<u>Citizen Participation</u> <u>in governance</u>

<u>from Individuals</u> <u>to Citizens</u>

National Human development report

Bulgaria 0 1

National Human Development Report 2001 Team of Authors

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ISBN 954-9724-38-7 © United Nations Development Programme, Sofia, 2001 Translations: Simeon Enchev, Deny Boyadzhieva Proof Reader: Irina Markova

Print: NIBA Consult

FOREWORD

The current edition of the National Human Development Report (NHDR) is the last of a series of reports focussed on the different levels of government in Bulgaria and their interaction with each other. The NHDR of 1998 depicted the evolving role of the state in the context of transition and in the face of new challenges; the next year's report narrowed its perspective on the regional level and the differing human development opportunities that each of the 28 regions enjoyed; the NHDR for 2000 presented the "municipal mosaic" in the country and analyzed the factors that impede or enhance sustainable human development. This year's report is dedicated to citizen participation in governance and the transition from individuals to citizens.

Over the last decade the concept of "good governance" gained global recognition as an essential condition for the attainment of sustainable development. This topic also became central to the debate in Bulgaria, following 1996–1997. "Good governance" is most frequently perceived as governance that is legitimate, consensual, transparent, efficient and fair. Most important is that it take place through the participation of the people, who set its goals and priorities and participate in their implementation. In this sense the key prerequisite for achieving "good governance" is the presence of conditions and mechanisms that ensure a continuous and efficient interaction among citizens and decision-makers at all levels and in all aspects of governance.

Bulgaria's transition record has demonstrated that the creation of a democratic society and a market economy requires the active "co-authorship" of the people. The success of the reforms is conditioned on the support and involvement of citizens in government decision-making and in the enactment of these decisions. Overcoming estrangement and listlessness and encouraging a continuous dialogue and partnership between civil society and decision-makers are some of the major challenges that Bulgaria has faced, whether among the politicians, citizens themselves, or the mediators of civil participation.

A key conclusion of this year's NHDR is that the willingness of citizens to participate in the country's governance is much greater than their actual participation would indicate. While the individual chapters offer a detailed analysis of the underlying reasons, the report's overall conclusion is that the main barrier to greater citizen participation is people's doubt as to the real impact they can have on the decision-making processes and the consequent development direction. The report's key message is that overcoming the isolation of citizens and creating conditions for their effective interaction with the government are necessary conditions for achieving consensual governance and hence sustainable development. The report suggests concrete steps and mechanisms to help turn participation into a major governance tool in the country, capable of making tangible changes in the lives of the people.

I would like to express my special gratitude to the authors of the report and to everybody that took part in its formulation. We hope that its findings and recommendations will spark a broader public debate on the role of citizens in governance. While it is true that in recent years Bulgaria has scored many successes, their sustainability and the future pace of reforms will depend on the achievement of consensual governance, founded on the participation of all Bulgarian citizens.

Marta Ruedas

Resident Representative UNDP, Bulgaria

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The topic of this report – citizen participation in governance – compelled us to involve as many citizens and experts as possible. The long list of contributors could grow further to practically include all colleagues from UNDP Bulgaria, who acted as participative co-authors of the report by submitting their comments and recommendations to it.

This year we had the opportunity to tap the advice and ideas of two resident representatives of UNDP Bulgaria. Thus, the original idea for the topic of the report can be credited to UNDP Bulgaria's former Resident Representative, Antonio Vigilante, and the final recommendations – to the new Resident Representative, Marta Ruedas.

UNDP Bulgaria's Programme Officers Maria Zlatareva-Pernishka and Christopher Louise, who acted as editors and co-authors of the report, worked most closely with the team of authors. Particularly valuable was the contribution of the Deputy Resident Representative, Trine Lund-Jensen, and of Programme Officers Dafina Gercheva, Anna Atanassova, Ogniana Glavoussanova, Tsvetomira Tsenova-Knudsen, Christina Popivanova, Marta Diavolova, Sevim Ahmedov as well as of the Project Coordinators Hanna Ruzschyk, Elena Panova, Ekaterina Zelenkova. The successful start of the report would not have been possible without the support of Constantino Longares. We highly appreciate the professional advice of Naheed Islam, an external expert. Special recognition is due to Professor Patrick Seyd from the University of Sheffield, U.K., who kindly provided us with a questionnaire from his current study "Citizen Audit". Particularly valuable was the assistance of Vesselina Georgieva from UNDP, who handled the administrative tasks related to the report and provided her comments on all of its drafts. This report is also the result of the work of the translators, Simeon Enchev and Dessi Boyadzhieva, who made its English version possible.

A lot more people can rightfully claim ownership of the report. There were moments when co-authors Andrey Ivanov, Petya Kabakchieva, and Zhelyo Vladimirov could say that the report was much the product of their families too. Special thanks should go to Krassimira Nikolova, who coordinated the technical implementation of the survey and data analysis.

