0  |               |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |               |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |               |

41. [If addressed] Did you receive a response? [ADDMAJR]

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

## International affairs

Now I would like to ask you some questions about international affairs.

42. [SHOW CARD 42] Using this card, which of the following statements do you agree with the most?

[Interviewer: Only one answer]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Russia is a real and existing threat to Georgia     | 1  |
| Russia is a threat to Georgia but it is exaggerated | 2  |
| Russia is no threat to Georgia at all               | 3  |
| (Don't know)  | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)                                  | -2 |

43. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with Georgia's current relationship with Russia?

[Interviewer: READ OUT. Only one answer]

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Satisfied          | 1  |
| Dissatisfied       | 0  |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

44. I would now like to ask you about specific actions. Please, tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the following: [READ OUT]

[Interviewer: Read out the options. ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW]

|    |  | Approve | Disapprove | DK | RA |
|----|--|---------|------------|----|----|
| 1. | Georgian government's stated goal to join NATO [GENATO]  | 1       | 0          | -1 | -2 |
| 2. | Georgian government's stated goal to join the EU [GEEU]  | 1       | 0          | -1 | -2 |
| 4. | Georgian Government's consideration of a meeting between Vladimir Putin and Giorgi Margvelashvili                  | 1       | 0          | -1 | -2 |
| 5  | Georgian Government's response to Crimean crisis   | 1       | 0          | -1 | -2 |
| 6. | Georgian Government's response to the erecting of fences along the administrative boundary line with South Ossetia | 1       | 0          | -1 | -2 |

45. [SHOW CARD 45] When do you think Georgia will be granted NATO membership?

[NATOMEM]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

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

46. [SHOW CARD 46] 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 |                        | 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                                    |
| [DO NOT READ] Agree with neither  |                        | 5  |                                      |
| (Don't know)  |                        | -1   |                                      |
| (Refuse to answer)  |                        | -2   |                                      |

47. [SHOW CARD 47] 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 will benefit more from Euro integration (joining EU and NATO). |                        | Statement 2: Georgia will benefit more from abandoning Euro 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                                    |
| [DO NOT READ] Agree with neither  |                        | 5   |                                      |
| (Don't know)  |                        | -1  |                                      |
| (Refuse to answer)  |                        | -2  |                                      |

49. On March 16, a referendum passed which declared that the Crimea should be reunited with Russia as part of the Russian Federation. Were you aware?

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
|-----|---|

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

50. Do you approve or disapprove Crimea reuniting with Russia?

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

51. The government of Georgia has condemned Russia's actions in the Crimea. Were you aware?

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

52. Do you approve or disapprove Georgian government's action?

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

53. Should Georgia take any additional action in support of the Ukraine?

|                           |    |             |
|---------------------------|----|-------------|
| Yes                       | 1  | GO TO<br>55 |
| No                        | 0  |             |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |             |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |             |

54. [SHOW CARD 54] If yes, what?

[Interviewer! Do not read! Correspond. Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept all answers.]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Economic sanctions against Russia       |    |
| Cultural affairs boycott against Russia |    |
| Humanitarian assistance to Ukraine      |    |
| Other (specify) _____                   |    |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                     | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>               | -2 |

## Media Questions

I will now ask you a few questions about media.

55. [SHOW CARD 55] Using this CARD, can you please tell me whether media in Georgia covers the following national issues . . . [READ OUT FROM THE LIST] too little, the right amount or too much?

[Interviewer: One answer in each row.]

|     |                                     | Too little | Right | Too much | DK | RA |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------------|-------|----------|----|----|
| 1.  | Corruption [TALCORR]                | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | NATO membership [TALNATO]           | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | Pensions [TALPENS]                  | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | Relations with Russia [TALRU]       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | Property rights [TALROP]            | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | Fair elections [TALELECT]           | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | Jobs [TALJOBS]                      | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | Court system [TALCOURT]             | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | Freedom of speech [TALSPEECH]       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | Human Rights [TALHR]                | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 11. | Poverty [TALPOV]                    | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | Territorial integrity [ALTERR]      | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 13. | Rising prices/ inflation [TALPRICE] | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 14. | Affordable healthcare [TALHCARE]    | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 15. | Wages [TALWAGES]                    | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 16. | Media independence [TALMEDIA]       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 17. | Education [TALEDU]                  | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 18. | EU Membership [TALEU]               | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 19. | Crime                               | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 20. | Prisons/Prisoners                   | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 21. | Minority rights                     |            |       |          |    |    |

56. [SHOW CARD 55] Using this CARD, can you please tell me whether media in Georgia covers the following local issues . . . [READ OUT FROM THE LIST] too little, the right amount or too much?

