

Political Attitudes and Behaviour of Citizens in Post-Soviet Eurasia

Eurasia Barometer 2021: Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine

Prof. Dr. Christian Haerpfer, Director of Eurasia Barometer, President of the World Values Survey Association (Vienna, Austria) **Eurasia Barometer** is a non-commercial non-governmental international social survey organization headquartered at the Institute for Comparative Survey Research "Eurasia Barometer" in Vienna, Austria. Its main aim is to monitor political, social and economic transformations in the countries of post-communist Europe and post-Soviet Eurasia in the opinion of their populations.

The target geographical coverage of Eurasia Barometer includes countries of Eastern Europe (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Bulgaria), the Balkans, Russian Federation, Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan). Eurasia Barometer Consortium has been operating since 1989 and implemented its first social surveys in the countries of post-Communist Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia) as well as Post-Soviet Eurasia (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus) in early 1990s.

Eurasia Barometer is a part of **Global Barometer Survey** (GBS) which is an umbrella organization for a number of regional barometers: Arab Barometer, Afro Barometer, Asia Barometer, Latino Barometer, Eurasia Barometer (<u>www.globalbarometer.net</u>).

Eurasia Barometer 2021

		Sample size	Fieldwork	Mode	Partner
1	Armenia	N=1207	Oct 23 – Nov 2	CATI	CRRC-Armenia
2	Georgia	N=1229	Oct 21 – Nov 2	CATI	GORBI
3	Kazakhstan	N=1200	Oct 1-31	PAPI	Public Opinion Research Institute
4	Kyrgyzstan	N=1200	Oct 22-31	PAPI	Public Opinion Research Institute
5	Moldova	N=1200	Oct 11-27	CAPI	OPINIA
6	Russia	N=1205	Oct 28 – Nov 16	CATI	CESSI
7	Ukraine	N=1509	Oct 20-27	PAPI	Research Centre "Social Monitoring"

- All countries employed national-wide representative sample of adult population (residents) in the age 18+. Due to the ongoing corona-pandemic restrictions, in some countries interviews were conducted over the phone. Weights were applied when necessary.
- Geographical coverage, beyond some budgetary limitations, was restricted due to the survey political sensitivity (partners in Azerbaijan, Belarus, Uzbekistan etc. identified the study as way too politically sensitive and hence not applicable at that stage).
- Survey implementation, among the other sources, was supported by the research grant of Academia Sinica (Taiwan, ROC) and constitutes a part of Global Barometer Survey round 3.

Questionnaire thematic overview: GBS-3 / EAB 2021

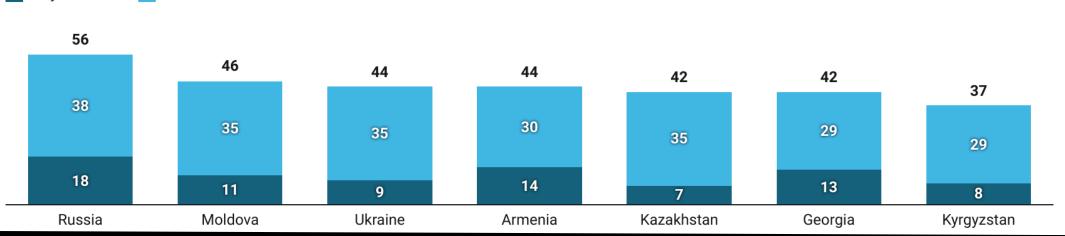
- Economic evaluations
- Trust in institutions
- Participation in elections
- Access to public service
- Interest in politics
- Internet and social media
- Political participation
- Meaning of democracy
- Satisfaction with government and democracy
- Legitimacy of democracy and preference for democracy
- Regime evaluation
- Quality of governance
- Covid-19 experience
- Globalization and redistribution
- Detachment from authoritarian regime and populism
- International relations





Political Capital: Interest in Politics

Data collection period: October-November 2021. Interest in politics is measured on a 4-point scale varying from "very interested" to "not at all interested". Presented data is in % to all respondents.



