





**[INTERVIEWER! IF THE SAMPLES RESPONDENT IS NOT AT HOME AND WILL NOT BE BACK FOR THE NEXT THREE DAYS, THANK THE HOUSEHOLD MEMBER AND FILL IN THE NON-RESPONSE IN THE INTERVIEWER FORM.]**

**[INTERVIEWER! IF THE RESPONDENT REFUSES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SURVEY, THANK THE HOUSEHOLD MEMBER AND FILL IN THE NON-RESPONSE IN THE INTERVIEWER FORM.]**

**[INTERVIEWER! IF THE RESPONDENT AGREES, INTRODUCE YOURSELF AND START THE INTERVIEW. PLEASE INDICATE STARTING TIME OF THE INTERVIEW.]**

H1	<b>Interview Start Time</b> [INTSTART]	_ _ _	_ _ _
		HOURS	MINUTES

G1	<b>Respondents' Gender</b> [RESPSEX]	Male	Female
		1	2

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

**[INTERVIEWER: PLEASE ASK THE RESPONDENTS TO SELECT UP TO THREE.]**

<i>Corruption</i> [NATCORR]	A
<i>NATO membership</i> [NATNATO]	B
<i>Pensions</i> [NATPENS]	C
<i>Relations with Russia</i> [NATRU]	D
<i>Property rights</i> [NATROP]	E
<i>Fairness of election</i> [NATELECT]	F
<i>Jobs</i> [NATJOBS]	G
<i>Court system</i> [NATCOURT]	H
<i>Freedom of speech/ human rights</i> [NATSPEECH]	I
<i>Poverty</i> [NATPOV]	J
<i>Territorial integrity</i> [NATTERR]	K
<i>Rising prices OR inflation</i> [NATPRICE]	L
<i>Current protests</i> [NATPROT]	M
<i>Affordable healthcare</i> [NATHCARE]	N
<i>Wages</i> [NATWAGES]	O
<i>Other</i> [NATOTHER]	P
<i>(Don't know)</i>	Y
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	Z

2. Now please tell me, which of the named issues is the most important one for you or your family? [FAMISS]

**[INTERVIEWER: PLEASE REPEAT THE NAMED ISSUES TO THE RESPONDENT. WRITE CORRESPONDING LATIN LETTER IN THE BOX BELOW.]**

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3. [SHOW CARD 3] **There are different opinions regarding which direction Georgia is going in. Which of the following would you personally agree with?** [POLDIRN]

**[INTERVIEWER: ASK THE RESPONDENT TO PICK ONE]**

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

4. **In various countries in the world, the presidency changes hands in different ways. When it comes to Georgia, which of the following is acceptable to you? Please respond yes or no for each option.**

**[INTERVIEWER! READ OUT AND ROTATE. ONLY ONE ANSWER EACH ROW]**

		Yes	No	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1.	Elections [CPRESEL]	1	0	-1	-2
2.	Street protests leading to revolution [CPRESSTR]	1	0	-1	-2
3.	Military coup d'etat [CPRESCOUP]	1	0	-1	-2
4.	Foreign government installing a president [CPRESFGI]	1	0	-1	-2
5.	The current president appointing a successor [CPRESAPP]	1	0	-1	-2

5. How interested would you say you are in national politics – are you ... [NATPINTR]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT]

Very interested,	4
Quite interested,	3
Hardly interested,	2
or Not at all interested?	1
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

6. [SHOW CARD 6] For each of the following statements, please tell me whether it describes your feelings, more or less describes your feelings, or does not describe your feelings.

**[INTERVIEWER! READ OUT THE STATEMENTS. ONLY ONE ANSWER FOR EACH STATEMENT]**

		Describes	More or less describes	More or less does not describe	Doesn't describe	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1.	<b>There are plenty of people I can rely on when I have problems.</b> [FEELRLY]	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
2.	<b>I experience a general sense of emptiness.</b> [FEELEMP]	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
3.	<b>There are many people I can trust completely.</b> [FEELTRU]	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
4.	<b>There are enough people I feel close to.</b> [FEELCLS]	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
5.	<b>I miss having people around.</b> [FEELMSS]	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
6.	<b>I often feel rejected.</b> [FEELRE]	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

7. Usually, how often do you meet people you feel close to outside of your family? Do you see them ... [READ OUT] [FRQCLSE]

Once a week or more frequently,	1
At least once a month,	2
At least once every 2-3 months,	3
At least once every 4-6 months,	4
or Less often?	5
[DO NOT READ] (Never)	6
(Not applicable – no such friends)	-5
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

8. Do you discuss the current events reported in the news with your friends or family members? If “yes”, do you discuss them sometimes or often? [DISCEVCL]

**[INTERVIEWER! ONLY ONE ANSWER]**

No,	1
Yes, sometimes,	2
or Yes, often?	3
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

9. In Georgia today, do you completely agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or completely disagree that people like yourself have the right to openly say what they think? Do you... [READ OUT] [FREESPK]

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

10. Under the present system of government in Georgia, do you completely agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or completely disagree that people like yourself are treated fairly by the government? Do you... [READ OUT] [FAIRTRT]