And last but not least, the team would like to thank all members of the advisory committee and all citizens from the reality check group, for their valuable advice and comments. While it is grateful for all the support it received, the team assumes full responsibility for the opinions, standpoints, and data featured in this report.

Dotcho Mihailov, Ph.D. National Coordinator

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This issue of the National Human Development Report for Bulgaria is dedicated to citizen participation in governance and considers the transition of Bulgarian people from individuals into citizens. Citizen participation is simultaneously a goal and an instrument of human deve**lopment.** It is a goal because it is a part of the fabric, which provides legitimacy to governance. Citizen participation guarantees that governance objectives and results are indeed the objectives and results of people. At the same time, citizen participation is a part of the good governance process because it makes governance more efficient, fair, transparent and legal. Last but not least, citizen participation is a basic human right. It enables people to command their own destiny and to contribute to the development of their community and society.

The report considers the development and the transformation of the individual into a citizen from several perspectives. Chapter One presents the historical roots and the development of the citizenship and civic society concepts from Ancient Greece to their modern usage, as well as existing citizen participation practices and attitudes in Bulgaria. Chapter Two raises the issues related to the individual characteristics of citizen participation and tries to answer the question as to who the active and passive citizens in Bulgaria are and what are the factors which determine the level of participation. Chapter Three considers the social environment of citizen participation that encourages or deters citizen participation. The last Chapter is entirely dedicated to political participation as a separate form of citizen participation. The report ends with specific recommendations for the encouragement of citizen participation that should enhance a wider public discussion on the need to "empower" citizens and to undertake specific action in this direction.

Theoretical and Practical Development of Citizen Participation

Citizen practices and the theoretical concept of citizen participation have changed over time from a mediated type of participation to one, which promotes direct impact on decision-making. In Bulgaria, the level of practical participation of citizens in governance, thus far, has not been high, but it has a great development potential.

- The concept of citizenship developed in parallel with the democratization of European civilization. Citizenship emerged as an elitist right in ancient Greece, traversed the Roman era in the form of a distinctive republican right and it was revived by the French Revolution thinkers. It obtained a particular political meaning in the beginning of the 20th century to be transformed into a prominent feature of modern democracy.
- Modern forms of citizenship develop dynamically from the mediated form into a direct style of citizen participation in governance. This development can be broken down into three main stages, which correspond to three separate models: the "consumer" model; participation through the mediation of institutionalized organizations; and the direct citizen participation model.
- The history of citizenship in Bulgaria is relatively brief, but institutional and cultural traditions related to participation do exist. The results of the analysis of the present level of citizen activity in Bulgaria show that it is not particularly high. The most frequent citizen practices are related to concerns of everyday life, such as consumption and crime issues.
- Participation readiness is considerably higher than real practices. One of the reasons of this discrepancy is the lack of mediating mechanisms for citizen participation. The highest development potential for citizen participation exists in the direct and individual forms of participation such as the holding of referendums and the personal provision of information to institutions.

The Individual Face of Citizen Participation

The extent of participation is not equal for all Bulgarians. Those who lag behind are exactly those who have the greatest need to participate in governance – the poorer, the less educated, the residents of remote settlements and the ethnic minorities. Unequal citizen participation can be explained by some key characteristics of Bulgarian social and economic life.

- Citizen practices are relatively higher among better-educated middle-aged people living in larger towns with relatively higher income. Respectively, participation is lowest among unemployed and ethnic minorities. This shows the social isolation of such vulnerable groups for whom it is unthinkable that they may be able to change their own situation through their personal efforts.
- Social isolation in Bulgaria is structural. It is simultaneously a cause and an outcome of low citizen activity. On the other hand, citizen participation can be regarded as a socio-demographic variable, which differentiates the marginalized social strata from successful ones. However, behind the individual socio-demographic profile of citizen practices there are deeper social and economic phenomena.
- There is a relationship between the geographical and the psychological remoteness from power. The participation of people in governance is much more adequate when they live in the geographic power centers. The centralization of power does not only hinder participation in local governance but also provokes higher expectations to the state. Direct citizen participation seems more practicable and closer to local authorities than to the central government. At the same time, there is a lack of motivation to participate in local governance, which is based on doubts about the prerogatives of the local authorities. Therefore, the link between citizen participation and decentralization is in the lack of opportunities for citizens to exercise a meaningful influence on their lives at the local level.
- Citizen knowledge and skills are necessary preconditions for citizen participation. Altogether,