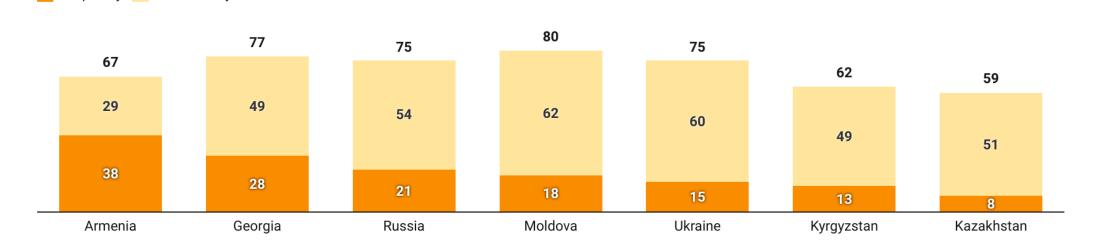
Very interested Somewhat interested

Occasionally

Frequently

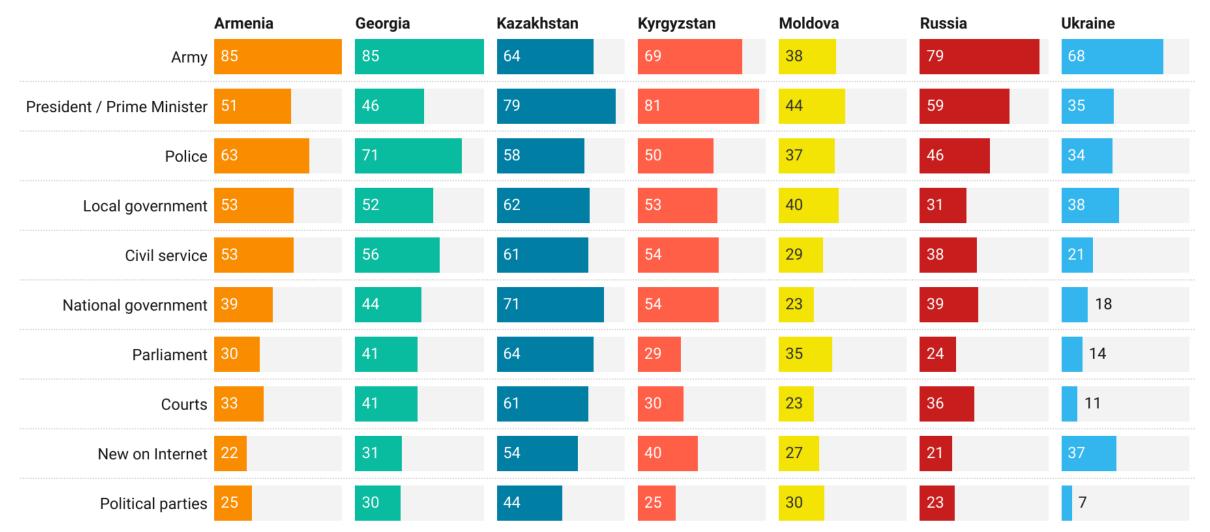
Political Capital: Discussing Politics with Family & Friends

Data collection period: October-November 2021. Frequency of discussing politics with family and friends is measured using 3-point scale varying from "frequently" to "never". Presented data is in % to all respondents.



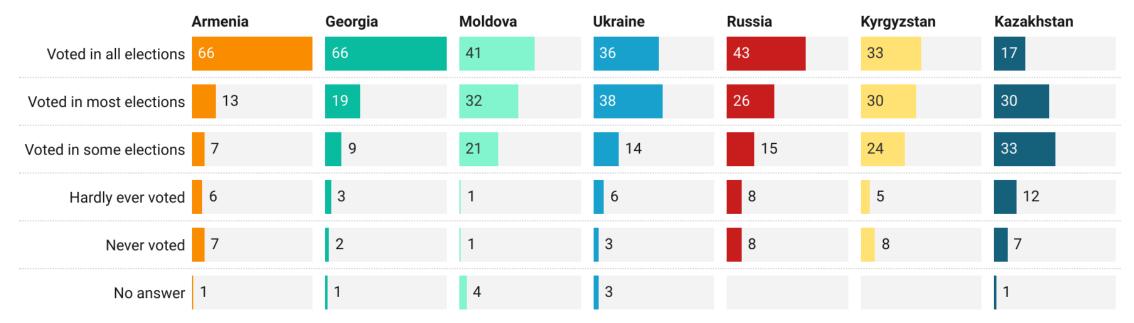
Trust in Institutions

Data collection period: October-November 2021. Trust in institutions is measured on a 4-point scale from "a great deal of trust" to "none at all". Summarized level of trust in % is presented, calculated to all answers.



Observed trends: trust to President is higher in presidential systems and RU; trust to national government is higher in more centralized systems vs trust to local government is higher in less centralized ones; least trusted in all countries are political parties; parliament and courts often have small credit of trust as well (exception: KZ); highest level of institutional trust is observed in Central Asia (KZ, KY), the lowest - in UA, second lowest - MD; military and police are often the most trusted institutions.