**[INTERVIEWER! ONLY ONE ANSWER]**

Completely agree,	4
Somewhat agree,	3
Somewhat disagree,	2
or Completely disagree?	1

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

11. [SHOW CARD 11] **Please tell me, which of the following statements do you agree with?**  
[GOVTROL]

**[INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE RESPONDENT CHOOSES THE STATEMENT, ASK: “Do you agree with this statement or do you agree with this statement very strongly?” ONLY ONE ANSWER.]**

<b>Statement 1: People are like children; the government should take care of them like a parent.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Government is like an employee; the people should be the bosses who control the government.</b>	
Agree very strongly with Statement 1	Agree with Statement 1	Agree with Statement 2	Agree very strongly with Statement 2
1	2	3	4
<i>[DO NOT READ] Agree with neither</i>		5	
<i>(Don't know)</i>		-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>		-2	

12. **Some people say that over the long term, it's impossible to achieve any real security or economic development without aid, military support, and cooperation from the West. We might not be able to simultaneously ally with the West and Russia, and clearly we should choose the former. Do you agree?** [WERUCHO]

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

13. **Do you think that the current government is making the changes that matter to you?**  
[GOVCHNG]

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

14. **If any of the opposition parties outside parliament (Democratic Movement-United Georgia – Nino Burjanadze, Georgia's Way – Salome Zourabishvili, For United Georgia – Irakli Okruashvili, Conservative Party - Zviad Dzidziguri, Labour Party – Shalva Natelashvili, Industry Will Save Georgia – Zurab Tkemaladze, Alliance for Georgia – Irakli Alasania, Davit Usupashvili, Davit Gamkrelidze, Alliance for Freedom – Gia Maisashvili, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Akaki Asatiani, Giuli Magradze, National Forum – Kakha Shartava, Irakli Melashvili, Gubaz Sanikidze) was in charge, do you think they would make the changes that matter to you?** [NPOPPCHNG]

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

15. **If any of the opposition parties inside Parliament** (Christian Democratic Movement - Giorgi Targamadze, Georgian Troup - Jondi Baghaturia, We Ourselves - Paata Davitaia, Democratic Party of Georgia - Gia Tortladze) **in charge, do you think they would make the changes that matter to you?** [OPPCHNG]

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

16. **In your opinion, is Georgia a democracy now?** [DEMNOW]

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

17. **Please tell me, do you agree or disagree with the following statements.**

**[INTERVIEWER! READ OUT. ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW.]**

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
<b>Georgia is a democracy already but there is still room for improvement</b> [DEMIMP]	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Georgia is not a democracy yet, but it is developing in that direction</b> [DEMFACTY]	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Georgia might become a democracy in the future but it is not developing in that direction now</b> [DEMFACTN]	1	0	-1	-2
<b>Georgia is not a democracy and never will be</b> [DEMNO]	1	0	-1	-2

18. **In your opinion, when should the next presidential elections in Georgia be conducted? Should they be conducted ...** [NXTPRESEL]

**[INTERVIEWER! READ OUT. ONLY ONE ANSWER.]**



Now	1
In Fall, 2009	2
January, 2013 – as stated by the constitution	3
Between Fall 2009 and January, 2013	4
(Other)	5
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

19. In your opinion, when should the next parliamentary elections in Georgia be conducted? Should they be conducted ... [NXTPAREL]

**[INTERVIEWER! READ OUT.]**

Now	1
In Fall, 2009	2
January, 2012 – as stated by the constitution	3
Between Fall 2009 and January, 2012	4
(Other)	5
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

20. In your opinion, when should the next local self-government elections in Georgia be conducted? Should they be conducted ... [READ OUT] [NXTLCLEL]

Now	1
In Fall, 2009	2
Fall, 2010 – as stated by the constitution	3
Between Fall 2009 and Fall 2010	4
(Other)	5
(Don't know)	-1
(Refuse to answer)	-2

21. [SHOW CARD 21] On a scale of 1 to 5 how do you feel about the following parties with '1' meaning "very negatively" and '5' being "very positively".

**[INTERVIEWER! READ OUT. ONLY ONE ANSWER. ROTATE.]**

		Very negatively	Somewhat negatively	Neither negatively nor positively	Somewhat positively	Very positively	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
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1	<b>United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)</b> [FEELUNM]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
2	<b>Democratic Movement- United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)</b> [FEELDMUG]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
3	<b>Georgia's Way (Salome Zourabishvili)</b> [FEELGW]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
4	<b>For United Georgia (Irakli Okruashvili)</b> [FEELFUG]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
5	<b>Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)</b> [FEELCP]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
6	<b>Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)</b> [FEELLB]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
7	<b>Christian-Democrats (Giorgi Targamadze)</b> [FEELCDM]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
8	<b>Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)</b> [FEELGT]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
9	<b>Industry Will Save Georgia (Zurab Tkemaladze)</b> [FEELIWSG]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
10	<b>Alliance for Georgia (Irakli Alasania, Davit Usupashvili, Davit Gamkrelidze)</b> [FEELAFG]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
11	<b>Alliance for Freedom (Gia Maisashvili, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Akaki Asatiani, and Guguli Magradze )</b> [FEELAFF]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
12	<b>We Ourselves (Paata Davitaia)</b> [FEELWO]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
13	<b>Democratic Party of Georgia (Gia Tortladze)</b> [FEELGDP]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