- the level of social and political knowledge and awareness related to governance is higher in respect of local issues. Special and well-targeted efforts are needed to stimulate the citizen knowledge of young people, particularly of pupils and students. However, citizen education must be related to the practical participation of young people in the solution of their immediate problems, such as their professional aspirations and the linkage of education to the labor market.
- Democratic relations within the family, gender equality and the rejection of violence are part of the individual framework within which social values and citizen awareness are built. The transition from an individual to a citizen begins in the family environment. It is much more probable for young people to participate in the social life if their voices have been heard in the family; if they have already made decisions and if they have assumed responsibilities within their immediate environment.
- Citizen participation as practices and attitudes is related to the rejection of violence. The encouragement of tolerance and gender equality can have direct consequences for the establishment of a value system serving as a prerequisite for the building of an active citizen position.
- There is evidence of a relative decrease in ethnic intolerance. For instance, it appears that it is now socially unacceptable to openly hold prejudices against the Roma community. Nevertheless, tolerance towards the Roma remains at disconcertingly low levels. A major instrument for the decrease of intolerance is the encouragement of practical interaction between ethnic communities. Such interaction, however, appears limited and socially insignificant. The separation of problems into Bulgarian and Roma ones implies a segregated and not an integrated citizen participation in finding solution.
- The relationship between citizen participation and solidarity with socially disadvantaged people has several aspects. On the one hand, active citizens are more involved and show higher levels of solidarity with the problems of marginalized strata. On the other hand, citizen participation transforms the provision of assistance into a self-

development opportunity. Nevertheless, in order to be fully responsible and equal-right citizens, vulnerable groups should also participate in the solution of common social problems. They need opportunities to do this in a constructive manner. When vulnerable groups participate in the achievement of common social objectives, they assume responsibility not only for themselves but for the others too. This is the moment when vulnerable groups become equal-right citizens and when solidarity takes up its social character.

The Social Environment of Citizen Participation

The accomplishment of individual citizen participation requires an enabling social environment and the existence of effective mechanisms. The direct participation of people in governance requires legislative prerequisites and authentic mediators.

- Overall, the legal framework contains legislative prerequisites for direct citizen participation. Nevertheless, the legislation does not establish sufficiently clear, specific and efficient mechanisms for its practical implementation. For instance, the Referendum Act sets excessively restrictive requirements for the initiation of citizen action such as referendums, petitions and general meetings of residents. The legislation does not regulate with sufficient clarity the role of citizen participation. Therefore, the legislation must be improved so that citizens should be able to see the real results of their participation.
- The main barriers in front of citizen activity are based on doubts whether the participation will prove meaningful. The most frequently quoted reason for non-participation is "I do not want to participate because nobody will listen to us". Other high barriers are individualism, the lack of consensual attitudes, the lack of efficient mediating organizations, the lack of knowledge and skills to influence governance, as well as the lack of readiness to assume personal responsibility.
- Citizen participation actually does need mediation although individual forms of participation

are preferred to collective ones. Such mediation is necessary most of all in order to make citizen participation efficient. However, NGOs in Bulgaria have not yet succeeded in obtaining sufficient legitimacy from the citizens and still do not encourage efficiently their participation. The main challenge in front of NGOs is to mediate for the solution of citizen problems in a way that allows citizens to take the lead in negotiations rather than the NGOs negotiating on behalf of citizens. They have to create the space for direct and authentic impact of citizens on governance.

- The "Chitalishte" cultural clubs have an enormous and unique citizen potential. They must be developed as completely open and stable institutional mediators for direct citizen participation.
- Direct citizen participation is almost completely missing from the dialogue between central and local authorities. In most cases, it is replaced by the participation of experts or citizen mediators.
- In spite of their political biases and market dependence, the mass media are the most desired mediator for citizen participation, particularly at the local level. The media can be citizen mediators in three ways at least. First, as the traditional and natural stage for the expression of authentic citizen opinions, secondly, as a mediator between citizen organizations and the government and last but not least as a source of impartial and autonomous information to be used for the building of an independent citizen position.

The Political Dimensions of Citizen Participation

The extent and the forms of citizen participation between elections determine a specific type of citizen behavior during elections. At the same time, elections do not exhaust the substance and the multiformity of political life. Real citizen expression of political participation takes place between, and not during,

elections. Citizens have then the opportunity not only to control the mandate delegated by them, but also to participate directly in its implementation. Therefore, the individuals become citizens when they go down the road from a passive voter to an active participant in political life.

