

# RESILIENT BONDS ON SOCIAL COHESION IN GEORGIA

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**Resilient Bonds  
On Social Cohesion  
in Georgia**

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**Ilia State University Publishers**



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The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent opinions of the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia (SRNSFG).

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**Image on the cover**

**Abstract painting without Title**

**By the artist Lana Turmanidze**

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## Foreword

This book, written by a sociologist and a historian, is an enlightening read, a well written read, and above all else, a necessary read. It is necessary because it helps us understand the deep-rooted challenges that democracy has faced in Georgia since independence in 1991. The book is theoretically rich; it incorporates concepts and ideas developed by Western scholars since Emile Durkheim and Max Weber on social integration, social order and social cohesion. It places Georgia in both a historical and comparative context and drills down into the psychology and social structures that sustain community and collaboration among citizens living in democracies.

This book highlights the persistent patterns in Georgian society that despite repeated “democratic breakthroughs” in the post-Soviet period, have stymied the development of a cohesive and sustainable democracy. The authors, building on studies by Western and Georgian scholars such as Ghia Nodia, Barbara Christophe, Florian Mühlfried, and Gia Tarkhan Mouravi, examine the roots of the lasting political and social fragmentation that has characterized modern Georgian society, shaped by the *longue durée* of Soviet power and its capitalist neo-liberal successor. Since Georgia’s independence, such social fragmentation has been exacerbated by unrelenting political polarization.

The central focus of the book is social cohesion, a complex concept that emphasizes the interconnections at the civic (or popular) level between identity, trust, culture, community, and the state’s governing institutions. Throughout the book, the authors emphasize the vital relationship between social cohesion and democracy. Social cohesion, they argue, is based on the principles of “generalized social trust, reciprocity and solidarity,” and forms the “building block” of a democratic society.” (p.6) Low social cohesion, it follows, undermines the prospects for democratic consolidation.

## FOREWORD

The authors examine the multiple and, in some cases, unique factors that shape Georgia's own experience with social cohesion. The book avoids abstract modelling; it contextualizes Georgian society socially, demographically, and geographically; it anchors its analysis in Georgia's own historical experience; it collects both qualitative and quantitative data on popular attitudes in the capital and regions (especially in Georgia's smaller provincial towns) and it provides a comparative analysis with neighboring states and societies in Central and Eastern Europe. The book presents an important multidisciplinary study for Western scholars on why democratic institutions, apparently functional, are yet so fragile. It tells us specifically about the social and economic conditions of post-Soviet states like Georgia and helps us understand patterns that determine why some democracies have thrived (Estonia) and others (Georgia) have not.

In many ways, Georgia is the ideal case study of emerging democracies in the post-Soviet space, one that illustrates the contradictions between the strategies of democracy building and the reality encountered and practiced by its citizens. The tension between formal democracy and informal practices has, in Georgia's case, been a decisive variable in the popular struggle to establish accountable governance. Whether it was state socialism or an economically polarizing capitalism, Georgian state and economic structures have never been able to overcome the sense of exclusion, inequality and absence of control felt by its citizens. The Georgian state has always been segregated from its own citizens and the popular ideals of social solidarity, reciprocity and trust which underpin the common democratic enterprise have, as the authors show, remained weak and fragmented.

One explanation for this, illustrated by the data in chapters 5 and 6 and convincingly argued by the authors, is the difference between primary and secondary networks of community in Georgian society. Social cohesion is ubiquitous in Georgian social communities, but it is fragmented, often focused on kin, geography, business clans or ethnic identity. It rarely extends to cooperation or bonding between and across social communities on a

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national scale. In many ways this limited form of social cohesion is a natural reaction to state structures that cannot be trusted, but the authors underline the cost such narrowly focused personal, family or group loyalties can do to the common and inclusive values that are needed to hold democracies together. The authors argue that Georgia's "formally oriented" type of social cohesion in reality translates into passivity, limited political engagement, and low participation in civic activities. This is reflected in much of the data presented by the authors, though the mass demonstrations in Tbilisi in 2024-25 suggest attitudes toward the unaccountability of power are changing.

The book, of course, raises the question as to how Georgia's citizens can be encouraged to participate and engage with Georgian governments and political parties which maintain only limited accountability at election time. The authors do not have the answer – the book is an academic study rather than a platform – but it examines the issue, provides the data, and outlines the challenges for citizens who wish to live in a democratic state. This is an important contribution to the scholarly literature on democracy building.

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## Online Resources

Web portal “The Anatomy of Post-Communist Regimes” – Bálint Magyar, Bálint Madlovics:”.

URL: <https://www.postcommunistregimes.com/>

CSO Meter Country Reports: Georgia 2019-2024.

URL: <https://csometer.info/countries/georgia>

Forschungsinstitut Gesellschaftlicher Zusammenhalt. Research Institute for Social Cohesion (FGZ-RISC). A total of eleven German universities is involved in this research network.

URL: <https://fgz-risc.de/>

European Values Study (EVS)

URL: <https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu>

Geoportal of Natural Hazards and Risks in Georgia.

URL: <http://drm.cenn.org/index.php/en/>

Global Informality Project. The online encyclopedia.

URL: <https://www.in-formality.com/wiki/index.php?title=Global-Informality-Project>

Institute for Social Capital Web portal.

URL: <https://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/>

SCORE – The Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index.

URL: <https://app.scoreforpeace.org/>

## RESILIENT BONDS ON SOCIAL COHESION IN GEORGIA

UNDP in Ukraine: Social Cohesion and Reconciliation Index  
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All links have been assessed on November 3, 2025.

## Annex 1

*Table 1. Scale formation and reliability analysis of the original approach (Dickes et al. 2010; Acket et al. 2011)*

Sphere/ dimension	Intermediate variables	Items	Reliability (a)	Scale range	The overall shape of the distribution	Missing cases (%)	
<b>Political sphere – formal relations</b>	VAI01 Confidence in national distributive systems	v117 How much confidence in education system (Q38C)	0.7068 (Good)	0-1 (standardized)	slightly negatively skewed	0	
		v123 How much confidence in social security system (Q38I)					
		v126 How much confidence in health care system (Q38L)					
	<b>Dimension: Legitimacy/ illegitimacy</b>	VAI02 Confidence in national organizations	v127 How much confidence in justice system (Q38M)	0.6625 (Acceptable)	0-1 (standardized)	slightly positively skewed	0
			v118 How much confidence in the press (Q38D)				
			v119 How much confidence in trade unions (Q38E)				
		v121 How much confidence in parliament (Q38G)					
		v122 How much confidence in civil service (Q38H)					

	VAI03 Confidence in authority institutions	v115 How much confidence in church (Q38A)	0.4717 (Poor)	0-1 (standardized)	negatively skewed	0
		v116 How much confidence in armed forces (Q38B)				
		v120 How much confidence in the police (Q38F)				
	VAI04 Satisfaction and approval of democracy and government	v130 How much confidence in political parties (Q38P)	0.728 (Good)	0-1 (standardized)	positively skewed	0
		v131 How much confidence in government (Q38Q)				
		v143 Democracy in own country (Q41)				
	VAI05 Proximal solidarity	v144 The system for governing this country (Q42)				
		v212 Are you concerned with people neighborhood (Q60A)	0.8695 (Very good)	0-1 (standardized)	negatively skewed	0
		v213 Are you concerned with: people own region (Q60B)				
	VAI06 Distal solidarity	v214 Are you concerned with fellow countrymen (Q60C)				
		v217 Are you concerned with elderly people (Q61A)	0.3772 (Very poor)	0-1 (standardized)	negatively skewed	0
		v218 Are you concerned with unemployed people (Q61B)				
<b>Socio-cultural sphere – formal relations</b>						
<b>Dimension: Acceptance/rejection</b>						

	v219 Are you concerned with immigrants (Q61C)						
	v220 Are you concerned with sick and disabled (Q61D)						
VAI07 Acceptance of diversity	v22 Do not like as neighbors: people of different race (Q6A)	0.7858 (Good)	0-1 (standardized)	positively skewed	0		
	v24 Do not like as neighbors: immigrants/foreign workers (Q6C)						
	v27 Do not like as neighbors: Christians (Q6F)						
	v28 Do not like as neighbors: Muslims (Q6G)						
VAI08 Interpersonal trust	v33 How much you trust: people in your neighborhood (Q8B)	0.4785 (Poor)	0-1 (standardized)	slightly negatively skewed	0		
	v34 How much you trust: people you know personally (Q8C)						
	v35 How much you trust: people you meet for the first time (Q8D)						
VAI09 Intergroup trust	v36 How much you trust: people of another religion (Q8E)	0.7899 (Good)	0-1 (standardized)	positively skewed	0		
	v37 How much you trust: people of another nationality (Q8F)						