14	<b>National Forum (Kakha Shartava, Irakli Melashvili, Gubaz Sanikidze)</b> [FEELNF]	1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2
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22. A [SHOW CARD 22] **Which party of these parties is closest to you? Please choose only ONE.** [PARTYSUPP1]

22. B [SHOW CARD 22] **What is your second choice?** [PARTYSUPP2]

[INTERVIEWER: ASK THE RESPONDENT TO PICK ONE CLOSEST AND ONE SECOND CHOICE. RECEIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER IN ONE COLUMN. IF RESPONDENTS GIVES THE SAME ANSWER FOR 22A AND 22B, ASK IF S/HE HAS THE DIFFERENT SECOND CHOICE. IF NO, CIRCLE '15' IN 22B QUESTION, WHICH IS 'NO PARTY']

	22A. Closest	22B. Second choice
<i>United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)</i>	1	1
<i>Democratic Movement-United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)</i>	2	2
<i>Georgia's Way (Salome Zourabichvili)</i>	3	3
<i>For United Georgia (Irakli Okruashvili)</i>	4	4
<i>Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)</i>	5	5
<i>Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)</i>	6	6
<i>Christian-Democrats (Giorgi Targamadze)</i>	7	7
<i>Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)</i>	8	8
<i>Industry Will Save Georgia (Zurab Tkemaladze)</i>	9	9
<i>Alliance for Georgia (Irakli Alasania, Davit Usupashvili, Davit Gamkrelidze)</i>	10	10
<i>Alliance for Freedom (Gia Maisashvili, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Akaki Asatiani, and Guguli Magradze)</i>	11	11
<i>We Ourselves (Paata Davitaia)</i>	12	12
<i>Democratic Party of Georgia (Gia Tortladze)</i>	13	13
<i>National Forum (Kakha Shartava, Irakli Melashvili and Gubaz Sanikidze)</i>	14	14
<i>No party</i>	15	15
<i>Other</i>	16	16
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

23. **Did you participate in the last presidential election?** [PASTPRES]

<i>Yes</i>	1	<b>→ GO TO 25</b>
<i>No</i>	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

24. Which candidate did you support in the last presidential elections? [PASTCAND]

[INTERVIEWER: DON'T READ OUT. CORRESPOND ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

<i>Levan Gachechiladze</i>	1
<i>Shalva Natelashvili</i>	2
<i>David Gamkrelidze</i>	3
<i>Arkadi "Badri" Patarkatsishvili</i>	4
<i>Mikheil Saakashvili</i>	5
<i>Giorgi Maisashvili</i>	6
<i>Irina Sarishvili</i>	7
<i>I crossed out all options/voted against all</i>	8
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

25. Did you participate in the May 2008 parliamentary election? [PASTPARL]

<i>Yes</i>	1	<b>→ GO TO 27</b>
<i>No</i>	0	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

26. Which candidate did you support in the May 2008 parliamentary election? [PASTPARTY]

[INTERVIEWER: DON'T READ OUT. CORRESPOND. ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

<i>Georgian Politics</i>	1
<i>Republican Party</i>	2
<i>Rightist Alliance - Topadze-Industrials</i>	3
<i>Labor Party</i>	4
<i>United National Movement</i>	5
<i>Union of Georgian Sportsmen</i>	6
<i>United Opposition</i>	7
<i>Radical Democrats' Nationalist Party</i>	8
<i>Christian-Democratic Alliance</i>	9
<i>Giorgi Targamadze - Christian-Democrats</i>	10
<i>Traditionalists - Our Georgia - Women's Party</i>	11
<i>Our Country</i>	12
<i>Crossed out all</i>	13
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

27. [SHOW CARD 27] If Parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? Please use a 10-point scale, where '1' is "absolutely not vote" and '10' means "absolutely will vote". [VOTPARL]

Absolutely not vote										Absolutely will vote	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-1	-2	

28. A [SHOW CARD 22] Using this CARD, indicate how you would vote if parliamentary elections were tomorrow. Please tell me your first choice. Please select only one party. [VOTPARL1]
28. B [SHOW CARD 22] What is your second choice? [VOTPARL2]

[INTERVIEWER: ASK THE RESPONDENT TO PICK FIRST AND SECOND CHOICE. RECEIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER IN ONE COLUMN. IF RESPONDENTS GIVES THE SAME ANSWER FOR 28A AND 28B, ASK IF S/HE HAS THE DIFFERENT SECOND CHOICE. IF NO, CIRCLE '16' IN 28B QUESTION, WHICH IS 'NO PARTY']

