

HUMAN RIGHTS: FOCUS ON TORTURE

PUBLIC SURVEY IN TBILISI, GEORGIA: OCTOBER 2003
Final Report



This project is funded by the **European Union**.

This project is implemented by **Georgian Centre for Psychosocial and Medical Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (GCRT)** and **Anchor Consulting LLC**.

January, 2004
Tbilisi

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Organizations

AC	Anchor Consulting LLC
EU	European Union
GCRT	Georgian Center for Psychosocial and Medical Rehabilitation of Torture Victims
ICRC	The International Committee of the Red Cross
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MLHSS	Ministry of Labour, Health, and Social Security
MoD	Ministry of Defence
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNVFTV	United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture

Various

HR	Human Rights
IDP	Internally Displaced People
MD	Mental Disorder
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PD	Physical Disorder
POW	Prisoner of War

Technical Terms

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
DK	“Do Not Know”
DTS	“Difficult to Say”
HSD	“Honestly Significant Difference”
NA	No Answer

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SUMMARY REPORT

1. Survey Summary

1.1. Background and Methodology

Georgian Center for Psychosocial and Medical Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (GCRT) is the not-for-profit non-governmental organization providing psychosocial and medical assistance to torture victims in Georgia. The center activities are assisted by European Commission, UNVFTV, UNHCR, OSCE_ODIHR, and ICRC. It is perceived that reliable quantitative indicators reflecting relevant social trends are a precondition for the efficient planning of center activities. To this end, the survey of torture incidence, and broadly of HR awareness, in Tbilisi, Georgia was commissioned to Anchor Consulting.

Anchor Consulting has carried out 800 face-to-face interviews with the citizens of Tbilisi, at their residences. Questionnaire is presented in the Appendix (Part 8). Respondents were chosen according to district and demographical (gender and age) quotas. Quotas were determined according to the official statistical data¹. Fieldwork was conducted in the second half of October 2003. This report presents the results of the survey.

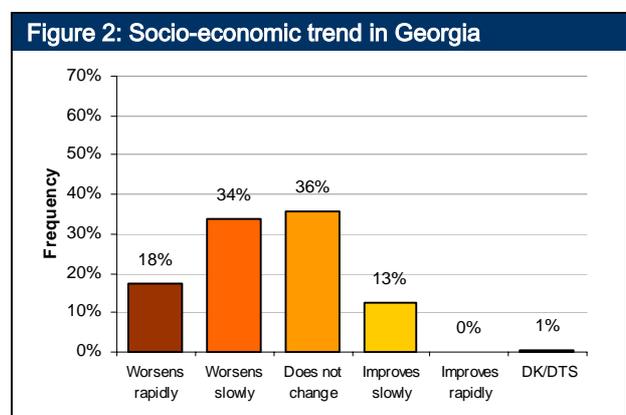
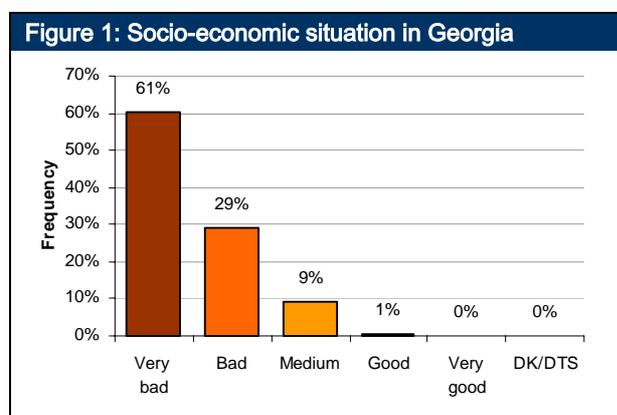
To evaluate the results of the survey correctly, one should bear in mind that it measured the attitudes of Tbilisi population just *prior* to the revolutionary events of November 2003. Thus, unintentionally, the important benchmark was created against which further HR developments may be measured in post-revolutionary Georgia.

Primary purpose of this questionnaire survey was to explore the issue of *Torture* – its incidence, public awareness of, attitudes to, and opinions regarding the surrounding topics and actors. The questionnaire was structured in accordance with “funnel” principle, i.e. it started from relatively general and neutral questions and gradually approached more specific and sensitive topics. This report follows the questionnaire structure.

This survey was conceived as a first survey in the series of similar surveys to be conducted regularly. Thus, its public value will increase manifold with time, as indicator trends are revealed. Your feedback is crucial, however, for the refinement and enrichment of the survey questionnaire and its methodology. We hope that present report will catalyse certain public discussion and generate adequate critique. **GCRT** and **Anchor Consulting** are ready to answer all questions that may arise regarding the present survey, as well as would gratefully accept any comments or suggestions you may have.

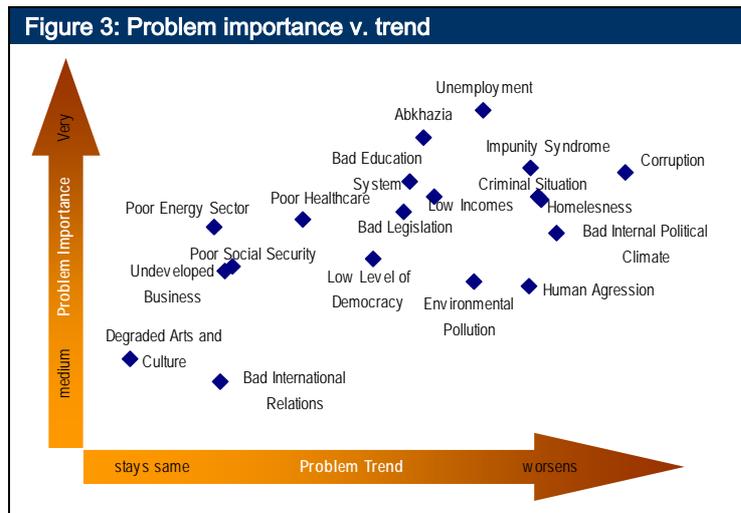
1.2. Main Results

Starting questions of the survey were intended to set the principal survey issues into broader socio-economic context. First question asked respondent to evaluate the current socio-economic *situation* in Georgia, while the second asked to assess general development *trend*. The responses are presented on the Figure 1 and Figure 2, below. As seen, the socio-economic situation in October 2003 was seen by grand majority of Tbilisi residents as catastrophic. Only 9% of population would say it's “medium”. Furthermore, only 13% of respondents believed it is improving somehow.



¹ Source: State Department of Statistics

Further, respondents were asked to assess certain specific problems facing Georgia in terms of their *importance* (*urgency*) and respective *development trends*. The scatterplot on Figure 3 maps the discussed problems on the corresponding axes.² Practically for all named problems mean response scores indicate that situation is worsening.



Virtually no area is perceived on average to be on improving trend.

Namely, the problems where situation is perceived to worsen most rapidly were *corruption*, *internal political climate* (note, before November elections), *criminal situation*, *human aggression*. As about the problems that were named as most important – *unemployment* and *Abkhazia*³ – the deterioration rate is a bit slower here, the problems are more stagnant.

Further, we attempted to assess the general liberal/conformist split of population⁴, explore the meaning of “Human Rights” notion to our respondents; assess the public awareness of HR-related legal institutions, and measure the

general attitude of the population towards different social groups.

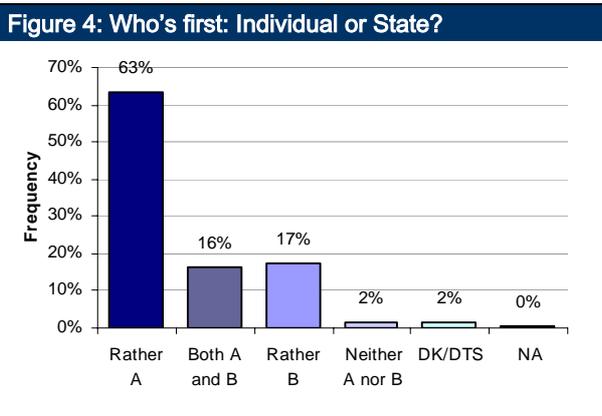
Figure 4 presents the liberal/conformist split of the survey population. Firm conformists (those who chose B option) represent only 17% of the population, about one person in six. About two thirds (63%) of the population strongly favour the primacy of individual rights, while further 16% would rather accept some balanced system. 1.5% have chosen “neither A nor B” answer option. And about 2.5% found it difficult to answer the question.

Q5. To which of the following statements you would rather agree?

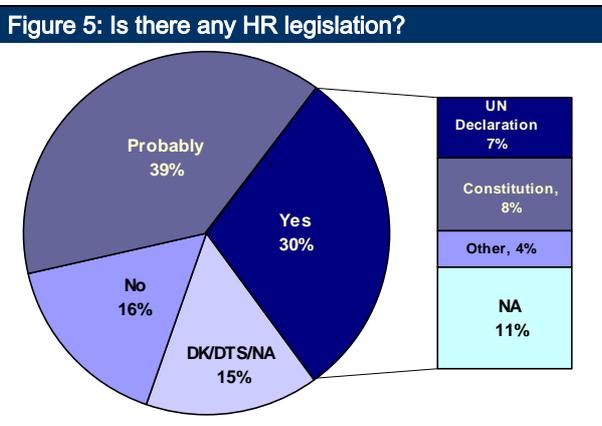
A. Every person has inborn rights that state must protect.

B. State should determine the rights of every person according to his merit.

Respondents were asked to say whether they know any Georgian or international legal documents that are concerned with the protection of Human Rights. The results are presented on the Figure 5.



Three in ten (30%) of respondents were positive about the existence of such legislation and additional 39% considered it probable that such legislation exists. The rest, either thought there is no such specific legal document (16%) or found it difficult to answer the question (15%).



However, even those who were definite about the existence of specific legal documents related to HR, found it difficult to name such documents. About 38% of those who answered “Yes” to the main question, could not remember any specific document, 23% named UN Declaration of Human Rights, 26% named the Georgian Constitution, and 13% gave a different response⁵. Therefore, only about 7% of Tbilisi adult population know about the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and additional 8% think that Constitution is the primary legal document safeguarding Human Rights in Georgia.

² Mean response scores are used as mapping coordinates.

³ Breakaway region, with hundreds of its residents displaced and sheltered elsewhere in Georgia or abroad.

⁴ Understanding “liberal” and “conformist” as favouring, respectively, *individual* and *state* over each other.

⁵ For instance, “Civil Code”, “Criminal Code”, “something related to Human Rights”, “Conventions”, “International laws”, etc.

Further, we attempted to measure the situation of (public attitude to) different social groups. Distribution of results is presented on Figure 6.

The groups which, almost unequivocally, are disadvantaged and need certain assistance are *poor families, homeless, people with physical and mental disorders, and elder people*. One fourth to one third of the respondents feels that the above groups are discriminated. Interestingly, *children and adolescents* are also viewed as needing more social protection.

Prisoners and detainees, as well as *IDPs from Abkhazia* introduce a certain degree of controversy. While many feel that these groups are discriminated and need assistance, still about one in five respondents think that they are treated fairly. Interestingly, the similar general attitude is expressed towards *women*, if only they are viewed as less discriminated against.

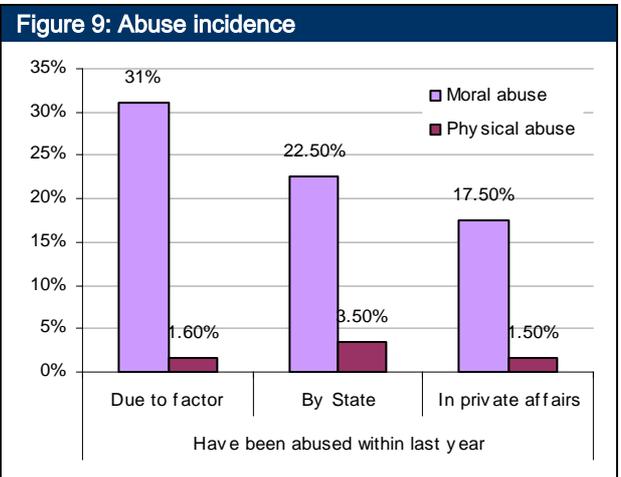
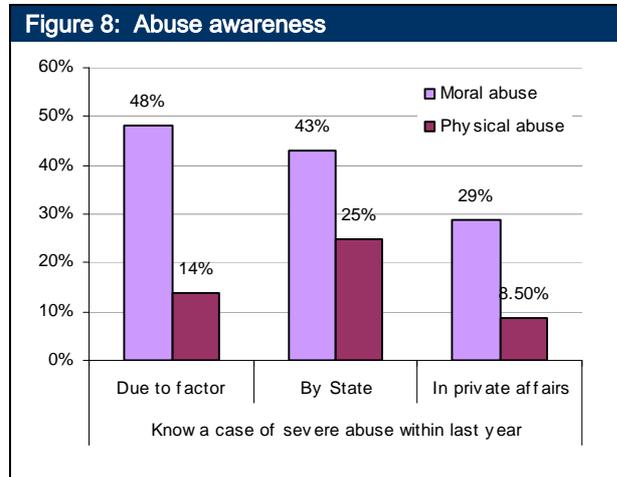
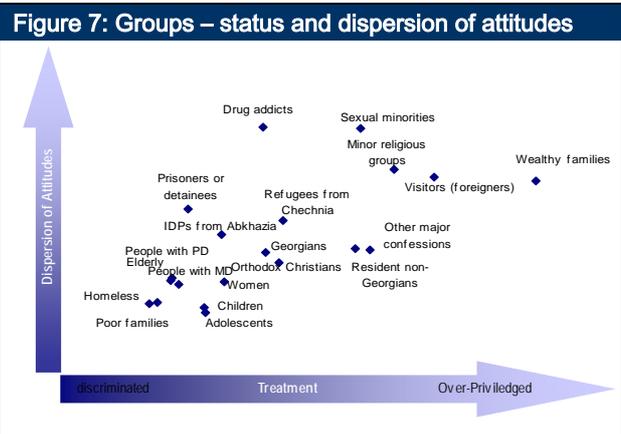
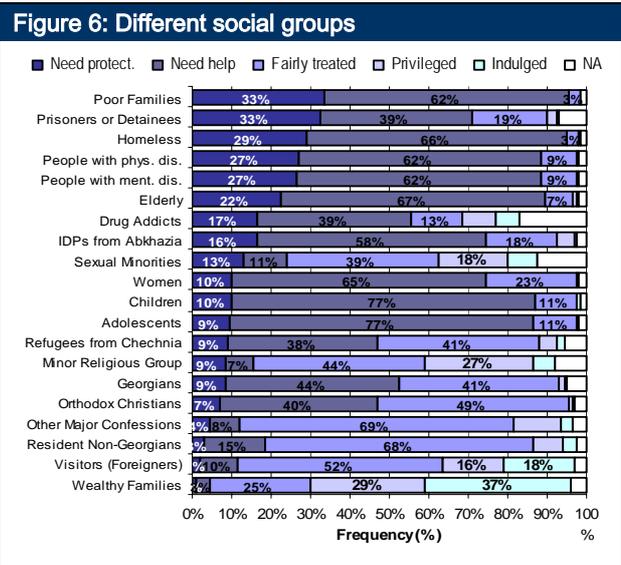
Drug addicts, sexual minorities, and minor religious groups represent cases similar in that they polarise the society most. While many think that these groups are discriminated and need protection, still many again think that they are treated fairly or even over-privileged.

Georgians, orthodox Christians, and, interestingly, *refugees from Chechnya*, are basically viewed as somewhat disadvantaged or fairly treated. *Ethnic minorities* and members of *major religious confessions* (other than Orthodox Christian) are viewed as fairly treated or somewhat privileged.

And, at last, the best-off groups: *foreigner visitors* are generally seen as fairly treated or over-privileged, while *wealthy families* are seen as being too much advantaged.

Further respondents were asked whether they know a recent case of strong human abuse (either moral or physical). First question attempted to attribute the abuse to certain factors, such as victims economic status, nationality, gender, etc. Next two questions aimed to determine the abuse incidence within state/private and private/private relationship domains. Further, the same questions were asked regarding the respondent himself. General results are presented on Figure 8 and Figure 9

Q9. In your opinion, how the following groups are treated in Georgia?

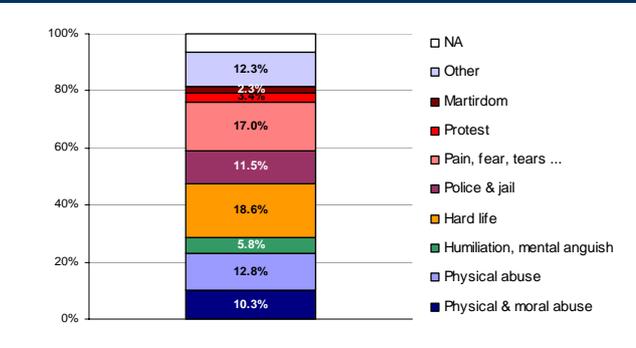


In the last section of the questionnaire we attempted to determine what is understood under the term “torture” by Tbilisi residents; assess the incidence of torture (generally, severe violence) in Georgia; measure the level of public tolerance of it; determine the need for torture victims rehabilitation.

First, we asked respondents to record their free associations with the word “torture”. The full list of responses is presented in the Appendix (part 7). Figure 10 presents the distribution of categorised (grouped) responses. Many respondents named *abuse (violence)*, either physical (13%), or moral (6%), or both (10%). This kind of responses may be considered as attempts to *define* torture rather than as visual or emotional associations with it.

For many, about 1 in 5, the word *torture* has a broader connotation of *life* itself, meaning either current economic hardship in Georgia, or, in isolated cases, life in general, i.e. in the metaphysical sense of life being a kind of exam to pass. Generally the religious life is intense in Georgia, affecting many attitudes and actions, and corresponding variables should certainly be minded by social researchers and policy analysts. For 2% of respondents the word “torture” had a first association with the martyrdom of Jesus Christ and various Georgian sufferers – Ketevan, Shushanik, Abo.

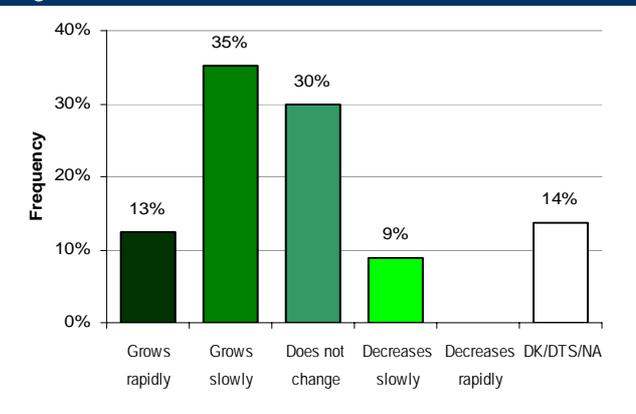
Figure 10: Associations with “torture”



Respondents were asked whether, in their opinion, torture incidence increases or decreases in Georgia. Figure 11 presents the distribution of responses.

The general picture is quite grave. Only 9% of respondents would say that torture incidence is decreasing in Georgia, and 30% would not see any (positive or negative) trend regarding the issue. About half (48%) of respondents would say that torture incidence in Georgia is rising. And about 14% found it difficult to make an assessment.

Figure 11: Torture incidence trend

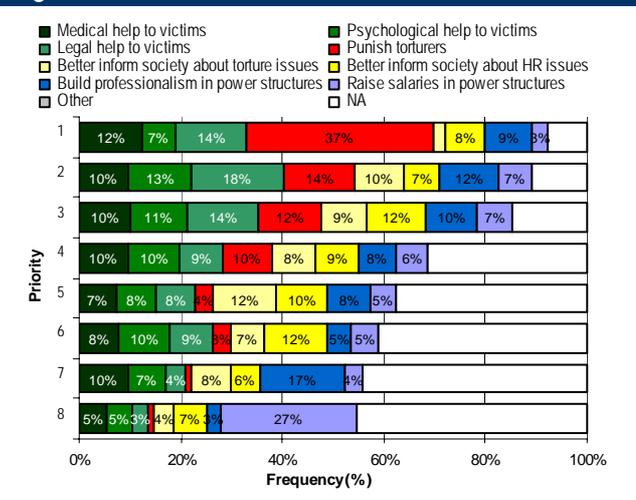


Then, we asked respondents whether there is a need for additional effort to curb torture in Georgia. 26% of respondents thought that efforts to curb torture should be one of the social priorities (i.e. the problem needs to be solved before most other problems facing the society); and 67% thought that this problem needs to be solved piecemeal, along with the other problems facing Georgia. Different socio-demographical groups responded to the question quite similarly.

Then, respondents were presented with a list of possible measures to curb torture in Georgia or alleviate its effects. Respondents were asked to rank these measures according to their relative importance. Figure 12 presents the distribution of responses.

As clearly seen, *punishment* of torturers is seen as the most important factor in combating torture. Adequate *legal help* (which is also obviously linked to seeking retribution from torturers) to victims is seen as a second priority. Then come *medical* and *psychological assistance* – the factors implying both *rehabilitation* of victims, but also adequate psychological and medical means of *confirming* the fact of torture. Building professional *capacity* within “power structures” is seen as next priority, acknowledging the fact that torture is often used in lieu of normal investigative procedures. The “public opinion” factor is also important – many think that society should be better informed about issues related to torture and Human Rights in general. Younger respondents particularly stress the latter – e.g. need to increase awareness about Human Rights issues. Although few, but still some respondents think it is important to raise salaries in “power structures”.

Figure 12: How to curb torture?



At the end of the questionnaire, to assess the real incidence of torture in Tbilisi, as opposed to general frequency assessments by respondents themselves, respondents were asked whether they know any actual case of torture. That is, such a case when they either personally knew the victim or directly witnessed the torture act. Distribution of answers is presented on Figure 13.

19% of respondents (about 1 in 5) said that they knew such a case and 70% of respondents said they did not. Also 11% found it difficult to respond to this question. While interpreting the figures (especially the proportion of those who said they know such case) one should bear in mind that, as was discussed above and will also be seen below, torture is quite a diffuse notion for Tbilisi citizens. Not always therefore the “academic” or “legal” definition of torture may apply to what respondents in our survey understand under this term. Many respondents may not consider harsh treatment of detainee by Police as torture, and would not report it as such. The opposite may also be true: victim of a street row may be reported as “tortured” by some respondents, while in formal discourse such definition may not always be considered as adequate.