<b>Socio-cultural sphere – formal relations</b>	VAI010 Sense of belonging	v164 How close do you feel: to own town/city (Q45A)	0.6704 (Acceptable)	0-1 (standardized)	negatively skewed	0.73
		v165 How close do you feel: to your [country, region, district] (Q45B)				
		v166 How close do you feel: to [country] (Q45C)				
		v170 How proud are you to be a ... (country) citizen (Q47)				
<b>Dimensions: Belonging/ Isolation</b>	VAI011 Participation in legal political activities	v98 Political action: signing a petition (Q30A)	0.7217 (Good)	0-1 (standardized)	positively skewed	0
		v99 Political action: joining in boycotts (Q30B)				
		v100 Political action: attending lawful demonstrations (Q30C)				
		v97 How interested are you in politics (Q29)				
<b>Political sphere – substantial relation</b>	VAI012 Political concern	v208 How often do you follow politics: on television (Q59A)	0.5393 (Poor)	0-1 (standardized)	slightly positively skewed	0
		v209 How often do you follow politics: on the radio (Q59B)				
		v210 How often do you follow politics: in the daily papers (Q59C)				
<b>Dimension: Participation/ passivity</b>						

<b>Socio-cultural sphere – substantial relation</b>  <b>Dimension: belonging/ isolation</b>		v211 How often do you follow politics: on social media (Q59D)								
	VAI13– Participation in social organization	v16 Do you belong to charitable/humanitarian organization (Q4H) v18 Do you belong to self-help group, mutual aid group (Q4J) v21 Did you do voluntary work in the last 6 months (Q5)	0.5686 (Poor)	0-1 (standardized)	positively skewed	0				
			VAI14– Participation in political organization	v11 Do you belong to trade unions (Q4C) v12 Do you belong to political parties/groups (Q4D) v14 Do you belong to professional associations (Q4F)	0.7914 (Good)	0-1 (standardized)	positively skewed	0		
					VAI15– Participation in cultural associations	v9 Do you belong to religious organization (Q4A) v10 Do you belong to cultural activities (Q4B)	0.5204 (Poor)	0-1 (standardized)	positively skewed	0

## Annex 2

*Table 1. Scale formation and reliability analysis used in the paper*

Sphere/ dimension	Index Name	Items	Reliability (a)	Scale range	The overall shape of the distribution	Missing cases (%)
Political sphere – formal relations  Dimension: <i>Legitimacy/ illegitimacy</i>	<b>General confidence index</b>	v117 How much confidence in education system (Q38C)	<b>0.8599</b> <b>(Very good)</b>	<b>0-1</b> <b>(standardized)</b>	<b>Almost Normal</b>	<b>0</b>
		v123 How much confidence in social security system (Q38I)				
		v126 How much confidence in health care system (Q38L)				
		v127 How much confidence in justice system (Q38M)				
		v118 How much confidence in the press (Q38D)				
		v119 How much confidence in trade unions (Q38E)				
		v121 How much confidence in parliament (Q38G)				
		v122 How much confidence in civil service (Q38H)				
		v115 How much confidence in church (Q38A)				
		v116 How much confidence in armed forces (Q38B)				
		v120 How much confidence in the police (Q38F)				
		v130 How much confidence in political parties (Q38P)				
		v131 How much confidence in government (Q38Q)				

Socio-cultural sphere – formal relations  Dimension: <i>Acceptance/rejection</i>	<b>Support for diversity</b>	v22 Do not like as neighbors: people of different race (Q6A)	<b>0.8096</b> (Very good)	<b>0-1</b> (standardized)	<b>Positively skewed</b>	<b>0</b>				
		v24 Do not like as neighbors: immigrants/foreign workers (Q6C)								
		v26 Do not like as neighbors: homosexuals (Q6E)								
		v27 Do not like as neighbors: Christians (Q6F)								
		v28 Do not like as neighbors: Muslims (Q6G)								
		v29 Do not like as neighbors: Jews (optional) (Q6H)								
		v30 Do not like as neighbors: Gypsies (optional) (Q6I)								
		v212 Are you concerned with people neighborhood (Q60A)					<b>0.8150</b> (Very good)	<b>0-1</b> (standardized)	<b>Negatively skewed</b>	<b>0</b>
		v213 Are you concerned with: people own region (Q60B)								
		v214 Are you concerned with fellow countrymen (Q60C)								
v217 Are you concerned with elderly people (Q61A)										
v218 Are you concerned with unemployed people (Q61B)										
v219 Are you concerned with immigrants (Q61C)										
v220 Are you concerned with sick and disabled (Q61D)										
v33 How much you trust: people in your neighborhood (Q8B)	<b>0.6350</b> (Acceptable)	<b>0-1</b> (standardized)	<b>Almost Normal</b>	<b>0</b>						
v34 How much you trust: people you know personally (Q8C)										
v35 How much you trust: people you meet for the first time (Q8D)										
Socio-cultural sphere – formal relations  Dimension: <i>Acceptance/rejection</i>	<b>Interpersonal trust</b>									

Dimension: <i>Acceptance/ rejection</i>		v36 How much you trust: people of another religion (Q8E)				
		v37 How much you trust: people of another nationality (Q8F)				
Political sphere – substantial relation	<b>Political participation</b>	v98 Political action: signing a petition (Q30A)	<b>0.7217 (Good)</b>	<b>0-1 (standardized)</b>	<b>Positively skewed</b>	<b>0</b>
		v99 Political action: joining in boycotts (Q30B)				
		v100 Political action: attending lawful demonstrations (Q30C)				
Dimension: <i>Participational/ passivity</i>						
Political sphere – substantial relation	<b>Political concern</b>	v208 How often do you follow politics: on television (Q59A)	<b>0.4493 (Poor)</b>	<b>0-1 (standardized)</b>	<b>Positively skewed</b>	<b>0</b>
		v209 How often do you follow politics: on the radio (Q59B)				
		v210 How often do you follow politics: in the daily papers (Q59C)				
		v211 How often do you follow politics: on social media (Q59D)				
Dimension: <i>Participational/ passivity</i>						
Socio-cultural sphere – substantial relation	<b>Sense of institutional belonging-ness</b>	v9 Do you belong to religious organization (Q4A)	<b>0.9476 (Very Good)</b>	<b>0-1 (standardized)</b>	<b>Positively skewed</b>	<b>0</b>
		v10 Do you belong to cultural activities (Q4B)				
		v11 Do you belong to trade unions (Q4C)				
		v12 Do you belong to political parties/groups (Q4D)				
		v13 Do you belong to environment, ecology, animal rights (Q4E)				



## Annex 3

*Table 1. Control variable transformation*

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>Original answer options</b>	<b>Recoding pattern</b>	<b>Recorded answer options</b>	<b>Scale</b>
<b>Settlement size</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. under 5000</li> <li>2. 5000-20000</li> <li>3. 20000-100000</li> <li>4. 100000-500000</li> <li>5. 500000 and more</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Code 1 = Code 1</li> <li>Codes 2, 3, 4 = Code 2</li> <li>Code 5 = Code 3</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Under 5000</li> <li>2. 5000-500000</li> <li>3. 500000 and more</li> </ul>	Nominal
<b>Sex of respondent</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Code 1 = Code 1</li> <li>Code 2 = Code 0</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>0. Female</li> <li>1. Male</li> </ul>	Nominal (binary)
<b>Educational attainment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-2. no answer</li> <li>0. Less than primary</li> <li>11. Primary: general education</li> <li>21. Lower secondary: general education</li> <li>31. Upper secondary: general education</li> <li>32. Upper secondary: vocational programs</li> <li>42. post-secondary non tertiary: vocational programs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Code -2 = missing</li> <li>Codes from 0 to 31 (including) = Code 1</li> <li>Codes from 32 to 42 (including) = Code 2</li> <li>Codes from 51 to 80 (including) = Code 3</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Secondary or lower</li> <li>2. Vocational education</li> <li>3. Higher education</li> </ul>	Ordinal*

