

# RESEARCH ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUGUST EVENTS IN GEORGIA

October, 2008

## COVER SHEET

<b>A1.</b>	<b>Sampling Unit</b> [TO BE FILLED BY SUPERVISOR]	_ _ _ _ _ _ _
	<b>HH Number</b> [TO BE FILLED BY SUPERVISOR]	_ _ _
	<b>Interviewer name</b>	_____
<b>A2.</b>	<b>Interviewer and supervisor's code</b> [TO BE FILLED BY SUPERVISOR]	_ _ _ _ _ _ _
	HH ADDRESS OR NAME OF HEAD OF HH IF THERE IS NO ADDRESS	_____ _____ _____ _____

**[INTERVIEWER! GREET PERSON WHO OPENED THE DOOR IN GEORGIAN. IF (S)HE DOES NOT SPEAK GEORGIAN, ASK IF THERE IS ANY PERSON IN THE HOUSEHOLD WHO CAN SPEAK GEORGIAN. ADDRESS THIS PERSON WITH THE FOLLOWING TEXT:]**

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_. I represent the Caucasus Research Resource Centers of the Eurasia Partnership Foundation. We are conducting a survey on social attitudes towards the August crisis in Georgia. This survey is not ordered by government or any political party. Responses are fully confidential, according to the international research standards. We are not going to ask your name or mark any information that can be used for respondent's identification. We would like to talk to one member from your family. We will select this member randomly according to the last birthday. All adult – 18 and older - members of your family are considered in the selection. You can refuse to answer any of the questions or stop interview at any time. The interview will last for 30 minutes approximately. Do you have any questions?

**[INTERVIEWER! ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS. IF A PERSON YOU TALK WITH REFUSES TO CONTINUE, LEAVE THE HOUSEHOLD AND FILL INTERVIEWER'S FORM.]**

SURVEY VERSION K

[IF A PERSON YOU TALK WITH WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE, ASK HER/HIM **NAMES AND BIRTHDAYS** OF ALL ADULT MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD.]

## SURVEY VERSION K

#	Name of HH member	Date of birth (Day, month, year)
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		

**[INTERVIEWER! SELECT A MEMBER WITH THE LAST BIRTHDAY. AFTER SELECTION, ASK:]**

The person, I would like to interview is: [WRITE NAME AND BIRTHDAY] _____	
Is this person currently home?	
<i>If home:</i>	May I please interview this person now?
<i>If not home:</i>	Will this person return here at any time today, tomorrow or after tomorrow?
<i>If refused:</i>	Thank you very much. I will select another household. Good bye.
	[ <b>INTERVIEWER!</b> YOU CAN NOT SUBSTITUTE INDIVIDUALS.]
<i>If yes:</i>	If you would not mind, tell her/him that I will return for the interview. [SPECIFY DATE AND TIME].

[**INTERVIEWER!** ENTER THE RELEVANT INFORMATION IN THE **INTERVIEWER'S FORM**. IF RESPONDENT AGREES, PRESENT YOURSELF WITH THE SAME TEXT AND START THE INTERVIEW]

[INTERVIEW SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN A CONVENIENT SURROUNDING WHERE NO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD ARE PRESENT, AS THE SURVEY CONCERNS POLITICAL ISSUES AND IT IS PREFERRED A PERSON TO BE FREE OF ANY INFLUENCE WHILE EXPRESSING PERSONAL VIEWS]

A3. Time the interview started:                  |\_\_\_\_\_|\_\_\_\_\_|                  |\_\_\_\_\_|\_\_\_\_\_|  
    Hour     Minute

[INTERVIEWER! USE 24-HOUR FORMAT.]

**B1. Gender of selected respondent:**            1    Male                            2    Female

Let's start with a few simple demographic questions and then I will ask several questions about your political views in general. We know from the previous researches that people in Georgia have various different political opinions. We are interested to learn about attitudes different groups have towards recent events in Georgia. I would like to remind that confidentiality of your responses will be kept strictly. Your responses will help Georgian, as well as foreign researchers to better acknowledge in current political tendencies in Georgia. Do you have any questions?