|     |  | Too little | Right | Too much | DK | RA |
|-----|--|------------|-------|----------|----|----|
| 1.  | <b>Gas supply</b> [TALGAS]                           | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | <b>Roads</b> [TALROAD]                               | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | <b>Sewage</b> [TALSEWAGE]                            | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | <b>The cost of communal services</b><br>[TALCOMSERV] | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | <b>Trash collection</b> [TALTRASH]                   | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | <b>Drug addiction</b> [TALDRUG]                      | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | <b>Falling agricultural production</b><br>[TALAGRIC] | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | <b>Transportation costs</b> [TALTRANSP]              | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | <b>Water supply</b> [TALWATER]                       | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | <b>Availability of kindergartens</b>                 | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 11. | <b>Availability of local medical services</b>        | 1          | 2     | 3        | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | <b>Parks and green space</b>                         |            |       |          |    |    |

| <b>DO NOT ask in big cities: Tbilisi, Rustavi, Kutaisi, Poti, Batumi, Zugdidi, Gori and Telavi.</b> |                                    |   |   |   |    |    |
|---|------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|
| 13.   | <b>Communal electricity meters</b> | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |

57. [SHOW CARD 57] **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.** [INFSOU1]

[Interviewer: CIRCLE THE CODE CORRESPONDING TO THE RESPONDENT'S ANSWER IN COLUMN 57 OF THE TABLE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

58. [SHOW CARD 57] **And what is your second main source of information about Georgian politics and current events?** [INFSOU2]

[Interviewer: CIRCLE THE CODE CORRESPONDING TO THE RESPONDENT'S ANSWER IN COLUMN 58 OF THE TABLE. CIRCLE CODE '-5' IF THE RESPONDENT GETS INFORMATION FROM ONLY ONE SOURCE. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH COLUMN.]

| <i>First main source</i> | <i>Second main source</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>57</b>                | <b>58</b>                 |

|   |    |    |
|---|----|----|
| Colleagues  | 1  | 1  |
| Family members                                    | 2  | 2  |
| Neighbors, friends                                | 3  | 3  |
| Internet  | 4  | 4  |
| Newspapers, news magazines                        | 5  | 5  |
| Radio   | 6  | 6  |
| TV  | 7  | 7  |
| Other   | 8  | 8  |
| <i>(Receive information from one source only)</i> |    | -5 |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>                               | -1 | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                         | -2 | -2 |

If internet is mentioned as first or second source ask following question, otherwise go to question 60

**59. What are the top three internet sites you visit for politics?**

[Interviewer: Do not ready. Correspond. Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to three answers.]

|                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| <i>(Don't know)</i>               | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>         | -2 |
| Facebook                          |    |
| Forum.ge                          |    |
| News agencies                     |    |
| Twitter                           |    |
| Blogs                             |    |
| Youtube                           |    |
| Myvideo.ge                        |    |
| Governmental agency web-sites     |    |
| Non-governmental agency web-sites |    |
| Political party web-sites         |    |
| Other (Please record) _____       |    |

**60. Do you watch coverage of Georgian politics and current events on the following channels?**

[Interviewer: Read out. One answer in each row.]



|    |                             | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
|----|-----------------------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
| 1  | Imedi                       | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 2  | Kavkasia                    | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 3  | Rustavi 2                   | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 4  | GPB 1                       | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 5  | Maestro                     | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 6  | Adjara TV                   | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 7  | GPB 2                       | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 8  | Palitra TV                  | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 9  | Tabula                      | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 10 | TV3                         | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 11 | Obiektivi                   | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 12 | Other (Please record) _____ | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

**Ask only in Kutaisi!**

|    |                   | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
|----|-------------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
| 13 | Rioni[WATCHRIONI] | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 14 | MegaTV            | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

**Ask only in Batumi!**

|                               |                          |     |  |                             |    |    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
|                               |                          | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 15                            | Channel 25 (BATUMI ONLY) | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| Ask only in Zugdidi and Poti! |                          |     |  |                             |    |    |

|    |                      |     |  |                             |    |    |
|----|----------------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
|    |                      | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 16 | 9 <sup>th</sup> Wave | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |
| 17 | Odishi               | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

|                     |             |     |  |                             |    |    |
|---------------------|-------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
| Ask only in Telavi! |             |     |  |                             |    |    |
|                     |             | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 18                  | Tanamgzavri | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

|                      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Ask only in Rustavi! |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|

|    |                 |     |  |                             |    |    |
|----|-----------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
|    |                 | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 19 | Kvemo Kartli TV | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

**Ask only in Gori!**

|    |          |     |  |                             |    |    |
|----|----------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
|    |          | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 20 | Trialeti | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

**Ask only in Akhaltsikhe!**

|    |                          |     |  |                             |    |    |
|----|--------------------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
|    |                          | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 21 | Akhaltsikhe TV Channel 9 | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

| Ask only in Ozurgeti! |          |     |  |                             |    |    |
|-----------------------|----------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
|                       |          | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 22                    | Guria TV | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

| Ask outside Tbilisi! |                        |     |  |                             |    |    |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----|--|-----------------------------|----|----|
|                      |                        | Yes | No – I have reception<br>but I don't watch | No – I have no<br>reception | DK | RA |
| 23                   | Other Regional Channel | 1   | 2  | 3                           | -1 | -2 |

61. Do you think that news about Georgian politics and current affairs on the following Georgian TV channels mostly reflect the interests of UNM, Georgian Dream or neither?