	First choice	Second choice
<i>United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)</i>	1	1
<i>Democratic Movement-United Georgia (Nino Burjanadze)</i>	2	2
<i>Georgia's Way (Salome Zourabichvili)</i>	3	3
<i>For United Georgia (Irakli Okruashvili)</i>	4	4
<i>Conservative Party (Zviad Dzidziguri)</i>	5	5
<i>Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)</i>	6	6
<i>Christian-Democrats (Giorgi Targamadze)</i>	7	7
<i>Georgian Troupe (Jondi Baghaturia)</i>	8	8
<i>Industry Will Save Georgia (Zurab Tkemaladze)</i>	9	9
<i>Alliance for Georgia (Irakli Alasania, Davit Usupashvili, Davit Gamkrelidze)</i>	10	10
<i>Alliance for Freedom (Gia Maisashvili, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Akaki Asatiani, and Guguli Magradze )</i>	11	11
<i>We Ourselves (Paata Davitaia)</i>	12	12
<i>Democratic Party of Georgia (Gia Tortladze)</i>	13	13
<i>National Forum (Kakha Shartava, Irakli Melashvili, Gubaz Sanikidze)</i>	14	14
<i>Other</i>	15	15
<i>None of the Parties</i>	16	16
<i>I would not participate</i>	17	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

29. [SHOW CARD 27] If presidential elections were held tomorrow, would you vote? Please use a 10-point scale, where '1' is "absolutely not vote" and '10' means "absolutely will vote". [VOTPRES]

Absolutely not vote										Absolutely will vote	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	-1	-2	

30. A [SHOW CARD 30] Using this CARD, which of the following people would you most like to see as the next president of Georgia? Please choose only one option. [VOTPRES1]

30. B [SHOW CARD 30] Please tell me your second choice. [VOTPRES2]

[INTERVIEWER: RECEIVE ONLY ONE ANSWER IN ONE COLUMN. IF RESPONDENTS GIVES THE SAME ANSWER FOR 30A AND 30B, ASK IF S/HE HAS THE DIFFERENT SECOND CHOICE. IF NO, CIRCLE '13' IN 30B QUESTION, WHICH IS 'NONE'.]

	First Choice	Second Choice
<i>Irakli Alasania</i>	1	1
<i>David Bakradze</i>	2	2
<i>Nino Burjanadze</i>	3	3
<i>Davit Gamkrelidze</i>	4	4
<i>Levan Gachechiladze</i>	5	5
<i>Giorgi Targamadze</i>	6	6
<i>Shalva Natelashvili</i>	7	7
<i>Irakli Okruashvili</i>	8	8
<i>Sozar Subari</i>	9	9
<i>Gigi Ugulava</i>	10	10
<i>Davit Usupashvili</i>	11	11
<i>Zviad Dzidziguri</i>	12	12
<i>None of the above</i>	13	13
<i>Other</i>	14	14
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	-2

31. Imagine, that the political party decided to build its electoral list for party members according to the lottery. How do you like this idea? [PLISTLOTO]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONLY ONE ANSWER]

I do not like, because there should be only professional politicians in the parliament	1
I do not like, Party leaders will be still decision makers	2
I like, all party members will have equal opportunity to get into the	3

	Parliament	
I like it, randomly selected people are not worse than candidates named by party		4
	<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

32. Both the government and the leaders of the protest have suggested dialogue in recent days. Which issues do you think should be discussed between the government and protestors?

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONE ANSWER PER RAW]

		Yes	No	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Making Georgia a constitutional monarchy.</b> [PDISCMON]	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>Making Georgia a parliamentary republic.</b> [PDISPARL]	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>Legislative reform to guarantee free and fair elections.</b> [PDISELEC]	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>Direct election of mayors.</b> [PDISDMAY]	1	0	-1	-2
5	<b>Resignation of the Minister of Internal Affairs.</b> [PDISMIAR]	1	0	-1	-2
6	<b>Independence of Media.</b> [PDISFREM]	1	0	-1	-2
7	<b>Judicial independence.</b> [PDISJUDI]	1	0	-1	-2
8	<b>Return Imedi TV to Patarkatsishvili's family.</b> [PDISIMDP]	1	0	-1	-2
9	<b>The resignation of the head of the Georgian Public Broadcaster.</b> [PDISGPBR]	1	0	-1	-2
10	<b>The formation of a coalition government.</b> [PDISCOGV]	1	0	-1	-2
11	<b>Early presidential elections.</b> [PDISPRSE]	1	0	-1	-2
12	<b>Early parliamentary elections.</b> [PDISPRLE]	1	0	-1	-2
13	<b>Early local elections.</b> [PDISPRLL]	1	0	-1	-2
14	<b>The resignation of President Saakashvili.</b> [PDISPRSR]	1	0	-1	-2
15	<b>Referendum on constitutional changes followed by elections.</b> [PDISREFC]	1	0	-1	-2

33. Of the above, which issue is most important to you? [PDISIMPI]

[INTERVIEWER: REPEAT TO THE RESPONDENT IMPORTANT ISSUE NAMED BY HIM/HER (WHERE HE/SHE ANSWERED 'YES') AND RECORD THE NUMBER, WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THE GIVEN BOX.]