	<p>51. Short-cycle tertiary: general education  62. Bachelor or equivalent: vocational programs  72. Master or equivalent: vocational programs  80. Doctoral or equivalent</p>	<p>Codes 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 = Code 1  Code 8 = Code 2  Codes 1, 2, 3 = Code 3  Codes -2, -1 = missing</p>	<p>-2. no answer  -1. don't know  1. 30h a week or more  2. less than 30h a week  3. self employed  4. military service  5. retired/pensioned  6. homemaker not otherwise employed  7. student  8. unemployed  9. disabled</p>	<p>Codes -2, -1 = missing  All other observation remained the same</p>	<p>-2 no answer  -1 don't know  1. A - 1st decile  2. B - 2nd decile  3. C - 3rd decile  4. D - 4th decile  5. E - 5th decile</p>	<p>1. Outside the labor force &amp; other  2. Not employed  3. Employed</p>	<p>Nominal</p>
<p><b>Employment status</b></p>			<p>Ordinal</p>				
<p><b>Household income (Households total net income [standardized])</b></p>		<p>1. A - 1st decile  2. B - 2nd decile  3. C - 3rd decile  4. D - 4th decile  5. E - 5th decile  6. F - 6th decile  7. G - 7th decile</p>	<p>Ordinal</p>				

	<p>6. F - 6th decile 7. G - 7th decile 8. H - 8th decile 9. I - 9th decile 10. J - 10th decile</p>		<p>8. H - 8th decile 9. I - 9th decile 10. J - 10th decile</p>	
<p><b>Religious affiliation</b></p>	<p>-3. not applicable -2. no answer -1. Don't know 26801 GE: Orthodox 26802 GE: Catholic 26803 GE: Gregorian/Armenian Apostolic 26804 GE: Protestant 26806 GE: Muslim 26807 GE: Jehovah's Witnesses 26808 GE: Sun Cult 26809 GE: Baptist 26816 GE: Other</p>	<p>Codes -3, -2, -1 = missing Code 26801 = Code 0 Codes from 26802 to 26816 (including) = 1</p>	<p>0. Orthodox 1. non-Orthodox</p>	<p>Nominal (binary)</p>

## Annex 4

Figure 1. General confidence index model – Robust regression model with MM estimation

VARIABLES	(1) MM estimation	(2) S estimation	(3) scale
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)			
5000-500000 ( <i>combined</i> )	-0.114*** (0.0106)	-0.122*** (0.0156)	
500000 and more	-0.131*** (0.0125)	-0.125*** (0.0197)	
<b>Age</b>	0.000280 (0.000299)	0.000531 (0.000429)	
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	0.00532 (0.0101)	0.00194 (0.0146)	
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)			
Vocational education	0.00463 (0.0119)	0.00814 (0.0192)	
Higher education	-0.00599 (0.0121)	-0.00486 (0.0191)	
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)			
Not employed	-0.00166 (0.0121)	-0.00747 (0.0186)	
Employed	0.0184 (0.0122)	0.0186 (0.0169)	

<b>HH income</b>	-0.000239	0.00208	
	(0.00193)	(0.00260)	
<b>Religion (base category – Orthodox)</b>	0.0694***	0.122***	
	(0.0181)	(0.0270)	
Constant	0.521***	0.501***	0.155***
	(0.0197)	(0.0259)	(0.00452)
Observations	1,901	1,901	1,901
MM regression (85% efficiency)			
Wald (chi2(10))	175.07		
Prob > chi2	0.0000		
Pseudo R2	0.1126		
Breakdown point	50		
M-estimate: k	3.4436898		
S-estimate: k	1.547645		
Scale			.15527418

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Figure 2. Solidarity index model - Robust regression model with MM estimation and quintile regression models at different cut points**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	MM estimation	S estimation	scale	Quintile 0.25	Quintile 0.50	Quintile 0.75
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)						
<i>5000-500000 (combined)</i>	-0.0244*** (0.00942)	-0.0233 (0.0146)		-0.0125 (0.0124)	-0.00947 (0.00952)	-0.00770 (0.00895)
<i>500000 and more</i>	-0.0480*** (0.0107)	-0.0527*** (0.0136)		-0.0320** (0.0139)	-0.0378*** (0.0105)	-0.0273** (0.0106)
<b>Age</b>	0.000781*** (0.000232)	0.000925*** (0.000316)		0.00102*** (0.000324)	0.000840*** (0.000261)	0.000680*** (0.000237)
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	0.0229*** (0.00816)	0.0159 (0.0118)		0.0200* (0.0107)	0.0159* (0.00903)	0.0220** (0.00865)
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)						
<i>Vocational education</i>	-0.0145 (0.00982)	-0.0247* (0.0142)		0.00712 (0.0130)	-0.00613 (0.00974)	-0.0213** (0.00926)
<i>Higher education</i>	-0.0266*** (0.0101)	-0.0282* (0.0163)		-0.0163 (0.0140)	-0.0209* (0.0111)	-0.0346*** (0.00905)
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)						
<i>Not employed</i>	0.0233** (0.00962)	0.0425*** (0.0134)		0.0107 (0.0134)	0.0210** (0.0102)	0.0244** (0.00975)
<i>Employed</i>	0.0300*** (0.0103)	0.0326** (0.0152)		0.0210 (0.0129)	0.0233** (0.0109)	0.0143 (0.0107)

<b>HH income</b>	-0.00128	-0.00298	-0.000482	-0.000983	-0.00237
	(0.00158)	(0.00230)	(0.00222)	(0.00159)	(0.00144)
<b>Religion</b> (base category – Orthodox)					
Constant	0.00664	0.0547**	-0.0495***	0.00164	0.0189
	(0.0143)	(0.0217)	(0.0168)	(0.0132)	(0.0136)
	0.761***	0.769***	0.636***	0.742***	0.845***
	(0.0169)	(0.0212)	(0.0222)	(0.0193)	(0.0169)
Observations	1,901	1,901	1,901	1,901	1,901
R-squared			0.021	0.023	0.015
MM regression (85% efficiency)					
Wald (chi2(10))	67.33				
Prob > chi2	0.0000				
Pseudo R2	0.0393				
Breakdown point	50				
M-estimate: k	3.4436898				
S-estimate: k		1.547645			
Scale			.13207732		

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p&lt;0.01, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \* p&lt;0.1

**Figure 3.** Support for diversity index model - Robust regression model with MM estimation and quintile regression models at different cut points

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	MM estimation	S estimation	scale	Quintile 0.25	Quintile 0.50	Quintile 0.75
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)						
5000-500000 (combined)	0.00213 (0.0235)	-0.00855 (0.0106)		-0.0265 (0.0292)	-0.0222 (0.0235)	-0 (0.00563)
500000 and more	0.163*** (0.0259)	0.0491*** (0.0103)		0.368*** (0.0297)	0.121*** (0.0171)	0.125*** (0.00479)
<b>Age</b>	-0.00171*** (0.000617)	-0.000933*** (0.000349)		-0.000974 (0.000603)	-0.00159*** (0.000465)	0 (0.000160)
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	-0.0131 (0.0182)	-0.0129 (0.00867)		-0.0312 (0.0219)	-0.0170 (0.0168)	-0 (0.00459)
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)						
Vocational education	0.0741*** (0.0232)	0.00170 (0.0123)		0.0434 (0.0277)	0.0497** (0.0230)	0 (0.00580)
Higher education	0.0713*** (0.0217)	0.00456 (0.0112)		0.0400* (0.0242)	0.0588*** (0.0185)	-0 (0.00539)
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)						
Not employed	-0.0304 (0.0228)	-0.00826 (0.0128)		-0.0226 (0.0255)	-0.0651*** (0.0202)	0 (0.00573)
Employed	0.0216 (0.0221)	0.0210* (0.0110)		-0.0331 (0.0282)	-0.000454 (0.0199)	0 (0.00524)