[Interviewer: ACCEPT ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW.]

|   |          | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|---|----------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Imedi    | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |
| 2 | Kavkasia | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

|    |                   |   |   |   |    |    |
|----|-------------------|---|---|---|----|----|
| 3  | <b>Rustavi 2</b>  | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 4  | <b>GPB 1</b>      | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 5  | <b>Maestro</b>    | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 6  | <b>Adjara TV</b>  | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 7  | <b>GPB 2</b>      | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 8  | <b>Palitra TV</b> | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 9  | <b>Tabula</b>     | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 10 | <b>TV3</b>        | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |
| 11 | <b>Obiektivi</b>  | 1 | 2 | 3 | -1 | -2 |

| Ask only in Kutaisi! |                           |     |                |         |              |                    |
|----------------------|---------------------------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
|                      |                           | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 12                   | <b>Rioni</b> [WATCHRIONI] | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |
| 13                   | <b>MegaTV</b>             | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Batumi! |                                 |     |                |         |              |                    |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
|                     |                                 | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 14                  | <b>Channel 25 (BATUMI ONLY)</b> | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Zugdidi and Poti! |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|-------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|-------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|

|    |                      | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|----|----------------------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
| 15 | 9 <sup>th</sup> Wave | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |
| 16 | Odishi               | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Telavi! |             |     |                |         |              |                    |
|---------------------|-------------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
|                     |             | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 17                  | Tanamgzavri | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Rustavi! |                 |     |                |         |              |                    |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
|                      |                 | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 18                   | Kvemo Kartli TV | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Gori! |          |     |                |         |              |                    |
|-------------------|----------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
|                   |          | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 19                | Trialeti | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Akhaltsikhe! |                          |     |                |         |              |                    |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
|                          |                          | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 20                       | Akhaltsikhe TV Channel 9 | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Ozurgeti! |          |     |                |         |              |                    |
|-----------------------|----------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
|                       |          | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
| 21                    | Guria TV | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |
| Ask outside Tbilisi!  |          |     |                |         |              |                    |

|    |                        | UNM | Georgian Dream | Neither | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|----|------------------------|-----|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------------|
| 22 | Other Regional Channel | 1   | 2              | 3       | -1           | -2                 |

62. [SHOW CARD 62] In general, how much do you trust or distrust coverage of news and current affairs on the following TV channels? Please use this card.

[Interviewer: ACCEPT ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW.]

|    |            | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | (Don't know) | (Refuse to answer) |
|----|------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1  | Imedi      | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 2  | Kavkasia   | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 3  | Rustavi 2  | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 4  | GPB 1      | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 5  | Maestro    | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 6  | Adjara TV  | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 7  | GPB 2      | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 8  | Palitra TV | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 9  | Tabula     | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 10 | TV3        | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |
| 11 | Obiektivi  | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1           | -2                 |

| Ask only in Kutaisi! |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|----|
|                      | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |



|                               |                            |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|----|
| 12                            | <b>Rioni</b> [WATCHRIONI]  | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |
| 13                            | <b>MegaTV</b>              | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |
| Ask only in Batumi!           |                            |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|                               |                            | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
| 14                            | <b>Channel 25</b>          | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |
| Ask only in Zugdidi and Poti! |                            |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|                               |                            | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
| 15                            | <b>9<sup>th</sup> Wave</b> | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |
| 16                            | <b>Odishi</b>              | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |
| Ask only in Telavi!           |                            |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|                               |                            | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
| 17                            | <b>Tanamgzavri</b>         | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |
| Ask only in Rustavi!          |                            |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |

|    |                 | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
|----|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|----|
| 18 | Kvemo Kartli TV | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |

| Ask only in Gori! |          |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|-------------------|----------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|----|
|                   |          | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
| 19                | Trialeti | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |

| Ask only in Akhaltsikhe! |                          |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|----|
|                          |                          | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
| 20                       | Akhaltsikhe TV Channel 9 | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |
| Ask only in Ozurgeti!    |                          |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |

|    |          | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
|----|----------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|----|
| 21 | Guria TV | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |

| Ask outside Tbilisi! |                        |                     |              |         |       |             |    |    |
|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|-------|-------------|----|----|
|                      |                        | Do not trust at all | Do not trust | Neutral | Trust | Fully trust | DK | RA |
| 22                   | Other Regional Channel | 1                   | 2            | 3       | 4     | 5           | -1 | -2 |

63. Do you watch GPB Channel 2 which provides live coverage of Parliament and gives Free Tribune to political parties? [GPB2WT]

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

64. In the past four months have you been receiving enough information from the media about the party you support? [MEDIAINFO]

[Interviewer: If respondent answers 'Don't know', circle 'No'.]