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34. How do you want the current protests to end? [PROTWFIN]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONLY ONE ANSWER]

<b>The protesters continuing and forcing the government into major concessions</b>	1
<b>Peacefully with a negotiated settlement between government and protesters</b>	2
<b>Peacefully with protesters returning home without a negotiated settlement</b>	3
<b>The government asserting itself and eventually dispersing protesters</b>	4
[Don't read] <b>Other</b>	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

35. How do you expect the current protests to end? [PROTEFIN]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONLY ONE ANSWER]

<b>The protesters continuing and forcing the government into major concessions</b>	1
<b>Peacefully with a negotiated settlement between government and protesters</b>	2
<b>Peacefully with protesters returning home without a negotiated settlement</b>	3
<b>The government asserting itself and eventually dispersing protesters</b>	4
[Don't read] <b>Other</b>	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

36. What eventual political outcome would you like to see? [PROTPOLR]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONLY ONE ANSWER]

<b>Resignation of the President followed by early presidential elections</b>	1
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<b>Overthrow of the President followed by a change of power without elections</b>	2
<b>The President not resigning, followed by early parliamentary elections</b>	3
<b>The President not resigning, followed by early local elections</b>	4
<b>The President not resigning and no early elections</b>	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

37. [SHOW CARD 37] On this scale, in your opinion, how have the following performed during the recent protests?

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE.]

		Very well	Well	Neither well or badly	Badly	Very badly	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Mikheil Saakashvili</b> [PROTMISA]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
2	<b>Nino Burjanadze</b> [PROTNIBU]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
3	<b>Levan Gachecheladze</b> [PROTLEGA]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
4	<b>Gia Gachecheladze (Utsnobi)</b> [PROTUTSN]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
5	<b>Irakli Alasania</b> [PROTIRAL]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
6	<b>Vano Merabishvili</b> [PROTVAME]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
7	<b>Ilia II</b> [PROTILII]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
8	<b>Gigi Ugulava</b> [PROTGIUG]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
9	<b>Shalva Natelashvili</b> [PROTSHNA]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
10	<b>Kakha Shartava</b> [PROTKASH]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
11	<b>Eka Beselia</b> [PROTEKBE]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
12	<b>Kakha Kukava</b> [PROTKAKU]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
13	<b>Gia Maisashvili</b> [PROTGIMA]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
14	<b>Goga Khaindrava</b> [PROTGOKH]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
15	<b>Sozar Subari</b> [PROTSOSU]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
16	<b>Giorgi Targamadze</b>	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

	[PROTGITA]							
17	<b>Salome Zourabishvili</b> [PROTSAZO]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
18	<b>David Usupashvili</b> [PROTDAUS]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
19	<b>Gubaz Sanikidze</b> [PROTGUSA]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
20	<b>David Berdzenishvili</b> [PROTDABE]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
21	<b>Konstantine Gamsakhurdia</b> [PROTKOGA]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
22	<b>Tina Khidasheli</b> [PROTTIKH]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
23	<b>Zviad Dzidziguri</b> [PROTZVDZ]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
24	<b>Georgian army</b> [PROTARMY]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
25	<b>Georgian police</b> [PROTPOLC]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

38. [SHOW CARD 38] How do you think the current protests have benefited or harmed the following?

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT.]

	Benefited a lot	Benefited Somewhat	No impact	Somewhat harmed	Harmed a lot	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
<b>Protest leaders</b> [PRTHLEAD]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Tbilisi Residents</b> [PRHTBSC]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Georgian Citizens</b> [PRTHGEOC]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Personally you</b> [PRTHYOUS]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>The President of Georgia</b> [PRTHPRES]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Georgian Public Broadcaster</b> [PRTHGPB]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>The Parliament of Georgia</b> [PRTHPARL]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Georgia's Economy</b>	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

[PRTHECON]							
<b>Georgia's Democracy</b> [PRTHDEMG]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

39. [SHOW CARD 39] **Some people believe that Russia is behind all anti-government activities in Georgia. How much do you believe that Russia ... [READ OUT]**

	Completely believe	Somewhat believe	Not interested	Somewhat not believe	Not believe at all	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
<b>Finances current political protests</b> [PRTRUFIN]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Pays journalists to blackmail Saakashvili</b> [PRTRUDSS]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Has agents in the Georgian military</b> [PRTRUARM]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Has agents in the Georgian government</b> [PRTRUGOV]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Has agents in the Georgian opposition</b> [PRTRUOPP]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2
<b>Has supporters in the church</b> [PRTRUCHR]	5	4	3	2	1	-1	-2

40. **Do you think the Georgian Government generally talks too much, the right amount, or too little about Russian activity in Georgia? [READ OUT] [GOVRUSPK]**

<b>Talks far too much,</b>	5
<b>Talks too much,</b>	4
<b>Talks the right amount,</b>	3
<b>Talks too little,</b>	2
<b>Talks far too little?</b>	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

41. Do you think that the Russian Government’s criticism of Saakashvili impacts on the support he receives from the Georgian population? [READ OUT] [RUCRSUPP]

<b>Significantly decreases</b>	1
<b>Rather decreases</b>	2
<b>Does not change</b>	3
<b>Rather increases</b>	4
<b>Significantly increases</b>	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