Political participation: Voting in elections

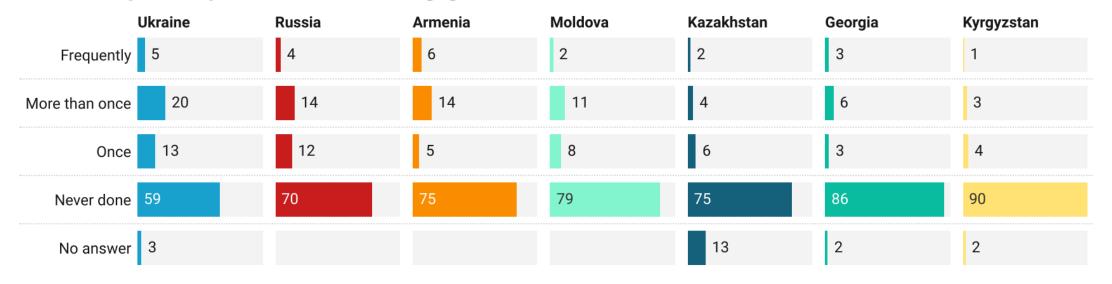


Question wording: In all the elections that you were eligible to vote, did you vote in all elections, most elections, some elections, hardly ever voted or never?

Political participation: Expressing your opinion about politics and government



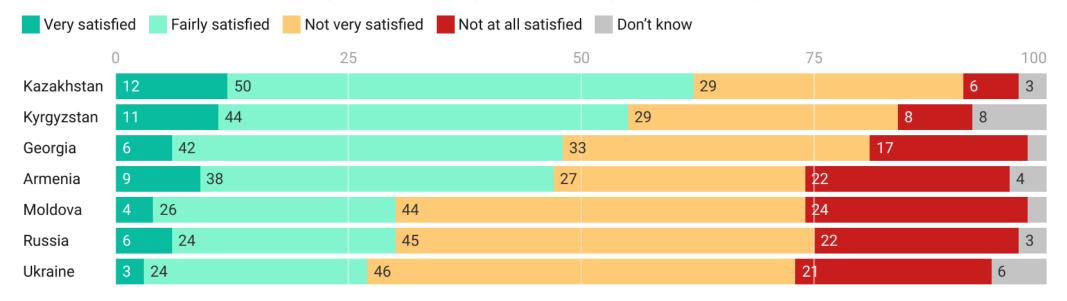
Political participation: Contacting governmental official



Political participation: Joining protests/ demonstrations/ strikes

	Moldova	Armenia	Georgia	Ukraine	Kyrgyzstan	Kazakhstan	Russia
Frequently	1	3	4	2	1	2	1
More than once	12	10	6	6	2	3	2
Once		6	4	5	4	3	2
Never done		81	85	85	91	78	95
No answer			1	2	2	14	

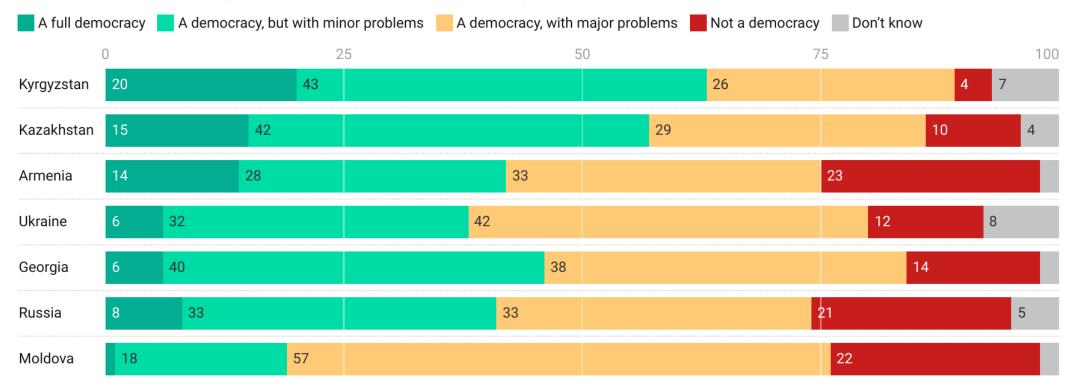
Satisfaction with the way democracy works in your country



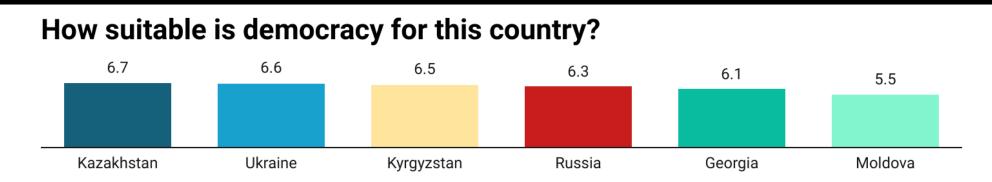
Satisfaction with the President/ Prime Minister ruling current government