- Existing constitutional and legal dispositions related to political participation are on the whole democratic and conform with European standards. However, the electoral system can be improved by introducing principles of the majority vote into the proportional election system. They could increase the weight of the individual choice and could respond to the need to vote for personalities. One possible way to do this is the gradual introduction of a preferential proportional system.
- Political voting during the period of transition gradually acquires a citizen character. The 1997 and 1999 elections confirmed the role of a civil society in the control of governance and in requiring accountability from specific political personalities in respect of specific promises. *Good* governance expectations are starting to get the upper hand over purely partisan biases.
- There are different forms of citizen participation in political life. They include membership and participation in the local structures of political organizations, the interaction between citizens and local authorities, the relationships between citizens and their representatives in Parliament, as well as the separate manifestations of so-called "political activism". Political participation in Bulgaria still remains limited within the framework of "electoral" participation. Citizen participation in political life between elections is very limited, while the isolation of citizens from power and the encapsulation of the political class conceal a multitude of risks.
- The results of the latest parliamentary elections speak eloquently about the consequences of citizen passivity between elections. What differentiates the votes cast for NMS II are not authoritar-

- ian values, but the lack of citizen practices, attitudes and knowledge. Until now, the political elite have been unable to create in citizens the feeling of solidarity and participation in the changes to a sufficiently meaningful extent. The outcome of the parliamentary elections reflects the isolation of many people from governance in Bulgaria. Thus, when people cannot be constructive participants in governance between elections, they manifest their discontent during elections.
- The enormous challenge in front of any new government is to mobilize the participation of all citizens and to transform them into co-authors and partners of the new governance. Otherwise, when citizens have been isolated from governance for a long time, they start out to seek a completely new alternative. When citizens are participants in governance, voting is a pure formality, which legitimizes the better government among the possible good ones. However, when citizens are alienated from governance, they take advantage of elections in order to change the government until they are provided with the opportunity to participate in governance between elections.
- Altogether, the access to political participation is a key feature of the transition from an individual to a citizen. The closer the individual to the citizen status, the less significant for good governance are political elections.

Citizen participation is a challenge facing not only citizens, but also ruling politicians. Well-targeted efforts are needed to strengthen the mechanisms and to create the preconditions for the encouragement of participation and public control. This requires the development of the legal framework, refinement of the electoral system, strengthening of the institutional environment, decentralization of power and implementation of new managerial approaches. The efficient interaction between citizens and the government is impossible if the ruling politicians move away from the everyday problems of people. Therefore, each of the parties must walk its part of the way up to the attainment of good governance in Bulgaria.

INTRODUCTION

Human Development Reports in Bulgaria have a sixyear history. Their invariable goal has been to place key development priorities in the center of the public debate and build broad consensus about them, by offering unbiased information, analyses and recommendations. These reports have never claimed to exhaust the multidimensional facets of one transition issue or another, or to mentor the government. Instead, they have sought to help improve national governance by sustaining a lively exchange between society and its government on key national goals and on the ways to accomplish them.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AS PART OF THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT

The subject of this report – from individuals to citizens, or citizen participation in governance - is central to the human development approach. Not only do societies with a high level of human development have better economic indicators, but their citizens are more actively involved in matters of governance too. A high living standard, a long life, and a good education, are the key indicators of a high level of human development. Yet, not until citizens become equal partners to the government and accountable co-authors of development, could these indicators be achieved in practice. Therefore, citizen participation is simultaneously a human development goal and a tool for achieving it. It is a goal because it is part of the legitimacy of governance. Citizen participation guarantees that the goals and outputs of the government are indeed the goals and outputs of the people. Additionally, citizen participation is part of the good governance process, by making it more efficient, fair, transparent and legal. Finally, citizen participation is an essential human right, empowering individuals to command their own

destiny and contribute to the development of their *community* and *society*¹.

This report examines how the individual develops and evolves into a citizen in the context of Bulgaria's transition from authoritarian rule to democracy. In authoritarian societies, individual welfare depends least of all on the individuals. The central power decides on behalf of individuals in spite of their desires or aspirations. The more societies move away from this model and towards democracy, the more closely their individuals participate in the definition and implementation of the public goals. As this participation broadens and becomes more direct, the Box 1.1

SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, GOOD GOVERNANCE AND PARTICIPATION

UNDP regards human development as a process of enlarging the choices for all people in society. Thus, sustainable human development places people at the center of the development process and makes the central purpose of development as creating an enabling environment in which all people can enjoy a long, healthy and creative life. The challenge to all societies is to create a system of governance that promotes, supports and sustains human development. UNDP defines governance as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. Governance embraces all of the methods – good or bad – that societies use to distribute power and manage public resources and problems. In this respect, effective democratic forms of governance or good governance rely on transparency, accountability and public participation.

Participation means that people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives. People may, in some cases, have complete and direct control over these processes – in other cases, the control may be partial or indirect. The important thing is that people have constant access to decision-making and power. Participation in this sense is an essential of human development and good governance. Since participation requires increased influence and control, it also demands increased empowerment – in economic, social and political terms. People can participate as individuals or as groups. As individuals in a democracy they may participate as voters or political activists – or in the market as entrepreneurs or workers.