42. Do you think the following tactics pursued by the protesters are justified?

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW]

		Yes	No	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1.	<b>Putting up cells.</b> [PRT]CELL]	1	0	-1	-2
2.	<b>Blocking streets.</b> [PRT]BLOC]	1	0	-1	-2
3.	<b>Peaceful Marches.</b> [PRT]MRCH]	1	0	-1	-2
4.	<b>Attempting to break into MIA building in Digomi.</b> [PRT]MIAB]	1	0	-1	-2
5.	<b>Picketing of the Presidential Administration.</b> [PRT]PRSP]	1	0	-1	-2
6.	<b>Creating “corridors of shame” for journalists and others.</b> [PRT]SHAM]	1	0	-1	-2
7.	<b>The planned picketing of cross-country highways.</b> [PRT]HIGW]	1	0	-1	-2
8.	<b>Calling for dialogue.</b> [PRT]DIAL]	1	0	-1	-2

43. Do you think the following tactics pursued by the government are justified?

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE.]

		Yes	No	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1.	<b>Allowing the Rustaveli, Kostava and Freedom Square to be blocked.</b> [GOV]BLOC]	1	0	-1	-2
2.	<b>Closing the parliament building.</b> [GOV]PRLC]	1	0	-1	-2
3.	<b>Stopping street cleaning.</b> [GOV]CLEA]	1	0	-1	-2
4.	<b>Detention of people charged with attacking the journalists.</b> [GOV]DATJ]	1	0	-1	-2

5.	<b>Releasing the people charged with attacking the journalist.</b> [GOVJRATJ]	1	0	-1	-2
6.	<b>Allowing the picketing of highways (if it happens).</b> [GOVJHIGW]	1	0	-1	-2
7.	<b>Calling for dialogue.</b> [GOVDIAL]	1	0	-1	-2

44. [SHOW CARD 44] **What is the share of responsibility for bringing these protests to an end? Please allocate respective percentages, so that the total adds up to 100%.**

[INTERVIEWER: WRITE PERCENTAGES IN APPROPRIATE CELLS, SO THAT IT ADDED UP TO 100%]

<b>Government</b> [SRESPGOV]	_ _ _
<b>Protesters</b> [SRESPPRT]	_ _ _
<b>Church</b> [SRESPCHR]	_ _ _
<b>Foreign Mediators</b> [SRESPFMD]	_ _ _
<b>Media</b> [SRESPMED]	_ _ _
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

45. **Let me remind that the next presidential elections are to be held in 2013 according to the Constitution. Now I'm going to read several statements and please tell which one do you think is most possible?** [MISATFIN]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT EACH STATEMENT. ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

<b>I am confident that Saakashvili will still be leading Georgia till the end of his term of presidency</b>	1
<b>I would not be surprised if Saakashvili were still leading Georgia till the end of his term of presidency</b>	2
<b>I am not confident; too many things can change.</b>	3
<b>I would not be surprised does not finish his term of presidency</b>	4
<b>I am confident that Saakashvili will not finish his term of presidency</b>	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

46. **What do you believe happened on May 5 at the Mukhrovani military base?** [MUKHRUPH]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

<b>Russian inspired coup was stopped</b>	1
<b>Georgian government staged a fake coup attempt</b>	2
<b>Opposition organized coup attempt</b>	3

<b>Soldiers refused to follow orders asking them to disperse demonstrators</b>	4
<b>Soldiers refused to follow orders about the NATO exercise</b>	5
<i>Other</i>	6
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

47. Did you have access to sufficient information to understand what was happening during the 2009 protests? [PROTINFO]

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

48. Which television coverage of the 2009 protests did you watch on TV? [PRTINFTV]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ACCEPT ALL RESPONSES]

Ajara TV [PRTINFADJ]	A
Alania [PRTIALN]	B
Imedi [PRTIIMD]	C
Kavkasia [PRTIKAVK]	D
Rustavi2 [PRTIR2]	E
GPB [PRTIGPB1]	G
Maestro [PRTIMAES]	F
NTV [PRTINTV]	H
ORT [PRTIORT]	I
RTVI [PRTIRTVI]	J
BBC [PRTIBBC]	K
CNN [PRTICNN]	L
Other [PRTIOTHR]	M
None of the channels [PRTINONE]	N
<i>(Don't know)</i>	Y
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	Z

49. Which TV Channel do you trust the most when it concerns the 2009 protests? [PRTTVTRU]

[INTERVIEWER: REPEAT ALL THE OPTIONS TO THE RESPONDENT, WHICH HE/SHE NAMES. WRITE CORRESPONDING LATIN LETTER OF THE CHANNEL WHICH RESPONDENT TRUSTS THE MOST.]

\_\_\_\_\_

50. [SHOW CARD 50] Using this scale how would you evaluate coverage of 2009 protest actions on /name channel/?