<b>HH income</b>	0.00866*** (0.00335)	0.00180 (0.00158)	0.0159*** (0.00458)	0.00907*** (0.00287)	0
<b>Religion</b> (base category – Orthodox)	0.105*** (0.0250)	0.00847 (0.0137)	0.119*** (0.0398)	0.0390* (0.0201)	0 (0.00654)
Constant	0.719*** (0.0555)	0.899*** (0.0271)	0.407*** (0.0559)	0.800*** (0.0377)	0.875*** (0.0112)
Observations	1,901	1,901	1,901	1,901	1,901
R-squared			0.123	0.114	0.100
MM regression (85% efficiency)					
Wald (chi2(10))	109.47				
Prob > chi2	0.0000				
Pseudo R2	0.0911				
Breakdown point	50				
M-estimate: k	3.4436898				
S-estimate: k		1.547645			
Scale					.20849744

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p&lt;0.01, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \* p&lt;0.1

**Figure 4.** Support for interpersonal trust index model - Robust regression model with MM estimation

VARIABLES	(1) MM estimation	(2) S estimation	(3) scale
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)			
<i>5000-500000 (combined)</i>	-0.00991 (0.00871)	-0.00639 (0.0231)	
<i>500000 and more</i>	0.0166* (0.00891)	0.0224* (0.0115)	
<b>Age</b>	0.00111*** (0.000200)	0.00105*** (0.000345)	
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	0.0352*** (0.00722)	0.0203 (0.0196)	
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)			
<i>Vocational education</i>	-0.00208 (0.00868)	-0.00818 (0.0174)	
<i>Higher education</i>	0.0112 (0.00933)	0.0158 (0.0217)	
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)			
<i>Not employed</i>	0.00520 (0.00847)	0.00836 (0.0133)	
<i>Employed</i>	0.0140 (0.00915)	0.0147 (0.0142)	

<b>HH income</b>	0.00245	0.00443	
	(0.00164)	(0.00297)	
<b>Religion</b> (base category – Orthodox)	0.0316**	0.0317*	
	(0.0124)	(0.0180)	
Constant	0.446***	0.457***	0.119***
	(0.0136)	(0.0176)	(0.00327)
Observations	1,901	1,901	1,901
MM regression (85% efficiency)			
Wald (chi2(10))	75.34		
Prob > chi2	0.0000		
Pseudo R2	0.0441		
Breakdown point	50		
M-estimate: k	3.4436898		
S-estimate: k	1.547645		
Scale			.11927312

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Figure 5.** Political participation index model - Robust regression model with MM estimation

VARIABLES	(1) MM estimation	(2) S estimation	(3) scale
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)			
5000-500000 (combined)	0.0200 (0.0177)	0.0155 (0.0147)	
500000 and more	0.0853*** (0.0215)	0.274*** (0.0488)	
<b>Age</b>	6.02e-05 (0.000417)	-6.66e-05 (0.000357)	
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	0.0603*** (0.0162)	0.0118 (0.0148)	
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)			
Vocational education	0.0220 (0.0179)	0.00993 (0.0122)	
Higher education	0.0880*** (0.0217)	0.0308 (0.0238)	
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)			
Not employed	-0.00216 (0.0169)	-0.00988 (0.0135)	
Employed	0.0553*** (0.0209)	0.0204 (0.0210)	

<b>HH income</b>	0.00993*** (0.00339)	0.00443 (0.00411)	
<b>Religion</b> (base category – Orthodox)			
Constant	0.00727 (0.0233)	-0.00758 (0.0169)	0.228*** (0.00932)
Observations	1,901	1,901	1,901
MM regression (85% efficiency)			
Wald (chi2(10))	60.27		
Prob > chi2	0.0000		
Pseudo R2	0.0706		
Breakdown point	50		
M-estimate: k	3.4436898		
S-estimate: k	1.547645		
Scale			.22837147

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Figure 6.** Political concern index model - Robust regression model with MM estimation

VARIABLES	(1) MM estimation	(2) S estimation	(3) scale
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)			
<i>5000-500000 (combined)</i>	-0.0300*** (0.0109)	-0.0244 (0.0185)	
<i>500000 and more</i>	-0.0186 (0.0153)	0.000554 (0.0313)	
<b>Age</b>	0.00172*** (0.000259)	0.00222*** (0.000429)	
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	0.0343*** (0.00981)	0.00886 (0.0146)	
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)			
<i>Vocational education</i>	0.0323*** (0.0109)	0.0267 (0.0167)	
<i>Higher education</i>	0.0854*** (0.0134)	0.0855*** (0.0287)	
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)			
<i>Not employed</i>	-0.00203 (0.0106)	0.000187 (0.0161)	
<i>Employed</i>	0.0260** (0.0131)	0.0498** (0.0223)	

<b>HH income</b>	0.00646*** (0.00235)	0.00238 (0.00368)	
<b>Religion</b> (base category – Orthodox)			
Constant	-0.00864 (0.0123)	-0.0115 (0.0154)	0.153*** (0.00447)
	0.160*** (0.0186)	0.128*** (0.0297)	
Observations	1,901	1,901	1,901
MIM regression (85% efficiency)			
Wald (chi2(10))	117.80		
Prob > chi2	0.0000		
Pseudo R2	0.0846		
Breakdown point	50		
M-estimate: k	3.4436898		
S-estimate: k	1.547645		
Scale			.15295957

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

*Figure 7. Institutional belongingness index model - Linear regression model with robust standard errors*

VARIABLES	(1)
	Institutional belongingness index
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)	
5000-500000 (combined)	0.0386*** (0.0106)
500000 and more	-0.00975* (0.00522)
<b>Age</b>	0.000359 (0.000227)
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	0.00473 (0.00795)
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)	
Vocational education	0.00168 (0.0105)
Higher education	-0.0172* (0.00904)
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)	
Not employed	0.0287*** (0.00823)
Employed	0.0346*** (0.00839)

<b>HH income</b>	0.00268 (0.00166)
<b>Religion</b> (base category – Orthodox)	
	0.0142 (0.0145)
Constant	0.0615*** (0.0177)
Observations	1,901
R-squared	0.037

Robust standard errors in parentheses  
 \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Figure 8.** Geographical belongingness index model - Robust regression model with MM estimation and quintile regression models at different cut points

VARIABLES	(1) MM estimation	(2) S estimation	(3) scale	(4) Quintile 0.25	(5) Quintile 0.50	(6) Quintile 0.75
<b>Settlement size</b> (base category - under 5000)						
5000-500000 (combined)	0.00980 (0.0113)	0.0423** (0.0186)		-0.000478 (0.0142)	0 (0.00729)	0.0215 (0.0132)
500000 and more	0.00891 (0.0137)	0.00277 (0.0358)		-0.0105 (0.0171)	0 (0.00954)	0.0482*** (0.0170)
<b>Age</b>	0.00112*** (0.000287)	0.000765* (0.000421)		0.00143*** (0.000331)	-0 (0.000190)	0.00164*** (0.000362)
<b>Sex</b> (Base category – female)	0.0390*** (0.00976)	0.0371** (0.0162)		0.0354*** (0.0127)	0 (0.00663)	0.0411*** (0.0122)
<b>Education</b> (base category - secondary or lower)						
Vocational education	-0.00177 (0.0123)	-0.0121 (0.0229)		-0.00669 (0.0146)	0 (0.00799)	0.00194 (0.0143)
Higher education	-0.0193 (0.0125)	-0.0268 (0.0198)		-0.0205 (0.0162)	0 (0.00778)	-0.0167 (0.0166)
<b>Employment</b> (base category - Outside the labor force & other)						
Not employed	0.0285** (0.0115)	0.0305 (0.0203)		0.0201 (0.0142)	0 (0.00771)	0.0544*** (0.0139)

<i>Employed</i>	0.0533*** (0.0129)	0.0931*** (0.0226)	0.0344** (0.0168)	0	0.0674*** (0.0157)
<b>HH income</b>	0.00473** (0.00212)	0.00586 (0.00358)	0.00334 (0.00268)	-0	0.00388* (0.00235)
<b>Religion</b> (base category – Orthodox)	0.0376** (0.0168)	0.0611 (0.0687)	0.0186 (0.0187)	0	0.0798*** (0.0133)
Constant	0.665*** (0.0189)	0.660*** (0.0271)	0.562*** (0.0241)	0.769*** (0.0132)	0.719*** (0.0200)
Observations	1,892	1,892	1,892	1,892	1,892
R-squared			0.030	0.000	0.028
MM regression (85% efficiency)					
Wald (chi2(10))	42.27				
Prob > chi2	0.0000				
Pseudo R2	0.0428				
Breakdown point	50				
M-estimate: k	3.4436898				
S-estimate: k		1.547645			
Scale			.16059644		