Source: UNDP Policy Paper "Reconceptualizing Governance" and UNDP Global Human Development Report 1993 "People's Participation"

¹ A society is traditionally understood as a group of people who live in a particular territory, are subject to a common system of political authority, and share a common culture, whereas a community is a group of people who share a common sense of identity and interact with one another on a sustained basis.

individuals increasingly assume the functions of citizens. Once a society achieves the status of a developed democracy, its citizens are able to delegate power and hold the government accountable, but of equal importance they have a direct stake in government affairs. There is an essential difference between citizens, who are free to delegate decisionmaking on public matters to the government and those, who actually participate in this decisionmaking. In a sense, the latter are the "ideal" type of citizens, as they not only hold the government accountable, but are also a partner to it. Such citizens see their individual well-being as inherently related to the well-being of their community and society. Moreover, they are concerned about the problems and rejoice in the successes of the others around them. Such a strong sense of involvement would be impossible without participation in governance: to assume responsibility one needs to have an opportunity to participate. Last but not least, for individuals to evolve into citizens, they need to live in a society that is well informed and open. For citizen participation in governance to exist, there needs to be citizen interest, but also public knowledge and competency.

The evolution of an individual into a citizen is like the growing up of a child into a mature personality. Just as growing children delegate fewer and fewer individual needs to their parents and ultimately take their destiny in their own hands, when individuals evolve into citizens, they participate increasingly in governance, assume more and more responsibilities, and partake in issues of public importance.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT: MAIN ASPECTS OF THE BULGARIAN TRANSITION FROM INDIVIDUALS TO CITIZENS

This report examines the development of individuals and their evolution into citizens from several angles. Chapter One illustrates how the concepts of citizen and civil society originally emerged in ancient Greece and how their meaning and use developed over time to the present day. The end of the

chapter throws a bridge to Bulgaria, showing the existing practices and attitudes towards citizen participation in the country. Chapter Two looks into the individual dimensions of citizen participation in Bulgaria. In doing so, it paints a detailed portrait of the citizens, both the active and the passive ones, by giving facts about their social and demographic background and occupation, studying their family relations and roles, and finally by establishing their levels of tolerance and solidarity with socially vulnerable groups. Chapter Three examines the social environment as an incentive or an obstacle to citizen participation. This chapter analyzes the institutional and legal groundwork for citizen participation, studies the role of the mediating organizations and the media, and highlights the significance of decentralization, all the while pointing at the existing barriers to citizen participation. Chapter Four is entirely devoted to political participation as one of many forms of citizen participation. It presents the different models of political participation on central and local level, and holds up for scrutiny the factors pushing people to vote or to abstain from voting in the elections. The report ends by making specific recommendations on how to promote citizen participation. This is a good basis for a broader public debate on the need to empower the citizens in taking more concrete steps in this direction.

HOW THE REPORT WAS MADE

UNDP's human development reports are prepared in close cooperation with a broad range of experts. While in the making, the reports are submitted to an advisory committee for review and critical comments. The advisory committee is created every year and its composition varies according to the title of the year's report. Normally, its members are drawn from among the central and local government, the NGO sector, and the expert community. The overriding aim of this body is to achieve broad consensus on the report's key findings and recommendations, as a way to ensure that they will not remain on paper only.

Besides the recommendations of the advisory committee, the report also took into account comments of foreign experts. Their task was to ascertain the external validity of the messages and make sure that the report was comprehensible and informative to the foreign reader. Then, because writing a report about citizen participation in the absence of the citizens would question the correctness of its arguments, a so-called *reality check group of citizens* was formed, whose opinions served as the strongest corrective to the report's content. Their task has been to assess and comment on the extent to which the report's key findings and messages correspond to what they observe and experience in their

everyday life, without claiming that their opinions are representative. The following people took part in the Reality Check Group: Diliana Dancheva, Emil Spassov, Ivailo Venov, Ivan Toshev, Lachezara Stoeva, Maria Chervenkova, Todora Kostova and Valentina Chakalova.

The analyses in the report are based on three sources: 1) a representative survey² among a national representative sample, compared to an experimental sample of active citizens; 2) an analysis of reports, publications and legal texts, and 3) an analysis of the Municipal Human Development Index (MHDI).

² The national survey was conducted among 1,161 respondents by using a standard two-stage random sample containing 200 clusters, each composed of 6 respondents plus 2 possibilities for a replacement. The survey was representative for the population above 18 years of age and had a maximum error of 3%. A standartized questionnaire, developed by UNDP was applied. The same questionnaire was also distributed to 143 participants in citizen forums, organized in 6 Bulgarian municipalities with support from the Swiss government. The data from this active citizen sample were run against those of the national survey. The survey was done through face-to-face interviews by ASA – Dotcho Mihailov, between 20-30 April, 2001.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORETICAL AND PRACTICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

ORIGINS OF THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION CONCEPT

The first part of this chapter takes us back in time to the history of citizen participation in order to describe briefly its historical roots and to concentrate on the major political events that have changed the concept and the practices of citizenship since their first appearance in ancient Greece until modern times. The development of the citizenship concept is an example of how social science concepts themselves may involve endless disputes and contests about their proper use³. According to Derek Heater the term "citizen" defines "the relationship of the individual not to another individual (as is the case with feudal, monarchical and tyrannical systems) or a group (as with nationhood) but essentially to the idea of the state"4.