	Favored the Protestors side	Balanced between the two sides	Favored the Government side	(Don't know)	(Refuse to answer)
Ajara TV [PEVLADJ]	1	2	3	-1	-2
Alania [PEVLALN]	1	2	3	-1	-2
Imedi [PEVLIMD]	1	2	3	-1	-2
Kavkasia [PEVLKAVK]	1	2	3	-1	-2
Rustavi2 [PEVLR2]	1	2	3	-1	-2
GPB [PEVLGPB1]	1	2	3	-1	-2
Maestro [PEVLMAES]	1	2	3	-1	-2
NTV [PEVLNTV]	1	2	3	-1	-2
ORT [PEVLORT]	1	2	3	-1	-2
RTVI [PEVLRTVI]	1	2	3	-1	-2
BBC [PEVLBBC]	1	2	3	-1	-2
CNN [PEVLCNN]	1	2	3	-1	-2
Other [PEVLOTHR]	1	2	3	-1	-2

51. How do you think the president Saakashvili acted in the foreign policy crisis and conflict in the summer of 2008? [WACTMISA]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ONLY ONE ANSWER]

In a completely right way	4	→ GO TO 53
In a right way	3	
In a wrong way	2	
In a completely wrong way	1	
(Don't know)	-1	→ GO TO 54
(Refuse to answer)	-2	

52. You say that the president acted in a completely right way in the August 2008 foreign policy crisis. Which of these three statements best captures how you feel about Saakashvili? [WMISAPAT]

[INTERVIEWER! READ ALL THREE OPTIONS. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Saakashvili is a strong leader who deserves the support of Georgian voters in this time of crisis.	1	→ GO TO
--	---	------------

<b>Saakashvili is a strong leader who has proven that he is the kind of man that I want to lead Georgia.</b>	2	<b>54</b>
<b>Saakashvili will be remembered by historians as one of Georgia's historically great leaders.</b>	3	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2	

53. You say that the president acted in a completely wrong way in the August 2008 foreign policy crisis. Which of these three statements best captures how you feel about Saakashvili? [WMISANAT]

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT THREE OPTIONS. ONLY ONE ANSWER]

<b>Saakashvili made huge mistakes, but I can imagine forgiving those mistakes with time.</b>	1
<b>Saakashvili made huge mistakes, and I have lost confidence in his ability to lead our nation.</b>	2
<b>Saakashvili will be remembered by historians as one of Georgia's historically terrible leaders.</b>	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

54. Some people think that Georgia has lost control of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Do you agree? [ABSOLOST]

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

55. [SHOW CARD 55] I would like you to identify which of those two statements you most agree with. Please choose statement 1 or statement 2. [MILSPEND]

[INTERVIEWER: INTERVIEWER: AFTER THE RESPONDENT CHOOSES THE STATEMENT, ASK: "Do you agree with this statement or do you agree with this statement very strongly?" ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

<b>Statement 1: Georgian government should keep spending money on the army so that country could be defended effectively in the future.</b>		<b>Statement 2: Georgian government should redirect expenditures from the army to other public services, since our army will not be able to defend the country from the Russians anyway.</b>	
Strongly agree with the first statement 1	Agree with the first statement 2	Agree with the second statement 3	Strongly agree with the second statement 4
[DO NOT READ] Agree with neither		5	



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

56. Some people say that the United States and Europe acted in bad faith towards Georgia, suggesting that they would come to Georgia's aid if it were attacked by Russia but failing to act when the time came. Do you agree? [WESTBFAI]

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

57. I will now read out a list of names. Of the following people, please tell me whether you like them or dislike them?

[INTERVIEWER: READ OUT. ROTATE. ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW.]

		Like	Dislike	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>
1	<b>Giga Bokeria</b> [LIKEGIBO]	1	0	-1	-2
2	<b>Gigi Ugulava</b> [LIKEGIUG]	1	0	-1	-2
3	<b>Giorgi Targamadze</b> [LIKEGITA]	1	0	-1	-2
4	<b>Davit Gamkrelidze</b> [LIKEDAGA]	1	0	-1	-2
5	<b>Davit Usupashvili</b> [LIKEDAUS]	1	0	-1	-2
6	<b>Vano Merabishvili</b> [LIKEVAME]	1	0	-1	-2
7	<b>Irakli Okruashvili</b> [LIKEIROK]	1	0	-1	-2
8	<b>Levan Kubaneishvili</b> [LIKELEKU]	1	0	-1	-2
9	<b>Levan Gachechiladze</b> [LIKELEGA]	1	0	-1	-2
10	<b>Levan Tarkhnishvili</b> [LIKELETA]	1	0	-1	-2
11	<b>Mikheil Saakashvili</b> [LIKEMISA]	1	0	-1	-2
12	<b>Nika Rurua</b> [LIKENIRU]	1	0	-1	-2
13	<b>Nino Burjanadze</b> [LIKENIBU]	1	0	-1	-2
14	<b>Salome Zourabishvili</b> [LIKESAZO]	1	0	-1	-2
15	<b>Sozar Subari</b> [LIKESOZU]	1	0	-1	-2
16	<b>Shalva Natelashvili</b> [LIKESHNA]	1	0	-1	-2
17	<b>Zurab Noghaidei</b> [LIKEZUNO]	1	0	-1	-2
18	<b>Gia Tortladze</b> [LIKEGITO]	1	0	-1	-2
19	<b>Irakli Alasania</b> [LIKEIRAL]	1	0	-1	-2
20	<b>Davit Bakradze</b> [LIKEDABA]	1	0	-1	-2
21	<b>Kakha Shartava</b> [LIKEKASH]	1	0	-1	-2
22	<b>Giorgi Tsagareishvili</b> [LIKEGITS]	1	0	-1	-2
23	<b>Paata Davitaia</b> [LIKEPADA]	1	0	-1	-2
24	<b>Zurab Adeishvili</b> [LIKEZUAD]	1	0	-1	-2
25	<b>Jondi Baghaturia</b> [LIKEJOBA]	1	0	-1	-2