About 1% of respondents (7 people) have reported being a torture victim and additional 1% of respondents (9 people) reported that their immediate family members have had experienced torture. **Therefore, 2% of Tbilisi families (every 1 in 50) have a member who has directly experienced torture or other severe degrading treatment.** This means about 7 thousand directly affected families (victims), assuming there are about 350 thousand families in Tbilisi.

Those 152 respondents who reported knowing about an actual case of torture or severe human abuse, were asked whether, in their opinion, the abuse victim needed any help. Responses are presented on Figure 14.

Legal assistance is what obviously needed the most – 42% of those who knew the torture victim thought that such assistance would help. *Psychological* and *medical* assistance come next with 25% and 23%, respectively. In 25% of cases no help was required in the opinion of respondents. In 8 cases (about 5% of all reported cases) the victim was killed and obviously did not need any assistance. However, it was said by respondents that the *relatives* of the killed do certainly need such (legal & psychological) assistance.

Since in the majority of reported cases of “torture”, police was reported as abuser, all respondents were asked about the motives police officers have to torture people, namely detainees. Responses are presented Figure 15.

As seen, in the opinion of Tbilisi residents, the two major motives for torturing detainees are *getting evidence* and *extorting money*. Also it is acknowledged that police often takes on the executioner’s function and punishes (supposed) criminals for either their crime or for cheating police. The other factors that sometimes surface in the discussions about police cruelty (e.g. *punishment by the order of victim’s enemies*, or simple *unmotivated cruelty*) are, in the opinion of our respondents, relatively unimportant.

Q27. Do you know any actual case of torture? (Please, reply “yes” if you personally know the victim or was a witness of such case

Figure 13: Do you know tortured person?

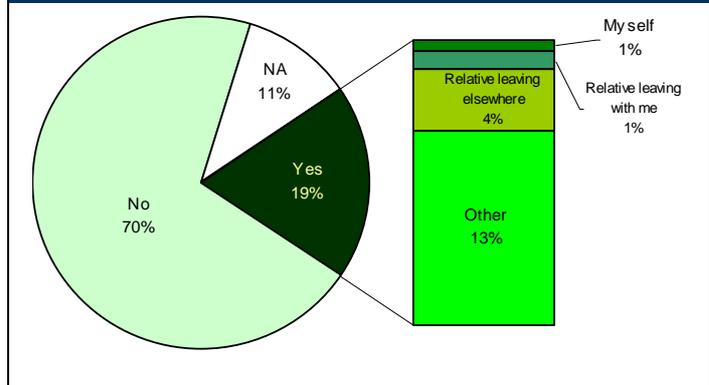


Figure 14: Help to torture victims

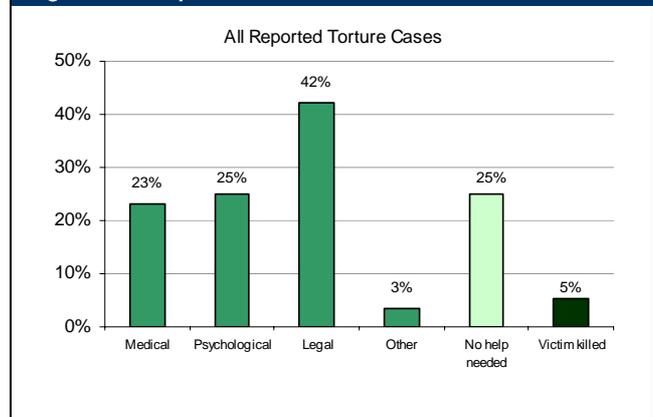
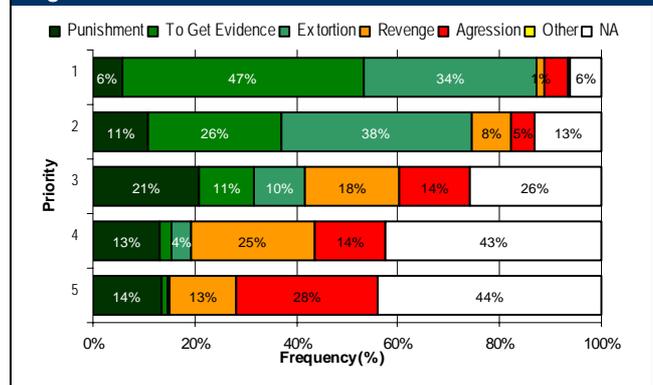


Figure 15: Detainee torture motives



MAIN REPORT

2. Background & Methodology

Georgian Center for Psychosocial and Medical Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (GCRT) is the not-for-profit non-governmental organization providing psychosocial and medical assistance to torture victims in Georgia. The center activities are assisted by European Commission, UNVFTV, UNHCR, OSCE_ODIHR, and ICRC. It is perceived that reliable quantitative indicators reflecting relevant social trends are a precondition for the efficient planning of center activities. To this end, the survey of torture incidence, and broadly of HR awareness, in Tbilisi, Georgia was commissioned to Anchor Consulting.

Anchor Consulting has carried out **800 face-to-face interviews** with the citizens of Tbilisi, at their residences. **Fieldwork** was conducted in the second half of October 2003. To evaluate the results of the survey correctly, one should bear in mind that it measured the attitudes of Tbilisi population just *prior* to the revolutionary events of November 2003⁶. Thus, unintentionally, the important benchmark was created against which further HR developments may be measured in post-revolutionary Georgia.

Questionnaire is presented in the Appendix (Part 8). While reading this English report, one should bear in mind that the meaning of some original questionnaire questions and/or answer options may be distorted in English translation. Therefore, when exact understanding is important, we would recommend reader to consult the Georgian version of the questionnaire, or contact us for clarifications.

Survey respondents were chosen according to district and demographical (gender and age) quotas. Quotas were determined according to the official statistical data⁷.

Data cleaning, tabulation, and **analysis** were performed by Anchor Consulting staff. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA, F-Test) was used to determine whether there were differences (in opinions, experiences, etc.) between different respondent groups. When such differences were discovered, the multiple pairwise comparison test (Tukey's HSD Test) was used to determine the exact groups that differ from each other. Also, χ^2 -test was routinely used to find response differences when nominal variables were concerned. Multidimensional scaling techniques were used in some cases.

Throughout the survey, **95% confidence level** was used as a cutting line for significant results. At this level, for the sample percentages reported in the text, the largest possible error is 3.5%. Also, all the contentions made about the differences between respondent groups are significant at 0.05 level.

⁶ So called "Rose revolution" when the President Eduard Shevardnadze was forced to step down and results of the Parliamentary elections were invalidated.

⁷ Source: State Department of Statistics

3. Introduction

Primary purpose of this questionnaire survey was to explore the issue of *Torture* – its incidence, public awareness of, attitudes to, and opinions regarding the surrounding topics and actors. Extreme sensitivity of the issue under study made certain demands on the size and structure of the questionnaire. Namely, in order not to “scare” respondents from the beginning, and receive maximally adequate responses to the principal (i.e. torture-related) questions, the questionnaire had to begin with relatively general and neutral questions and gradually approach the principal topic of interest⁸. In no way this means that responses on the initial survey questions are useless. On the contrary, the broader issues of *general socio-economic problems facing Georgia, Human Rights, and aggression and violence* in the society put the principle survey topic into the general context, what is particularly important for readers not well acquainted with Georgia.

Namely, the questionnaire may be seen as consisting of four parts:

First part attempted to set the principal survey topic into broader socio-economic context of Georgia. The general socio-economic situation was broadly assessed by respondents. Also the most urgent specific problems facing the country were rated in terms of their urgency and respective development trends.

In the second part the notion of Human Rights was introduced. Namely public understanding of the notion was explored through recording the respondents’ association with it and through connecting the notion with specific socio-economic problems discussed earlier.

In the third part the incidence of severe abuse, both moral and physical, has been assessed.

At last, in the fourth part, the principal topic of *torture* was explored. Namely, understanding of torture, its incidence, and public attitudes to it were assessed. Also the need for preventive/rehabilitative measures was determined.

Sociological methods of research are difficult to apply in Georgia due to a number of specific problems – absence of population lists from which to sample, absence of reliable statistical data, constrained survey budgets to allow for adequate interview control, etc. All these problems usually decrease the reliability of *snapshot* survey results. The latter is an important argument for conducting *repeated* surveys, consistent in content and methodology. While there certainly may be some regular bias in the *absolute figures* reported by such surveys, the *trends* they capture are much more reliable and instructive.

This survey was conceived as a first survey in the series of similar surveys to be conducted regularly. Thus, its public value will increase manifold with time, as indicator trends are revealed. Your feedback is crucial, however, for the refinement and enrichment of the survey questionnaire and its methodology. We hope that present report will catalyse certain public discussion and generate adequate critique. **GCRT** and **Anchor Consulting** are ready to answer all questions that may arise regarding the present survey, as well as would gratefully accept any comments or suggestions you may have.

⁸ The “funnel principle” well known in questionnaire research.

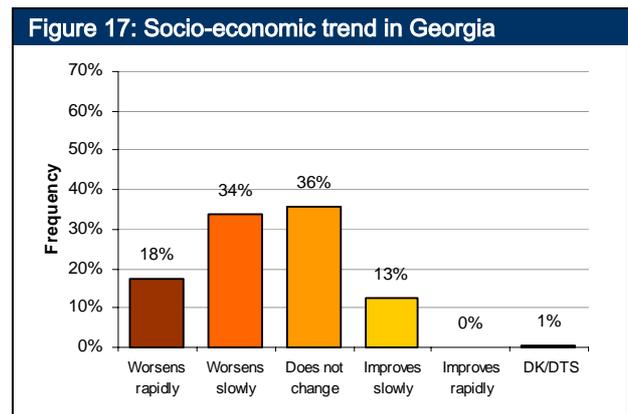
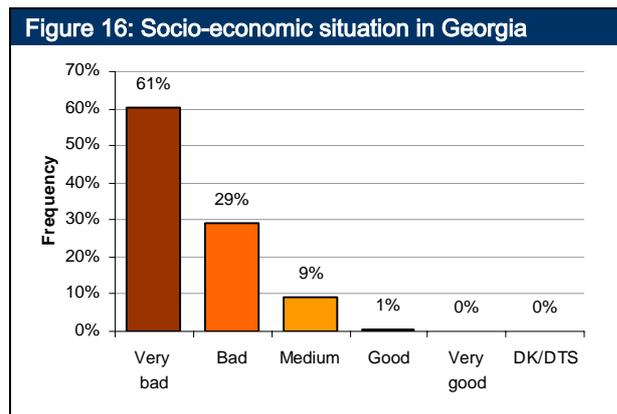
4. Survey Results

4.1. General Socio-Economic Context

Starting questions of the survey were intended to set the principal survey issues into broader socio-economic context. First question asked respondent to evaluate the current socio-economic *situation* in Georgia, while the second asked to assess general development *trend*. The responses are presented on the Figure 16 and Figure 17, below.

Q1. How would you assess current socio-economic situation in Georgia?

Q2. How the socio-economic situation in Georgia changes over time?



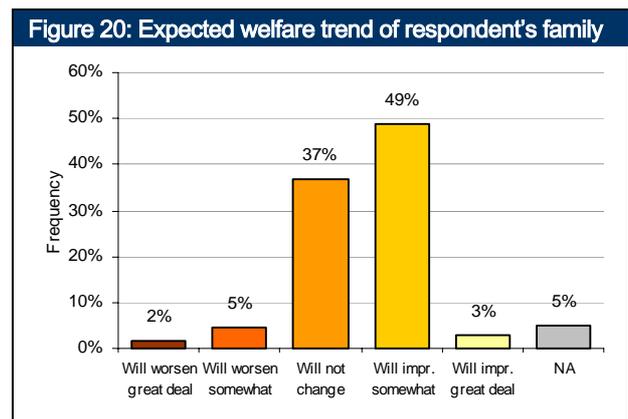
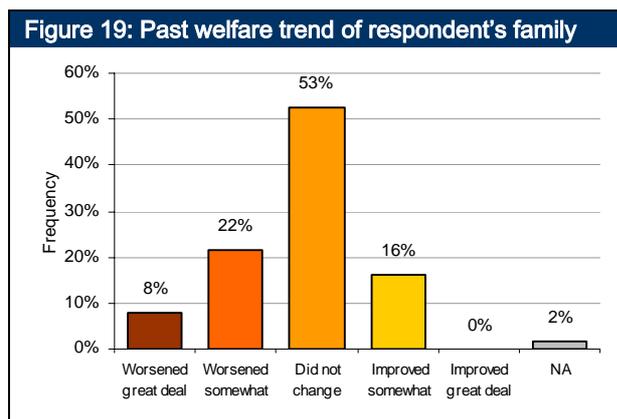
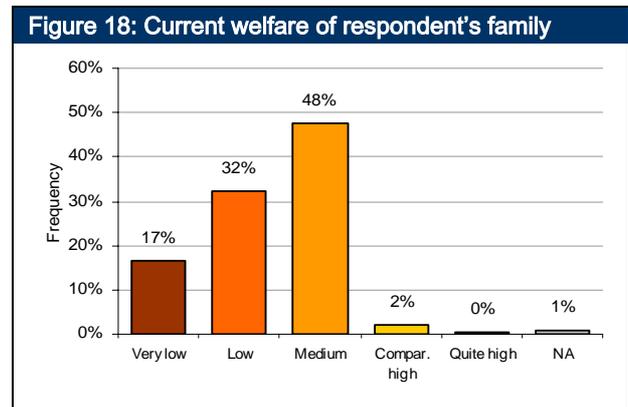
As seen, the socio-economic situation in October 2003 was seen by grand majority of Tbilisi residents as catastrophic. Only 9% of population would say it's "medium". Furthermore, only 13% of respondents believed it is improving somehow.

At the end of the questionnaire, three questions were asked to capture the economic welfare of the respondent's own family. The responses are presented on the Figures below.

D7.1. How would you assess the material welfare of your family?

D7.2. How your family welfare changed over the last year?

D7.3. How, you expect, your family welfare will change over the next year?



A number of strong patterns is clearly evident. First, large proportion (49%) of Tbilisi residents thinks that its welfare is low or very low. Only 18% has reported any improvements over the past year. Nonetheless, most of the respondents are quite optimistic (note, “Rose Revolution” has not happened yet) – more than half believed that their welfare would improve over the next 1 year. Naturally, those with higher personal welfare status were more optimistic about their future and also saw the general socio-economic situation in Georgia in lighter tones.

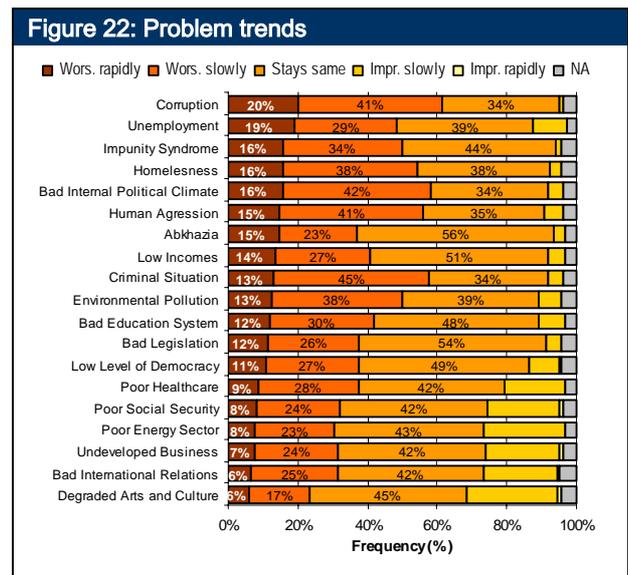
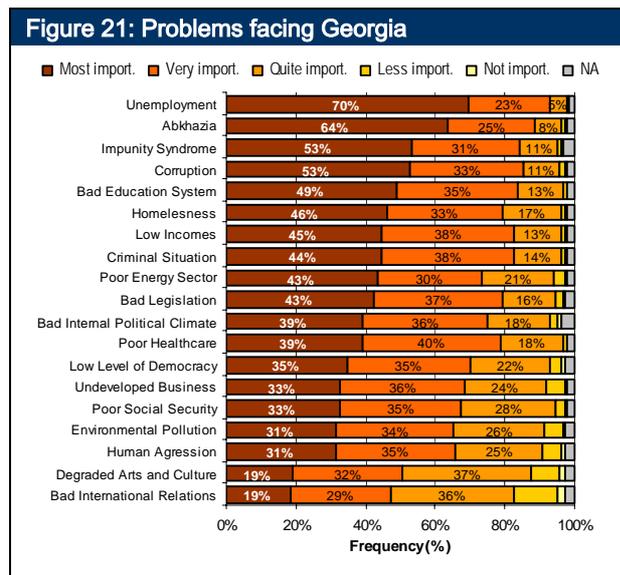
As about the *socio-demographic* split of the above variables, there is no significant difference between the assessments of general socio-economic situation by male and female respondents. In respect of age, naturally, older people, especially pensioners, assess the situation harsher. Those with higher reported incomes, while are better-off by themselves, still only slightly differ from others in the negative assessment of the general socio-economic situation. The latter result may be interpreted in two ways: first, being relatively better-off in Georgia still generally means quite low absolute level of income and social security; second, the level of empathy and social solidarity is generally quite high here.

Further, respondents were asked to rate certain problems⁹ as to their urgency for Georgia.¹⁰ Also they were asked to assess the development trends in

Q3. How important is for Georgia to solve the following problems urgently? ... list

Q4. How the situation changes in Georgia in respect of the following problems? ... list

respect of the same problems.¹¹ Answer distributions are given on the Figure 21 and Figure 22 below.



As seen above, the most important problems facing Georgia are *unemployment*, *Abkhazia*¹², *impunity syndrome (no rule of law)*, *corruption*, *bad education system*. Presence of the latter in the top five problems highlights the degree of long-term, strategic thinking of the respondents. Relatively high rank of *Homelessness* problem was somehow unexpected. The problem of homeless people although surfaces from time to time in public discourse, still does so as a theme collateral to the mainstream topics of *economic crisis* and *bad governance*. Obviously, the issue needs to be given more public attention.

We think the following point deserves to be made: while *impunity syndrome (no rule of law)* is considered by population a top priority problem facing Georgia, the *human aggression* (as opposed to tolerance/liberalism)

⁹ The list of problems has been created in consultation with GCRT staff. Certainly the list could be much longer than the one finally used, but there were operational constraints – we wanted the list to be homogeneous (i.e. contain problems of approximately similar level of generality), to be relatively short (i.e. contain only most pressing problems), to be somehow related to GCRT activities. Thus some problems, which may abstractly be thought as “important” have not passed the filter. E.g. Freedom of speech was not included since it is widely believed that this is one of the least endangered freedoms in Georgia.

¹⁰ The rating was done on a 5-point scale (1/2/3/4/5) corresponding to (most important / very important / quite important / less important / not important).

¹¹ The rating was done on a 5-point scale (1/2/3/4/5) corresponding to (worsens rapidly / worsens slowly / does not change / improves slowly / improves rapidly).

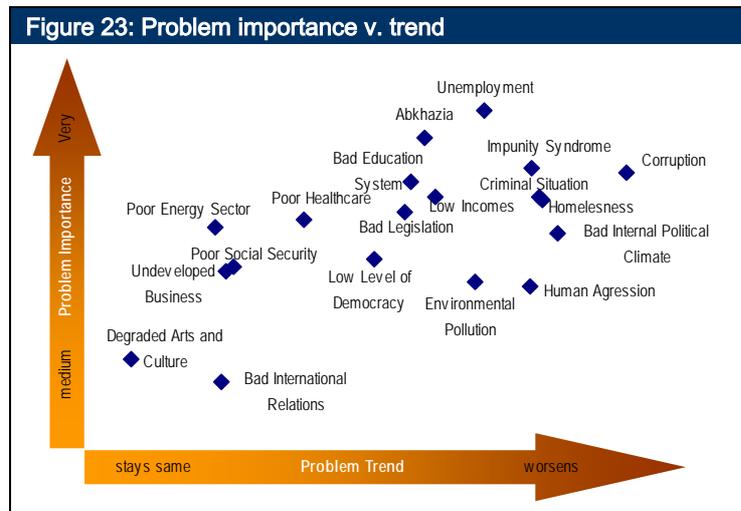
¹² Breakaway region, with hundreds of thousands displaced people.

is thought to be *relatively* (although certainly not in *absolute terms*) unimportant. In other words, one can seek the causes of Human Rights problems both within humans (aggression, intolerance) and outside them (“no rule of law”). Most of our respondents are inclined to think that imperfection of social institutions is

currently more of a problem for Georgia than innate conformism and aggressiveness of its citizens.

The scatterplot on Figure 23 maps particular problems (their importance) against the perceived respective trend of development¹³. Practically for all named problems mean response scores indicate that situation is worsening. Virtually no area is perceived on average to be on improving trend.

Namely, the problems where situation is perceived to worsen most rapidly were *corruption*, *internal political climate* (note,



before November elections), *criminal situation*, *human aggression*. As about the problems that were named as most important – *unemployment* and *Abkhazia* – the deterioration rate is a bit slower here, the problems are more stagnant.

Demographic analysis of the above variables reveals the following tendencies:

Gender. Women perceive more acutely than men that general *aggressiveness* in the society is increasing. They also are more cautious of increasing *environmental pollution*.

Age. Generally we can be quite sure that higher age of respondent is associated with a darker view of life – both in respect of problem severity and their aggravation trend. The correlation is not very strong however.

Education. Respondents with higher formal educational status are generally less negative than those with only secondary (or lower) education. The former attach relatively less importance to the *bad internal political climate*, *bad criminal situation*, *environmental pollution*, *homelessness*, and other problems than the latter do. Explanation may be manifold: first, those with higher educational (and social) status are *really* less affected in their everyday lives by all the above specific problems; second, people with lower educational status are *generally* more deprived and angry, and thus choose to be as negative in their assessments as the questionnaire would allow them, without bothering to scale their responses.