[INTERVIEWER! ANSWER RESPONDENT'S QUESTIONS FULLY AND FRANKLY! IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT WANT TO CONTINUE, STOP THE INTERVIEW AND FILL RELEVANT FIELDS IN THE INTERVIEWER'S FORM]

Let's begin.

1. What is your current age? |\_\_\_|\_\_\_|

(Refused)	-2
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2. [SHOW CARD 2] Which one on the card best describes your current employment situation?

[INTERVIEWER! ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Employed full time, and satisfied with work.	1
Employed full time, but seeking additional work.	2
Employed part-time at one job, but not seeking additional work.	3
Employed part-time at one job, seeking additional work.	4
Employed part-time at more than one job.	5
Unemployed/Underemployed, looking for work.	6
Unemployed/Underemployed, not looking for work.	7
Pensioner.	8
Pensioner and working.	9
Pensioner and looking for work.	10
Student .	11
Student and working.	12
Student and looking for work.	13
Housewife [READ ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS FEMALE]	14
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

3. [SHOW CARD 3] Which is the highest level of education you attained?

[INTERVIEWER! ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Primary School.	1
Secondary School.	2
Vocational/technical education.	3
Bachelor's degree.	4
Master/Certificate/PhD	5
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

4. [SHOW CARD 4] How would you describe your ability to read English? Using this CARD, could you rate your ability to read in English on a scale from 1 to 5, where "1" indicates "no ability at all" and 5 is "completely fluent".

[INTERVIEWER! ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

None	With great difficulty	Slowly/Fair	Good	Fluent	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refused)</i>
1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

5. [SHOW CARD 4] How would you describe your ability to read Russian? Using this CARD, could you rate yourself honestly on a scale from 1 to 5, where "1" indicates no ability at all and 5 is completely fluent.

[INTERVIEWER! ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

None	With great difficulty	Slowly/Fair	Good	Fluent	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refused)</i>
1	2	3	4	5	-1	-2

6. [SHOW CARD 6] In the last decade, a lot more computers have started to appear in Georgian homes and businesses. Using this CARD, could you tell, which of the following statements is most correct?

[INTERVIEWER! ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

I do not own a computer, I do not know how to use a computer, and neither does any of my family or close friends.	1
I do not own a computer, I do not know how to use a computer. I have a family member or a close friend who knows how to use a computer, however.	2
I do not own a computer, but I know how to use one. I hope to own one someday soon.	3
I own a computer, but I do not know how to use it.	4

SURVEY VERSION K

I own a computer, and use it regularly.	5
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

SURVEY VERSION K

7. [SHOW CARD 7] Now, I will show you a list of TV channels, radio stations, newspapers and websites that people here can use to learn about political and economic developments in Georgia. For each of these media sources, please tell me if you personally used it in the last 12 months. [INTERVIEWER! ACCEPT ALL ANSWERS. ASK 7A AND 7B QUESTIONS ONLY ABOUT THE MEDIA SOURCES RESPONDENT SAYS HE/SHE USED FOR THE PAST 12 MONTHS. IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO ANSWER QUESTION 7, CIRCLE -2 AND MOVE TO QUESTION 8.]

TABLE 7

	7. Have you used this media in the last 12 months?			7A. Apart from today, when was the last time you used .... [READ OUT] to learn about political and economic developments in Georgia?						7B. Out of all media sources you use, which one do you trust the most to provide accurate information?			
	-2	Refused											
	Yes	No	(Refused)	Yesterday	Last week	Last month	Longer ago	(Don't know)	(Refused)		Neither	(Don't know)	(Refused)
Rustavi2	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	1	11	-1	-2
Georgian Public Broadcaster	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	2			
Kavkasia	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	3			
Radio "Channel One"	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	4			
Radio "Tavisufleba"	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	5			
ORT	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	6			
"24 Hours"	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	7			
"Rezonansi"	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	8			
Internet (English Language)	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	9			
Internet (Russian Language)	1	0	-2	1	2	3	4	-1	-2	10			

SURVEY VERSION K

8. Which ethnic group do you consider yourself a member of?

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT READ. ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS.]