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Yes   | 1  |
| No  | 0  |
| <i>Not applicable/ Do not support any party</i> | -5 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                       | -2 |

65. I will now read out a list of names. Of the following people, please tell me whether you like or dislike... [READ OUT]?

[Interviewer: Read out options. One answer in each row]

|     |   | Like | Dislike | Never heard | Have no opinion | RA |
|-----|---|------|---------|-------------|-----------------|----|
| 1.  | Giga Bokeria [LIKEGIBO]                           | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 2.  | Gigi Ugulava [LIKEGIUG]                           | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 3.  | Giorgi Akhvlediani[LIKEGITA]                      | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 4.  | Gubaz Sanikidze [LIKEGUSA]                        | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 5.  | Davit Bakradze [LIKEDABA]                         | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 6.  | Davit Usupashvili[LIKEDAUS]                       | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 7.  | Vano Merabishvili [LIKEVAME]                      | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 8.  | Bidzina Ivanishvili                               | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 9.  | Zviad Dzidziguri [LIKEZVDZ]                       | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 10. | Zakaria Kutsnashvili                              | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 11. | Mikheil Saakashvili [LIKEMISA]                    | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 12. | Nino Burjanadze [LIKENIBU]                        | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 13. | Patriarch Ilia II [LIKEILII]                      | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 14. | Zurab Tkemaladze[LIKEZUTK]                        | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 15. | Kakha Kukava [LIKEKAKU]                           | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 16. | Manana Kobakhidze                                 | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 17. | Tina Khidasheli                                   | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 18. | Zurab Abashidze (member of parliament) [LIKETHTS] | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 19. | Murman Dumbadze                                   | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 20. | Pavle Kublashvili                                 | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 21. | Giorgi Vashadze                                   | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 22. | Nikoloz Melia                                     | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 23. | Eka Beselia                                       | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 24. | Lasha Tordia                                      | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 25. | Irakli Chikovani                                  | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 26. | Davit Onoprishvili                                | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 27. | Gia Volski  | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 28. | Davit Narmania                                    | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 29. | Goka Gabashvili                                   | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 30. | Giorgi Baramidze                                  | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 31. | Davit Berdzenishvili                              | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |
| 32. | Davit Saganelidze                                 | 1    | 0       | -5          | -1              | -2 |

|     |   |   |   |    |    |    |
|-----|---|---|---|----|----|----|
| 33. | Giga Bukia  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 34. | Ucha Nanuashvili  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 35. | Levan Vasadze   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 36. | Gia Gachechiladze (Leader of the Green Party and not “Grechikha”) | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 37. | Giorgi Margvelashvili   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 38. | Zurab Japaridze   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 39. | Gogi Topadze  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 40. | Kakha Kaladze   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 41. | Sergo Javakhidze  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 43. | Bachuki Kardava   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 44. | Shalva Natelashvili   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 45. | Jondi Baghaturia  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 46. | Irina Imerlishvili  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 47. | Irakli Gharibashvili  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 48. | Irakli Alasania   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 49. | Bacho Akhalaia  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 50. | Irakli Okruashvili  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 51. | Viktor Dolidze  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 52. | Levan Vepkhvadze  | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 53. | Magda Anikashvili   | 1 | 0 | -5 | -1 | -2 |

**66. [SHOW CARD 66] Using this CARD, how would you rate the performance of ... [READ OUT]?**

[Interviewer: Read out one by one. One answer in each row.]

|     |   | Very badly | Badly | Neither badly nor well | Well | Very well | DK | RA |
|-----|---|------------|-------|------------------------|------|-----------|----|----|
| 1.  | Sevdia Ugrekhelidze                       | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | Davit Usupashvili                         | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | Patriarch Ilia II[PERFILII]               | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | Davit Bakradze[PERFDABA]                  | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | Davit Saganelidze                         | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | Lasha Tordia                              | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | Ucha Nanuashvili                          | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | Giorgi Badashvili                         | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | Minister of Finance – Nodar Khaduri       | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | Minister for Labor, Healthcare and Social | 1          | 2     | 3                      | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |

|     |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|
|     | Affairs – Davit Sergeenko   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |
| 11. | Minister for Infrastructure and Regional Development – Davit Narmania                                   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | Minister of Energy and National Resources and Vice Primer– Kakha Kaladze                                | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 13. | Minister of Internal Affairs – Aleksandre Chikaidze   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 14. | Minister of Justice – Thea Tsouloukiani   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 15. | Minister of Foreign Affairs – Maia Panjikidze   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 16. | Minister of Education and Science – Tamar Sanikidze   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 17. | Minister of IDPs from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia – Davit Darakhvelidze | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 18. | Minister of Defense – Irakli Alasania   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 19. | Minister of Corrections– Sozar Subari   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 20. | State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration – Aleks Petriashvili                          | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 21. | State Minister of Georgia for Reconciliation and Civic Equality – Paata Zakareishvili                   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 22. | Minister of Environment and National Resources Protection – Khatuna Gogaladze                           | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 23. | Minister of Economy and Sustainable Development and Vice Premier – Giorgi Kvirikashvili                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 24. | Minister of Agriculture – Shalva Pipia  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 25. | Georgian Dream Coalition  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 26. | United National Movement [PERFUNM]  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 27. | State Audit Agency (Chamber of Control)   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 28. | Georgian Public Broadcaster   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 29. | The Parliament [PERFPARL]   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 30. | Central Election Commission (CEC) [PERFCEC]   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 31. | The Courts [PERFCRT]  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 32. | Georgian army [PERFARMY]  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 33. | Georgian police [PERFPOLC]  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 34. | Your local government [PERGLOCG]  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 35. | Trade Unions  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 36. | Office of the Ombudsman   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |
| 37. | Office of the Chief Prosecutor  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | -1 | -2 |

**67. [SHOW CARD 66] How would you assess Prime Minister Irakli Gharibashvili's performance in:**

**[Interviewer: One answer in each row]**

|     |                         | Very badly | Badly | Neither badly<br>nor well | Well | Very well | DK | RA |
|-----|-------------------------|------------|-------|---------------------------|------|-----------|----|----|
| 1.  | Healthcare              | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 2.  | Territorial integrity   | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 3.  | Jobs                    | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 4.  | Rising prices/Inflation | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 5.  | Prisons                 | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 6.  | Taxes                   | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 7.  | Education               | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 8.  | Agriculture             | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 9.  | Relations with Russia   | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 10. | Crime                   | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 11. | National Security       | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 12. | Human Rights            | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 13. | Poverty                 | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 14. | Pensions                | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |
| 15. | Minority rights         | 1          | 2     | 3                         | 4    | 5         | -1 | -2 |

### Party support and affiliation

68. [SHOW CARD 68 (Rotated parties)] **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 **71**.]

|  | First<br>Choice<br>[PARTYSUPP1] | Second<br>choice<br>[PARTYSUPP2] |
|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Coalition of Free Georgia and Georgian Group<br>(Kakha Kukava, Jondi Baghaturia)   | 1                               | 1                                |
| New Rights Party<br>(Pikria Chikhradze)  | 2                               | 2                                |
| Coalition of Christian Democratic Movement<br>and Democratic Movement-United Georgia<br>(Giorgi Akhvlediani , Nino Burjanadze) | 3                               | 3                                |

|  |    |    |
|--|----|----|
| United National Movement<br>(Mikheil Saakashvili)  | 4  | 4  |
| People's Party (Koba Davitashvili)                 | 5  | 5  |
| Georgian Dream<br>Coalition (Irakli Gharibashvili) | 6  | 6  |
| Labour Party<br>(Shalva Natelashvili)              | 7  | 7  |
| Movement for Fair Georgia (Sergo Javakhidze)       | 8  | 8  |
| Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)               | 9  | 9  |
| European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)                | 10 | 10 |
| Green Party (Gia Gachechiladze)                    | 11 | 11 |
| Social Democrats (Gia Zhorzholiani)                | 12 | 12 |
| National Democratic Party (Bachuki Kardava)        | 13 | 13 |
| Other (Please record) _____                        | 14 |    |
| No party   | 15 |    |
| (No second choice)                                 |    | -5 |
| (Don't know)                                       | -1 | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)                                 | -2 | -2 |

**71. [SHOW CARD 71] If local government 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". [VOTPRES]**

|                             |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |                         |    |    |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-------------------------|----|----|
| Absolutely<br>will not vote |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    | Absolutely<br>will vote | DK | RA |
| 1                           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | -1                      | -2 |    |

**[Interviewer: If the answer is 1, -1 or -2 GO TO 75]**

**72. [SHOW CARD 72(Rotated parties)] If Local government elections were held tomorrow which party will you vote for Sakrebulo? Please tell me your first choice. And 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 mark -5 (No second choice) in the second column. If the respondent's first choice is "No party", "Don't know" or "Refuse to answer", do not ask about the second choice and go to question 73.]**

|  |                 |                  |
|--|-----------------|------------------|
|  | First<br>Choice | Second<br>choice |
| Coalition of Free Georgia and Georgian Group | 1               | 1                |



|  |    |    |
|--|----|----|
| (Kakha Kukava, Jondi Baghaturia)   |    |    |
| New Rights Party<br>(Pikria Chikhradze)  | 2  | 2  |
| Coalition of Christian Democratic Movement<br>and Democratic Movement-United Georgia<br>(Giorgi Akhvlediani , Nino Burjanadze) | 3  | 3  |
| United National Movement<br>(Mikheil Saakashvili)  | 4  | 4  |
| People's Party (Koba Davitashvili)   | 5  | 5  |
| Georgian Dream<br>Coalition (Irakli Gharibashvili)   | 6  | 6  |
| Labour Party<br>(Shalva Natelashvili)  | 7  | 7  |
| Movement for Fair Georgia (Sergo Javakhidze)   | 8  | 8  |
| Way of Georgia (Teimuraz Murvanidze)   | 9  | 9  |
| European Democrats (Paata Davitaia)  | 10 | 10 |
| Green Party (Gia Gachechiladze)  | 11 | 11 |
| Social Democrats (Gia Zhorzholiani)  | 12 | 12 |
| National Democratic Party (Bachuki Kardava)  | 13 | 13 |
| Other (Please record) _____  | 14 |    |
| No party   | 15 |    |
| (No second choice)   |    | -5 |
| (Don't know)   | -1 | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)   | -2 | -2 |