Occupation¹⁴. Main issues that are viewed differently by different occupational groups are *health*, *human aggression*, and *business development*. Naturally, healthcare is an important concern for pensioners. Interestingly, state employees are less concerned about healthcare problems than private employees. Understandably, students are also relatively little concerned with health issues and on average see the sector as stagnated rather than degrading. High and increasing *human aggression* is relatively significant concern for private employees and housewives (generally, for women), while students are least concerned about it. As may be expected, self-employed and employers place relatively high importance on the business development issues. Private employees and unemployed feel the downward trend here most acutely, while students do not feel it at all. Interestingly, private employees are most concerned with the low level of democracy, while state employees and unemployed are least concerned. For the latter, *homelessness* problem is one of the most threatening.

Income. *Problem importance* assessments do not visibly depend on respondent’s income. However, people with higher incomes often perceive *problem trends* to be less downward.

¹³ Mean response scores are used as mapping coordinates

¹⁴ As always, NGO employees display opinions markedly different from most of the other groups. This group is most educated and strongly opinioned (at least regarding social problems) part of the population. However, as always again, there are too few NGO employees in the sample for the observed differences to be statistically significant. Therefore, despite the fact that throughout the survey NGO employees displayed opinions markedly different from those of the rest, these have not been reported.

4.2. Human Rights: Situation, Awareness

In this section of the questionnaire we have attempted to assess the general liberal/conformist split of population¹⁵, explore the meaning of “Human Rights” notion to our respondents, assess the public awareness of HR-related legal institutions, and measure the general attitude of the population towards different societal groups.

Figure 24 presents the liberal/conformist split of the survey population. Firm conformists (those who chose B option) represent only 17% of the population, about one person in six. About two thirds (63%) of the population strongly favour the primacy of individual rights, while further 16% would rather accept some balanced system. 1.5% have chosen “neither A nor B” answer option. And about 2.5% found it difficult to answer the question.

Socio-demographic profile of *conformists* (Group B) is easy to predict. These are older and poorer citizens of Tbilisi. Average age of Group B is 47.5 years, while it is 41.5 years for Group A. Average reported family income for Group B was GEL 173 per month¹⁶, while for Group A it was GEL 264. Average age and income of those favouring mixed approach (Group A&B) are also between the corresponding values for the extreme groups. The very small group of “neither A nor B” is interesting in that these are people of middle age and *highest* reported average income – GEL 271.

Q5. To which of the following statements you would rather agree?

- A. Every person has inborn rights that state must protect.
- B. State should determine the rights of every person according to his merit.

Figure 24: Who's first: Individual or State?

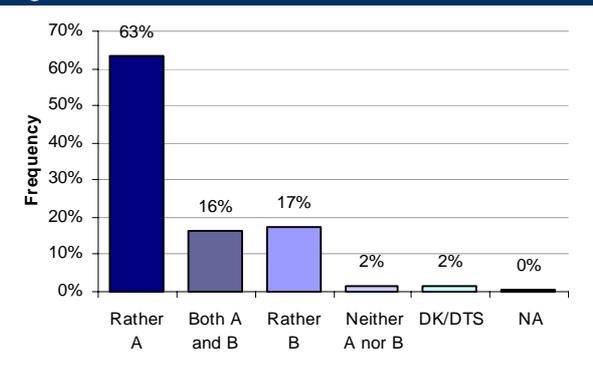
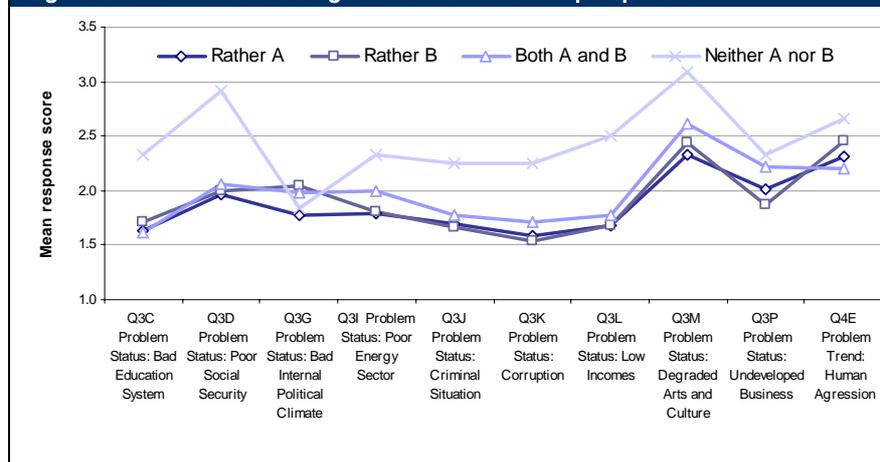


Figure 25: Problems in Georgia – liberal/conformist perspective



Coming back to the *problem issues* discussed in the previous chapter, it is interesting to review these problems from liberal/conformist perspective. The above groups do not differ in the assessment of general socio-economic situation in Georgia. Figure 25 shows the mean response scores for questions 3 and 4, when significantly different for the groups of concern.

The mean response scores for the two main groups – A and B – are practically the same, except in one case, the assessment of the *current political climate*. Just before “Rose Revolution”, Group A placed significantly more importance on solving the internal political tensions than Group B did. In two cases, Group A&B (“balanced”) displayed attitudes different from the mainstream – regarding *undeveloped business* and *degraded arts and culture*. In both these cases, “balanced” Group was slightly more optimistic than the rest. As regards the “neither A nor B” Group, it is significantly more optimistic (or realistic?) than others in most of the shown cases.

¹⁵ Understanding “liberal” and “conformist” as favouring, respectively, *individual* and *state* over each other.

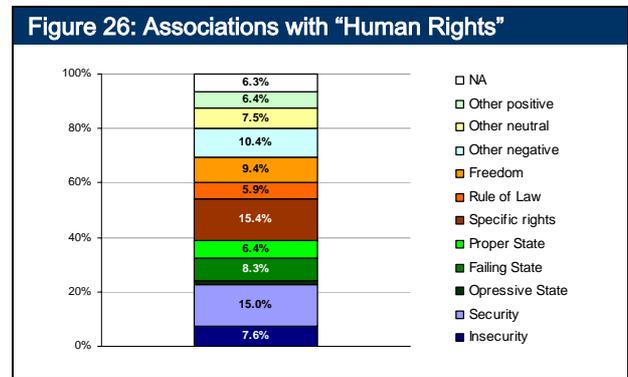
¹⁶ Reported income figures must not be taken at face value – the figures are almost always underreported. Nevertheless, the figures are useful to capture general trends and group differences.

At this stage, the “Human Rights” term was first introduced by the interviewer, who asked respondents to record the first associations that occurred to her/him on hearing the words. Responses were grouped using the following broad categories:

- “Negative”: *insecurity, oppressive state, failing state, other negative*
- “Neutral”: *rule of law, specific rights, other neutral*
- “Positive”: *security, freedom, proper state, other positive*

Q6. What first comes to your mind when you here the words “Human Rights”?

The *negative/neutral/positive* grouping is artificial and should not be used in the analysis of responses. E.g. “security” and “insecurity” (the first falling in the *positive* and the second falling in the *negative* group are essentially two sides of one coin. The same is true for “failing state” and “proper state” responses. Generally, the grouping was arbitrary and, while having the merit of presenting the big picture of respondents’ associations at once, conceals much of the response diversity. To form an adequate idea of the whole body of reported associations we would recommend reader to review the complete list presented in the Appendix. Distribution of grouped responses is presented on Figure 26.

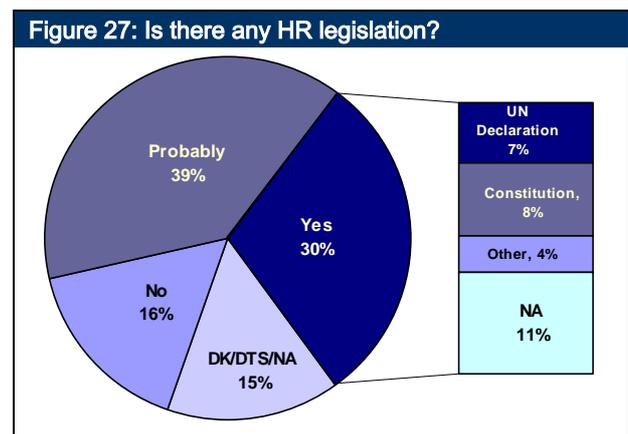


In our opinion, most analytically instructive are the following points. First, the split between those for whom “Human Rights” are primarily associated with *individual* (his “security”/“insecurity”, “freedom”, “rights”, etc.) and those for whom the association is mostly with a *state* (either “failing” or “proper”). Second, the proportions of those for whom HRs are associated with “security” (“insecurity”), on one hand, and “freedom”, on the other. As seen, the size of the former group is quite higher.

Then respondents were asked to say whether they know any Georgian or international legal documents that are concerned with the protection of Human Rights. The results are presented on the Figure 27.

Q7. Is there any Georgian or international legal document that seeks to protect Human Rights?

Three in ten (30%) of respondents were positive about the existence of such legislation and additional 39% considered it probable that such legislation exists. The rest, either thought there is no such specific legal document (16%) or found it difficult to answer the question (15%).



However, even those who were definite about the existence of specific legal documents related to HR, found it difficult to name such documents. About 38% of those who answered “Yes” to the main question, could not remember any specific document, 23% named UN Declaration of Human Rights, 26% named the Georgian Constitution, and 13% gave a different response¹⁷. Therefore, only about 7% of Tbilisi adult population know about the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and additional 8% think that Constitution is the primary legal document safeguarding Human Rights in Georgia.

Male respondents were generally more confident in answering “yes” than females. The latter, more than men, liked the “probably” answer option. State and private employees, as well as students said “yes” more often than other groups, especially pensioners and housewives.

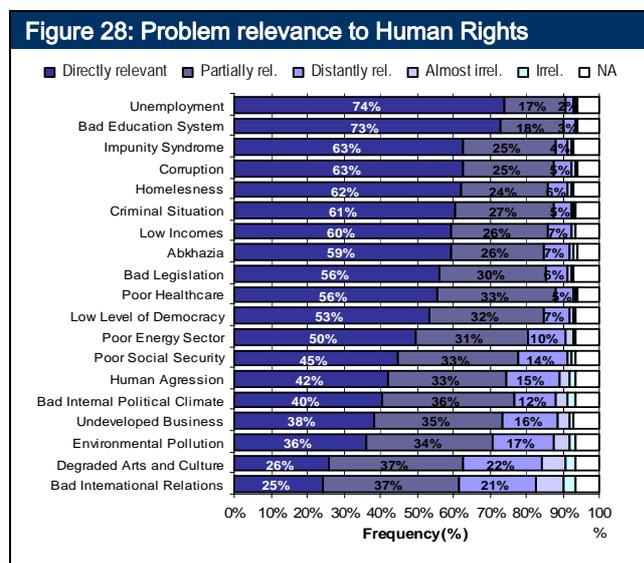
¹⁷ For instance, “Civil Code”, “Criminal Code”, “something related to Human Rights”, “Conventions”, “International laws”, etc.

Returning again to the *problems facing Georgia* (chapter 4.1 above) it is interesting to compare the assessments of problem issues by the groups relatively well-aware of Human Rights issues and those who know little about them. Assessments of different problems (their *importance*) for Georgia do not differ across the above groups. On the other hand, estimates of development *trends* differ significantly. Namely, those more aware about HR issues (i.e. basically more educated people) are less negative in the assessment of problem trends. On average, they are more inclined to see most problems as stagnated rather than aggravating. It is interesting to compare this result with the similar breakdown by *formal educational variable*, for which the analysis has been given earlier, on the page 18. Then, in contrast, groups with different educational status differed in the assessments of problem *status*, but not in the assessments of *trends*. This paradox highlights the fact that *formal* educational status in Georgia has little connection with the *actual* one¹⁸.

Further, we attempted to capture what actually is understood by our respondents as “Human Rights”. This

Q8. Are the problems listed below relevant to the “Protection of Human Rights”?

was done through connecting the notion with the list of problems discussed earlier.¹⁹ The distribution of answers is presented on Figure 28.



As seen, in Tbilisi residents’ perception, work and education are the spheres most relevant to Human Rights. Understandably, during the current transformational period, it would be difficult to find a person in Georgia for whom work or educational insecurity would not be a lingering threat.²⁰ This insecurity is particularly stinging against the background of cloudless soviet times with guaranteed work and education for most, if not all. Therefore, work and education is still considered in Georgia as a basic right, rather than something requiring substantial human investment.

Then, *impunity syndrome* (*no rule of law*) and *corruption* come in the list of problems strongly connected to HR. The former is an obvious case

– it is well understood that individual in the society is primarily protected by law; and when there is no rule of law, there is no protection either. *Corruption* may be considered as a specific way (case) of circumventing law, thus its high ranking along with the *impunity syndrome* is not surprising.

What is somehow unexpected is the relatively low position of *healthcare* and *social security systems*. It might seem natural that the logic that placed the rights to *work* and *education* at the top of the Human Rights list would do the same with the rights to *health*, *peaceful retirement*, and *social assistance in case of need*– these rights were also essentially guaranteed at soviet times. The points are however that 1) health and social security is directly relevant to elder people, who are relatively small in number; 2) as proved by different ethno-psychological studies, individual time-horizon of Georgians is relatively short, thus most of people would rather think about retirement when the time will come; 3) close family ties, namely, lifetime support of parents by children is strongly instituted in Georgia and taken for granted by young and old alike; thus health and old age security directly comes down to the work and education security of one’s descendants and other relatives.

¹⁸ It is repeatedly proved by various sociological surveys that the value of formal educational status variable in terms of explaining or predicting other behavioral variables is quite low. This is mostly attributable to 1) the degraded higher education system with generally very low quality standards and 2) the cultural trait of worshipping “diplomas”, which together result in about 70% of adult Georgian population having higher education.

¹⁹ The rating was done on a 5-point scale (1/2/3/4/5) corresponding to (directly relevant / partly relevant / remotely relevant / almost irrelevant / absolutely irrelevant).

²⁰ For young people directly, for mature people indirectly through their children.

Certain **socio-demographical groups** see “Human Rights” differently. Women consider *unemployment* and *corruption* to be more relevant to Human Rights, than men do. On the other hand, men see more connection between the *low level of democracy* (public participation in governance) and Human Rights than women do. Generally, the higher the respondents’ age, the more connection they see between the named problems and the notion of Human Rights. Private employees more than others, especially students, consider *social security, human aggression, low incomes, environmental pollution, and undeveloped business* problems as connected to Human Rights notion.

The perception of Human Rights notion differs according to **liberal/conformist breakdown** as well as according to general **HR awareness** of respondents. Expectedly, conformists more than others consider unemployment and poor energy sector problems as related to Human Rights. Those who were more positive about the existence of HR legislation differ from the rest in that *low level of democracy* and *impunity syndrome* are more related, while *unemployment* is less related to Human Rights notion.

Further, we attempted to measure the situation of (public attitude to) different social groups. Distribution of results is presented on Figure 29.

The groups which, almost unequivocally, are disadvantaged and need certain assistance are *poor families, homeless, people with physical and mental disorders, and elder people*. One fourth to one third of the respondents feels that the above groups are discriminated.

Interestingly, *children and adolescents* are also viewed as needing more social protection.

Prisoners and detainees, as well as IDPs from Abkhazia introduce a certain degree of controversy. While many feel that these groups are discriminated and need assistance, still about one in five respondents think that they are treated fairly. Interestingly, the similar general attitude is expressed towards *women*, if only they are viewed as less discriminated against.

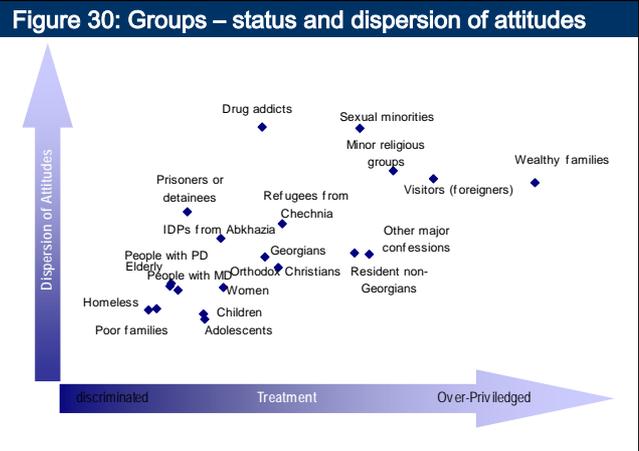
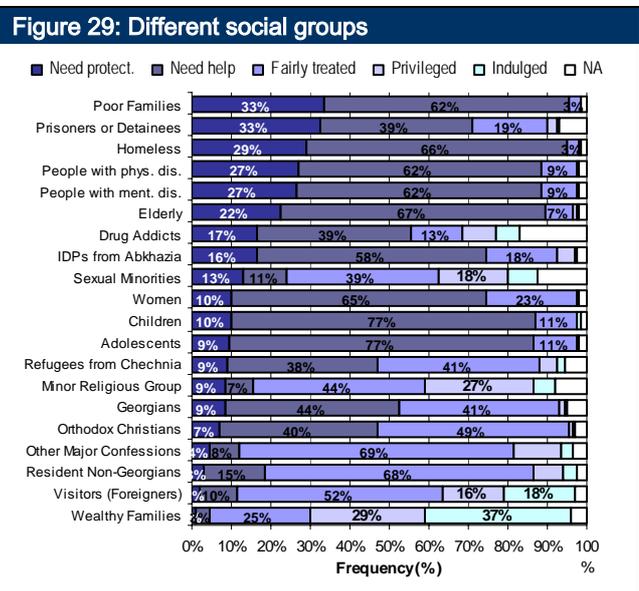
Drug addicts, sexual minorities and *minor religious groups* represent cases similar in that they polarise the society most. While many think that these groups are discriminated and need protection, still many again think that they are treated fairly or even over-privileged.

Georgians, orthodox Christians, and, interestingly, *refugees from Chechnya*, are basically viewed as somewhat disadvantaged or fairly treated. *Ethnic minorities* and members of *major religious confessions* (other than Orthodox Christian) are viewed as fairly treated or somewhat privileged.

And, at last, the best-off groups: *foreigner visitors* are generally seen as fairly treated or over-privileged, while *wealthy families* are seen as being too much advantaged.

The overall frequencies described above conceal some differences in the assessments *by* different socio-demographic groups. One the other hand, there are cases when there is no difference in assessments where one might have reasonably assume one. For instance, assessment of social treatment of *women*

Q9. In your opinion, how the following groups are treated in Georgia?



is about the same by male and female respondents. The only significant difference between men and women was in their assessment of how *minor religious groups* are treated by society. Namely, men are more tolerant towards these groups, i.e. on average assess the social attitude to them as fair.

Respondent's *age* is also an important factor in predicting his/her attitude to *minor religious groups*, as well as to *sexual minorities*. Namely, the younger the respondent is, the more tolerant he/she is towards these groups. The same is reflected by the occupational breakdown. *Students* differ from other occupational groups in their relatively tolerant attitude towards the above groups. An interesting case is the attitude towards *people with mental disorders* – while all respondents generally agree that these people need more protection and assistance from the society, *students* and *pensioners* would agree to this proposition less passionately than others.

Understandably, the material welfare of respondent affects his/her certain assessments. The lower the respondent's family welfare the more supportive of *poor families* and less tolerant of *wealthy families* he/she is. Also, poorer respondents are less tolerant to *sexual minorities*, *minor religious groups*, *drug addicts*, *IDPs* and *ethnic minorities (non-Georgian residents)*.

4.3. Aggression and Violence in the Society

In this part of the questionnaire we have attempted to measure the extent of severe human abuse (both moral and physical) in Tbilisi. First the relative importance of certain factors (such as nationality, economic status, income, etc) has been assessed as in provoking moral or physical abuse. Then, the incidence of abuse by State bodies, as well as by private actors has been measured.

First, respondents were asked whether they can remember, within last year, any case of moral or physical humiliation of a person due to certain qualities (factors), such as economic status, age, nationality, gender, behaviour, etc. Later, they were asked the same question, but regarding themselves. In overall, 48% and 14% of respondents have known a recent case of, respectively, moral and physical abuse attributable to at least one of the listed factors. Besides, respectively, 31% and 1.6% of respondents have reported being a direct victim of such abuse. Specific case distributions are presented on Figure 31 and Figure 32.

Q10. Can you remember, within past year, any actual case of strong human humiliation due to one of the following factors? ... List of factors

Q13. Within past year, have you personally ever been strongly humiliated due to one of the following factors? ... List of factors

As seen, *economic status* (presumably low) is the key source of personal humiliation in Georgia. 34% of respondents could remember a case of strong moral humiliation of some person, and 27% admitted that within the last year, there was at least one case when they themselves felt moral humiliation due to economic hardship. Moreover, about 6% personally knew a victim or have been a witness of physical humiliation due to (low) economic status. 7 persons (0.9%) admitted that they have been victims of physical abuse due to their low economic status.

Nationality and *religion* have been the next major source of personal humiliation. Every one in ten respondents have encountered recently a case of moral humiliation due to person's nationality or religious beliefs. Respectively, 1.8% (14 respondents) and 4.5% (36 respondents) have encountered the cases of physical humiliation. 1.9% (15 respondents) and 1.4% (11 respondents) have reported having themselves been recently humiliated morally on the grounds of their nationality and religion, respectively.

Behaviour, mental or physical disorder, age, sexual orientation are also present as factors presumably important in provoking the degrading treatment of a person. Their relative importance, however, is lower. Interestingly, *gender* is one of the least important discriminating factors according to survey respondents.