Very satisfied 🚽 Fairly satisfied 📕 Not very satisfied 📕 Not at all satisfied 📗 Don't know									
	0	2	5	50	7	5	100		
Kyrgyzstan	32		48			13	3 4		
Kazakhstan	22	54				15	4 5		
Russia	29		32		24	12	3		
Georgia	17	33		24		21	5		
Armenia	14	36		19	24		7		
Moldova	12	39		34		14			
Ukraine	26		34		30		8		

To what extent is your country a democracy?



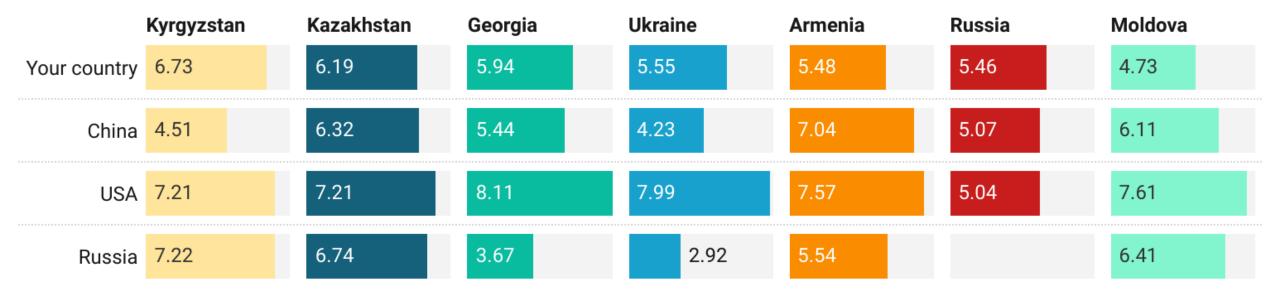
Freedom House identifies Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine as hybrid or transitional regimes; Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia are identified as autocracies. POLITY identifies Armenia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Moldova as democracies; Russia, Ukraine as hybrid regimes; Kazakhstan as autocracy.



Measurement is made using a scale from 1 to 10 varying from "completely unsuitable" to "completely suitable". Mean scores on 10-point scale are presented.

Democracy scores in own and other countries

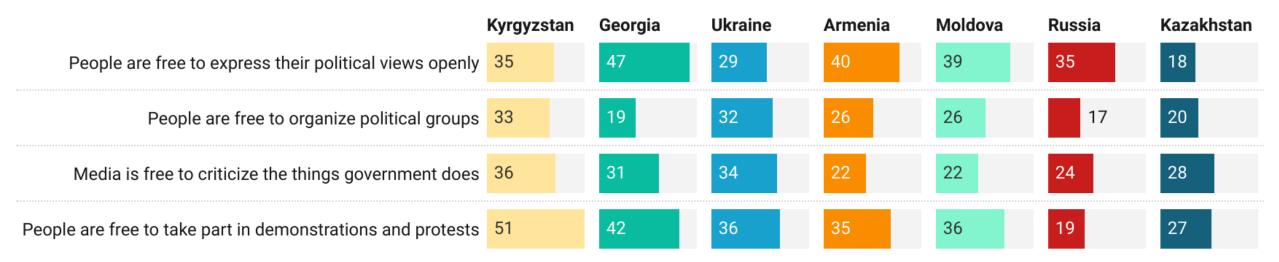
Data collection: October-November 2021. Respondents are asked to place the country on a 10-point scale varying from "completely undemocratic" to "completely democratic". Higher score corresponds to a perceived higher level of democraticness. Figures are means on a 10-point scale.



Economic Intelligence Unit has developed a 10-point democracy index which can possibly used for reference. The 2021 scores are as following: Armenia=5.49; Georgia=5.12; Kazakhstan=3.08; Kyrgyzstan=3.62; Moldova=6.10; Russia=3.24; Ukraine=5.57. If rely on this data, citizens in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Russia tend to overrate democracy in their countries; public in Moldova underestimates their democratic system. EIU democracy scores for USA=7.85 and China=2.21. When answering about the democraticness of Russia, the respondents in Russia to avoid duplicate question, were asked about Germany. The mean score is 6.62; the EIU score for Germany=8.67.