**73. [SHOW CARD 73a/73b] From the list below, who would be your first choice and your second choice as a mayor?**

**[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 mark -5 (*No second choice*) in the second column. **If the respondent's first choice is "No party", "Don't know" or "Refuse to answer", do not ask about the second choice and go to question 75.]**

**73a. Ask in Tbilisi only**

|   | First choice | Second choice |
|---|--------------|---------------|
| Georgian Dream coalition candidate – Davit Narmania   | 1            | 1             |
| United National Movement candidate - Nikoloz Melia  | 2            | 2             |
| Coalition of Christian Democratic movement<br>and Democratic-movement United Georgia<br>candidate | 3            | 3             |
| A labor party candidate   | 4            | 4             |
| Other (specify) _____   | 5            |               |

|                       |    |    |
|-----------------------|----|----|
| Other (specify) _____ |    | 5  |
| Neither               | 6  |    |
| No second choice      |    | -5 |
| Don't know            | -1 | -1 |
| Refuse to answer      | -2 | -2 |

**73b. Ask in other self-governing cities (Except Tbilisi)**

|   | First choice | Second choice |
|---|--------------|---------------|
| A Georgian Dream coalition candidate  | 1            | 1             |
| A United National Movement candidate  | 2            | 2             |
| Coalition of Christian Democratic movement and Democratic-movement United Georgia candidate | 3            | 3             |
| A labor party candidate   | 4            | 4             |
| other (specify) _____   | 5            |               |
| other (specify) _____   |              | 5             |
| Neither   | 6            |               |
| No second choice  |              | -5            |
| Don't know  | -1           | -1            |
| Refuse to answer  | -2           | -2            |

**75. [SHOW CARD 75(Rotated parties)] Which political party or bloc do you trust most to manage the following issues?**

[Interviewer: One answer in each row.]

|    |   | Write code from the card | None | DK | RA |
|----|---|--------------------------|------|----|----|
| 1  | <b>Healthcare</b>                             | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 2  | <b>Territorial integrity</b>                  | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 3  | <b>Jobs</b>                                   | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 4  | <b>Rising prices/Inflation</b>                | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 5  | <b>Prisons</b>                                | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 6  | <b>Taxes</b>                                  | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 7  | <b>Education</b>                              | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 8  | <b>Agriculture</b>                            | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 9  | <b>Relations with Russia</b>                  | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 10 | <b>Crime</b>                                  | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 11 | <b>Cost of communal services</b>              | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 12 | <b>Human Rights</b>                           | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 13 | <b>Poverty</b>                                | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 14 | <b>Pensions</b>                               | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |
| 15 | <b>Availability of local medical services</b> | _ _ _                    | -5   | -1 | -2 |

|    |                      |       |    |    |    |
|----|----------------------|-------|----|----|----|
| 16 | Transportation costs | __ __ | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 17 | Roads                | __ __ | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 18 | NATO membership      | __ __ | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 19 | Gas supply           | __ __ | -5 | -1 | -2 |
| 20 | Minority rights      | __ __ | -5 | -1 | -2 |

78. [SHOW CARD 78] Using this card how would you assess your trust towards Georgian election observers?

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Fully distrust     | 1  |
| Distrust           | 2  |
| Neutral            | 3  |
| Trust              | 4  |
| Fully trust        | 5  |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

79. [SHOW CARD 78] Using this card how would you assess your trust towards international election observers?

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Fully distrust     | 1  |
| Distrust           | 2  |
| Neutral            | 3  |
| Trust              | 4  |
| Fully trust        | 5  |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

80. [SHOW CARD 80 (Rotated issues)] Looking at the list on the card, what do you think are the three biggest barriers to free and fair elections in Georgia?