Figure 31: Factors attributable to abuse – 3rd party

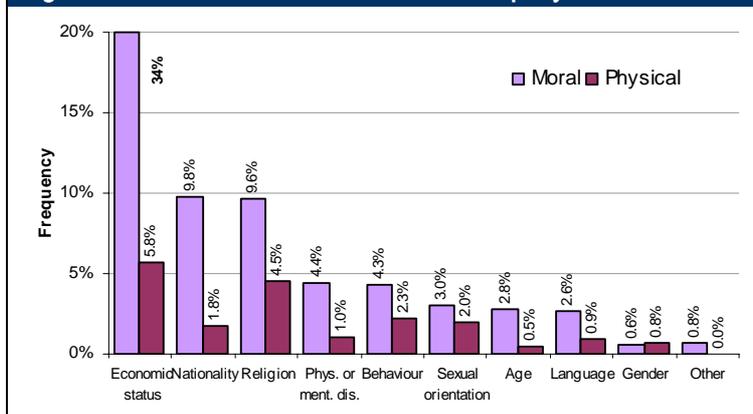
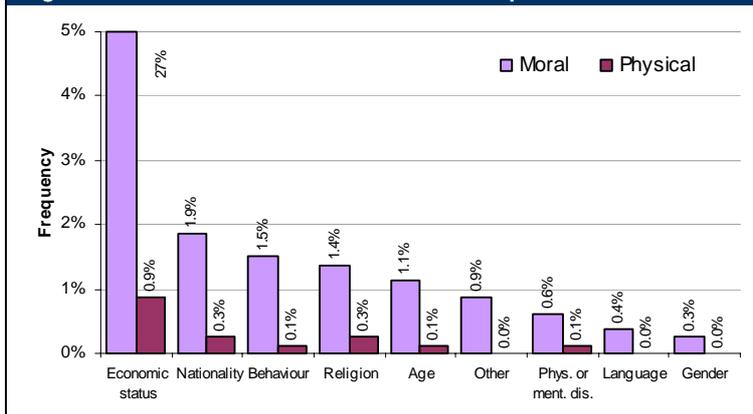


Figure 32: Factors attributable to abuse – respondent



Generally men and women witness and report abuse cases similarly. Though there are some exceptions. E.g. in the reported cases of moral abuse due to one's *language*, 71% of cases were reported by men. Of all reported cases of physical abuse due to one's *nationality*, 79% were also reported by men.

Above and below, in interpreting figures about the abuse one have endured personally, reader should always bear in mind that such figures are invariably biased downwards, due to usual unwillingness of respondents to report such incidents.

Further, respondents were asked about the incidence of human abuse by different State bodies. In overall, 43% and 25% of respondents have known a recent case of, respectively, moral and physical abuse committed by representatives of some state institution. Besides, respectively, 22.5% and 3.5% of respondents have reported being a direct victim of such abuse. Specific case distributions are presented on Figure 33 and Figure 34.

Q11. Can you remember, within past year, any actual case of strong human humiliation by some State body? ...
 List of institutions

Q14. Within past year, have you personally ever been strongly humiliated by any State institution? ...
 List of institutions

As seen, *police* is by far the most abusive state power in Georgia. 26% and 21% of respondents have recently encountered a case of, respectively, moral and physical abuse of a person by police. Moreover, 8% and 2.5%, respectively, have reported being a recent victim of such abuse. In other words, every 1 in 12 of Tbilisi citizens has been recently (within a year prior to the survey) morally abused by police, and every 1 in 40 has been abused physically.

Court system is also reported as an important source of human abuse. Although certainly requiring attention, this, however, may not be as alarming as in the police case above. Given the basic nature of courts work – judging on arguments – it is only natural to assume that in most cases of adjudication at least one party will feel frustrated (i.e. morally abused). *Physical abuse* by court system has been also reported. 3.4% has encountered such case recently and 2 persons reported being a recent victim of such abuse. These cases refer to the use of power by court officers (bailiffs).

Figure 33: Abuse by State – 3rd party

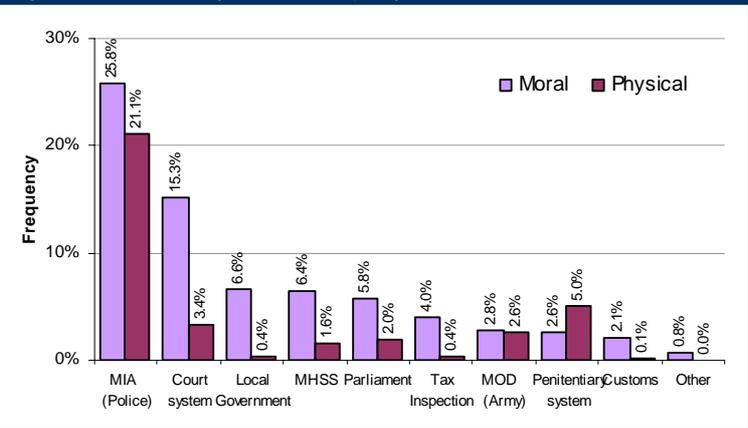
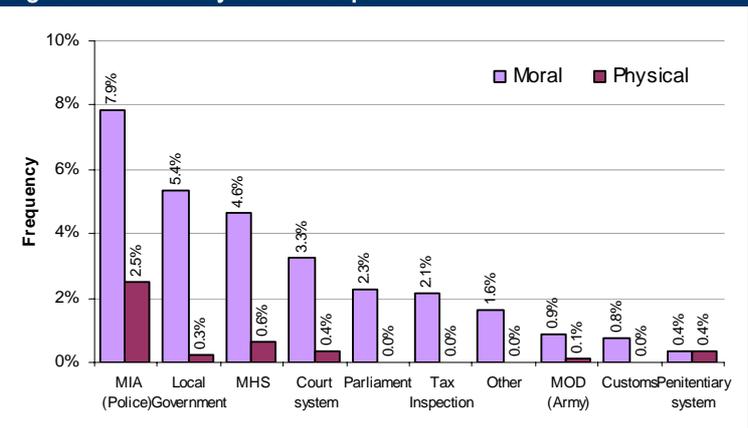


Figure 34: Abuse by State – respondent



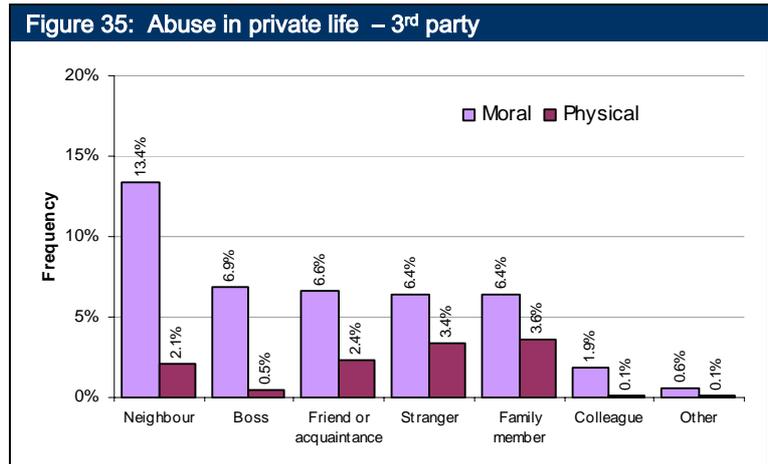
Penitentiary system is another significant area where physical abuse of person is not uncommon. 5% of respondents reported having known about such recent case. 3 people have reported being a recent victim of such abuse. As was noted above, generally, men and women report the abuse cases similarly. Understandably, abuse in Army and Penitentiary system is reported mostly by men.

Further, respondents were asked about the incidence of human abuse in private affairs. In overall, 29% and 8.5% of respondents have known a recent case of, respectively, moral and physical abuse committed within the frames of private relationships. Besides, respectively, 17.5% and 1.5% of respondents have reported being a direct victim of such abuse. Also 2.5% chosen the “difficult to say” answer option when answering the question about themselves. Specific case distributions are presented on Figure 35 and Figure 36.

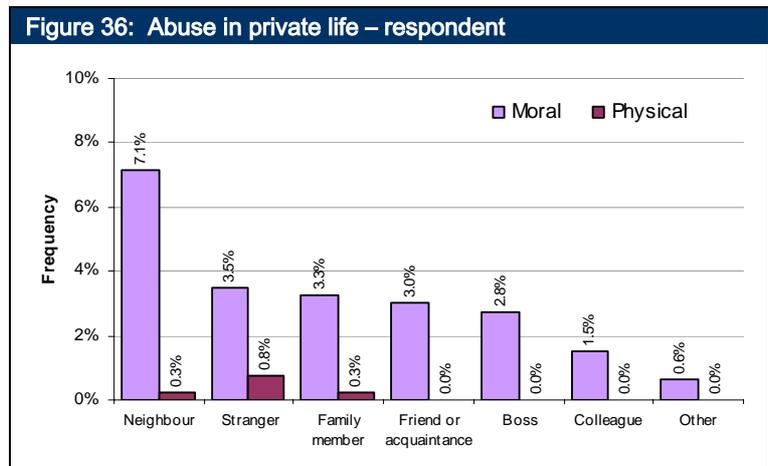
Q12. Can you remember, within past year, any actual case of strong human humiliation in private affairs? ...
 List of private actors

Q15. Within past year, have you personally ever been strongly humiliated in private life? ...
 List of private actors

As seen, relationship with one’s *neighbours* is one of the most stressful experiences in Tbilisi. 13.5% and 2% of respondents have recently encountered a case of, respectively, moral and physical abuse of a person by his/her neighbour. Moreover, 7% have reported being a recent victim of the moral abuse by neighbour. Besides, 2 people reported being physically abused. In other words, every 1 in 16 of Tbilisi citizens has been recently (within a year prior to the survey) morally abused by neighbour.



However, neighbour relationships, and abuse resulting from these, are seemingly less *intensive* than that within *families*. 6.5% and 3.5% reported knowing about recent actual case of domestic violence. Moreover, 3.3% reported having been recently strongly humiliated by a family member. Also 2 people admitted to be abused physically. Apart from immediate family members, abuse often comes from *friends* or *acquaintances*.



Interestingly, the figures for abuse by perfect *strangers* are just the same as for the domestic abuse, except the self-endured physical violence – 6 people (0.8%) reported having been physically abused by a stranger recently. Generally we can safely conclude that domestic violence in Tbilisi is roughly of the same scale, if not larger, than that outside of the households.

4.4. Torture – Understanding, Incidence, Attitudes

In this section we attempted to determine what is understood under the term “torture” by Tbilisi residents; assess the incidence of torture (generally, severe violence) in Georgia; measure the level of public tolerance of it; determine the need for torture victims rehabilitation.

First, we asked respondents to record their free associations with the word “torture”. The full list of responses is presented in the Appendix (part 7). Figure 37 presents the distribution of categorised (grouped) responses.

Many respondents named *abuse (violence)*, either physical (13%), or moral (6%), or both (10%). This kind of responses may be considered as attempts to *define* torture rather than as visual or emotional associations with it.

For many, about 1 in 5, the word *torture* has a broader connotation of *life* itself, meaning either current economic hardship in Georgia, or, in isolated cases, life in general, i.e. in the metaphysical sense of life being a kind of exam to pass. Generally the religious life is intense in Georgia, affecting many attitudes and actions, and corresponding variables should certainly be minded by social researchers and policy analysts. For 2% of respondents the word “torture” had a first association with the martyrdom of Jesus Christ and various Georgian sufferers – Ketevan, Shushanik, Abo.

Another important and very distinctive group of associations with “torture” may be called “*Police and Jail*”. For about 11% of respondents these notions are about synonymous.

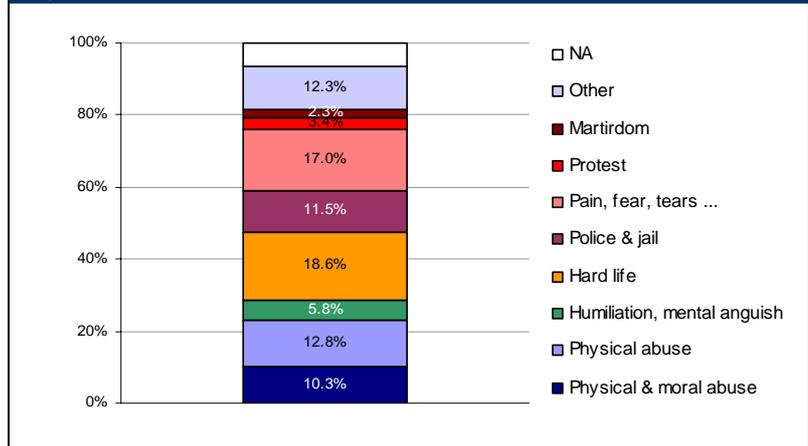
About one fifth of respondents (20%) have reported having primarily emotional associations with *torture*. Understandably these are mostly negative feelings of pain, fear, grief, pity, “something terrible”, and protest (3.4%).

The rest of responses (about 12%) were either difficult to classify or formed too small groups to be discussed separately. Sometimes these were certain visual associations – “concentration camp”, “guillotine” “inquisition”, “Shevardnadze”, “Abashidze”, etc; or such responses as “my son tortures me”, “mass media tortures us”, “questionnaires like this”, etc.

About 6% of respondents could not or did not answer this question.

Q16. When you hear the word “torture”, what comes first to your mind?

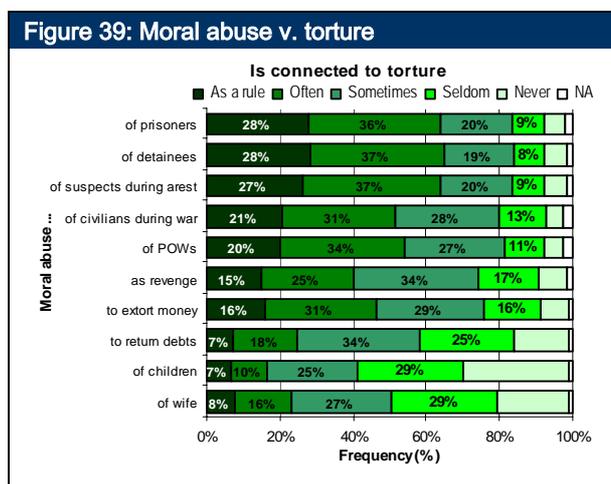
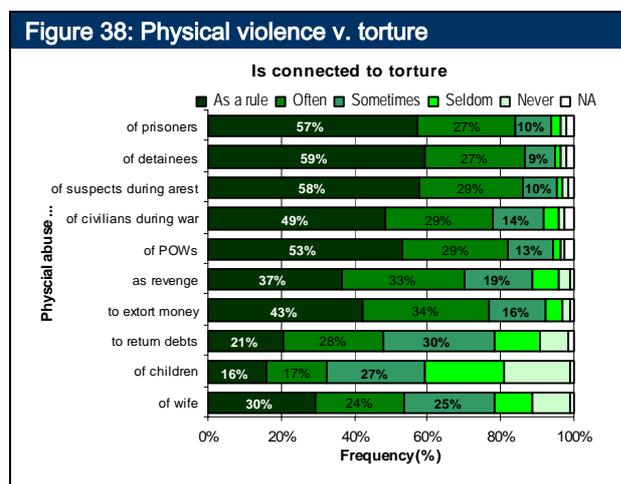
Figure 37: Associations with “torture”



In subsequent question blocks, respondents were asked to connect the notion of “torture” with different typical scenarios of *physical* and *moral* abuse; to assess the incidence (frequency) of such cases (scenarios) in Georgia; and also to say whether (to what a degree) such abuse may be justified.

The connection of typical scenarios of *physical* and *moral* abuse with “torture”, as seen by our respondents, is presented on Figure 38 and Figure 39, respectively.

Q17, Q20. In your opinion, in the list below what is more connected to torture and what is less?



Generally, we can say that “torture” in Georgian has quite a broad spectrum of connotations. First, in its most general sense, as it was seen above, the term is quite often used as a substitute for “hard life”. In its narrower meaning, the borderline between torture as such and physical abuse in general is quite fuzzy. Also, although predominantly associated with physical violence, the notion of ‘torture’ is not at all disconnected from moral abuse. From another perspective, while strongly associated with state institutions (“power structures”), the notion of ‘torture’ is not entirely seen as confined to *state-individual* relationships; it is also present in private life – to larger degree in the cases of criminal abuse (money extortion, revenge) and to lesser degree in family relationships (e.g. abuse of wife or children).

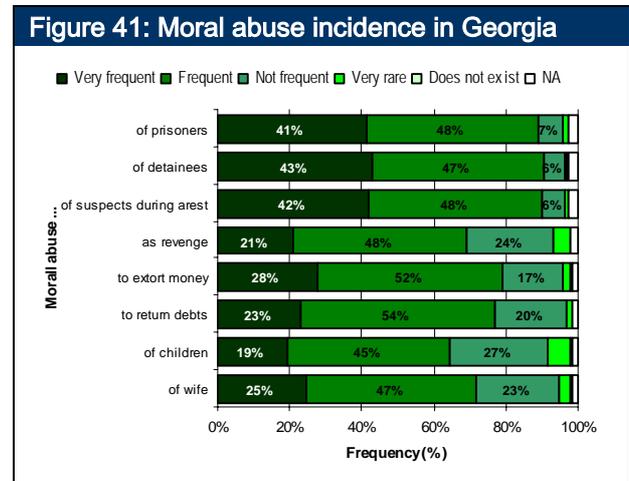
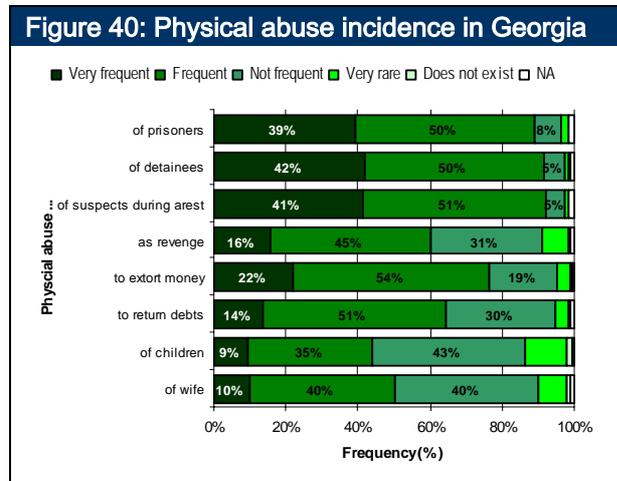
Men in many respects see torture differently from women. E.g. they obviously differentiate between the physical abuse of suspects during arrest and detainees, on one hand, and of prisoners, on the other. Male respondents think that the latter is less connected with torture than the former, while female respondents do not make any significant difference between these cases. Also, in contrast with women, men think that physical abuse of one’s wife is less connected to torture. Regarding *moral* abuse, clearly women are more sensitive to it and in many cases are more ready to associate it with “torture” than men.

By occupational characteristic, logically consistent with the above results for genders, *housewives* are most prone to associate physical abuse of one’s wife with torture. *Unemployed, students* and *private employees*, on the other hand, may be least expected to do so. There are no significant occupational differences observed in the assessments regarding *moral* abuse.

Generally, there is no significant correlation observed between the *age* and *income* of respondents and their vision of torture.

Respondents were asked to assess the incidence (frequency) of the above abuse scenarios in Georgia. The respective answer distributions are presented on Figure 40 and Figure 41.

Q18, Q21. In your opinion, how frequent in Georgia are the abuse cases described below?



In absolute terms, the reported incidence seems alarming, though, in the absence of historical or cross-country data, it is difficult to comment on the validity of the assessments and on the relative or real magnitude of the underlying problem. Nonetheless, about 90% of respondents would agree that abuse, physical and moral alike, of suspects, detainees, or prisoners is frequent in Georgia. Moreover, given the above (Figure 38) result when 84% of respondents are sure that physical abuse by police frequently involves *torture*, the latter can be seen as an everyday fact of life for most of Tbilisi residents. Physical and, to a larger scale, moral abuse is also quite frequent in private relationships. So, 76% of respondents would agree that physical abuse *in order to extort money* is frequent in Georgia, as well as physical abuse *to return debts* (66%) and *as revenge* (61%). Family abuse is also evidently a significant problem for Georgia. 50% and 44% respectively would agree that physical abuse of children or one's wife is frequent in Georgia.

Men and women generally agree in their assessments of abuse frequency. The only significant difference between genders concerns the assessments regarding the physical abuse of suspects and detainees. Men, more than women, think it is frequent in Georgia.

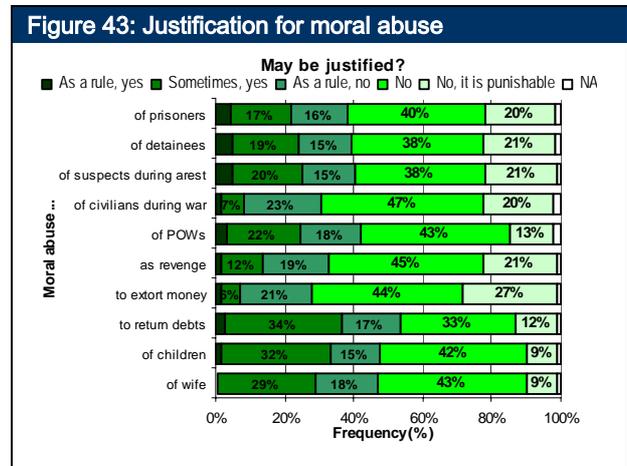
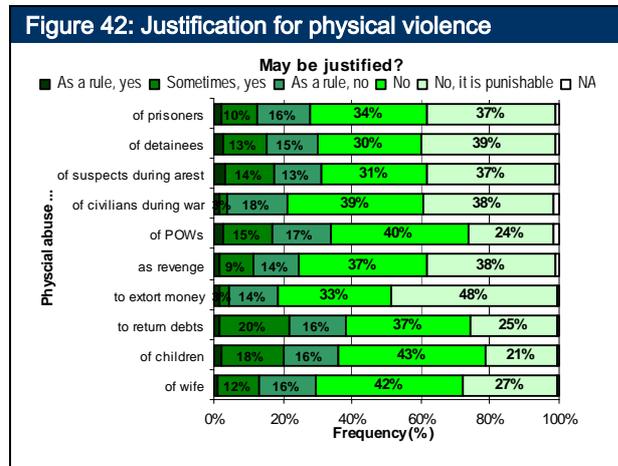
Older respondents assess the frequency of many named cases of abuse lower. Specifically, they think that physical abuse of one's wife, physical abuse to extort money or as revenge, also physical and moral abuse by police is less frequent, than younger respondents think it is.

Occupational split reveals large number of differences between various occupational groups. *Private employees* are most concerned (think such cases are frequent) with the *abuse in order to extort money*, or *abuse as revenge*, while *state employees* and *pensioners* are least concerned about it (think such cases are not that frequent). *Unemployed* are obviously most concerned with (report it more frequent) the abuse committed by police, i.e. *physical and moral abuse of suspects, detainees, and prisoners*. *Pensioners* and *state employees* are again on the opposite pole of opinion scale.