<i>Georgian</i>	1
<i>Azeri</i>	2
<i>Armenian</i>	3
<i>Ossetian</i>	4
<i>Russian</i>	5
<i>Other [WRITE]: _____</i>	6
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

9. Did you vote in the special presidential election in January 2008?

<i>Yes</i>	1	→ GO TO 9C
<i>No</i>	0	
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2	

9A. If you feel comfortable revealing your decision, did you vote for Saakashvili?

<i>Yes</i>	1	→ GO TO 10
<i>No</i>	0	
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2	

9B. I'd like you to think back to the election, and to tell me, why you voted the way you did. I'm going to read out a list of reasons, and I'd like you to agree or disagree.

[INTERVIEWER! READ LINE BY LINE. ACCEPT ONE ANSWER PER EACH ROW.]

TABLE 9B		Agree	Disagree	<i>(Don't know)</i>	<i>(Refused)</i>
1	I thought that he was the most qualified candidate, and the best choice to represent me.	1	0	-1	-2
2	I voted for the candidate who was most likely to return Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and that was him.	1	0	-1	-2
3	I voted for him because I was afraid that there would be consequences for me and my community if he did not win our district.	1	0	-1	-2
4	I voted for him because everyone in my family was going to vote the same way.	1	0	-1	-2
5	I voted for him because his policies benefit me and my family directly.	1	0	-1	-2

[INTERVIEWER! GO TO QUESTION 10.]

9C. People give different reasons for not voting in the 2008 Presidential Election. Describe, in your own words, why you did not vote.

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT READ THE ANSWERS! CHOOSE ONE THAT BEST APPLIES.]

It was a waste of time – “I was sure that President Saakashvili would win”	1
It was a protest – “I was sure that President Saakashvili would win, but I think elections are rigged and I didn’t want to participate.”	2
I was told how to vote and I didn’t like it, so I went to the ballot box and turned in a blank vote instead.”	3
Apathy/Disinterest – “I simply don’t care about politics in this country // “All politicians are completely out of touch with the real needs of this country.” // “Everyone is equally corrupt.”	4
It was impossible – “I was sick, tired, in the hospital, outside of Georgia, too young, etc.”	5
Someone Else’s Fault – “I was told not to participate.”	6
Other	7
(Don’t know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

Now I’m going to make a few general statements about household finances. I would appreciate it if you could tell me which of these statements best describe your household’s situation?

10. Last year there was not always enough money to buy food in our household without help from neighbors and friends.

True	1
False	0
(Don’t know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

11. Last year there was always enough money for food, but not always enough money to buy new clothes or fix broken things around the house.

True	1
False	0
(Don’t know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

12. Last year there was enough money to live comfortably enough, but where we live there were sometimes shortages in gas, fuel, or food.

True	1
False	0
(Don’t know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

13. Last year there was enough money to live comfortably and to make some savings.

True	1
False	0
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

14. Last year there was enough money to live comfortably. If we had wanted to make a major purchase, such as a computer, refrigerator, or car, it would have been financially feasible.

True	1
False	0
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

15. Our family's financial situation is helped greatly by relatives that live and work abroad, and send money home to help.

True	1
False	0
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

16. Our family benefits from state programs that provide aid and support to its citizens (e.g., pensions, social aid, vouchers, etc.).

True	1
False	0
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

Now, we're going to ask some questions about politics. Think about your friends, family, coworkers, or whoever you talk about politics with. Again, it's worth emphasizing that these questions are all completely confidential.