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. **Accept up to 3 answers.** INCLUDE IN "Harassment of voters" WHEN PEOPLE TALK ABOUT HARASSMENT OUTSIDE OF POLLING STATION BY PARTY ACTIVISTS]

|    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
|    | (Don't know)   | -1 |
|    | (Refuse to answer)   | -2 |
| 1. | Unequal media coverage of some candidates and parties [BARRMACC] |    |
| 2. | Public officials campaign on behalf of one party [BARRCAMP]      |    |
| 3. | Harassment of party activists [BARRACTIV]                        |    |
| 4. | Budget money is used unfairly in the election [BARRMONEY]        |    |
| 5. | Bribing of voters [BARRBRB]                                      |    |

|     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 6.  | Harassment of voters [BARRHARASS]   |  |
| 7.  | Voters feeling they have to vote a specific way to keep their jobs [BARRJOBS] |  |
| 8.  | Problems related with voters' lists [BARRVL]                                  |  |
| 9.  | One person voting for other people [BARRFOTHR]                                |  |
| 10. | People voting more than once (including Carousel voting) [BARRMVOTE]          |  |
| 11. | Employers forcing employees to take part in a campaign [BARREMPPL]            |  |
| 12. | Ballot stuffing [BARRSTUFF]   |  |
| 13. | Unequal funding for some candidates or parties [BARRUFUND]                    |  |
| 14. | Identification cards that do not protect against falsification [BARRCARD]     |  |
| 15. | Other (Please record) _____   |  |

**81. [SHOW CARD 81] Using this card, how do you think the coming local government election will be conducted?**

[Interviewer: ONE ANSWER ONLY]

|                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| Totally falsified       | 1  |
| Somewhat falsified      | 2  |
| Somewhat well conducted | 3  |
| Totally well conducted  | 4  |
| (Don't know)            | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)      | -2 |

**82. [SHOW CARD 82] Whose opinion do you think matters most, when it comes to deciding whether elections have been run well? Please pick up to three.**

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest. Accept up to three answers.]

|    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
|    | (Don't know)   | -1 |
|    | (Refuse to answer)   | -2 |
| 1. | The political party I support  |    |
| 2. | Georgian observer NGOs   |    |
| 3. | Foreign observers  |    |
| 4. | Foreign governments  |    |
| 5. | Government of Georgia  |    |
| 6. | Central Election Commission (CEC)  |    |
| 7. | My own opinion   |    |
| 8. | Opinion of the people around me (friends, neighbors, relatives, coworkers) |    |

|     |              |  |
|-----|--------------|--|
| 9.  | Church       |  |
| 10. | <i>Other</i> |  |

### Current Events

83. Do you personally know someone who you believe was fired from a state/public job because of their political beliefs since October 2012?

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

84. [SHOW CARD 84] In general, with whom do you talk about politics?

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest.  
Accept all answers.]

|   |   |    |                       |
|---|---|----|-----------------------|
|   | <i>(Don't know)</i>                                     | -1 | <b>Skip to<br/>86</b> |
|   | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>                               | -2 |                       |
|   | <i>With no one / I don't talk about politics at all</i> | -5 |                       |
| 1 | Family members  |    |                       |
| 2 | Relatives   |    |                       |
| 3 | Friends   |    |                       |
| 4 | Neighbors   |    |                       |
| 5 | Coworkers   |    |                       |
| 6 | Priest  |    |                       |
| 7 | <i>Other (Please record)</i> _____                      |    |                       |

85. [SHOW CARD 85] Where do you talk about politics?

[Interviewer: Write '1' with the options that respondent named and '0' with the rest.  
Accept all answers.]

|   |                                    |    |
|---|------------------------------------|----|
|   | <i>(Don't know)</i>                | -1 |
|   | <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>          | -2 |
| 1 | Supra                              |    |
| 2 | Home                               |    |
| 3 | Work                               |    |
| 4 | University / school                |    |
| 5 | Church                             |    |
| 6 | Internet forums or social networks |    |

|    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 7  | Birzha / hood                            |  |
| 8  | Bar / café / restaurant                  |  |
| 9  | On transportation<br>Bus/Marshrutka/Taxi |  |
| 10 | Other                                    |  |

86. [SHOW CARD 86] 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: <b>Former Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili continues to be a decision-maker in the actions of the government.</b> |                               | Statement 2: <b>Former Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili is not a decision-maker in the actions of the government since he stepped down.</b> |   |
| <i>Agree very 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   |
| [DO NOT READ] <i>Agree with neither</i>  |                               | 5   | <b>GO TO 89</b>                             |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>  |                               | -1  | <b>GO TO 89</b>                             |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>  |                               | -2  | <b>GO TO 89</b>                             |

[Interviewer! Ask 87 only to those who agreed with the first statement in 86]

87. Do you approve or disapprove that Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili continues to be a decision-maker in the actions of the government?

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

89. On March 18, in his interview on Imedi TV, Bidzina Ivanishvili criticized president Margvelashvili. Were you aware?

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

90. Do you approve or disapprove of Bidzina Ivanishvili criticizing president Margvelashvili?

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Approve | 1 |
|---------|---|

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

91. The Prime Minister Irakli Gharibashvili has said that he will not engage in discussions on public policy with the parliamentary opposition because “they have no moral right to question the government”. Were you aware of this?