The higher is the *income* of respondents' family the more concerned he/she is (the more frequent he/she reports) the cases of *moral abuse to extort money*. No such dependence is seen, however, for the assessment concerning the physical abuse with the same motive. Also, respondents with higher income report as more frequent the cases of moral abuse perpetrated by police.

Then respondents were asked whether the above scenarios of physical or moral violence might be justified. The respective answer distributions are presented on Figure 42 and Figure 43.

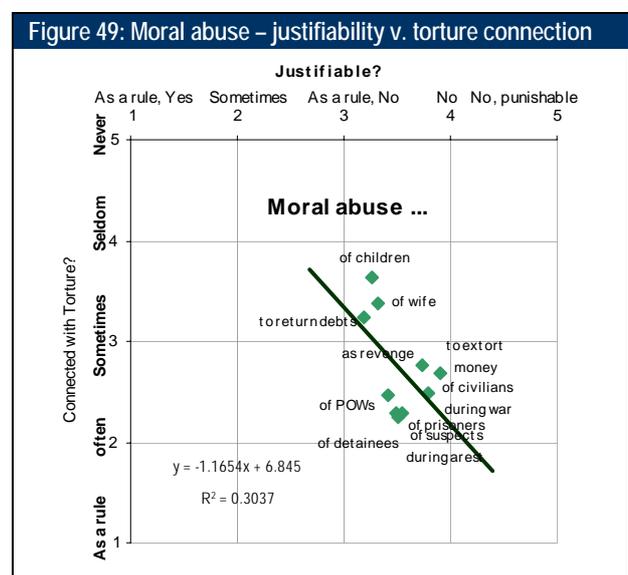
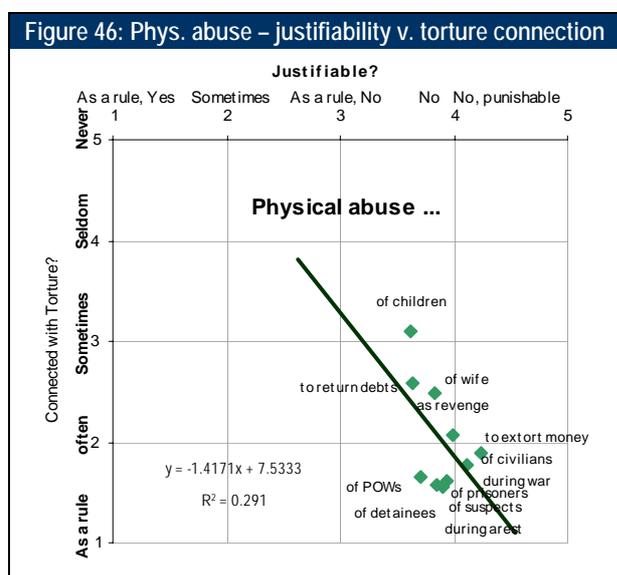
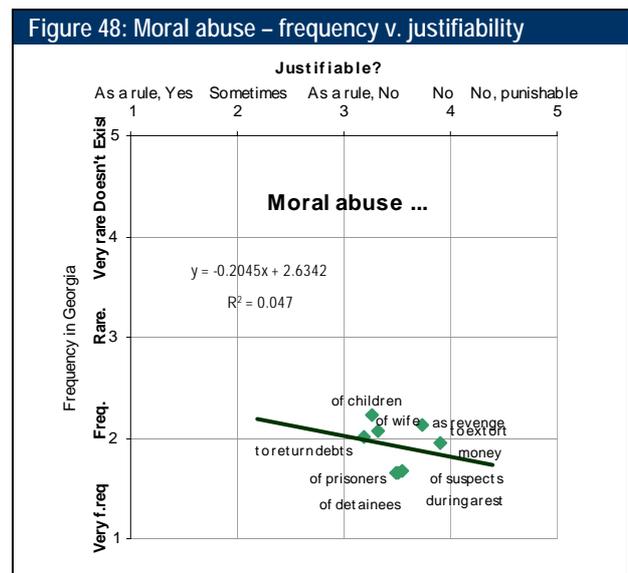
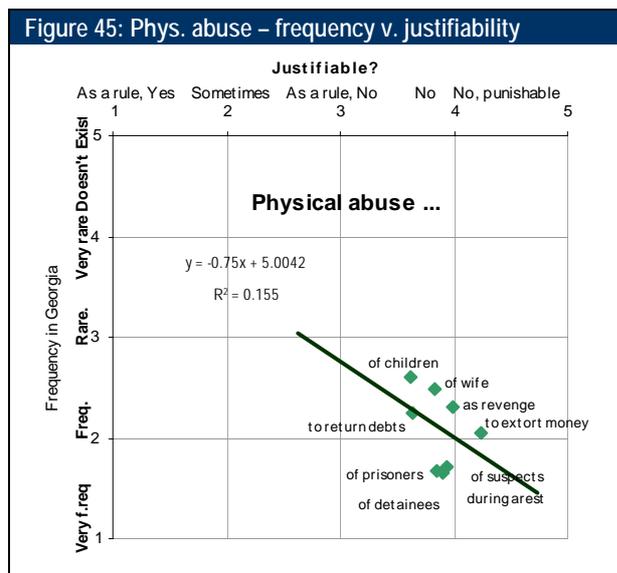
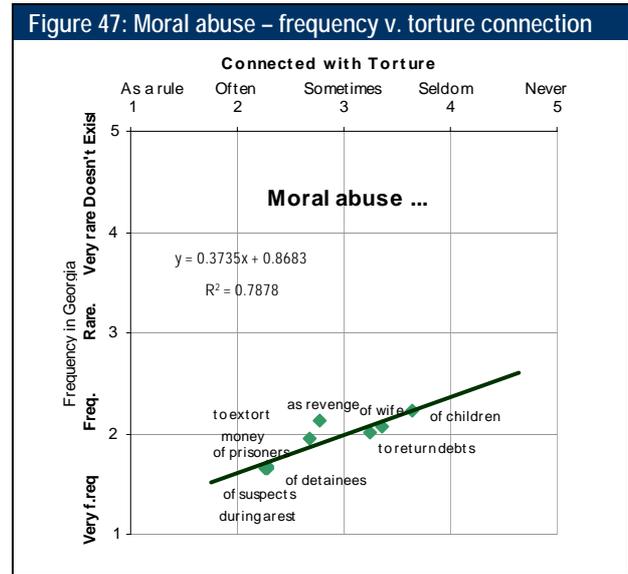
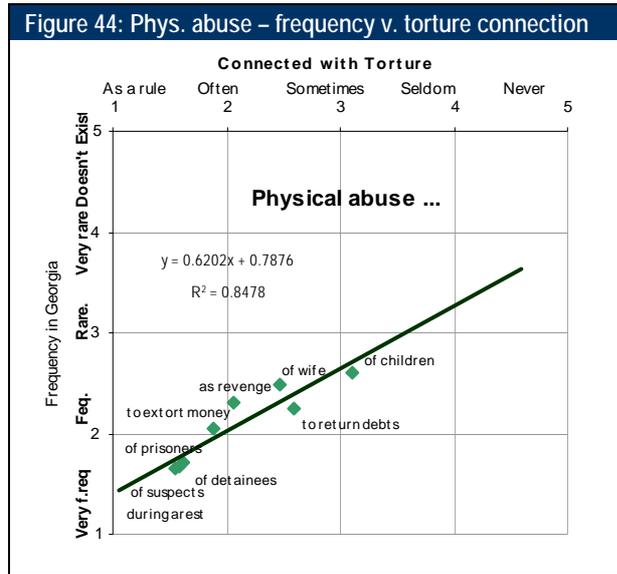
Q19, Q22. In your opinion, may the instances of abuse described below be justified?



The answers on the above question underscore an important contention about the incidence of torture not being an isolated problem of certain state institutions (e.g. police), but rather a reflection of general system of values (and methods) accepted by Georgian society. From one fourth to one third of adult Tbilisi citizens would agree that physical abuse may be justified in certain cases. At that, physical abuse within families is seemingly tolerated more than that perpetrated by state or by criminals. Also, only about the same proportion of Tbilisi citizens (one fourth to one third) would agree that physical abuse should be punished by the society. As about *moral* abuse, most of the respondents find it easier to pardon.

This group of question has highlighted also a significant *gender* difference in the tolerance towards abuse. In almost all named cases of abuse, especially of *moral* one, women are less prepared to justify it than men. Somewhat surprisingly there is no significant correlation observed between the *age* of respondents and their willingness to justify different forms of abuse. Generally, moral judgments change (usually become stricter) with age. There are also no significant *occupational* differences on the issues of justifying abuse. Respondents with higher *income* are less tolerant of the physical abuse of one's wife and of abuse by police (of suspects and detainees).

Below the cross-variable analysis is presented for the above three groups of variables (*dependence between abuse and torture, incidence of abuse in Georgia, and justifiability of abuse*). The mean responses scores for pairs of variables are plotted on a corresponding two-dimensional area.



As seen on Figure 44 and Figure 47, there is a strong dependence between the severity of abuse (its closeness to the notion of “torture”) and reported frequency of such abuse in Georgia. Namely, the higher is the association with torture, the higher is the reported incidence. The result is clearly counterintuitive – one might expect the reverse relationship – the more severe the abuse is the less frequent it is. Possible explanation for the actual result is that in reality, when asked to report the frequency of different abuse scenarios, respondents subconsciously “weight” different scenarios by their graveness and report such “adjusted” assessments of frequencies. The same effect is at work, for example, when people are afraid of air trips because of the perceived high risk of crash, while in reality the actual risk is millions of times less than that one takes when driving a car. It should also be noted that the effect works in both sides. That is, respondents may not only *overweight* but also *underweight* subconsciously certain frequencies. The latter may be true, for instance, for the figures about family abuse (abuse of children and spouses). Therefore, we would like to stress that such subjective assessments of abuse (or any other sensitive topic) incidence, in this or any similar survey, should never be interpreted and used at their face value, but only as relative indicators. The real extent of torture incidence in Georgia must be assessed by respondent *experiences* (see page 33, below) rather than their *assessments*.

Figure 45 and Figure 48 show that there is no strong connection between the reported *frequency* of certain types of abuse and their *justifiability*. The figures highlight some interesting points though. For instance the one that abuse of *children* and of one’s *wife* are usually very close variables. While abuse of children (using corporal punishment of children for “their own good”) may hardly be surprising in the traditional paternalistic society, as Georgia still is, the view of a grown woman as also needing such “guiding hand” is more worrying. Georgian society is certainly not prepared yet to punishing of husbands for abusing their wives. Interestingly, physical or moral abuse *to return ones debts* is also viewed as an act though generally regretful, but still somehow justifiable (or at least not deserving punishment).

Figure 46 and Figure 49 show that there is some connection between the *association of the abuse scenario with torture* and its *justifiability*. Namely, the stronger the association is, the lesser is general public tolerance of such kind of abuse. As about particular points, the case of *war-time abuse* is interesting. Since at present Georgia is not involved in any kind of large-scale warfare campaign, there was no much point in asking respondents about the frequency of abuse of either prisoners-of-war (POWs) or civilians during warfare. General questions about the connection of such abuse with torture and its justifiability were however perfectly sensible. It is interesting that while physical abuse of *POWs* is perceived to be strongly associated with torture, on the scale of justifiability such abuse is close to e.g. abuse of children or wife, that is society considers such abuse as somehow justified and not demanding the severe punishment for those who commit it. To the contrast, physical abuse of *civilians* during warfare is more strongly disapproved.

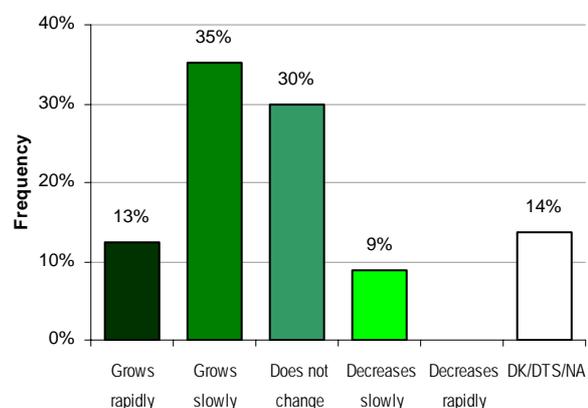
Respondents were asked whether, in their opinion, torture incidence increases or decreases in Georgia. Figure 50 presents the distribution of responses.

The general picture is quite grave. Only 9% of respondents would say that torture incidence is decreasing in Georgia, and 30% would not see any (positive or negative) trend regarding the issue. About half (48%) of respondents would say that torture incidence in Georgia is rising. And about 14% found it difficult to make an assessment.

The higher the *educational* or *income* status of respondent, the more positive he/she is in the assessment. No other socio-demographical variables produce any opinion differences.

Q24. In your opinion, does torture incidence increase or decrease in Georgia?

Figure 50: Torture incidence trend



Then, we asked respondents whether there is a need for additional effort to curb torture in Georgia. Figure 51 presents the distribution of responses.

Out of four answer options, respondents mostly chose only two: 26% thought that efforts to curb torture should be one of the social priorities (i.e. the problem needs to be solved before most other problems facing the society); and 67% thought that this problem needs to be solved piecemeal, along with the other problems facing Georgia. Different socio-demographical groups responded to the question quite similarly.

Naturally, the above two questions (q24 and q25) correlate with each other: the more negative is the perceived trend of torture incidence, the higher is the perceived need for curbing it.

Then, respondents were presented with a list of possible measures to curb torture in Georgia or alleviate its effects. Respondents were asked to rank these measures according to their relative importance. Figure 52 presents the distribution of responses.

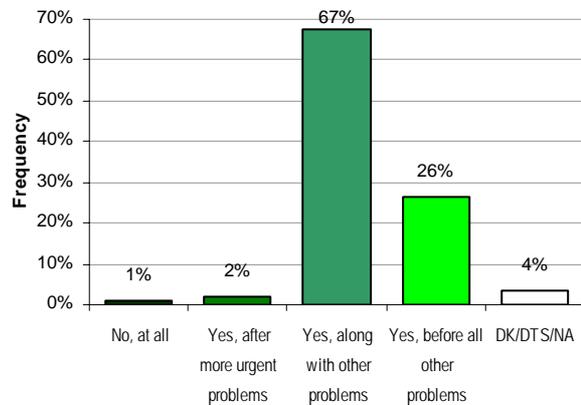
As clearly seen, punishment of torturers is seen as the most important factor in combating torture. Adequate legal help (which is also obviously linked to seeking retribution from torturers) to victims is seen as a second priority. Then come medical and psychological assistance – the factors implying both rehabilitation of victims, but also adequate psychological and medical means of confirming the fact of torture. Building professional capacity within “power structures” is seen as next priority, acknowledging the fact that torture is often used in lieu of normal investigative procedures. The “public opinion” factor is also important – many think that society should be better informed about issues related to torture and Human Rights in general. Younger respondents particularly stress the latter – e.g. need to increase awareness about Human Rights issues. Although few, still some respondents think it is important to raise salaries in “power structures”.

Male respondents put more emphasis on *punishment of torturers*, *legal help* to victims, *capacity building in “power structures”*, than women do. Women, on the other hand, readily advocate *psychological help* to torture victims, and *public awareness* efforts.

State and private employees as well as *students* favour *legal help* more than others. *Unemployed* advocate *punishment of torturers* more actively than other groups. *Housewives*, as women in general, are relatively more in favour of *public awareness* building than others are. In respect of public awareness, *students* and *housewives* make emphasis on *HR awareness*, while *pensioners* think that reporting *torture cases* will do better. *Psychological help* is advocated more by *state employees* than by other groups, while students do not think much about its relative merit. Building capacity in “power structures” is advocated more by *state employees*.

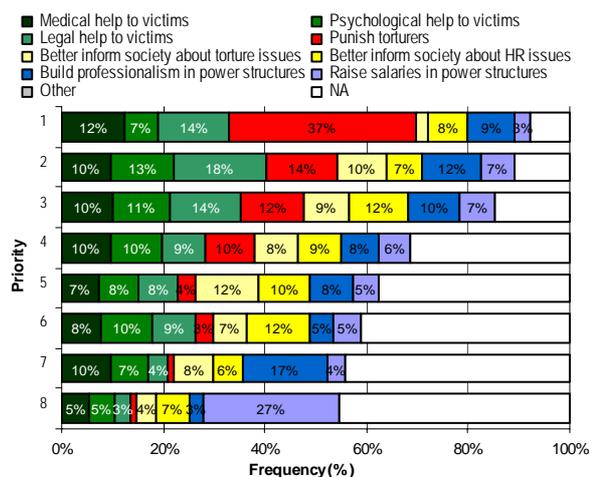
Q25. In your opinion, is there an effort needed to curb torture incidence in Georgia?

Figure 51: Effort needed to curb torture?



Q26. What kind of measures is needed to curb torture in Georgia?

Figure 52: How to curb torture?



At the end of the questionnaire, to assess the real incidence of torture in Tbilisi, as opposed to general frequency assessments by respondents themselves, respondents were asked whether they know any actual case of torture. That is, such a case when they either personally knew the victim or directly witnessed the torture act. Distribution of answers is presented on Figure 53.

19% of respondents (about 1 in 5) said that they knew such a case and 70% of respondents said they did not. Also 11% found it difficult to respond to this question. While interpreting the figures (especially the proportion of those who said they know such case) one should bear in mind that, as was

discussed above and will also be seen below, torture is quite a diffuse notion for Tbilisi citizens. Not always therefore the “academic” or “legal” definition of torture may apply to what respondents in our survey understand under this term. Many respondents may not consider harsh treatment of detainee by Police as torture, and would not report it as such. The opposite may also be true: victim of a street row may be reported as “tortured” by some respondents, while in formal discourse such definition may not always be considered as adequate.

While men and women responded to this general question similarly, there are *gender* differences in the response details (see below). As about the *age* differences, the average age of those who said “yes” is 40 years, while it is 45 years for those who said “no, i.e. younger respondents are more likely to know the actual cases of torture. By occupational status, *state employees* and *pensioners* are relatively less likely to answer “yes”, while *self-employed* and *students* are more likely to know the actual case of torture.

Interestingly, those who are positive about the existence of important legal documents protecting human rights (Question 5, on page 20) are more likely to report knowing the actual case of torture. The causal link may be that those who have had some torture-related experience have become more interested in the Human Rights issues.

Then, those respondents who reported knowing about actual cases of torture were asked to describe these cases: to say who the victim was and by whom, when, and how he was tortured. Also we asked whether, in respondent’s opinion, the victim needed any assistance at the moment. Responses regarding the torture victims are presented on the same Figure 53, above.

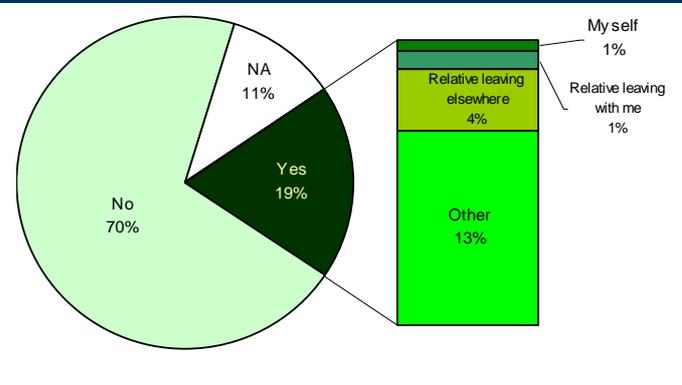
About 1% of respondents (7 people) have reported being a torture victim and additional 1% of respondents (9 people) reported that their immediate family members have had experienced torture.

Therefore, 2% of Tbilisi families (every 1 in 50) have a member who has directly experienced torture or other severe degrading treatment. This means about 7 thousand directly affected families (victims), assuming there are about 350 thousand families in Tbilisi.

Out of 7 respondents who reported being a direct victim of torture, 4 were men and 3 were women. Out of 9 persons reported having an immediate family member – victim of torture, however, 8 were women and only 1 was men. Also, out of 33 persons who reported having a relative (living elsewhere) who has had been a torture victim, 24 were women. That is, women are more likely to report torture cases involving their relatives than men. Abuse cases reported by men are usually connected with police, while women mostly report abuse incidences within private domain. E.g. all 4 cases when male respondent reported himself as being a torture victim were related to police abuse, while 3 cases reported by women were: “regular physical abuse by Basil Mkalavishvili’s parish”, “abuse by neighbour due to argument about the flat”, “physical abuse by stranger in the lift”.

Q27. Do you know any actual case of torture? (Please, reply “yes” if you personally know the victim or was a witness of such case

Figure 53: Do you know tortured person?



The particulars of reported cases are graphically presented on Figure 54. Namely, out of all 152 reported “torture” cases, 78% were committed by Police. Out of 16 cases of direct “torture” experience (by either respondent or her/his family member), 11 (69%) were committed by Police. The remaining 20-30% are committed by criminals, family members, neighbours, and strangers (mostly beating up in the street).

Out of all 152 reported torture cases, one third (35%) took place during the survey year, 2003.

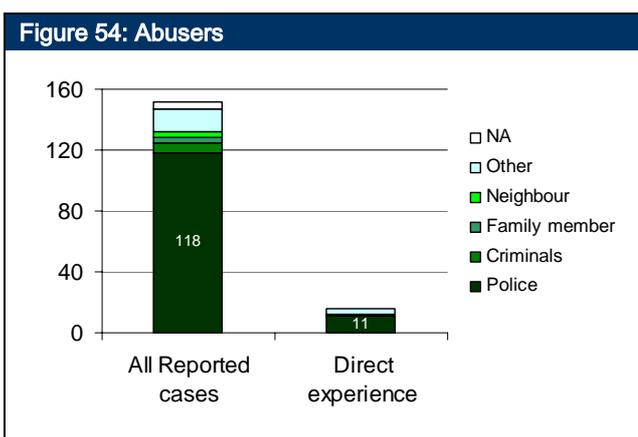
The rest took place before it. Generally, the reported times (years) can not be used to build any useful dynamics for torture incidence in Tbilisi. More recent cases tend to stay prominent in respondents minds while earlier relevant knowledge gradually fades out. Also, respondents tend to overstate the severity of more recent cases, qualifying as “torture” the abuse incidences (e.g. street scuffles) that can hardly be qualified as such by formal criteria. On the other hand, more distant reported cases are usually more severe and fit closer the formal definitions of “torture”. Given these and other sources of bias, dynamic picture may be built only through repeated similar surveys rather than trend estimates by respondents themselves.