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p&lt;0.01, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \* p&lt;0.1

## Annex 5

Table 1. Items' missing values and recoding pattern

Sphere/ dimension	Intermediate variables	Items	% of Missing data M (unweighted)	Transformation (MCA) pattern
Political sphere – formal relations  Dimension: <i>Legitimacy/ illegitimacy</i>	<b>General confidence</b>	v117 How much confidence in education system (Q38C)	<b>1.55</b>	M = quite a lot
		v123 How much confidence in social security system (Q38I)	<b>4.19</b>	M = none at all
		v126 How much confidence in health care system (Q38L)	<b>1.32</b>	M = not very much
		v127 How much confidence in justice system (Q38M)	<b>6.38</b>	M = quite a lot
		v118 How much confidence in the press (Q38D)	<b>3.60</b>	M = none at all
		v119 How much confidence in trade unions (Q38E)	<b>16.77</b>	M = not very much
		v121 How much confidence in parliament (Q38G)	<b>3.60</b>	M = none at all
		v122 How much confidence in civil service (Q38H)	<b>4.88</b>	M = none at all
		v115 How much confidence in church (Q38A)	<b>1.78</b>	M = quite a lot
		v116 How much confidence in armed forces (Q38B)	<b>1.32</b>	M = not very much
		v120 How much confidence in the police (Q38F)	<b>1.55</b>	M = quite a lot
		v130 How much confidence in political parties (Q38P)	<b>5.47</b>	M = none at all
		v131 How much confidence in government (Q38Q)	<b>2.01</b>	M = quite a lot

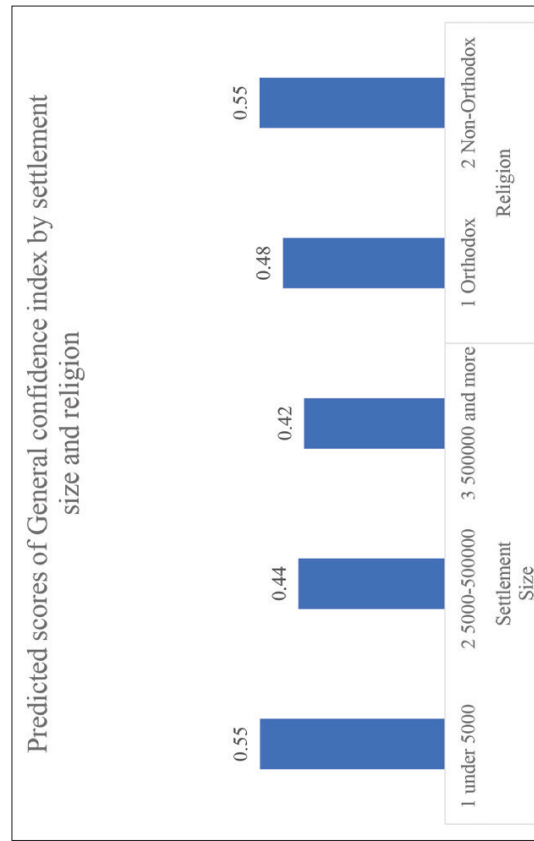
Socio-cultural sphere – formal relations	<b>Support for diversity</b>	v22 Do not like as neighbors: people of different race (Q6A)	<b>1.14</b>	m = not mentioned		
		v24 Do not like as neighbors: immigrants/foreign workers (Q6C)	<b>1.50</b>	m = not mentioned		
		v26 Do not like as neighbors: homosexuals (Q6E)	<b>0.73</b>	m = not mentioned		
		v27 Do not like as neighbors: Christians (Q6F)	<b>0.32</b>	m = mentioned		
		v28 Do not like as neighbors: Muslims (Q6G)	<b>0.77</b>	m = not mentioned		
		v29 Do not like as neighbors: Jews (optional) (Q6H)	<b>1.19</b>	m = not mentioned		
		v30 Do not like as neighbors: Gypsies (optional) (Q6I)	<b>1.96</b>	m = not mentioned		
		v212 Are you concerned with people neighborhood (Q60A)	<b>0.50</b>	m = very much		
		v213 Are you concerned with: people own region (Q60B)	<b>0.68</b>	m = not at all		
		v214 Are you concerned with fellow countrymen (Q60C)	<b>0.87</b>	m = very much		
Dimension: <i>Acceptance/rejection</i>	<b>General solidarity</b>	v217 Are you concerned with elderly people (Q61A)	<b>0.36</b>	m = not at all		
		v218 Are you concerned with unemployed people (Q61B)	<b>0.50</b>	m = not at all		
		v219 Are you concerned with immigrants (Q61C)	<b>1.78</b>	m = very much		
		v220 Are you concerned with sick and disabled (Q61D)	<b>0.64</b>	m = much		
		v33 How much you trust: people in your neighborhood (Q8B)	<b>0.96</b>	m = trust somewhat		
		v34 How much you trust: people you know personally (Q8C)	<b>0.50</b>	m = trust somewhat		
		Socio-cultural sphere – formal relations	<b>Interpersonal trust</b>			

Dimension: <i>Acceptance/ rejection</i>	v35 How much you trust: people you meet for the first time (Q8D)	<b>1.50</b>	m = do not trust very much
	v36 How much you trust: people of another religion (Q8E)	<b>3.97</b>	m = do not trust very much
	v37 How much you trust: people of another nationality (Q8F)	<b>3.60</b>	m = trust somewhat
Political sphere – substantial relation Dimension: <i>Participation/ passivity</i>	v98 Political action: signing a petition (Q30A)	<b>5.83</b>	m = have done
	v99 Political action: joining in boycotts (Q30B)	<b>4.06</b>	m = have done
	v100 Political action: attending lawful demonstrations (Q30C)	<b>2.74</b>	m = have done
Political sphere – substantial relation Dimension: <i>Participation/ passivity</i>	v208 How often do you follow politics: on television (Q59A)	<b>0.23</b>	m = less often
	v209 How often do you follow politics: on the radio (Q59B)	<b>0.27</b>	m = less often
	v210 How often do you follow politics: in the daily papers (Q59C)	<b>0.32</b>	m = less often
	v211 How often do you follow politics: on social media (Q59D)	<b>1.09</b>	m = less often
Socio-cultural sphere – substantial relation	v9 Do you belong to religious organization (Q4A)	<b>0.41</b>	m = mentioned
	v10 Do you belong to cultural activities (Q4B)	<b>0.55</b>	m = mentioned
	v11 Do you belong to trade unions (Q4C)	<b>0.64</b>	m = mentioned
	v12 Do you belong to political parties/groups (Q4D)	<b>0.73</b>	m = mentioned

Dimension: <i>Belonging/</i> <i>isolation</i>	v13 Do you belong to environment, ecology, animal rights (Q4E)	<b>0.73</b>	m = mentioned
	v14 Do you belong to professional associations (Q4F)	<b>0.68</b>	m = mentioned
	v15 Do you belong to sports/recreation (Q4G)	<b>0.64</b>	m = mentioned
	v16 Do you belong to charitable/humanitarian organization (Q4H)	<b>0.77</b>	m = mentioned
	v17 Do you belong to consumer organization (Q4I)	<b>0.91</b>	m = mentioned
	v18 Do you belong to self-help group, mutual aid group (Q4J)	<b>0.64</b>	m = mentioned
	v19 Do you belong to other groups (Q4K)	<b>0.82</b>	m = mentioned
	v164 How close do you feel: to own town/city (Q45A)	<b>1.32</b>	m = not close at all
	v165 How close do you feel: to your [country, region, district] (Q45B)	<b>1.14</b>	m = very close
Socio-cultural sphere – formal relations	v166 How close do you feel: to [country] (Q45C)	<b>1.05</b>	m = very close
	v170 How proud are you to be a ... (country) citizen (Q47)	<b>0.05</b>	m = not close at all
Dimensions: <i>Belonging/</i> <i>Isolation</i>	<b>Sense of geographical belongingness</b>		