17. Most of my friends supported the Rose Revolution in 2003.

Yes	1
No	0
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

18. Most of my friends would probably support a similar peaceful revolution against the current regime today.

Yes	1	→ GO TO 19
No	0	
(Don't know)	-1	→
(Refused)	-2	GO TO 19

18A. Like your friends, most Georgians probably don't want another Revolution right now. I'm going to list off five possible reasons why an individual might not support revolutionary action against the government. Please say whether you agree or disagree each reason.

[INTERVIEWER! READ THE REASONS. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW.]

TABLE 18A

		Agree	Disagree	(Don't know)	(Refused)
1	The country is at war right now and Saakashvili needs support from all of us. Internal weakness and revolution is just what Russia wants.	1	0	-1	-2
2	The Shevardnadze government betrayed our country's values, and made policies that were against our national interests. The Saakashvili government isn't as bad.	1	0	-1	-2
3	Saakashvili has shown us that he will not step down from power peacefully. If there were protests like the Rose Revolution, people would get hurt.	1	0	-1	-2
4	Elections have shown us that there aren't good alternatives to the current government. We might end up with a new government that's even worse.	1	0	-1	-2
5	Georgia is a constitutional democracy, so we have to stick with our current regime until they lose an election.	1	0	-1	-2

## 19. Are you a member of any political party?

Yes	1	→ GO TO 20
No	0	
(Refused)	-2	

## 19A. Which party?

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT READ. CORRESPOND.]

<i>United National Movement (Mikheil Saakashvili)</i>	1
<i>United Opposition (Levan Gachechiladze)</i>	2
<i>New Rights (Davit Gamkrelidze)</i>	3
<i>Republicans (Davit Usufashvili)</i>	4
<i>Labour Party (Shalva Natelashvili)</i>	5
<i>Christian-Democrats (Giorgi Targamadze)</i>	6
<i>Other _____</i>	7
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

## 20. Do you have a family member who is currently serving in the Georgian Army, Border Guards, or Police?

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

21. I would like you to take a few minutes to describe, in your own words, how this most recent war broke out, and what happened afterwards.

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT PROMPT!!!! LISTEN TO THE RESPONDENT AS HE OR SHE DESCRIBES THE CONFLICT, AND MARK ALL THAT APPLY. DO NOT ASK FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS.]

#### BACKGROUND

<i>Goes back to ancient times</i>	1
<i>Goes back to Soviet times</i>	2
<i>Goes back to independence of Georgia</i>	3

#### WHO STRUCK FIRST

<i>Russians told the South Ossetian Militias to Attack</i>	4
<i>South Ossetian militias attacked first</i>	5
<i>Georgians attacked first</i>	6
<i>Russians attacked first</i>	7
<i>No one knows who attacked who first</i>	8

#### WHAT HAPPENED, IN GENERAL

<i>The Georgian military did well</i>	9
<i>The Georgian military did poorly</i>	10
<i>The Russians targeted civilians</i>	11
<i>The Georgians targeted civilians</i>	12
<i>The Russians attacked Tbilisi</i>	13
<i>The Russians sent troops into Abkhazia</i>	14
<i>The Russians attacked Georgian troops in Abkhazia</i>	15
<i>The Russians sent troops into Adjara</i>	16
<i>The Russians attacked Georgian troops in Adjara</i>	17

#### WHAT WAS THE AFTERMATH

<i>The West did not/could not come to our aid</i>	18
<i>The West put pressure on Russia to moderate its actions</i>	19
<i>Russians occupied national territory and refused to leave</i>	20
<i>Many Georgians were killed or murdered</i>	21

#### ADMITTING UNCERTAINTY

<i>We really don't know what happened</i>	22
<i>We really don't know what happened, because the Georgian media lies</i>	23
<i>We really don't know, what happened, because the Russian media lies</i>	24

<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

22. Politicians often promise a lot of different things, but then don't follow through on all of them. I am going to present you with a list of important political issues. I would like you to choose which three are most important to you.

[INTERVIEWER! READ ALL CHOICES TWO TIMES, THEN LET RESPONDENT CHOOSE THREE.]