The earliest thorough discussion on the theme of citizenship is found in the writings and teachings of Aristotle. In his *Politics*, Aristotle asserts that man is essentially a "political animal" and that he can only realize his full potential by participating in the affairs of the city-state (*Polis*). Aristotle distinguished true citizens from those who could not claim the title. Thus, Athenian citizenship was rather a privilege and not a right. This title of citizen empowered only those who "could participate in

deliberative or judicial office for any period fixed or unfixed". In his thinking about citizenship, Aristotle excluded the young, (because of their immaturity), the old (because of their infirmity) and the working men (because of their lack of civic skills). Besides, Aristotle places an additional condition that people from the group of privileged "citizens" should have personal knowledge of each other. In 451 B.C., Pericles limited further the right of citizenship by restricting the usage of such a status to those who could prove citizenship on their mother's and father's side of the family⁵.

In spite of its restrictive nature, the ancient Greek concept of citizenship defined for the first time in history the citizen as a legal entity with rights and obligations. Alongside this concept emerges the idea that citizenship requires information, knowledge and skills – according to Aristotle, a good citizen must possess the knowledge and the capacity requisite for ruling as well as for being ruled⁶.

The concept developed further during the Roman and Hellenistic period when the privilege of citizenship was also conferred in recognition for services to the state (empire). Roman citizenship, for example, was a device used to distinguish Romans from inhabitants of the conquered territories. This right was later conferred on separate individuals from subject peoples as a way to promote loyalty to the empire. During this period a "civic republican" dimension of citizenship emerged. Limited as it may have been, it nevertheless contained a "humanist" understanding of the state being based on the twin supports of "a citizenry of politically virtuous men and a just mode of government".

The expansion of economic power in Western Europe from the seventeenth century onwards and the rise of an economically powerful middle class started the process, which challenged and finally overturned the old elitist form of citizenship. The

³ Education to Democratic Citizenship: Basic concepts and core competencies, Council of Europe Seminar, Strasbourg, 11-12 December 1997.

⁴ Heater, D, History of Citizenship, Allandale Online Publishing, London, 2000, P.4

⁵ Aristotle, (ed. E. Barker) Politics, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1946, 1277b – 1283b

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Heater, History of Citizenship, p. 5

evolution of political theory, the emergence of strong nationalism and, in the final analysis, the consolidation of the modern state - all played their part in molding the modern "liberal" view of citizenship. The turning point for the new citizenship concept came with the American and the French Revolutions. Amid this political, economic and social sea change, intellectual thought began to focus on the role of the state as a construct designed to provide benefits for its citizens. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) asserts in his *Social Contract* that the citizens and the state should enter into an agreement for their mutual benefit⁸. The citizen's benefit is in the

Box 1.2

THE SHAREHOLDERS INTEREST AS A METAPHOR OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

This metaphor compares society to a company where citizens are shareholders. The shareholders (citizens) are entitled to their share in terms of the extent to which they have invested their interest and responsibility in their *community* and *society*. As a "stakeholder" each citizen has the right to a vote in the election of the members of the "Board" (Government), an equal voice in the decisions made by the Board, which affect the value of his or her "stocks and shares" (quality of life in society). The shareholder - citizen has the obligation to protect the individual and collective investment, that is, to exercise citizenship (enjoy his or her stakeholder's share) through participation and solidarity with the other citizens of his or her community.

This metaphor emphasizes three basic features of citizen participation, which we consider central to this report. First, citizen participation provides legitimacy to the representativeness of the government not only in a formalistic sense but in substance too - shareholders do not only elect the board of their company; their real contribution to its wholesome functioning in fact determines the success of the company. Second, this metaphor emphasizes the importance of individual responsibility for the governance and the operation of society (the company). Thus, the issue of citizen participation is an issue related to the responsibility assumed by managers and shareholders (citizens). Third, the shareholder metaphor focuses on the significance of the rules and the (shareholders') rights derived from them. Both within a company, and in society, there may be rules and rights present that isolate shareholders from the decision-making process or conversely, that require their commitment, involving them in the common values and aims of the company (society). Comparing citizen participation to a "shareholder's interest", this metaphor emphasizes the concept of citizen participation as a right originating from the basic rules of a modern democratic state.

protection afforded by the sovereign power (and in material benefits), while the state benefits from receiving the consent of citizens to be governed. The state draws from this its legitimacy to exist.