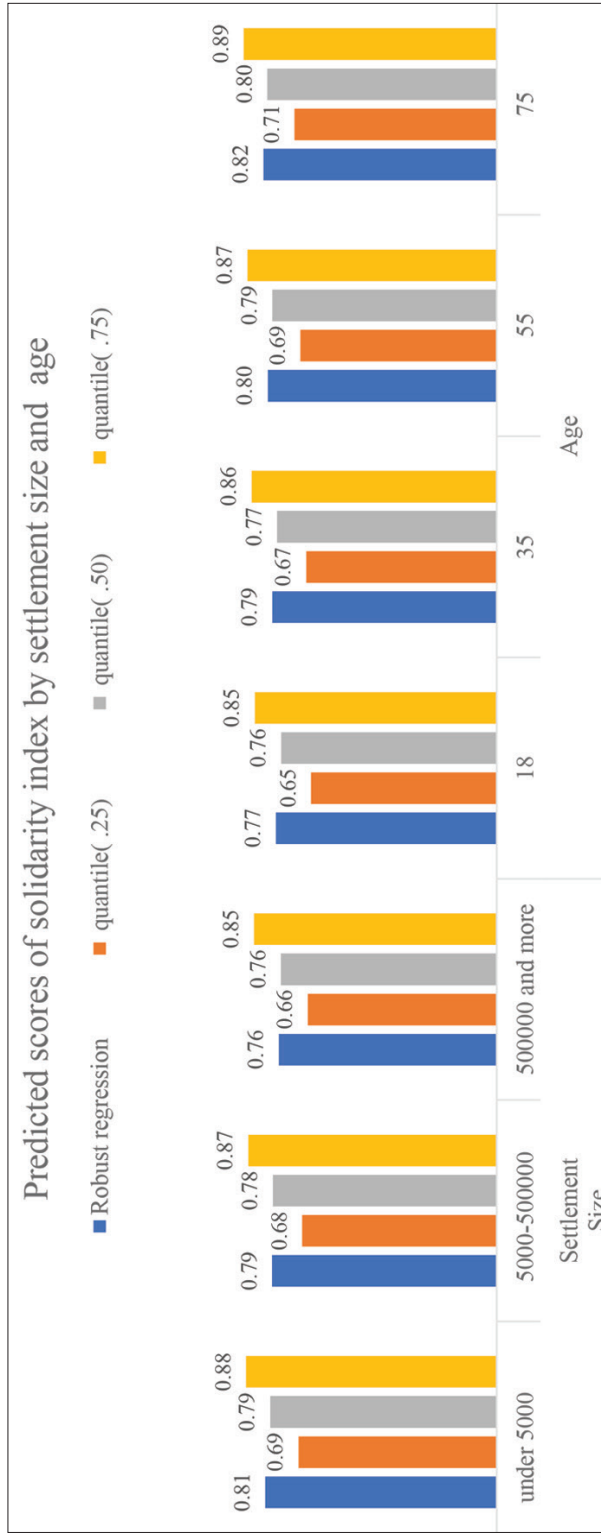
## Annex 6

Figure 3. Predicted scores of General confidence index



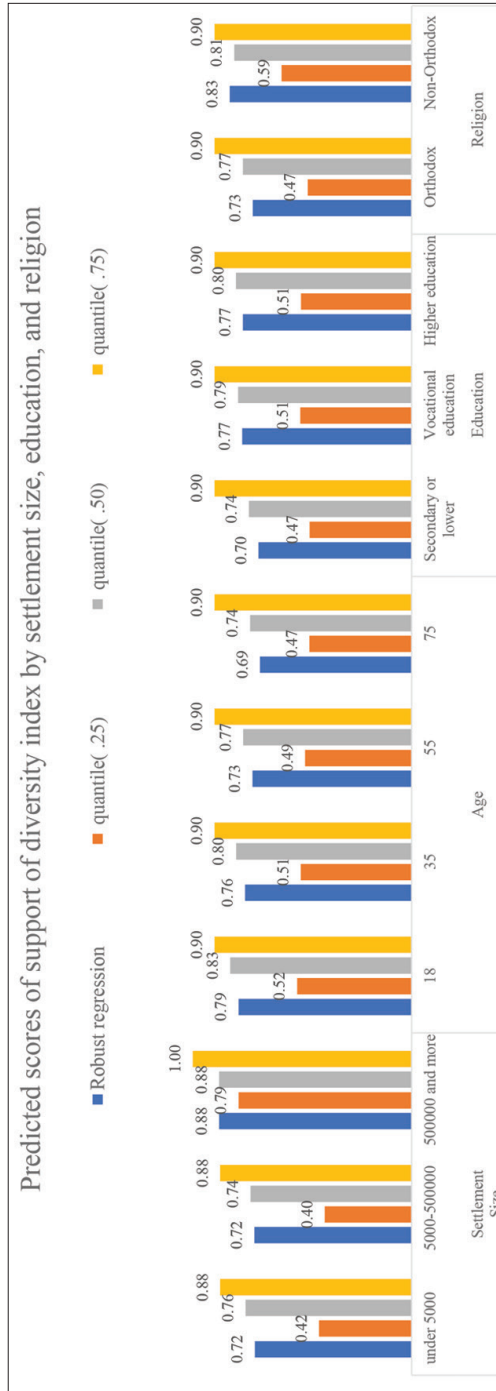
	Predicted scores	[95% Conf. Interval]
<b>Settlement Size</b>	under 5 000	0.55
	5 000-500 000	0.44
	500000 and more	0.42
	Orthodox	0.48
<b>Religion</b>	Non-Orthodox	0.55
		0.54
		0.56
		0.45
		0.44
		0.49
		0.59

Figure 5. Predicted scores of solidarity index



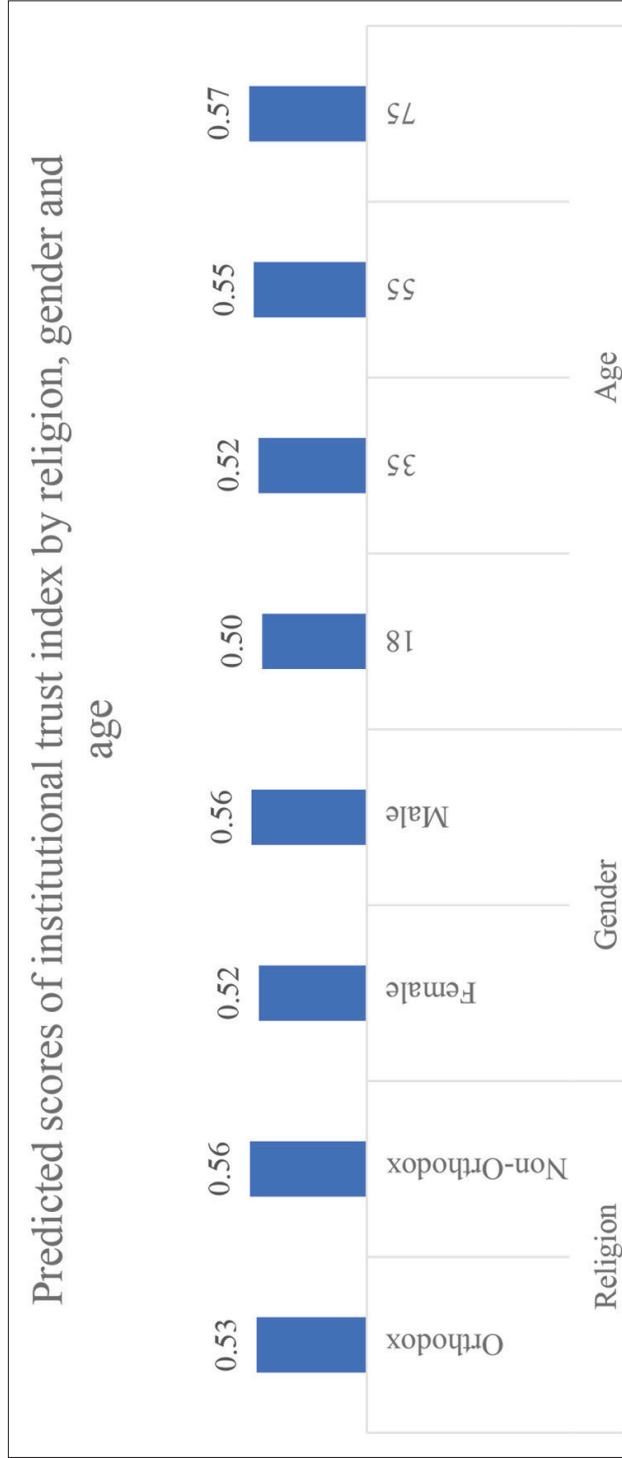
Settlement Size	Robust regression	[95% Conf. Interval]	quantile (.25)	[95% Conf. Interval]	quantile (.50)	[95% Conf. Interval]	Quantile (.75)	[95% Conf. Interval]
under 5000	0.81	0.80	0.69	0.68	0.71	0.81	0.88	0.87
5000-500000	0.79	0.77	0.68	0.66	0.70	0.80	0.87	0.86
500000 and more	0.76	0.75	0.66	0.64	0.68	0.77	0.85	0.83
Age								
18	0.77	0.76	0.65	0.63	0.67	0.74	0.85	0.83
35	0.79	0.78	0.67	0.65	0.68	0.76	0.86	0.85
55	0.80	0.79	0.69	0.68	0.70	0.78	0.87	0.87
75	0.82	0.80	0.71	0.69	0.73	0.82	0.89	0.87