Forge better diplomatic, cultural, and economic ties with the West.	1
Forge better military relations with the West (for example, by trying to join NATO).	2
Creating a stable environment for investment, stability, and growth, so that there are more good jobs.	3
Reduction of government corruption in the judiciary, police, and other state bodies.	4
Reclaiming control of the secessionist territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.	5
Re-establishing good economic and political relations with Russia.	6
Repairing the national army so that we can defend ourselves even if our allies abandon us.	7
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

23. If you had to choose one over-riding priority out of those top 3, which one of these issues do you believe is the single most important national priority?

[INTERVIEWER! READ ONLY THE THREE OPTIONS RESPONDENT CHOSE.]

<i>Forge better diplomatic, cultural, and economic ties with the West.</i>	1
<i>Forge better military relations with the West (for example, by trying to join NATO).</i>	2
<i>Creating a stable environment for investment, stability, and growth, so that there are more good jobs.</i>	3
<i>Reduction of government corruption in the judiciary, police, and other state bodies.</i>	4
<i>Reclaiming control of the secessionist territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.</i>	5
<i>Re-establishing good economic and political relations with Russia.</i>	6
<i>Repairing the national army so that we can defend ourselves even if our allies abandon us.</i>	7
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

24. Now let me ask the opposite question. Which of these seven issues do you consider the least important?

[INTERVIEWER! IF RESPONDENT ASKS, READ ALL OPTIONS AGAIN. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Forge better diplomatic, cultural, and economic ties with the West.	1
Forge better military relations with the West (for example, by trying to join NATO).	2
Creating a stable environment for investment, stability, and growth, so that there are more good jobs.	3
Reduction of government corruption in the judiciary, police, and other state bodies.	4
Reclaiming control of the secessionist territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.	5
Re-establishing good economic and political relations with Russia.	6
Repairing the national army so that we can defend ourselves even if our allies abandon us.	7
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

- 25K. Some people say that the recent escalation was a terrible disaster for Georgian foreign policy, at least in the short term, because Russian troops are now on Georgian territory and we're trapped in a war with our largest neighbor and trading partner. Do you agree with this opinion?

Yes	1
No	0
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

26. How do you think the president Saakashvili acted in the foreign policy crisis since July?

[INTERVIEWER! READ THE OPTIONS. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

In a completely wrong way	1	→ GO TO 26B
In a wrong way	2	→
In a right way	3	GO TO 27
In a completely right way	4	
(Don't know)	-1	→
(Refused)	-2	GO TO 27

- 26A. You say that the president acted in a completely right way in a recent foreign policy crisis. Which of these three statements best captures how you feel about Saakashvili?

[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 27
Saakashvili is a strong leader who has proven that he is the kind of man that I want to lead Georgia.	2	
Saakashvili will be remembered by historians as one of Georgia's historically great leaders.	3	
(Don't know)	-1	
(Refused)	-2	

- 26B. You say that the president acted in a completely wrong way in a recent foreign policy crisis. Which of these three statements best captures how you feel about Saakashvili?

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

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

27. In the past, Saakashvili has talked about granting “autonomy” to Abkhazia and South Ossetia, in order to convince them to be a part of Georgia. Now I’m going to read several options and please tell, would you approve or disapprove granting such rights to Abkhazia and South Ossetia as exchange for their return into Georgia.

TABLE 27

		Approve	Disapprove	(Don't know)	(Refused)
1	Refugees might be able to go back to Abkhazia or South Ossetia, but their homes will be owned by those who have been living there until now. So, property rights would be guaranteed by the governments of South Ossetia and Abkhazia and not by central government.	1	0	-1	-2
2	Schools and Universities in Abkhazia should be allowed to teach in only Russian, not Georgian	1	0	-1	-2
3	The governments in Abkhazia and South Ossetia should be able to keep ethnic Georgians from serving in the police forces.	1	0	-1	-2
4	Abkhazia and South Ossetia should be permitted to retain military and border guards and to collect customs duties by themselves.	1	0	-1	-2
5	Georgian refugees who fled their homes in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the early 1990's might be prohibited from returning home.	1	0	-1	-2
6	Abkhaz and South Ossetian citizens should be given the right to serve in high positions in Georgian government even without knowledge of Georgian language.	1	0	-1	-2
7	Georgian companies cannot buy property in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, if the local governments decide to prohibit it.	1	0	-1	-2
8	Russian companies should have a right to buy property in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, if the local governments decide to allow it.	1	0	-1	-2
9	Import and export in Abkhazia and South Ossetia will be subject to different taxes than goods anywhere else in Georgia.	1	0	-1	-2