Those 152 respondents who reported knowing about an actual case of torture or severe human abuse, were asked whether, in their opinion, the abuse victim needed any help. Responses are presented on Figure 55.

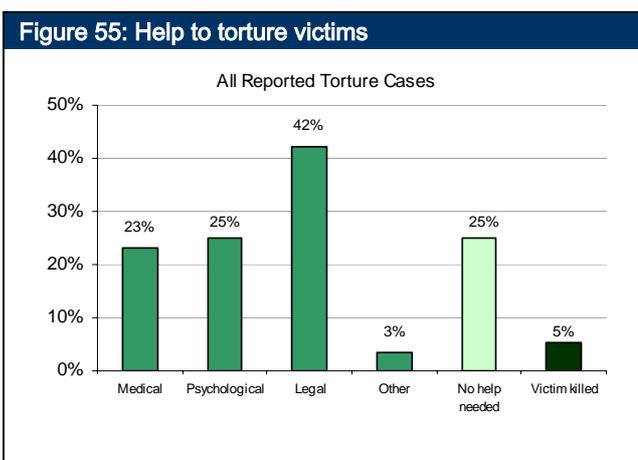
Legal assistance is what obviously needed the most – 42% of those who knew the torture victim thought that such assistance would help.

Psychological and *medical* assistance come next with 25% and 23%, respectively. In 25% of cases no help was required in the opinion of respondents. In 8 cases (about 5% of all reported cases) the victim was killed and obviously did not need any assistance. However, it was said by respondents that the *relatives* of the killed do certainly need such (legal & psychological) assistance.

As it was mentioned, in 16 cases respondents were directly affected by the “torture” case they reported. Interestingly, those 7 respondents who were victims by themselves all said that they would welcome specific assistance. On the other hand, those who said that their immediate family member was a victim, mostly rejected the need for any help (5 cases out of 9). The figures are too low to make any statistically significant generalisations. Still we can speculate that, possibly, relatives of severe abuse victims either underestimate the depth of their (psychological) trauma, or try to “protect” their family members (and/or themselves?) from the “unpleasant memories”.



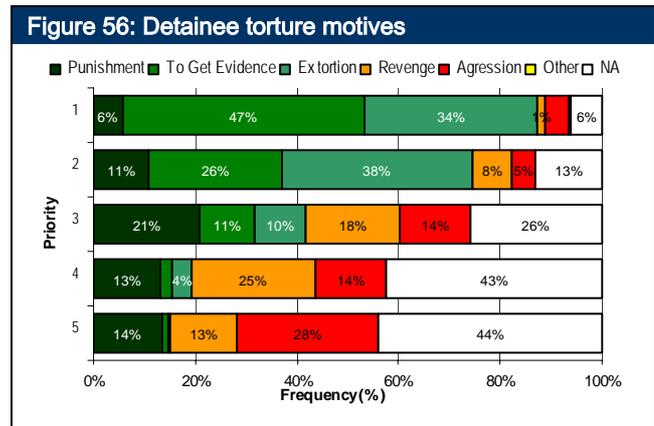
Q27_3. In your opinion, does the victim needs any assistance?



Since in the majority of reported cases of “torture”, police was reported as abuser, all respondents were asked about the motives police officers have to torture people, namely detainees. Responses are presented on Figure 56.

Q23. In your opinion, what are the motives of torture by police? list of possible motives

As seen, in the opinion of Tbilisi residents, the two major motives for torturing detainees are *getting evidence* and *extorting money*. Also it is acknowledged that police often takes on the executioner’s function and punishes (supposed) criminals for either their crime or for cheeking police. The other factors that sometimes surface in the discussions about police cruelty (e.g. *punishment by the order of victim’s enemies*, or simple *unmotivated cruelty*) are, in the opinion of our respondents, relatively unimportant.



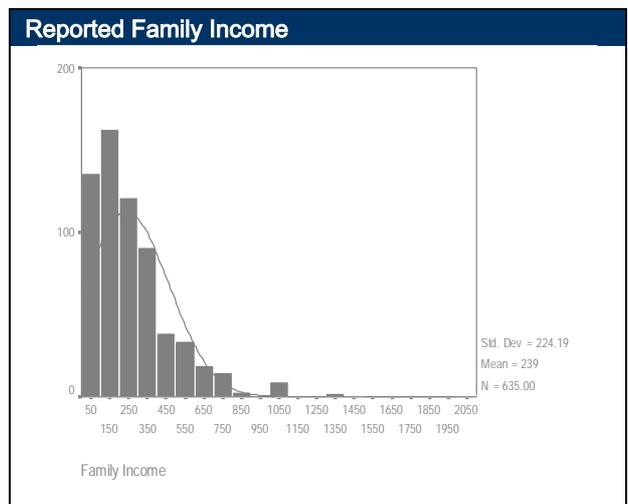
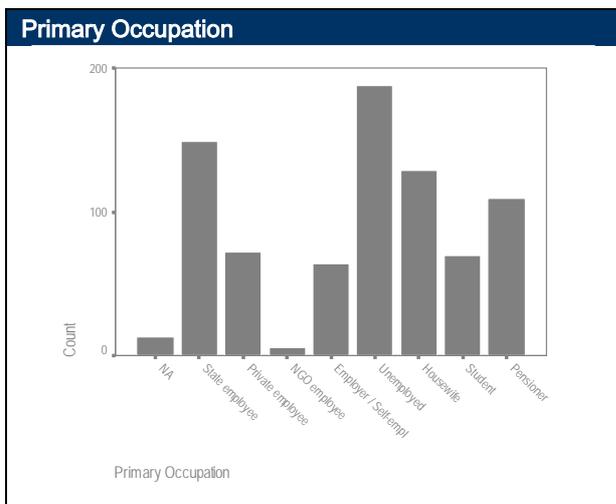
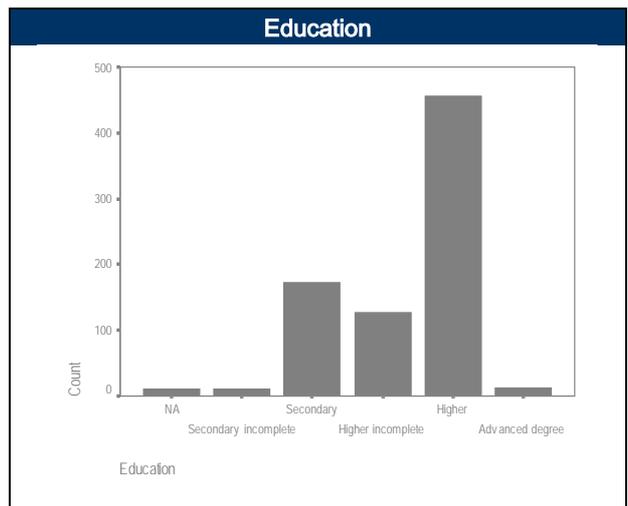
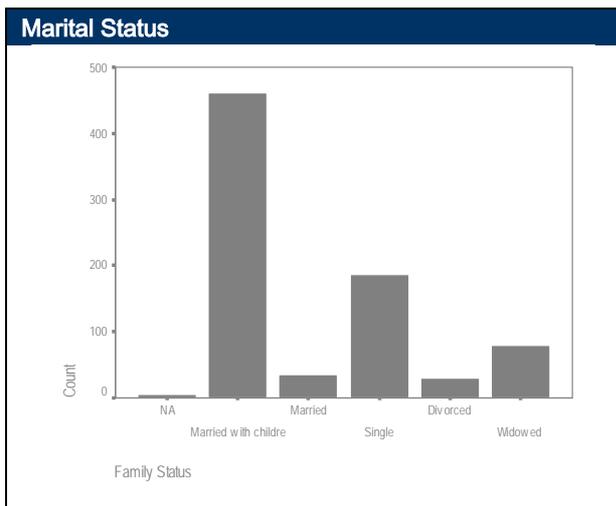
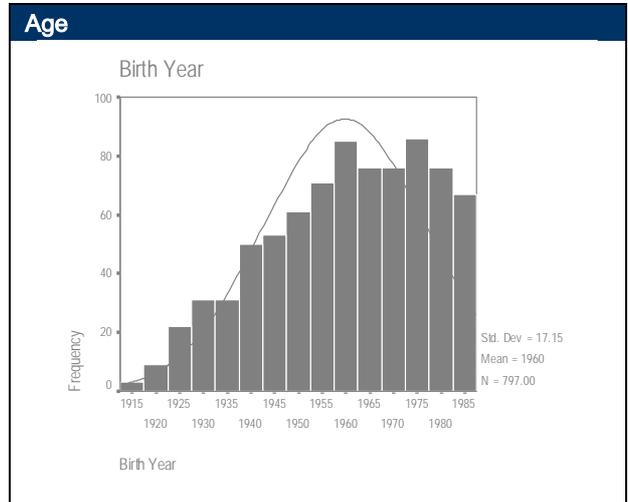
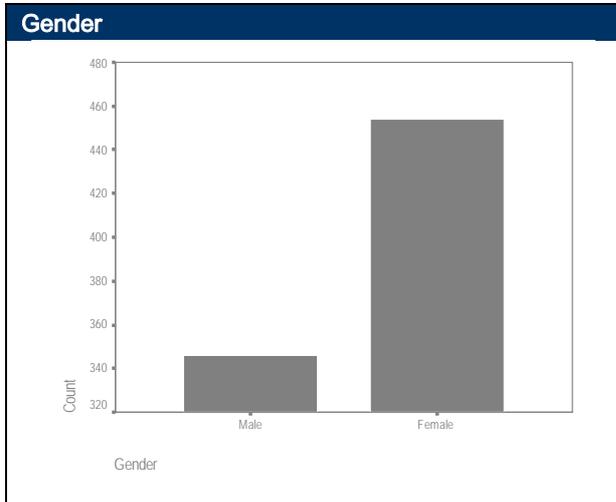
Male respondents, more than women, are inclined to think that *getting evidence* motive is most important for police. Women are more likely to choose the *extortion* as their first explanation to police cruelty. Neither *age* nor *occupational* or *educational status* of the respondents make any significant difference to their answers on the above question. The *income status* is important, however. Respondents with lower income are more prone to choosing *extortion* and *cruelty* answer options than more well-off respondents, who are more likely to choose *getting evidence* as their principal reply.

Comparison (cross-tabulation) of the above answers with the answers to the question regarding the measures to curb torture (see page 33 above) yields logical results: those who think that getting evidence is the primary motive of torturing detainees, relatively more stress the importance of capacity building within “power structures” and legal help to torture victims than the rest. On the other hand those who think that primary motive for torturing detainees is *extortion*, are more than others likely to demand the *punishment* of torturers as a principal preventive measure.

APPENDICES

5. Sample Demography

In this section the demographical profile of survey respondents is presented.



6. Associations with “Human Rights”

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Hope
Kindness, compromise, love, understanding
It's the obligation of state to care about Human Rights
Individual should be protected
Right to education, work, to work according to once profession, right to get salary
Anyway, no one protects our rights, whether we have them or not
We are not protected from State, law is not law
Our private life should be protected, our opinion respected
What person can and what not [defined], Age, position (higher the position, more rights person has, while everyone should have equal rights)
Ability to protect one's rights, to be independent
Ability to express my opinion, to express and assert myself... person has all rights... I am happy to have rights...
Law must be a law, one should be able to express one's opinion
To express one's opinion, to be protected, not to be afraid of anybody
1. Higher income 2. Welfare
Economically strong country, where person is not afraid of dying from hunger.
Person should be able to live without fearing tomorrow
Stable income, security, etc.
Everyone able to protect one's rights
Person should be protected; One is afraid of doing one's business, one can not trust government
Peace
Person should have all rights
State should not humiliate you – it makes one unemployed and gets you pay taxes – one is not protected.
Personal needs should be secured
Speech, vote must be protected by state
Justice, all humans have dignity
Freedom, ability to choose
Law should protect the rights it gives to individuals
Rights to education, health protection, etc.
If you have not a patron, you are oppressed. Law does not protect you
Bitter smile. Irony and nothing more when looking at our country and government
Person should be protected, there should not be kidnappings
Insecurity, terrible social backdrop
Ability to make a free choice
No one can touch me badly
To have job, to have a morsel of bread
Person should be free, law should work and protect one
Person should be protected socially and physically (bandits, robbery, etc.)
To have a right to work and be well, not to be afraid of leaving one's home
The basic human need should be met
Person should feel protected, as he knows that he has rights and these are always protected
That person is not protected today
Person should live in a worthy country
In our country one does not feel oneself a Person
Person should be protected from anything. Persons have created lawlessness, he also has to protect himself

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Personal insecurity
Person should have a right to express oneself
Democratic state where every person is protected
Rights do not exist here
Free choice
The primacy of law in the country and as a result feeling of security by every person
People should live in a democratic state
Government should urgently be changed
Relation with police
Right to live normally
Right to live normally
Freedom of speech
We have no rights in this state
Material welfare
Population should be protected from hardship
Basic legal rights of a person
Within certain limits, person has a right to do everything
Security
Security
Freedom of speech
Person should know his rights
Stable income, democratic state, freedom of vote, freedom of faith, freedom of speech and behaviour
Every person has rights which should not be restricted
State should protect person's rights
Person should protect one's rights
Freedom of speech behavior
We should be protected from every hardship
There are no human rights
I smile bitterly
Social security
Social protection
Well-ordered state
State caring about human rights, security, lawful work of legal institutions
Violation of human rights in the country
Freedom within the limits of the law. State should protect our rights
We are not protected from anybody
Person should have freedom of speech, personal freedom
That there is law which works, that one is protected by law
Fight of faith, speech, opinion, work, abode, security, vote ...
To be able to go to doctor, to work and keep family, to retain dignity
Security, protected job
Hopelessness, weakness
Protection of freedom, protected rights to education and work
Human Rights should be protected as much as possible
Rights are not protected in Georgia
Law should protect human rights
My rights and my freedom are defined by law
Every person is free in his decisions, only within a law
No one protects human rights here
That everything should be on time, pensions be high, one should not be afraid to go out

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Economic hardship, especially in respect of ill people
Unemployment, corruption
Human rights should be protected
People without any rights
Right to vote
Social protection
Unemployment and pensioners
The lost bank deposits
That person should know that is really a "human", that he knows his rights and obligations. But only about 10% of people around us have really retained "humanity"
Right to work is not protected
Freedom of speech
State is obligated to protect the rights of its citizens: legal, social, security. Also the rights of citizens who are abroad
Freedom of speech, right to work, protection from criminality
Anarchy, no one can protect you from police abuse
Human insecurity
Insecurity, disrespect, carelessness towards person
We should learn "human rights"
Do not know, my head is off from so much thinking
Person is free being, who has its rights
I have no one to rely on in hardship
Freedom, democracy
Normal living conditions
Europe and USA, where human rights are really protected
Person has a right to live and they took away even this right. Then, all other rights (to work, to study, etc.)
Right to (free) health protection; police should protect one; There should be death penalty (for killers who have been sentenced several times)
If someone errs, he should be protected
Life in a normal country, where human rights are protected
All rights should be protected; We do not have any rights
None of our rights are protected
Person has a right to everything
Ones self should be untouchable, police, impunity
Government should protect HR, what does not happen. Life should be better
Law should be upheld, I should be protected by law
Human dignity should not be despoiled
State should protect my rights
every person should be protected; State should give people jobs, secure them
We are for ourselves and state is for itself. State should protect citizens, what it does not, so human rights are violated in our state
Freedom of speech
Demography
Freedom of speech
Struggle for survival, unemployment oppresses human rights
I am insecure
One does not have any rights
I want to be protected by law, in respect of health and job
Human Rights are not protected in Georgia
Human Rights should be protected but they do not do it.
We have lost even those little rights that we had. Government has not given us anything. It does not fulfill any promises
Here no one has rights

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
State does not protect our rights
That I do not have any rights, anyone can abuse me
Feeling of humanity
Freedom of speech
Right to work, minimal salary
I what to have [HRs]
State does not protect my interests
Impunity, unemployment, no salaries, poor education
Law is not a law, and law-enforcers themselves violate it
Protection of one's rights
Mistakes, violations at every step
[HRs] should be protected by law
Freedom in everything
One should abide by law
Human Rights are violated at every step
Nothing
Human rights are not protected at all
There is noting like in our state
Human freedom
Insecurity
Person's social situation
There is a law and every person should go by it.
Person should not be disturbed unlawfully
One should be able to protect one's rights
Person should know his abilities
Rights to health, education, work, leisure, etc.
Some rights are given to human from birth, some he gets later. This rights should be protected.
Injustice
Every person has a right to live in normal conditions
Injustice
Normal economic relationships
Lawlessness, injustice
Anarchy, law, justice
Self-protection, with one's own means
Lawlessness, bandits
To express one's opinion
It should not be possible to take ones life
Right to work
Insecurity, injustice
In our country person has no rights
Protection of law
Protection of law is what comes first
No associations
Lies
Police, low incomes
Insecurity
I smile when you ask this. In our country person is powerless and insecure
Police impunity
[HRs] are quite violated. Situation must be changed to better.
Rightlessness
In our country human rights are ignored. No one pays attention to the opinion of common people
Nothing comes to mind
Right to education, right to work, right to vote
Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms

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q6
Terrible, because protection mechanisms do not work for people
We have rights, but can not use them
Right to vote, right to act
That I live in undeveloped lagging country
Rights to life, education, health protection, security
Nothing comes to mind
"Human rights" for me means that person should be able to live (and not just exist) like "Human" in all respects
Right to live, to freedom, to security, to vote, to create, to believe
Rights of speech, faith, expressing opinion
Protest
Right to vote, to health, to education
Everyone should have rights
Person should be protected by state
Insecurity from every side
Person has right to live, to education, to health, to walk securely in the street
State must protect human rights
The maximum personal freedom, private initiative
We do not know exactly what rights we have and what not
Right to work
Security
State, government has to protect the security of the country and rights of its citizens
Human dignity
Human being a human, the ultimate right! And government should ensure this
I agree to everything what is said in the Constitution
State should ensure the security for all
Person has a right to freedom
Freedom of expression, protection of law, work security
Rule of law
Security
Person should be protected and have source of income
Security
Insecurity of Human Rights
Human has a right to live like a human. One should not be afraid that he will die of hunger tomorrow
Freedom of speech, opinion, action; all these within the limits of moral and state interests.
Protection of personal security
Every person should have freedom of speech, right to be employed, to live like a human
Human rights must be protected
Protection and security
Right to free and calm life
Misha Saakashvili. He protects human rights in Georgia, helps deprived, forbids illegal constructions. He increased pensions to pensioners
Person should be protected
Human moral and physical security
When person feels secure, as he knows his rights
Freedom of speech
Every person should know his rights and be secure
Person has no rights and, generally, his existence is neglected
The right to live, to vote
Freedom

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q6
To have work, money and means to live
Lawlessness
Person should be protected from everything
Protection
I have no position
When words and deeds matter
No one protects human rights in Georgia
Terrible feeling, as one feels that does not have any rights
The rights should be protected by State
Freedom of press, tolerance, free elections, democratic government
Normal government
Person is not protected at all
That person is not protected
Stable life in the country
Rule of law
Human rights should be protected
Who has rights today?
Person should not feel humiliated in the society. The rights of every person should be strengthened
Every person has certain rights that state must protect
Everyone has right to life and happiness
Violations of rights; insecurity
That I am not protected
If you have money, you have all rights
Human rights are not protected in Georgia. The complete anarchy, the complete chaos
Law must be upheld
People are not protected physically and morally. Especially pensioners
Freedom of will, right to vote
Powerlessness
Demotion of Shevardnadze
Injustice
Insecurity
Injustice, rights violations
Powerlessness, insecurity
Slavery
Human rights do not exist here
Work, inability to save one's family
Powerlessness, anarchy, bandits, speculation
Insecurity
Unemployment, robbery of population. Everything is worsening
That person is protected in all respects – economically, legally
Good life
That every person, and the whole society has rights
When person has normal conditions
Person has to be given the opportunity to realize his rights
Violation of personal will and disrespect
Insecurity
Rights of every person should be respected
Insecurity
Right to vote, to work, to be happy
Person should not be humiliated by state
To be refugee in one's own country
Protection of person
Powerlessness
Law
Good life

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Work, right to live, to be protected
The right to work. Solving the unemployment and social problems.
Our powerlessness
To have the right to everything, within the limits of law
My insecurity
The right to free vote
Insecurity from state
Poor legislation, unresolved social problems
Protection from criminals and social security
To live with dignity
Right to vote, protection of law
Freedom of speech, to be protected
To be protected socially and from criminals
Security, moral and physical
Providing people with job and protecting his health
Guarantee and protection of one's security
Right of expression
Everyone protected by state, irrespective of social status
Freedom of vote and speech
Rights to work, to education, to freedom
The rights in today's Georgia
Social insecurity
Protection of human dignity
We live in "lawless" country. State should protect our rights
Difficult to say
Freedom of speech, of thinking. Though this does not mean to be able to say whatever you want. Mutual disrespect
Our powerlessness
Freedom
Improvements in respect of law-enforcing structures
Our rights, free life, work, education
Person has right to work, to leisure, to expression
Ability to vote
Possibility to realize one's potential
Private and social rights
Social security
Guaranteed protection
Freedom
Social protection of a person
Feeling of being protected by state
Freedom, free vote
Not to fear tomorrow (stability)
Right to protect oneself
Our rights that are not protected
Oppression
To express our opinion freely; every person should have equal rights with others
Protection of oneself
Personal insecurity
Protection from abuse, from poverty, from criminals...
Feeling of insecurity
Violation of rights
Security
Freedom of speech, of action, of vote
Our social and legal insecurity
Feeling of security, limiting oneself to social norms