Figure 7. Predicted scores of support for diversity index



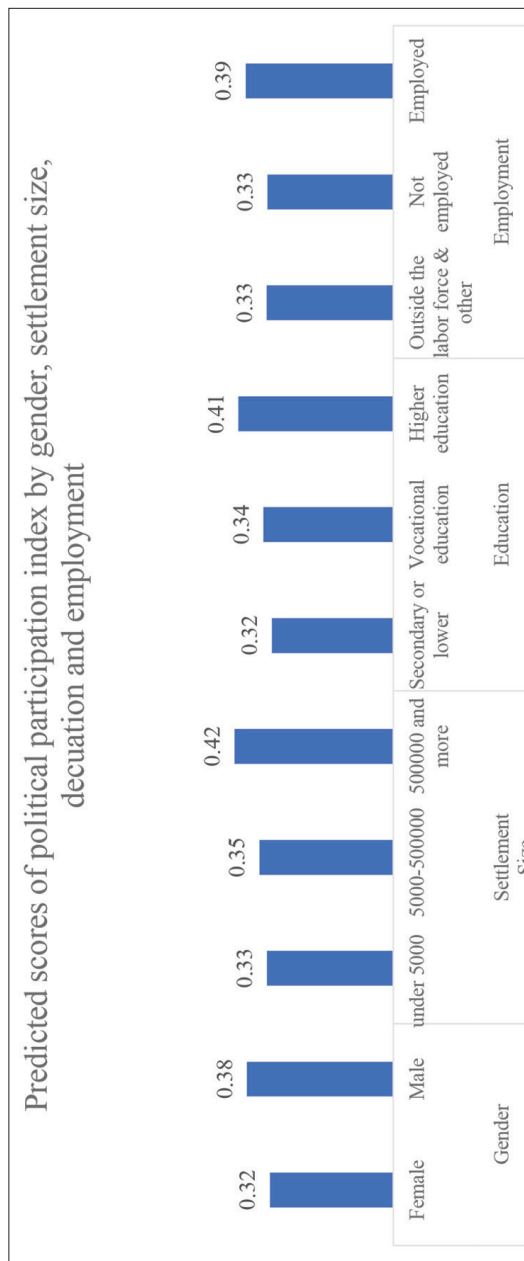
	Robust regression	[95% Conf. Interval]	quantile (.25)	[95% Conf. Interval]	quantile (.50)	[95% Conf. Interval]	Quantile (.75)	[95% Conf. Interval]
<b>Settlement Size</b>								
under 5000	0.72	0.67 0.76	0.42	0.38 0.47	0.76	0.73 0.79	0.88	0.87 0.88
5000-50000	0.72	0.67 0.77	0.40	0.35 0.44	0.74	0.70 0.77	0.88	0.87 0.88
50000 and more	0.88	0.86 0.90	0.79	0.76 0.82	0.88	0.86 0.90	1.00	0.99 1.01
<b>Age</b>								
18	0.79	0.73 0.85	0.52	0.47 0.57	0.83	0.80 0.86	0.90	0.89 0.91
35	0.76	0.72 0.81	0.51	0.47 0.54	0.80	0.78 0.82	0.90	0.89 0.91
55	0.73	0.69 0.76	0.49	0.46 0.51	0.77	0.75 0.79	0.90	0.90 0.91
75	0.69	0.66 0.73	0.47	0.43 0.50	0.74	0.71 0.77	0.90	0.89 0.91
<b>Education</b>								
Secondary or lower	0.70	0.65 0.75	0.47	0.43 0.50	0.74	0.71 0.78	0.90	0.89 0.91
Vocational education	0.77	0.73 0.82	0.51	0.46 0.56	0.79	0.76 0.83	0.90	0.89 0.91
Higher education	0.77	0.73 0.81	0.51	0.47 0.55	0.80	0.78 0.83	0.90	0.89 0.91
<b>Religion</b>								
Orthodox	0.73	0.68 0.77	0.47	0.45 0.50	0.77	0.75 0.79	0.90	0.90 0.91
Non-Orthodox	0.83	0.80 0.87	0.59	0.52 0.67	0.81	0.78 0.84	0.90	0.89 0.91

**Figure 9.** Predicted scores of interpersonal trust index



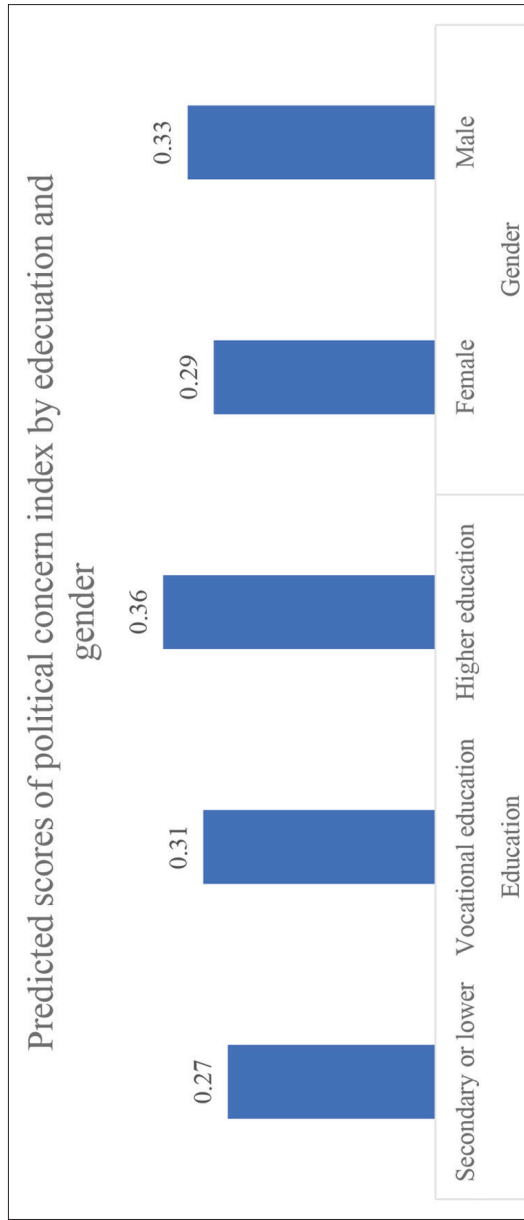
	Predicted scores	[95% Conf. Interval]
Religion	Orthodox	0.53
	Non-Orthodox	0.56
Gender	Female	0.52
	Male	0.56
Age	18	0.50
	35	0.52
	55	0.55
	75	0.57
		0.52
		0.54
		0.51
		0.54
		0.49
		0.51
		0.54
		0.56