- 28K. Some people say that Western governments have put a great deal of pressure on Russia to pull back their troops, and that this crisis has reminded Western countries of the importance of NATO. Do you agree?

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

- 29K. Some argue that if Georgia had been able to get into NATO sooner, Russia would have been deterred from attacking us (because the treaty commits Western governments to protect each other). Do you agree?

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

- 30K. 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?

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

31. In broad terms, I would like you to rate President Saakashvili's job performance over the last five years. Consider foreign, economic, and social policies.

[INTERVIEWER! READ THE OPTIONS. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Very negatively	1	→ GO TO 31B
Negatively	2	→
Positively	3	GO TO 32
Very positively	4	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	→
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2	GO TO 32

31A. You say that you rate president Saakashvili's foreign, economic, and social policies over the last five years very positively. Which of these three statements best captures how you feel about Saakashvili?

[INTERVIEWER! READ THE 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 32
Saakashvili is a strong leader who has proven that he is the kind of man that I want to lead Georgia.	2	
Saakashvili will be remembered by historians as one of Georgia's historically great leaders.	3	
(Don't know)	-1	
(Refused)	-2	

31B. You say that you rate president Saakashvili's foreign, economic, and social policies over the last five years very negatively. Which of these three statements best captures how you feel about Saakashvili?

[INTERVIEWER! READ THE OPTIONS. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

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

32. If the elections were held tomorrow, would you vote for Saakashvili?

Yes	1
No	0
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

- 33K.** Let's say a new political party forms before the next presidential election. The candidate is intelligent and charismatic, and claims that he will do his best to implement all of the same policies as this administration in every way, except that he will seek a diplomatic solution to the Abkhaz and South Ossetian problem brokered and guaranteed by Russia, and formally withdrawing Georgia's application for NATO membership. If you thought he could win, would you consider voting for this new candidate?

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

I would not even consider voting for him	1	→ GO TO 34
I doubt I'd even consider voting for him	2	
I'd consider voting for him	3	
I'd definitely vote for him	4	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2	

- 33K\_A.** You say that you would never vote for such a candidate. Which of the following three statements best describes your feelings about his candidacy?

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

I would not personally vote for him, but I can imagine that there are lots of people in this country that would.	1
I would not personally vote for him, and neither would anyone else.	2
I would not personally vote for him, and neither would anyone else. I expect that if a candidate like that somehow won an election, there would be violent demonstrations, rioting, and even civil war.	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

34. Most people agree that a good relationship with Russia, increasing ties with Europe and the US, and a settlement that reincorporates Abkhazia and South Ossetia into Georgia are all important long-term priorities for the Georgian government. But sometimes it is important to prioritize. I would like you to rank order those three – Relations with Russia, Relations with the West, and reincorporating territories – from most important to least important.

[INTERVIEWER! RANK EACH PRIORITY BY WRITING NUMBERS FROM 1 TO 3 WHERE 1 MEANS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND 3 MEANS THE LEAST IMPORTANT]

Priorities	Number in priorities ranking
Relationship with Russia	1
Relationship with West	2
Reincorporation of territories	3
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

## 35. Which of the following statements best captures your belief system?

[INTERVIEWER! READ EACH STATEMENT. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