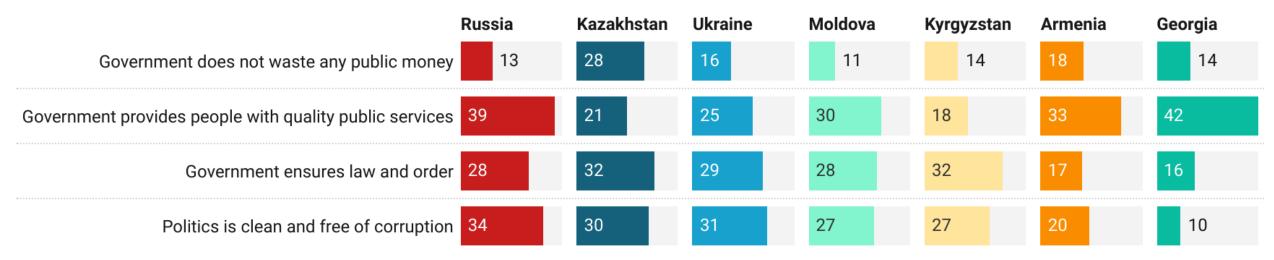
Meaning of Democracy: Freedom and Liberty

Respondents are presented with four questions designed to measure their understanding of democracy. For each question, respondents are asked to choose which of the four response items describing different definitions of democracy (freedom and liberty, norms and procedures, good governance, and social equality) most closely corresponds to their own understanding of democracy. "Norms and procedures" and "freedom and liberty" are procedural understandings of democracy, while "social equality" and "good governance" are substantive understandings of democracy. Items corresponding to understanding of democracy in terms of "freedom and liberty" are presented below (%).



Meaning of Democracy: Good Governance

Respondents are presented with four questions designed to measure their understanding of democracy. For each question, respondents are asked to choose which of the four response items describing different definitions of democracy (freedom and liberty, norms and procedures, good governance, and social equality) most closely corresponds to their own understanding of democracy. "Norms and procedures" and "freedom and liberty" are procedural understandings of democracy, while "social equality" and "good governance" are substantive understandings of democracy. Items corresponding to understanding of democracy in terms of "good governance" are presented below (%).



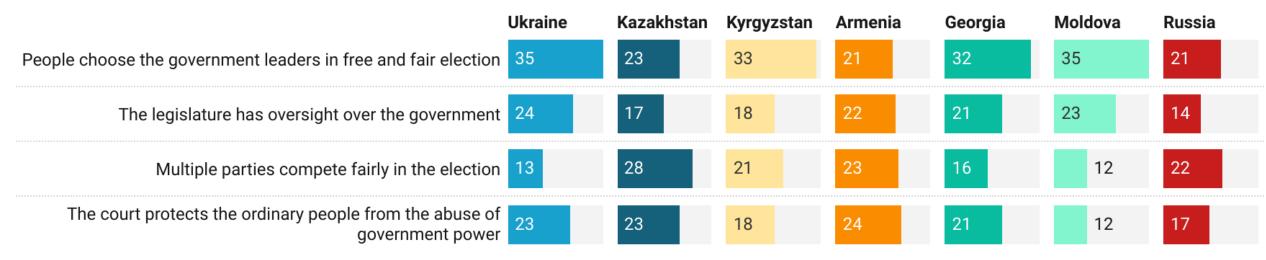
Meaning of Democracy: Social Equality

Respondents are presented with four questions designed to measure their understanding of democracy. For each question, respondents are asked to choose which of the four response items describing different definitions of democracy (freedom and liberty, norms and procedures, good governance, and social equality) most closely corresponds to their own understanding of democracy. "Norms and procedures" and "freedom and liberty" are procedural understandings of democracy, while "social equality" and "good governance" are substantive understandings of democracy in terms of "social equality" are presented below (%).



Meaning of Democracy: Norms and Procedures

Respondents are presented with four questions designed to measure their understanding of democracy. For each question, respondents are asked to choose which of the four response items describing different definitions of democracy (freedom and liberty, norms and procedures, good governance, and social equality) most closely corresponds to their own understanding of democracy. "Norms and procedures" and "freedom and liberty" are procedural understandings of democracy, while "social equality" and "good governance" are substantive understandings of democracy. Items corresponding to understanding of democracy in terms of "norms and procedures" are presented below (%).



Top-3 essential features of democracy selected by post-Soviet citizens:

- People are free to take part in demonstrations and protests (freedom & liberty)
 - People are free to express their political views openly (freedom & liberty)
 - Government provides people with quality public services (good governance)

Last 3 essential features of democracy selected by post-Soviet citizens:

- People receive state aid if they are unemployed (social equality)
- Multiple parties compete fairly in the election (norms and procedures)
 - Government does not waste any public money (good governance)

Thank you for your attention! <u>christian_haerpfer@univie.ac.at</u>