26	<b>Ghia Nodia</b> [LIKEGHNO]	1	0	-1	-2
27	<b>Erosi Kitsmarishvili</b> [LIKEERKI]	1	0	-1	-2

**58. Do you consider yourself to be employed? This employment may be part-time or full-time, you may be officially employed, informally employed, or self-employed, but it brings you monetary income. [HAVEJOB]**

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



61. Now I will read you a series of household items. Please note that we are only interested in items that your household owns and that are in normal working order. Please tell me whether your household owns /item/ or not.

**[INTERVIEWER! READ OUT ALL ITEMS FROM THE TABLE C6 AND WRITE ALL RESPONSES IN ROWS. IN CASE THE HOUSEHOLD OWNS THE ITEM (CODE '1' IN CELL "OWN?"), ASK: HOW MANY \ITEMS/ DOES THE FAMILY HAVE?" AND WRITE THE IN THE RESPECTIVE CELL. USE CODE '-1' IF THE ANSWER IS "DON'T KNOW" AND CODE -2 IF "REFUSED TO ANSWER." THEN ASK: "please tell me the year the latest model was purchased," AND WRITE DOWN THE FOUR-DIGIT YEAR IN THE RESPECTIVE CELL. USE THE CODE '-5' IF THE ANSWER IS "WE HAVE NOT PURCHASED THIS ITEM]" (E.G.PRESENT), CODE "-1" IF THE ANSWER IS "DON'T KNOW" AND CODE '-2' IF "REFUSED TO ANSWER"].**

**[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT ASK ABOUT THE QUANTITY OF THE INTERNET. IF THE HH HAS INTERNET CONNECTION (CODE '1' IN CELL "OWN") ASK: "AVAILABLE SINCE WHAT YEAR?" AND WRITE FOUR DIGIT NUMBER IN THE RESPECTIVE CELL. USE CODE '-1' IF THE ANSWER IS "DON'T KNOW" AND '-2' IF THE ANSWER IS "RAFUSE TO ANSWER"]**

		<b>Own?</b> <i>Yes 1</i> <i>No 0</i>	<b>IF "YES":</b> <b>How many?</b>	<b>Year the latest model was purchased:</b>
1.	<b>Color television</b> [OWNCOTV] [NUMCOTV] [YRPCOTV]		____ ____	____ ____ ____ ____
2.	<b>DVD player</b> [OWNDVDP] [NUMDVDP] [YRPDVDP]		____ ____	____ ____ ____ ____
3.	<b>Automatic washing machine</b> [OWNWASH] [NUMWASH] [YRPWASH]		____ ____	____ ____ ____ ____
4.	<b>Refrigerator</b> [OWNFRDG] [NUMFRDG] [YRPF RDG]		____ ____	____ ____ ____ ____
5.	<b>Air conditioner</b> [OWNAIRC] [NUMAIRC] [YRPAIRC]		____ ____	____ ____ ____ ____

6.	<b>Car</b> [OWNCARS] [NUMCARS] [YRPCARS]			
7.	<b>Cell phone</b> [OWNCELL] [NUMCELL] [YRCELL]			
8.	<b>Personal computer</b> [OWNCOMP] [NUMCOMP] [YRPCOMP]	IF 'NO' →GO to <b>62</b>		
			<b>Year since which available:</b>	
9.	<b>Internet access from your home computer</b> [WEBHOME] [YRWEBHO]			

62. In mid May the government and the opposition started a dialogue. What is your opinion on this dialogue? Do you .... [READ OUT] [OPGOVDLG]

<b>Completely support,</b>	5
<b>Support,</b>	4
<b>Not interested,</b>	3
<b>Do not support,</b>	2
<b>or Do not support at all?</b>	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

63. In the last few days, the government [leave sufficient space].... . What do you think about this? Please tell me about your attitude toward this... [READ] [DUMMYQ1]

<b>Completely agree,</b>	5
<b>Somewhat agree,</b>	4
<b>Not interested,</b>	3
<b>Somewhat disagree,</b>	2
<b>or Completely disagree?</b>	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2

64. Also, in the last few days, the opposition [leave sufficient space].... . What do you think about this? Please tell me about your attitude toward this... [READ] [DUMMYQ2]

<b>Completely agree,</b>	5
<b>Somewhat agree,</b>	4
<b>Not interested,</b>	3
<b>Somewhat disagree,</b>	2
<b>or Completely disagree?</b>	1
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refuse to answer)</i>	-2