Re-establishing control of all of the territory of Georgia is our most urgent national priority. Good relations with the West or Russia are just a means to that end, and once we have the territories back it will be possible to choose our own way. If I had the choice, I would never abandon the dream of national reunification.	1
Russia is our neighbor and most important economic trading partner and rebuilding relations with Russia must come first. If I had the choice, I would give up on this silly dream of joining the West and hope that Russia would broker a deal to let us get the territories back somehow.	2
The West is our best hope for the future, and should be our most urgent national priority. We clearly can live with Russia unless we get protection from NATO, and continuing to press for the territories is clearly a barrier to that strategic goal. If I had the choice, I would let Abkhazia and South Ossetia join Russia, in exchange for joining the NATO and closer economic ties to Europe.	3
I disagree with all of those statements. [INTERVIEWER! IF THE RESPONDENT CHOOSES 4, ASK HER TO EXPLAIN WHAT THEY BELIEVE IN THEIR OWN WORDS. IF THEIR RESPONSE SOUNDS LIKE 1, 2, OR 3, GIVE THEM THE CHANCE TO CHANGE THEIR ANSWER. IF THE RESPONSE DOES NOT SOUND LIKE ANY, THEN LEAVE 4]	4
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

## 36K. Some people think that Georgian government has lost control over Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Do you agree?

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

SURVEY VERSION K

37. Do you think that Saakashvili will still be president of Georgia in October 2011? Let me remind that the next presidential elections are to be held in 2012 according to the Constitution. Now I'm going to read several statements and please tell which one do you think is most possible?

[INTERVIEWER! READ EACH STATEMENT. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.]

I am confident that Saakashvili will still be leading Georgia as its president in 2011.	1	→ GO TO 38
I would not be surprised if Saakashvili were still leading Georgia as its president in 2011.	2	
The future is too uncertain; too many things can change.	3	
I would not be surprised if someone other than Saakashvili were leading Georgia in 2011.	4	
I am confident that someone other than Saakashvili will be leading Georgia in 2011.	5	
(Don't know)	-1	→ GO TO 38
(Refused)	-2	

37A. There are many people, like you, who think that Saakashvili's chances of remaining as president are small. I'm going to present you with a few scenarios, and I want you to say whether they are plausible or implausible.

Obviously, you're not endorsing that any of these things should happen – you are only commenting on what you believe is somewhat likely, based on your life experience.

[INTERVIEWER! READ EACH STATEMENT. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW.]

TABLE 37A

		Plausible	Implausible	(Don't know)	(Refused)
1	There will be an election between now and then and Saakashvili will lose. He will step down peacefully.	1	0	-1	-2
2	There will be an election between now and then and Saakashvili will cheat to win. He will step down after a massive public demonstration.	1	0	-1	-2
3	There will be some sort of coup, or backroom reshuffling of power. Maybe Saakashvili will even still be the president, but he'll be someone else's puppet.	1	0	-1	-2
4	Russia will use their influence to install a preferred candidate.	1	0	-1	-2
5	Saakashvili will be assassinated, imprisoned, or forced to leave the country.	1	0	-1	-2

38. I'm going to read two statements. I would like you to identify which of those two statements you most agree with. Please choose statement 1 or statement 2.

[INTERVIEWER! READ BOTH STATEMENT AND ASK RESPONDENT TO WHICH ONE DOES (S)HE AGREE TO. THEN ASK WHETHER (S)HE AGREES OR STRONGLY AGREES TO THE STATEMENT.]

Statement 1: Georgian government should keep spending money on the army so that country could be defended effectively in the future.		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.	
Strongly agree with the first statement 1	Agree with the first statement 2	Agree with the second statement 4	Strongly agree with the second statement 5
<i>Do not accept either [DO NOT PROMPT]</i>		3	
<i>(Refuse) [DO NOT PROMPT]</i>		-2	

39. I'm going to read two statements. I would like you to identify which of those two statements you most agree with. Please choose statement 1 or statement 2.

[INTERVIEWER! READ BOTH STATEMENT AND ASK RESPONDENT TO WHICH ONE DOES (S)HE AGREE TO. THEN ASK WHETHER (S)HE AGREES OR STRONGLY AGREES TO THE STATEMENT.]