**Figure 11.** Predicted scores of political participation index



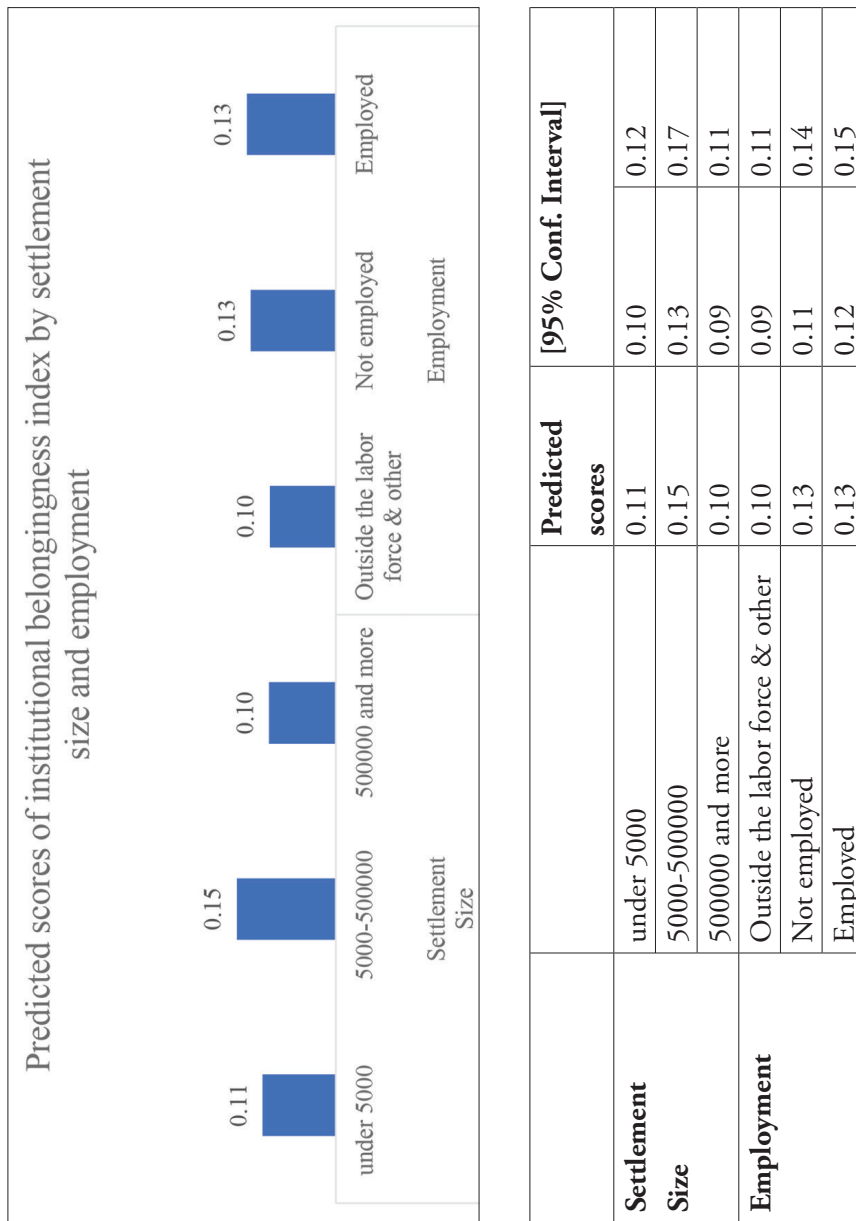
	Predicted scores	[95% Conf. Interval]
<b>Gender</b>	Female	0.32
	Male	0.38
<b>Settlement Size</b>	under 5000	0.33
	5000-500000	0.35
	500000 and more	0.42
<b>Education</b>	Secondary or lower	0.32
	Vocational education	0.34
	Higher education	0.41
<b>Employment</b>	Outside the labor force & other	0.33
	Employed	0.39

**Figure 13.** Predicted scores of political concern index

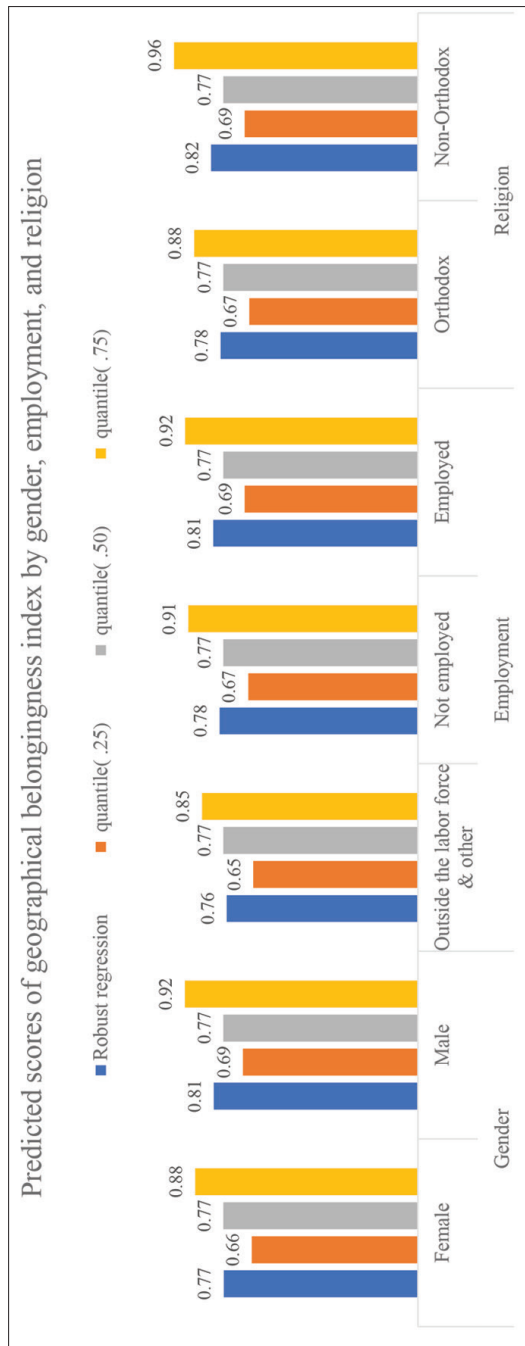


	Predicted scores	[95% Conf. Interval]
Education	Secondary or lower	0.27
	Vocational education	0.31
	Higher education	0.36
Gender	Female	0.29
	Male	0.33

**Figure 15.** Predicted scores of institutional belongingness index



**Figure 17.** Predicted scores of geographical belongingness index



	Robust regression	[95% Conf. Interval]	quantile (.25)	[95% Conf. Interval]	quantile (.50)	[95% Conf. Interval]	Quantile (.75)	[95% Conf. Interval]
Gender	0.77	0.76	0.66	0.64	0.77	0.76	0.88	0.87
Female	0.77	0.76	0.66	0.64	0.77	0.76	0.88	0.87
Male	0.81	0.79	0.69	0.67	0.77	0.76	0.92	0.94
Employment	Outside the labor force & other	0.76	0.74	0.65	0.63	0.77	0.85	0.87
	Not employed	0.78	0.77	0.67	0.65	0.77	0.91	0.93
Employed	0.81	0.79	0.69	0.66	0.77	0.78	0.92	0.94
Religion	Orthodox	0.78	0.77	0.67	0.65	0.77	0.88	0.90
	Non-Orthodox	0.82	0.79	0.69	0.65	0.77	0.96	0.99

This book offers the first comprehensive analysis of social cohesion in contemporary Georgia, situating the concept within the country's ongoing socio-cultural and political transformations. Drawing on a mixed-methods research design that combines nationwide survey data with in-depth qualitative research, it examines how social cohesion is experienced and articulated across national, urban, and regional contexts, and how it is shaped by key socio-demographic factors.

By integrating quantitative patterns with in-depth qualitative insights, the book illuminates both the structural dimensions and lived realities of social cohesion at individual and community levels. A comparative regional analysis reveals distinctive local trajectories, highlighting the diverse development and context-specific forms of cohesion across Georgian society. A historical case study further enriches the analysis by tracing the cultural meanings and social foundations of cohesion from the sixteenth century onward, offering a critical perspective on its contemporary manifestations.

Addressing a significant gap in existing scholarship, this volume makes an important contribution to debates on social cohesion, post-Soviet transformation, and social dynamics in the region. It will be of interest to scholars, policymakers, and practitioners.

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