The final democratization of the citizen concept began with the emergence and the recognition of the universal suffrage in Western Europe. (However, we must point out that women acquired the right to vote and to be elected as late as the first half of the 20th century. This right was acknowledged for the first time in Australia in 1902. In Bulgaria this happened with the adoption of the new Electoral Act in 1945). This is the century during which two attempts to arrive at a social organization excluding citizen participation in governance emerged and died: the attempts of fascism and communism. From this perspective, during the last hundred years the issue of "citizenship" has evolved into a "political" issue, and the degree of citizen participation in governance has been transformed into a subject of political decision-making that has to legitimize the social contract between the political class and the citizens. The development of democracy and the demise of most of the totalitarian regimes and dictatorships around the world have led to an exponential growth of the opportunities for citizens' participation. It is no little paradox however, that new participation opportunities (recently also through direct Internet participation) do not lead to a greater degree of social and political commitment of citizens. Indicative of this is the fact that less and less citizens in post-modern Europe participate in the elections of those who must determine the direction of the development of the state.

THE MODERN CONCEPT OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Good governance is most often perceived as the agglomeration of "mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups of citizens can articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their

⁸ Heater, History of Citizenship, p. 5

differences"⁹. Thus, citizen participation is one of the direct "good governance" mechanisms. **Democracy** in its most immediate form is the condition where citizens can influence the governors, who exercise authority in their name¹⁰, while **civil society** provides the mechanisms and space in which such influence can be efficiently exercised.

In recent years, three basic models of citizen participation have been recorded.

MODELS AND FORMS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

In the second half of the 20th century, the call for theory to be translated into practice grew stronger and international organizations made a series of high-level declarations firmly asserting the role of citizen participation. So-called "social consultations" emerged in developed countries, which the respective institutions held with their beneficiaries or target groups. Thousands of community health councils, parent committees in schools, tenant councils and other beneficiary committees came into being. Their main task was to consult the social institutions about the ways to distribute existing services or benefits¹¹.

This period corresponds to the **first**, **so-called** "user" model of citizen participation. In this model vulnerable groups, as represented by citizens committees, are consulted on the management, distribution and regulation of social services in separate sectors. However, the main limitation of the user committees is that they concentrate their efforts on improving the efficiency of the services delivered by the state rather than determining the kinds of services needed¹². In other words, the most vulnerable groups in this model of citizen participation continue to remain isolated from direct participation in the design of policies and projects

directed at themselves. ¹³ . This acts as a factor limiting, not only on the co-ownership feeling for the social assistance received, but it also affects the technical quality, and the relevancy of social assistance projects. As a whole, this model of citizen participation keeps for citizens the role of development beneficiaries ¹⁴

The second model of participation is based on the mediating role of organizations. These are most of all non-governmental organizations (NGO) described also as "non-profit organizations", "bodies of non-economic character", "citizen", "volunteer" or "third sector". This sector is a "third" one as compared to the so-called "first", or state sector, comprising state-owned property and governance bodies and the "second" sector related to private business. By definition this sector covers organizations, which contribute to the achievement of some socially useful purpose, but do not obtain a profit in favor of any individual, and do not serve political aims¹⁵. In other words, the activity of such organizations is the result of the independent initiative of groups of citizens who express freely their will and who pursue by all ways and means, not prohibited by law, the achievement of some priority target established by themselves, which is not contrary to the social interest.

The NGO sector grew fast following the end of the cold war when the state (in developed countries) retreated from many traditional activities. In Bulgaria, the registration of such organizations grew exponentially during the transition period. In recent years, however, the realization dawned that the process of institutionalizing the NGOs may marginalize other informal popular and community associations, self-help groups and networks, such as religious groups, parents groups, welfare associations, etc. As an example of such organizations in Bulgaria, one may quote, for instance, the Chitalishta and the school boards of trustees.

 $^{^9\:\:} Good\: Governance\: for\: Sustainable\: Human\: Development, A\: UNDP\: Policy\: Document, United\: Nations\: Development\: Programme, 1997, p.2$

 $^{^{10}\} Clayton, A.\ (Ed.)\ NGOS, Civil\ Society\ and\ the\ State: Building\ Democracy\ in\ Transitional\ Societies, INTRAC, 1996, Oxford, p.24$

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Cornwall, & Gaventa, p.12

¹³ Siri, G., 1996, "Social Investment Fund in Latin America", CEPAL, No 59: pp.73-82

 $^{^{14}\} Cornwall, A., Beneficiary, Consumer, Citizen: Perspective on participation for poverty reduction, Sida studies, no. 2, 2000, p. 22$

¹⁵ The organizations of this type are defined in various ways in the legislations of different countries and their clear differentiation is often subject of disputes

The development of NGOs is a step forward in the promotion of citizen participation. While according to the first "user" model citizens remain passive users, citizens within NGOs can themselves define and pursue social goals. However, because of their mediating and institutionalized nature, NGOs become vulnerable to the same weaknesses of the state to which they intend to be an alternative -bureaucratization, alienation from authentic citizen forms of participation and needs, isolation of activities within professional circles. In this sense, they do not overcome completely the weaknesses of the first model. In this first model citizens depend on state social institutions, while in the second they depend on the newly emerging intermediary NGOs.