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q6
Punishing innocent people, lack of initiative and action by state to improve public welfare
Our insecurity
Freedom of speech, opinion, right to work, right to vote
Freedom in speech and action
When one "can" ...
Civilized laws and their primacy
Right to education, to democratic elections
Democracy and rights
Every person has right to work, to live by law, to vote. Person has a right to everything, within law
Right to work, to education, health
Right to be heard
Freedom
Person has a right to work
Personal rights should be protected. Person should have pension, salary, be able to move freely
Individual should be protected by law
Freedom of speech, press, vote. Social security, employment.
Person has a right to be protected by state. State should care about population, about solving social problems
We should be protected by law
To be protected from all sides
Freedom
Person should belong to himself
Our insecurity
Right to free life
Freedom of speech
I have to be secure from bandits. Today Georgia is Sodom and Gomorra
Protection from criminals
When person can't express his opinion
Law should protect human rights
Our violated rights
Rights to education, to healthcare
Free education, healthcare
Freedom of speech, action
Insecurity (no salaries, poor healthcare system)
Difficult to say
Person has a right to life, work, healthcare, leisure
Freedom of speech and action
Freedom of expression
God has created this world and Human beings. It is a unique phenomenon. Also law
Our powerlessness and insecurity
Individual has rights and state should protect them
Violations of law and our hopeless state. Rule of law
Can not express
Can not answer
We do not have any rights. It is only written on paper
Rights are lost
The cold-blooded attitude of government towards people
People of every nationality should have equal rights. That my rights as of Russian should be protected
Person has right to least basic conditions to live
Freedom of speech, material independence

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Everyone is insecure
Right to live. Protection from state. Obligations before nation. The wealth should be accumulated in order for the nation to develop
Lawful, well-ordered state
Personal security and protection of self
Person has right to everything – speech, life
To be guaranteed elementary means for leaving
I want to laugh when someone speaks about it in Georgia
Social security, work, protection from criminals
Powerlessness of people in Georgia
Insecurity
Right to work and means for leaving
Rights given to individual by law
My conscience
Person should be protected from state
Freedom of speech, protection of human rights, abiding by law
At least right to vote. Pension, education, healthcare
Normal living conditions and right to work. Ability to get education
Security, independence
USA
Right to work, legal rights
Civic and personal rights
Health protection, chance to work
Socially unprotected people
Law that must protect individual
Freedom of speech
Government is alienated from this notion
Right of free vote
Person should feel that he is protected by law
Freedom against the backdrop of social security
Individual has a right to do whatever he wants
Right to work, right of expression, care about future generations
Unseen hardship
Where are my rights?
All stay together and do not forgive any abuse
Human Rights in all spheres should be protected
Insecurity
Rights stripped and complete powerlessness
Free individual
Personal security, healthcare, improvement of living conditions, workplaces and due remuneration, of course, abiding by law
Everything that is meant by Human Rights
Do not know, nothing comes to mind
Freedom of speech
Law
Shevardnadze, Ardzinba, Bush, Putin, etc.
Not protected
Right to be employed
Feeling of security

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Care of human welfare by state
Freedom
Right to vote, to have job, freedom
Injustice, insecurity, freedom
Insecurity
Injustice
Right to free life, right to choose job, right to leisure and healthcare
Violation of human rights
Social freedom of individual
Living in free country and ability to work, so that one can fulfill his wishes
Welfare, happy life
Insecurity, injustice
Right to speak freely
Right of speech, choice, action
What happens here is discrimination of human rights
Free will
Freedom, self-esteem
State rights
It is the right of a person to protect himself, to know everything about political processes
Freedom of speech, not only declared but real
Person is protected by state, both within and without its borders
Personal security
Respect of human rights
State must care about human rights
Individual is not protected as he should be. Innocents are accused. People can not use their rights due to bad situation in the country
Feeling of security, employment
State should protect my and country's security. Constitutional rights should be protected. Right to vote
Right to vote freely
Individual, his security should be protected. One should be able to tell what he thinks
Everyone should have right to education, work, and healthcare
Personal security
Security
Protection of one's dignity, protection of constitutional rights
Right to vote. Our requirements should be satisfied (pensions, salaries)
No should be able to stop me in the street. My nationality should be protected
Personal security
One should be protected from criminals. State should secure one with job
Everyone should have elementary living means: house, stable income, free education
Freedom of speech
Freedom of speech, presumption of innocence
Human life
State should protect human rights
I have no association, because today the people like me have no legal rights
Rights are not protected
In this country there are no human rights. Only on paper
Every person has been robbed of his rights
One's rights should be protected, but this is illusion today in Georgia
State should protect human rights. Firstly one should be able to work and be paid adequately, to have free healthcare and education
Freedom of speech

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Freedom of speech, social security, civil obligations and rights
To be able to express oneself freely and not to be punished for that. To be able to move between states without barriers
Individual has a right to do what law allows him
Abiding by law
Having a place where to live, work, income, possibility to live freely
Police
Freedom of speech, ability to work
All kinds of rights that are in a democratic state, within the limits of law
Right to free life and thinking
When every individual is a full member of his society
Right to live and breath freely
Rights defined by constitution
One should be protected from libel, from journalists, from police
Right to work and free life within law
Here all human rights are insecure
Our powerless being
No associations
When I do whatever I want
We have lost our rights
Human rights are not protected
Are you joking?1
Right to secure living and working
Right to chose freely
Our rights are gradually violated
When person has access to healthcare and can feed himself
Difficult to formulate
Right to paid job
Insecurity
Our helplessness
Person has every right within norm
Freedom of speech, action
Dealing with all that was named above
Insecurity
We should be protected socially
Elene Tevdoradze
unviolability of rights
The rights of Georgian people taken away
Injustice, insecurity
Freedom
Independence
Right to work, be paid and see a perspective
Insecurity
Protection of human rights
Lawfulness, abiding by law
It is a right of individual that his dignity is protected
Truth
Our insecurity
It very important for individual. Every person should feel protected
Not to be afraid, right to work and education. Minimal means for living
Free speech
The status of my country, how free and democratic it is
Right of speech
Police

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Powerlessness
Human Rights
To protect one's rights
Our rights are violated
Democracy
Human rights are violated
All rights are taken away from a person
Person should be reasonably free
When person is protected
Lawfulness
Freedom
Injustice, severe law violation by civil servants
Everyone should be protected
To be able to work, to have money. That there is calm and peace in Georgia
Our rights are not protected – legal, social
Do not know
Protection of personal rights (expression, action)
Right to work, to education
Freedom
Right to vote, to choose, etc.
People are counted for anything. Who has money he is a person, who has not – is not
Everyone's rights are not protected
Not to be afraid to speak one's mind
To abide by law, to do as well as we can
Person should be protected from any side
Normal life
The feeling of being protected by state
To be able to rely on law, when I need it
Life, citizenship
Freedom of speech, freedom of movement, within law
Right
Equality against law
Words stay words, they are not realised
State should protect individual, it should stay beside all families
To have my pension in time. To have pension according to what I have worked out
To breath freely
Personal rights, property rights, right of expression
That my rights in this country are violated
To protect ones rights, to be independent person
Peace, moving to better
Human rights are not protected
Are their really human rights?
Right to work, to security, to realise one's potential
Equality against law, and right to education
Inexistence of rights
Person should protect rights and be protected
Protection of our rights
To solve all the above problems means to protect human rights
Person should be free to realise one's abilities
One should be able to participate in solving all problems
There are no human rights in this country
When you are protected

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
Protection of a person
My rights. Freedom of speech, within law, may not be restricted whatever happens
Human rights are not protected
In Georgia human rights are not protected
That law should be good
Individual should be provided with job
Unprotected, violated human rights in Georgia
Person should have legal protection
Person has rights within the limits of law
Person should be able to express everything
Peaceful relations between people
Nothing
Everyone should be protected
Are there any rights?
Humans do not have the right to be cruel
Where are rights?
All to mind one's business
Trafficking, beating up and torture
Others to respect my rights. Social situation to become better
If there is no head in the family, family is not all right. So in a state, if there is no head, no rights will be protected
Security
Freedom of speech, thought. No redress for injustice, neglect of public opinion
Hague tribunal
Do what one wants, without restrictions
Freedom
Insecurity, injustice
Nothing comes to mind
No one has right to violated ones rights
Everything good
State and people should interact. Both have obligations, responsibilities
Issue of morals
Freedom of speech
I become sad
Person and his rights should be protected
All rights are taken away from person
Freedom of speech, of thought. Professionalism and its restriction
Protection of human rights
My personal right to be minimally secure; my grandchildren to have future
Should be protected for everyone, by force of law
Right to life, property, freedom, free speech, belief
Protection of all kinds
Person should be protected
To be able to do what one wants
Education, healthcare, employment
Senseless, absurd
Today human rights are not protected
To be economically protected by state, laws to work, healthcare to be good
Security, equality
Everyone to do whatever one wishes

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
To have right to do whatever you want
Freedom of speech
All human rights are ignored
In our country, person has no rights
Legal protection for individual
Feeling of being protected
Human insecurity
Feeling of being protected
Not to be restricted in every sense
Democratic state
Human protection and security
Constitutional rights are upheld
That person should be protected
Freedom, protection of individual by state, right to vote
Everyone has right to speak and do whatever one wants
To live according to my views, freely, without fear
Rule of law
Right for free vote
Freedom of speech
Right to work and be paid so that I can improve my living conditions
Security from criminals
Person should be protected from every side
Healthcare, pension, material security
That person feels secure in any situation, has job, income
Security
Moral and physical security
Freedom of speech, freedom of action
Right to work, social protection
Security and protection
Human here has not rights
It is all lies
Democratic state
Social security, feeling of physical security
Unemployment, education
Freedom of speech
We do not have any rights, we are insecure
No rights, torture
Right to work, law should protect me
Unprotected human rights
Institution of Nana Devdariani
Police
Freedom
When law is law and person is protected
When person has right for calm life, education, work and generally to enjoy life. It is all violated at every step today
1) one has to be able to produce something 2) to be able to speak freely
Lie
Person should have unrestricted rights in every sphere, within the limits of law
Syndrome of insecurity
Simply insecurity
Where are human rights or who protects them?
Person should be secure
Human security
Our rights are not protected
Person has right to have a job. One's constitutional rights should be

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
upheld; Elections should be transparent and well-organised
When my work, ability to speak freely, to think freely are not endangered every day
When law has force to protect me when I need it
Lawlessness
Protection of personal interests
Private interests
Security and protection
Lie
Person has rights from birth that state should protect
Person should be protected everywhere and always
Person should be able to protect one's rights
We should no more about Human Rights
Right
Independence, abiding by law
Self-protection
Person is not protected and is oppressed from all sides
That person should live in a democratic state is not be afraid that his rights will be violated
State should protect human rights. Law is the means for that
Government should treat humans humanly. Person should be protected by state
Neglect of our rights by state
Freedom of speech
Human rights need protection, with more care
1. Mutual respect 2.Culture
Hope, justice
Freedom
Syndrome of insecurity
Insecurity
Injustice
Person should abide by law, allow oneself according to it. Law protects person
Right for free life
Freedom of action, within law and moral
Nonsense, no one protects human rights. Everyone should be able to do everything, except to do evil
I become irritable
Police activities in Georgia
When person knows his rights and feels secure
When one is secure from every side
Citizen should be protected from uncertainty, hardship
Freedom of speech
Right to vote, education, healthcare, social security, to get free objective information
To have hope
Are protected somehow
When we are healthy and well, we do not feel like beggars
Personal humiliation
Everyone's rights are protected
Human security
Person has right to everything (speech, education, etc.)
Security and protection
Right to speech, education, to live well

tbl_Questionnaire
q6
State should protect human rights
Abiding by law; person should be protected by state
It would be good for the country to build up
Freedom of speech and belief
Security
Right to life, education, to have property
Firstly, person should understand that one has rights and one should be able to protect them
Impunity. People should not have the right to swear that much at the government
Today, without money, person has no rights
Right to speech freely, to move, to work
Every kind of right
Protection of personal rights
Freedom of speech, right to education, healthcare, social protection

7. Associations with "Torture"

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Sadism, physical and moral abuse
I possibly deserve it. Interesting why I deserve it? Unpleasant feeling. I do not want anyone to undergo it
Religious belief, pain, etc.
Misery, pain
Old people and children starving, torture in police
Torture of delinquents by law-enforcers; degrading treatment
Horror
Very bad feeling
Human torment, inflicting pain on humans, bureaucrats torture common people (lower classes) much
When you are humiliated by being penniless
Terrible feeling, mercilessness, fear
Moral and physical abuse
Pity, sadism, do not they pity people?
This life
Hard life
Human kidnapping
No light, no water, being penniless, etc.
Whole life is torture, physical and moral oppression
Torment (may be economic) unemployment
We all are tortured
Horror, no one has the right to torture humans
Everything bad, torment, moral and physical
Violence
Beating up, hanging
Humiliation, first of all moral abuse
Prolonged desperate state, tears, torment
Shevardnadze tortures us, economic hardship
Tears
Life is torture
Police
When others oppress us
Torture in police, life of refugees, begging, hungry, jobless
Beating up, tears
Torment
Human humiliation, when one can not become used with this life
Physical torture, moral may be even harder
Bad feeling, feeling of pity, why torture? Human torment should not exist
I am working hard but have nothing, they made life a torture to us
No light, no water, and generally living in these conditions
Physical torment
Fascism
Such laws should not exist
Intolerance
Fascism
Material hardship
Oppression of people, no justice
What happens at present in our state
Psychological and physical oppression
It is a horror and fearsome
Psychological and physical oppression
Present unbearable conditions in the country
Present life in Georgia

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Jail, police
Human abuse
Jail
Jail
Economic hardship
Present life
Unbearable living conditions
There are no elementary living conditions
Can not bear neither in films nor in reality
No light, being penniless, etc.
Our present life
Torture of Christ, Shushanik, etc.
Present life is torture for people
Guillotine
Being penniless, no light, etc.
Hardship humiliation
Pain, police
Renting
Torture of prisoners
No light, no water, present life in Georgia
Tearing off nails, burning
Placing evidences in the pockets of innocent people
Feeling of protest, torture should not be allowed, irrespective of anything
Unemployment, being penniless, tension
Hardship
Cruelty
Torture is unemployment, being penniless, hardship
Physical forceful pressure on humans
When such life will end? Economic hardship
Physical, moral trauma
Martyrdom of Shushanik
Hopelessness
Martyrdom of Shushanik, Ketevan, Abo
Torment
Beating up, imprisonment
Police jail
No gas, no lights, no water, falsified medicines
Physical oppression of humans by human
Torture (moral) for national idea, religion
Pity, torture should not exist
Starvation, i.e. social situation. Eyes of hungry children
Feeling of violence
It gives me shivers
Very bad feeling, most despicable thing
Police, bandits
Unemployment, unfaithfulness
Negative
When I sit without light
The ceaseless blocking of needs
Unpleasant feeling

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Gestapo, gas camera
I will kill anyone without hesitation
Torture may be physical and moral
Groans, pain, tears
Oppression and torture in primary detention facilities
Unpleasant feeling
Pain
Powerlessness, when your child is ill or hungry and you do not have money to feed him or take to doctor
Sadistic torture, abuse, when self is violated
Torture of prisoners, electric shock, rape
Moral and physical trauma
Moral, physical, abuse
Physical, moral pain
When light is off during an interesting TV program. Waiting in a lobby of some bureaucrat when he speaks on the phone or drinks coffee
Economic hardship is torture. One is afraid to become ill
It is torture when one does not know where to find money to buy some bread
Jail and violation of human rights
Every kind of humiliation, abuse. Not necessarily physical
Nothing
Tears
Physical and moral torture, humiliation, violation of human rights
It should not be. If someone did wrong, do the same to him, but it is better to kill than to torture
Beaten up person, violence, moral pain
Physical torture, when one is seized and tortured
When someone is tortured I feel the pain. It is unpleasant and unacceptable
When you have nothing
When person is humiliated physically and morally
My life
Guillotine
Humiliation, lawlessness
Beating up, physical pressure
Martyr Ketevan
Torture of people by police
Electric shock, beating up
Christian is blessed if martyred for one's faith
Torture happens in police
Hard life of people
Police
Physical violence
When you are tortured by hard economic conditions
Inflicting physical pain
Beating up of people by police
We, people are tormented. My son is disabled, he is tormented
Life of old and single people today
For people torture is unemployment, social insecurity, obvious difference between classes
Horror
There should no be torture
Torment
Present life

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Pity on humans
I feel bad
We all, common people are tortured
Prisoners of war or, simply prisoners
Our present life
Pain of losing beloved person
Torture of prisoners
Very bad feeling
Abuse by words
Do not know
One should not torture
Present life
Physical and moral oppression
Physical torture
Pain, present life
Violation of human self
Pain
E. Shevardnadze
Want the torturer to dies
Impunity
Pain horror
Being penniless
When I am treated unfairly, namely when I am shouted on, humiliated, abused
Beating up
Homeless children, old people
Making money
Minister of Interior
Present life in Georgia is torture
Violating law
Terrible pain
Police, criminal world
Injustice
Delinquents should be punished. Torture is not acceptable
Chechens
Present hard life
It is horror
It is torture when one does not have work, material means to help people around you
Physical and moral pain
Different physical influence to get or confirm information or evidence (often non-existent). E.g. by police or in prison
Violation of human rights
Horrible feeling, oppression of a person
Physical abuse
Everyday torture
Physical pain
Physical punishment
Sadism, Insecurity
Sadism, being inhuman
Our present life
Jail, army, Russians, prisoner, low pensions
Relations with MIA staff
Protest
Police jail
Horror, unpleasant feeling

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Violation of human rights
Physical torture
When one can do nothing for family and children
Physical pain, fear of future
Jail, prisoner, police, Georgians abroad
Violated laws in prisons
Humiliation
Living in this country is torture
Physical humiliation
Pain
Human humiliation, provoking aggression
Human humiliation
Humiliation, moral and physical, pain, abuse
My heart dies of nervousness
Human torment
Cruelty, illness, use of force
Violence oppression
Human physical pain
Severe torture during warfare or in jail
Unemployment, illness, having no income
I do not want to live
Homelessness, begging, being ill and not being able to have medical treatment
Injustice
Hunger is torture, also homelessness
To be unpaid, ill, be naked, hungry and thirsty
Pensioners in the line for pensions, economic hardship
Unbearable living conditions
It is something terrible
Jail
Human punishment for something one did not do
Human abuse
Torture in jail, purposeless, of to make them confess in what they did not do
Present life
Prisoner
Physical torture, moral oppression
It is torture when one can not prove truth by law. Everyday life is torture
Present life of people, Government tortures people by passing unrealistic laws, impunity syndrome
Police and cruel policemen
Present life
Humans should not be tortured
Police jail
Pity of humans
Present life
Police
Physical and moral torture
It is horror and generally this word should not exist
Pain, abuse, humiliation, powerlessness, injustice
Police, torture of delinquents
Humiliation
When one feels insecure
Physical torture in police
When government tortures people
Pity on humans

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Unbearable state
Physical and moral abuse
Feeling of pity
It is a horror, torment
Police
Shevardnadze
Police
War, concentration camp, hunger, cold, no light
Torture by police
Physical degrading of humans
Pain inflicted with sharp weapons
Revenge
Torment, cruelty
Bad feeling
Moral torture
Torture of prisoners
Horrors
Martyrdom of Shushanik
When sociologists like you come and ask silly questions
Pain
Electric chair, Guillotine
Torment
Robbery, torture to extort money
Torture of innocent people in jail
Beating up in police
Electric chair
Torture of young people in police
Torture may be physical and moral
Present life is torture
Attempt on one's life
Powerlessness
Pain
Beating up, tearing of nails, making burns, martyr Ketevan
Pity, mercy
Violence
Police ("dogs")
Life
Government
Physical violence
Police, Government
Physical torture and torment. Moral torture
Terrible feeling
Physical violence
Economic hardship
God and fear
Tortured people
It is difficult to formulate. Torture is not a way to deal with problems
Human oppression, death
Every kind of cruelty, moral and physical
Our heroes martyred by invaders
Moral torment, strong stress
Sadism
Physical influence to inflict pain
Physical torture
Violation of human rights, non-religious treatment

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Every kind of horror
Human abuse
Torture of detainees
Violation of human rights
Terrible life, moral torture of myself
Our present situation
Horror, moral, physical
Moral and physical violence
I get creeps
Human humiliation
Cruelty
Moral humiliation
Abusive violation of human rights
Physical an moral abuses
Moral and physical violence
Moral torture
Physical violence
Physical torment
Pain inflicted by state
Our life
Horror, pain
Every kind of horror, humiliation, abuse
Disregarding law
Pain
Vandalism, which is not fit to humans, moral and physical torment
Powerlessness
Horror
Moral and physical humiliation
Negative emotions
Illegal abuse of detainees
Our powerlessness
Physical and moral abuse
God save us
Physical abuse (also moral)
Saint Nino, Jesus Christ, when children are in difficulty of one can not help them for different reasons
It must be suppressed
Jesus Christ's crown of thorns
Living in this country, in these conditions
Police
Horror
Pain
Economic hardship, hunger
Living in such country
Physical and moral oppression
Physical abuse, also moral
Economic hardship
Abkhazia, human rights, concentration camp
Physical and moral torment
When you can not help one you love
Bad negative associations
Oppression, violence
Physical violence

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Our life
Police
Human humiliation, physical as well as moral
Horror
Physical torment
Moral and physical abuse
Those sadists and vandals that robbed my house
Bad associations
Moral torture
Physical and moral torment
Torture of suspects
Do not know anything
Murder
Physical, moral abuse
Torture of terrorists
Torment, present state of people
Law-enforcers (police)
It should not be allowed
Our life is torture
Law-enforcing structures
Our life
Physical violence
Rather moral torture
Concentration camps
Feeling of pity
Difficult to define
Pity
Severe abuse
Our present life
Unbearable living conditions
Small children that live in the streets
Torture is not only physical abuse. Our life is torture
Pleasure
Physical abuse
It is violation of human rights
Human rights are violated rudely
The whole nation is tortured
Physical torture
Unemployment
Christ
Physical influence on person
Torture cases from TV programs
Our economic state
Physical violence by police
Hate
Life itself is torture
cruelty, insecurity
Police
present day
Do not know, have never encountered such case
Not to have source of income
Physical and moral torment
When you are right but can not defend it