Statement 1: If Georgians would just give up on the idea of joining the West and let Russia have its way, Russia would stop supporting the secessionists.		Statement 2: Russia is going to keep supporting the secessionists no matter what we do, so we might as well try to make friends in the West.	
Strongly agree with the first statement 1	Agree with the first statement 2	Agree with the second statement 4	Strongly agree with the second statement 5
<i>Do not accept either [DO NOT PROMPT]</i>		3	
<i>(Don't know) [DO NOT PROMPT]</i>		-2	

**40K.** Now, I would like you to evaluate the president's action in the possible situation

Imagine President Saakashvili calls for bilateral diplomatic talks with Russia to structure a new regional partnership, in exchange for Russia's withdrawal all of its troops from the Liakhvi Valley in South Ossetia. Russian diplomats meet for discussions with Saakashvili, though Russian troops do not leave. Months pass, and the situation does not change. A few months later, Russian troops leave the Liakhvi Valley voluntarily after great pressure from the West and NATO. Other parts of South Ossetia stay under the control of Russian and South Ossetian forces.

How would you evaluate the president's handling of the situation?

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

The president completely mishandled the situation	1	
The president did not handle that well	2	
I'm not sure	3	→ GO TO 41
The president handled the situation well	4	→ GO TO 40K_B
I think the president handled the situation very well	5	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	→ GO TO 41
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2	

SURVEY VERSION K

**40K\_A.** You have said that the president mishandled the situation. In your own words, please explain why.

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT PROMPT! MARK ALL THAT APPLY.]

<i>The President's actions hurt our credibility with West, and We Need the West</i>	1	→ GO TO 41
<i>The President's actions hurt our bargaining credibility with Russia</i>	2	
<i>The president didn't do what he said he was going to do</i>	3	
<i>The president let his ego and his political future dictate policy</i>	4	
<i>Violence is not the answer</i>	5	
<i>Should have won, or waited until Georgia was strong enough to win</i>	6	
<i>We Need to let the Territories go</i>	7	
<i>Other</i>	8	
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1	
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2	

**40K\_B.** You have said that the president handled the situation well. In your own words, please explain why.

[INTERVIEWER! DO NOT PROMPT! MARK ALL THAT APPLY.]

<i>A show of strength improves our bargaining position with the West</i>	1
<i>A show of strength improves our bargaining position with Russia</i>	2
<i>The president stood firm, and did what he said he was going to do</i>	3
<i>We can't back down to Russia</i>	4
<i>We can't wait for the West to help us</i>	5
<i>Other</i>	6
<i>(Don't know)</i>	-1
<i>(Refused)</i>	-2

41. I'm going to read a few statements about how the crisis escalated in Georgia. Please choose only one statement.

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

The decision to fire on South Ossetian villages was probably made by president Saakashvili alone.	1
The decision to fire on South Ossetian villages was probably made by president Saakashvili after consultations with a small group of his close affiliates.	2
The decision to fire on South Ossetian villages was probably made by president Saakashvili after consultations with his ministers and a few members of the parliamentary leadership outside his inner circle.	3
The decision to fire on South Ossetian villages was probably made by president Saakashvili after consultations with his ministers and parliamentary leadership, including the parliamentary opposition leaders.	4
The decision to fire on South Ossetian villages was probably not made by Saakashvili at all, but instead by local commanders. He is taking the blame for the decisions of his underlings.	5
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

42. What do you think of Georgian media's assessments of Georgian military performance on the battlefield during the recent conflict?

It's more negative than actual performance.	1
It's reflects reality.	2
It's more positive than actual performance.	3
(Don't know)	-1
(Refused)	-2

A4. Time the interview finished:

|\_\_\_\_\_|\_\_\_\_\_|      |\_\_\_\_\_|\_\_\_\_\_|  
 Hour                      Minute

[INTERVIEWER! USE 24-HOUR FORMAT.]