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

92. Do approve or disapprove of Irakli Gharibashvili's position?

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

93. The Georgian Orthodox Church is currently receiving GEL 25 million from the state budget. Were you aware?

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

94. Do you approve or disapprove of the Georgian Orthodox Church receiving GEL 25 million from the state budget?

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

95. The state budget also includes GEL 4, 5 million, to be split among Catholics, Muslims, Jews, and Armenian Apostolic church. Were you aware?

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

96. Do you approve or disapprove of the state budget providing GEL 4, 5 million, to be split among Catholics, Muslims, Jews, and Armenian Apostolic church?

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Approve | 1 |
|---------|---|

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

97. The state is issuing Electronic ID cards to replace the current ID cards. Were you aware?

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

98. Do you approve or disapprove of issuing the Electronic ID cards?

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

101. A coalition of NGOs led by International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED), Georgian Young Lawyers' Association (GYLA) and Transparency International (TI), launched a campaign of "This affects you too" which calls for legislative changes prohibiting alleged illegal surveillance carried out by law enforcement agencies. Were you aware?

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

102. Do you approve or disapprove of the campaign?

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

### Demographic questions

I will ask you questions about yourself and your household.

103. [SHOW CARD 103] Using this CARD, what is the highest education degree you have obtained? [EDUDGR]

[Interviewer: Only one answer]

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 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  |
| (Don't know)                | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)          | -2 |

- 104. 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. [HAVEJOB]**

|                    |    |                        |
|--------------------|----|------------------------|
| Yes                | 1  | <b>Skip to<br/>106</b> |
| No                 | 0  |                        |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |                        |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |                        |

- 105. If yes, are you a government employee? [EMPLGOV]**

|                    |    |                        |
|--------------------|----|------------------------|
| Yes                | 1  | <b>Skip to<br/>107</b> |
| No                 | 0  |                        |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |                        |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |                        |

- 106. [SHOW CARD 106] Which of the following best describes your situation? [UNEMTYP]**

**[Interviewer: Only one answer]**

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

**107. Do you personally receive any of the following assistance from the government?**

[Interviewer: Read out all. One answer in each row.]

|           |   | Yes | No | DK | RA |
|-----------|---|-----|----|----|----|
| <b>1.</b> | <b>Disability benefits</b> [GOVDSBEN]   | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| <b>2.</b> | <b>Benefits for children</b> (including schooling and pre-schooling education) [GOVCHBEN] | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| <b>3.</b> | <b>Pension</b> [GOVPENS]  | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| <b>4.</b> | <b>Business financing</b> [GOVBUSFIN]   | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| <b>5.</b> | <b>Medical insurance</b> [GOVMEDINS]  | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |
| <b>6.</b> | <b>Vouchers</b>   | 1   | 0  | -1 | -2 |

**108. Do you personally have any income derived from an activity, outside of state assistance or a job?** [INCOTHER]

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

**109. Do you currently live where you are legally registered?** [LIVEREG]

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
|-----|---|

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

**110. What is your current marital status? [MARSTAT]**

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

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Single never married        | 1  |
| Married                     | 2  |
| Widow / Widower             | 3  |
| Cohabiting without marriage | 4  |
| Divorced/Separated          | 5  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>         | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   | -2 |

**111. How often do you use the Internet?**

[Interviewer: Only one answer]

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Every day                   | 1  |
| Several times a week        | 2  |
| Once a week                 | 3  |
| At least once a month       | 4  |
| Less often                  | 5  |
| I don't use internet at all | 6  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>         | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i>   | -2 |

**112. [SHOW CARD 112] How important are your own religious beliefs in making decisions in daily life? [RELIMP]**

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Not important at all      | 1  |
| Not important             | 2  |
| Neutral                   | 3  |
| Important                 | 4  |
| Very important            | 5  |
| <i>(Don't know)</i>       | -1 |
| <i>(Refuse to answer)</i> | -2 |

113. [SHOW CARD 113] Using this card, apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services? [RELSERV]

[Interviewer: Only one answer.]

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| Every day                | 1  |
| More than once a week    | 2  |
| Once a week              | 3  |
| At least once a month    | 4  |
| Only on special holidays | 5  |
| Less often               | 6  |
| Never                    | 7  |
| (Don't know)             | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer)       | -2 |

114. Could you tell us in GEL, what is your household's average monthly spending? [HHEXP]

|\_|\_|\_|\_| GEL

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

115. Relative to most of the households around you, would you describe the current economic condition of your household as ... [READ OUT] [RELCOND]

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Very good,         | 5  |
| Good               | 4  |
| Average            | 3  |
| Poor               | 2  |
| or Very poor?      | 1  |
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

116. Could you tell us in GEL, what is your individual average monthly spending? [PERSEXP]

|\_|\_|\_|\_| GEL

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| (Don't know)       | -1 |
| (Refuse to answer) | -2 |

117. [SHOW CARD 117] Speaking about your personal monetary income last month, after all taxes are paid, to which of the following groups do you belong? Please think of all sources of income that you had last month. [PERSINC]