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
moral and physical abuse
Powerless state
moral abuse
To be caught by police
Pain of being beaten up
moral torture
physical violence
I become nervous
Torment of every kind
Hardship
There should be law to ban torture
I feel bad
beating up, torment
When father, at mountain pass, asked people to bury his son
Can not define. I know about it only from TV
human physical and moral humiliation
economic hardship
When one is old, life is torture
every kind of horror
physical and moral torment
Abkhazia, Sanaia
Shushanik, Ministry of Interior
injustice
Impunity
moral and physical torment
moral and physical torment
physical influence
present situation
Feeling of protest
Physical influence
life
pity
police
When material and moral welfare is under threat, this is torture
Shevardnadze
physical pain
our life is torture
unpleasant feeling, pain
being penniless, unemployment
torment, physical
police
physical torture
Unbearable loathing of torturer
moral and physical violence
Human relations
moral destruction
physical torture
no light, no water, no anything
pain, situation in our country
stressful situation
When one does not kill us, but just falls short

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
Ungrateful work is torture
every kind of torment
Impunity in the law-enforcing bodies
physical and moral violence
Disrespect, distrust, illness
I can not see future
horror
Loneliness
torture is when one gets into one's soul and makes him do what one rather would not
Present state of people
Only and only indignation
Feeling of shock, due to violence
physical torture, psychological pressure on humans
Filling up this questionnaire is really a torture
human physical and moral oppression
Trafficking, police, maniac, psychically unstable person, aggression
cruel punishment
State structures, namely MIA and local policemen
criminals, police
I feel pity, it affects me
Feeling of horror
"dogs" (police)
horror
I would connect it with beating up prisoners
Impunity of torturers
physical violence, moral oppression
Hanging, shooting humans
Physical abuse
Aversion
Humiliated men
cruelty
physical violence
Homelessness, hunger
Violation of human rights, torment
horror
powerlessness and resulting torment
our "law-enforcers"
Oppression by police
physical abuse
human torture is vile, Christians should not oppress people
My life is torture
I am upset by every such fact I come to know
Government tortures us
We are morally tortured
Pain, protest
torment
powerlessness
moral pain
It is far from me. I can not say anything
I have not had connection with such cases
Martyrdom of Shushanik. Torture of struggling for survival
I am astonished
State tortures us
Tearing nails
Destroyed human face

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
pain
Inflicting physical pain. Inflicting psychological trauma
Feeling of pain
physical and moral pain
Torment when one tries to survive
no light, unemployment, powerlessness
moral and physical violence
Robberies, torture of prisoners
population of Georgia
moral pain
abuse
physical violence
police, where people are tortured
Bitter faces of pensioners, beggars
Feeling of pity
physical torment
It is torture when one is hopeless, when one does not see any perspective
E. Shevardnadze
injustice in the country
Evokes negative emotions and depress me
moral humiliation
human protection
Just what it means
Shevardnadze
jail
police
torture
physical torture
physical and moral destruction of person
State of prisoners
Everyday life
I become mad, fear
physical abuse
physical abuse
sadism
police
Inflicting pain, scaring, throttling, making burns, swearing at
Bad reaction
I wish to have some weapon to kill torturers.
Violation of rights, humiliation
Intolerable sadism
Economic hardship
Tormenting humans
Do not know
When people are tortured to get evidence
Bad associations
It is not necessary for torture to be sadistic, the whole life is torture, low incomes and high outcomes
torture in jail
Inflicting severe pain (connecting to electricity, moral abuse is also torture, physical influence, blackmailing)
Kidnapping of children, fear
moral abuse
violence
physical abuse

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
terrible state, physical and moral torment
torment, stress, dark
physical violence
torture is torture, when one beats you on the head
beating up, killing, raping
Whole life is torture
When someone quarrels with you, keeps you down
My life
torment
physical and moral torture
Medieval torture instrument
physical and moral destruction of person
bad feeling
very bad, it should not be, makes me bad, whoever he is, one should not be tortured
God save him
abuse physical, moral
MIA and police beings
physical and psychological oppression
torment
Unpleasant emotion
injustice
beating up, torment, tears
Hanging, torture with weapons, and other. Very bad
Pain
Beating up without reason
Torture by police, "power structures"
In the hands of this government we are all tortured
nothing
Torture of prisoners
Pity
present life
I do not want anyone to be tortured, bad association
physical torture, kidnapping
torture pain
terrible reaction
My child tortures me
bad feeling
I can not take it
bad, pain, sadness
Negative feelings
cruelty
nothing
Primary detention cell
physical abuse
police
Government, police, partisans, people
our social situation, no light, no gas
Degradation
Mercilessness, pain, torment, police
horror
PDT (Primary Detention Cell)
Either by words or by hand
Economic hardship

tbl_ Questionnaire
q16
Self-sacrifice
beating up, torment
Electric chair, police
sadness, thoughts
moral torture
Everything is torture
help
punishment, cruelty
Torture by police
no light and security
sadism
pain
physical pain
violence
Aversion
horror
physical torture
pain, psychological oppression, unbearable living conditions in our country
Heartless attitude of government towards people
Feeling of unbearable pain due to physical torment
every kind of oppression, abuse
humiliation
History of our country
human powerlessness
physical violence
Physical torture in police
unemployment, being penniless and unbearable living conditions
physical oppression
Abuse of people by government
physical violence
Unlawful restriction of freedom and physical influence
physical violence
injustice, illness
economic hardship
Violating one's dignity
unbearable economic and social conditions, uncared-for and disabled people
unemployment
present life
torture is not only physical torment
I become very depressed
present life
physical terror
physical torture in police
violence physical
Unbearable hardship
Sadism
Shushanik, Ketevan and all of us people that are tortured by everyday life
Torturers should be tortured
God save us

tbl_ Questionnaire
q16
physical and moral oppression
Torture of some innocent people by police
moral violence to return debts
My life
Physical abuse
Loathsome, terrible
physical and moral abuse
physical violence
physical pain
Anger, revenge
physical abuse
When one can not do what one wants, due to thousand of reasons, it is torture
accident
horror
physical abuse
Abkhazia
Physical violence
I get creeps
Powerlessness is torture, when one can not go to doctor, can not learn, etc.
physical and moral violence
Word "torture" means inquisition
When person in hardship is not paid 14 lari (pension) in time
Pity
Purposeful torment of person
State torments us
Aslan Abashidze
"cruelty "violence" beating up"
police, jail
physical violence
Pity on them
beating up, violence
death, restriction of human rights
present life
physical and moral abuse
When someone is tortured
Physical and moral. Sometimes life is torture
Government tortures us
burning, martyrdom of Christ
Psychological oppression by TV, press, etc
human moral humiliation physical humiliation
horror, burning, physical violence
physical violence
When police exceeds their rights and violates the rights of society
Terrible, it is good when you torture someone
Abuse of nation, libel
moral and physical, beating up, moral pain
Tormenting person who is powerless
pity, feeling of fear
human moral and physical abuse
torment
physical pain, moral pain
police

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
physical and moral torment and human humiliation
physical, moral, verbal. sometimes physical torture is easier to bear than moral
Horror
physical and psychological violence
Pity
our past (meaning Georgian history), police
Torture is violence against me
PDC (primary detention cell) and police
human physical and moral humiliation
sadism
physical moral torment, Martyr Ketevan
Beaten up, cut, burnt human
physical and moral

tbl_Questionnaire
q16
cruelty, insecurity at most
Prison and primary detention cell
bad, pain, torment
cruelty, pain, most bad
punishment every kind
Thoughts – how we will live further
beating up, pain
Hostages
Ketevan and Shushanik
We see so much torture from films that nothing affects us
police and torture there
When I am asked to job interview, I never manage to come in time
horror
I do not want to hear it
humiliation, violence of human against human

8. Questionnaire

Survey: Human Rights in Georgia Code: A0306GCRT Place: Tbilisi Period: October 2003			Form №
Interviewer:	Date of Interview:	District:	Respondent Code:
<p>Read to Respondent:</p> <p>Dear friend,</p> <p>This survey is conducted in order to capture the opinion of Tbilisi residents regarding certain social problems.</p> <p>Your participation in the survey is very important to us.</p> <p>Could you please spend 20-25 minutes on filling this questionnaire?</p> <p>Thank You in advance!</p>			

q1) In your opinion, generally, how good or bad currently is socio-economic situation in Georgia?

(Please, circle one answer)

- 1 Very bad
- 2 Bad
- 3 Medium
- 4 Good
- 5 Very good
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q2) In your opinion, currently, how changes socio-economic situation in Georgia?

(Please, circle one answer)

- 1 Worsens rapidly
- 2 Worsens gradually
- 3 Does not change
- 4 Improves gradually
- 5 Improves rapidly
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q3) In your opinion, today, how important is for Georgia to solve the following problems rapidly?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		Most important	Very important	Quite important	Less important	Not important
		1	2	3	4	5
a	Unemployment					
b	Poor healthcare system					
c	Poor social security system					
d	Poor education system					
e	Human hardheartedness and aggressiveness					
f	Bad foreign relations					
g	Bad internal political climate					
h	Abkhazia problem					
i	Poor energy sector					
j	Criminal situation					
k	Corruption					
l	Low incomes					
m	Degradation of Arts and Culture					
n	Environmental pollution					
o	Low level of democracy (people do not govern the country)					
p	Undeveloped business					
q	Homelessness					
r	Inadequate legislation (bad laws)					
s	Impunity syndrome (no rule of law)					
z	Other: _____					

0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q4) In your opinion, today, how situation in Georgia changes, regarding the following problems?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		Worsens rapidly	Worsens gradually	Does not change	Improves gradually	Improves rapidly
		1	2	3	4	5
a	Unemployment					
b	Poor healthcare system					
c	Poor social security system					
d	Poor education system					
e	Human hardheartedness and aggressiveness					
f	Bad foreign relations					
g	Bad internal political climate					
h	Abkhazia problem					
i	Poor energy sector					
j	Criminal situation					
k	Corruption					
l	Low incomes					
m	Degradation of Arts and Culture					
n	Environmental pollution					
o	Low level of democracy (people do not govern the country)					
p	Undeveloped business					
q	Homelessness					
r	Inadequate legislation (bad laws)					
s	Impunity syndrome (no rule of law)					
z	Other: _____					

0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q5) To which of the following two statements you would rather agree?

(Please, circle one answer)

- A Every person has certain inborn rights. State must protect these rights.**
- B Rights of every person need to be determined by State, according to the person's merit.**

- 1 Rather A
- 2 Rather B
- 3 To both partially
- 4 Neither
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q6) When you hear the words "Human Rights", what first comes to your mind?

(Please, write down the associations)

q7) In your opinion, is there any Georgian or international legal document that regulates the protection of Human Rights?

(Please, circle one answer)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Probably yes
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

Q7.1) If you know about such document, which one is it?

(If you know several such documents, please, write down all)

q8) Out of the problems below, in your opinion, which are more relevant to the Protection of Human Rights?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		Directly relevant	Partly relevant	Little relevant	Almost irrelevant	Irrelevant
		1	2	3	4	5
a	Unemployment					
b	Poor healthcare system					
c	Poor social security system					
d	Poor education system					
e	Human hardheartedness and aggressiveness					
f	Bad foreign relations					
g	Bad internal political climate					
h	Abkhazia problem					
i	Poor energy sector					
j	Criminal situation					
k	Corruption					
l	Low incomes					
m	Degradation of Arts and Culture					
n	Environmental pollution					
o	Low level of democracy (people do not govern the country)					
p	Undeveloped business					
q	Homelessness					
r	Inadequate legislation (bad laws)					
s	Impunity syndrome (no rule of law)					
z	Other: _____					

0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q9) Different people differently assess the situation of some societal groups. I will name certain groups while you will say, in your opinion, how the society as a whole currently treat s them.

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		They are discriminated and need protection	They need more protection than currently have	They are treated fairly	They are over-privileged	Society indulges them too much
		1	2	3	4	5
a	Poor families					
b	Rich families					
c	People with physical disability					
d	People with mental disability					
e	IDPs from Abkhazia					
f	Refugees from Chechnya					
g	Prisoners/Detainees					
h	Sexual minorities					
i	Orthodox Christians					
j	Followers of other major religions (Christians, Muslims, etc.)					
k	Minor religious confessions					
l	Georgians					
m	Resident non-Georgians					
n	Visitors/guests (foreigners)					
o	Elder people					
p	Children					
q	Adolescents					
r	Women					
s	Homeless					
t	Drug addicts					

q10) Within a year, can you remember any specific case of strong human abuse due to any of the following factors?

(Please mark one or several answers only if you personally know the victim or have witnessed the case)

		Moral	Physical
1	Economic status		
2	Nationality		
3	Religion		
4	Language		
5	Age		
6	Behaviour		
7	Gender		
8	Sexual orientation		
9	Physical or mental disability		
98	Other:		
99	Do not know such case		
0	Difficult to say		

q11) Within a year, can you remember any specific case of strong human abuse by State bodies?

(Please mark one or several answers only if you personally know the victim or have witnessed the case)

		Moral	Physical
1	Court system		
2	Ministry of Interior Affairs (Police)		
3	Legislature (Parliament)		
4	Local authorities		
5	Ministry of Defence (Army)		
6	Tax Inspection		
7	Customs Service		
8	Ministry of Health and Social Security		
9	Penitentiary system (Prisons)		
98	Other:		
99	Do not know such case		
0	Difficult to say		

q12) Within a year, can you remember any specific case of strong human abuse in private affairs?

(Please mark one or several answers only if you personally know the victim or have witnessed the case)

		Moral	Physical
1	By family member		
2	By friend or acquaintance		
3	By neighbour		
4	By boss		
5	By co-worker		
6	By stranger		
98	Other:		
99	Do not know such case		
0	Difficult to say		

q13) Within a year, have you ever been strongly abused due to any of the following factors?

(Please, mark one or several answers)

		Moral	Physical
1	Economic status		
2	Nationality		
3	Religion		
4	Language		
5	Age		
6	Behaviour		
7	Gender		
8	Sexual orientation		
9	Physical or mental disability		
98	Other:		
99	No		
0	Difficult to say		

q14) Within a year, have you ever been strongly abused by any State body?

(Please, mark one or several answers)

		Moral	Physical
1	Court system		
2	Ministry of Interior Affairs (Police)		
3	Legislature (Parliament)		
4	Local authorities		
5	Ministry of Defence (Army)		
6	Tax Inspection		
7	Customs Service		
8	Ministry of Health and Social Security		
9	Penitentiary system (Prisons)		
98	Other:		
99	No		
0	Difficult to say		

q15) Within a year, have you ever been strongly abused in private affairs?

(Please, mark one or several answers)

		Moral	Physical
1	By family member		
2	By friend or acquaintance		
3	By neighbour		
4	By boss		
5	By co-worker		
6	By stranger		
98	Other:		
99	Do not know such case		
0	Difficult to say		

q16) When you hear the word “torture”, what comes first to your mind?

(Please, write down the associations)

q17) In your opinion, of the list below, which cases are more connected with torture and which less?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		As a rule is connected with torture	Often is connected with torture	Sometimes is connected with torture	Rarely is connected to torture	Is not connected with torture
		1	2	3	4	5
In private affairs						
a	Physical abuse of ones wife					
b	Physical abuse of children by parents					
c	Physical abuse to return debts					
d	Physical abuse to extort money					
e	Physical abuse as revenge					
In relationships between State and Individual						
f	Physical abuse of POWs during war					
g	Physical abuse of civilians during war					
h	Physical abuse of suspects during arrest					
i	Physical abuse of detainees					
j	Physical abuse of convicted prisoners					

q18) In your opinion, how frequent are the following cases in Georgia?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		Very frequent	Frequent	Rare	Very rare	Do not exist
		1	2	3	4	5
In private affairs						
a	Physical abuse of ones wife					
b	Physical abuse of children by parents					
c	Physical abuse to return debts					
d	Physical abuse to extort money					
e	Physical abuse as revenge					
In relationships between State and Individual						
f	Physical abuse of POWs during war					
g	Physical abuse of civilians during war					
h	Physical abuse of suspects during arrest					
i	Physical abuse of detainees					
j	Physical abuse of convicted prisoners					

q19) In your opinion, may the following actions be justified?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		As a rule, yes	Sometimes, yes	As a rule, no	No	It must be punished
		1	2	3	4	5
In private affairs						
a	Physical abuse of ones wife					
b	Physical abuse of children by parents					
c	Physical abuse to return debts					
d	Physical abuse to extort money					
e	Physical abuse as revenge					
In relationships between State and Individual						
f	Physical abuse of POWs during war					
g	Physical abuse of civilians during war					
h	Physical abuse of suspects during arrest					
i	Physical abuse of detainees					
j	Physical abuse of convicted prisoners					

q20) In your opinion, of the list below, which cases are more connected with torture and which less?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		As a rule is connected with torture	Often is connected with torture	Sometimes is connected with torture	Rarely is connected to torture	Is not connected with torture
		1	2	3	4	5
In private affairs						
a	Physical abuse of ones wife					
b	Physical abuse of children by parents					
c	Physical abuse to return debts					
d	Physical abuse to extort money					
e	Physical abuse as revenge					
In relationships between State and Individual						
f	Physical abuse of POWs during war					
g	Physical abuse of civilians during war					
h	Physical abuse of suspects during arrest					
i	Physical abuse of detainees					
j	Physical abuse of convicted prisoners					

q21) In your opinion, how frequent are the following cases in Georgia?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		Very frequent	Frequent	Rare	Very rare	Do not exist
		1	2	3	4	5
In private affairs						
a	Physical abuse of ones wife					
b	Physical abuse of children by parents					
c	Physical abuse to return debts					
d	Physical abuse to extort money					
e	Physical abuse as revenge					
In relationships between State and Individual						
f	Physical abuse of POWs during war					
g	Physical abuse of civilians during war					
h	Physical abuse of suspects during arrest					
i	Physical abuse of detainees					
j	Physical abuse of convicted prisoners					

q22) In your opinion, may the following actions be justified?

(Please, mark one answer at each row)

		As a rule, yes	Sometimes, yes	As a rule, no	No	It must be punished
		1	2	3	4	5
In private affairs						
a	Physical abuse of ones wife					
b	Physical abuse of children by parents					
c	Physical abuse to return debts					
d	Physical abuse to extort money					
e	Physical abuse as revenge					
In relationships between State and Individual						
f	Physical abuse of POWs during war					
g	Physical abuse of civilians during war					
h	Physical abuse of suspects during arrest					
i	Physical abuse of detainees					
j	Physical abuse of convicted prisoners					

q23) In your opinion, what is the primary motive (cause) of detainee abuse in primary detention facilities?

(Please, read the list , then rank the answers by putting „1“ , „2“ , „3“ , etc. along)

- a To punish “disobedient” detainees
- b To get evidence
- c To extort money
- d By the order of detainee’s enemies
- e Simply, due to unmotivated cruelty
- 98 Other:
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q24) In your opinion, does torture incidence increase or decrease in Georgia?

(Please, mark one answer)

- 1 Increases rapidly
- 2 Increases slowly
- 3 Does to change
- 4 Decreases slowly
- 5 Decreases rapidly
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q25) In your opinion, are there additional measures needed to curb torture incidence and help torture victims?

(Please, mark one answer)

- 1 There is no need
- 2 There is little need – there are more urgent problems
- 3 There is a need for such measures – along with solving other problems
- 4 There is a dire need for such measures – this problem must be solved before most of others
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q26) If such measures are needed, in your opinion, what kind of measures these should primarily be?

(Please, read the list , then rank the answers by putting „1“ , „2“ , „3“ , etc. along)

- a Medical help to torture victims
- b Psychological help to torture victims
- c Legal help to torture victims
- d Punishment of torturers
- e Better inform public about torture cases
- f Better inform public about Human Rights and their protection
- g Increase professionalism within “power structures”
- h Increase salaries within “power structure”
- 0 Do not know / Difficult to say

q27) Do you know any specific case of human torture?

(Please say yes only if you personally know the victim or have witnessed the case)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Difficult to say

q27.1) If yes, could not you describe the case?

(If you know several such cases please name all)

a. By whom the person was tortured?

b. When?

c. How?

q27.2) If yes, who is the victim?

(Please, mark one answer)

- 1 Me
- 2 Relative living with me
- 3 Relative living elsewhere
- 98 Other:

q27.3) If yes, in your opinion, does the victim need help?

(Please, mark one or several answers)

- 1 Medical help
- 2 Psychological help
- 3 Legal help
- 98 Other:

- 99 Does not need any help
- 0 Do not know / difficult to say

Demography

D1 Gender	
a	male
b	female

D2 Age	
Year of birth	19
Mnth of birth	

D3 Family Status	
a	Spouse and child(ren)
b	Spouse
c	Single
d	Divorced
e	Widowed

D4 Education	
1	Secondary incomplete
2	Secondary
3	Higher incomplete
4	Higher
5	Advanced Degree

D5 Occupation (primary & secondary)		1	2
a	State/budgetary employee		
b	Private employee		
c	NGO employee		
d	self-employed / employer		
e	Unemployed		
f	Housewife		
g	Student		
h	Pensioner		
i	Clergymen		

D6 Family size			
1. 18 years and above		2. below 18	
All:		All:	
men:		boys:	
women:		girls:	

D7.1 How would you assess the current material welfare of your family?	
1	Very low
2	Low
3	Medium
4	Comparatively high
5	Quite high

D7.2 How your family welfare has changed over the last 1 year?	
1	Worsened significantly
2	Worsened somewhat
3	Has not changed
4	Improved somewhat
5	Improved significantly

D7.3 In your opinion, how your family welfare will change over the next 1 year	
1	Will worsen significantly
2	Will worsen somewhat
3	Will not change
4	Will improve somewhat
5	Will improve significantly

D8 Approximately, what is the monthly income of your family? (laris)	
Your answers are confidential and will be used only for statistical analysis	

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46
<	50	100	150	200	250	300	350	400	450	500	550	600	650	700	750	800	850	900	950	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900	2000	2100	2200	>

Prefer not to answer

Dear friend,

We would like to thank you once more for participating in the survey!

As a rule, our sociological service checks the work of our interviewers. Only for this reason we ask for your phone number and address.

Phone: _____

Address: _____

Thank you for your time.
Wish you well!

Check results:

To be filled by interviewer

	1st att.	2nd att.	3rd att.	4th att.	5th att.	6th att.	7th att.	Notes
a Refusal								
b Flat is not occupied								
c None at home								
d Selected member not at home								
e Interview conducted								