Box 1.3

THE HISTORY OF CIVIC SOCIETY IN BULGARIA

The first Bulgarian citizen formations emerged as early as the Renaissance period. Actually they were conceived in Romania and had cultural and educational objectives, such as the Bulgarian Publishing House established in 1824-25 in Bucharest and the Literary Society founded by Vassil Nenovich and Petar Beron in 1824-26 in Brashov. The most popular form of citizen organizations during the Renaissance period in Bulgaria were the Chitalishta¹⁸; the first three were founded in 1856 in Shumen, Lom and Svishtov, while within 14 years only (by 1870) their number reached 131. Benevolence and charity were also very popular. During the Renaissance years, a large number of student and societies for women emerged – it was reported that about 40 women's societies existed at the time. After the Liberation, the development and the differentiation of the citizen sector continued. Its significance was highlighted by the adoption in 1933 of a special Law regulating foundation activities and the presence of a section in the statistical yearbooks of the Kingdom of Bulgaria devoted to social organization and assistance through different citizen associations. There we can discover not only the names of such non-profit associations, but also their balance sheets. For instance, 147 citizen associations were registered in 1942, out of which 47 professional unions, 43 cultural and educational societies, 15 charity societies and unions, 12 scientific societies and unions, 17 sports and physical culture societies and 18 other associations. The relatively high number of professional unions indicates the presence of well understood group and professional interests. On their part, cultural and educational societies upheld the universal right of education. In other words, citizen society in Bulgaria developed both in the direction of the protection of private interests, and from a position to uphold the "social values" conceived predominantly as education and culture.

The third and most recent model of citizen participation assumes that citizens may influence DIRECTLY the decision-making process. The first direct forms of citizen participation are citizen protests and disobedience. Back in the 19th century Henry David Thoreau defined citizen disobedience as the right of every individual to disobey the law if it contradicts his or her notions of justice. In this sense, civil protests and disobedience are "late coming" or post-factum manifestations of citizen participation. The new concept of citizen participation is based precisely on the necessity for citizens to influence directly the political decision-making process and not to react after decisions are put into practice.

An instance of how this approach is applied in practice is the direct involvement of the Brazilian citizens in the preparation of the municipal budgets based on a complex process of consultations and negotiations. ¹⁶ Another instance is the Right to Information Movement in the northwestern Indian State of Rajastan, which brought about the creation of public bodies to monitor and assess the elected officials and government agencies.

This right of direct participation was formalized for the first time in the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, according to which the decision-making process and governance as a whole should become open, transparent and subject to direct control and influence on the part of the citizens. "The citizens' right of participation in decision-making in social, economic, cultural and political life should be included in the nexus of basic human rights; citizenship as rights enables people to act as agents in the political arena"¹⁷.

As a whole, citizen practices and the theoretical concept of citizen participation follow the development from a mediated to a direct and immediate impact on governance. The lessons taught during the everyday contact with governance can disappoint or encourage citizens for participation. Therefore, the citizens in a democratic society can

¹⁶ De Sousa Santos, B, 1998, "Participative Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Towards a Redistributive Democracy", Politics and Society, 26 (4) 461-510

¹⁷ Lister, R, 1998, Citizen in Action: Citizenship and Development in a Southern Ireland Context, Community Development Journal, Vol.33 No.3: pp.226-235

¹⁸ Community Centers; the origin of the word - Chitalishte, pl. Chitalishta - comes from the verb "to read".

hardly be trained to participate. They can be motivated for it by their own individual positive experience only. tests, disclosure of information of public importance or refusal to buy products due to bad service.

DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN BULGARIA

Citizen Participation in Bulgaria

Citizen Practices and Level and Potential of The

In this report, citizen practices are defined as "collective or individual actions, which aim to control or influence societal or community governance". Such actions may comprise proposals to the local and central government, participation in public debates on matters of public significance, participation in pro-

The level of citizen participation in Bulgaria was analyzed¹⁹ by means of a scale consisting of 16 practices, and the summarized results are presented in Table 1.1²⁰

The results of the **survey** indicate that overall citizen activity in Bulgaria is not high. Specific citizen practices and actions in most cases do not exceed 10% of the sample, although 60.9% of the respondents have done at least one of the listed citizen actions in the last 12 months. The most frequent citizen practices are related to the most acute and significant everyday issues having to do with consumption and crime.

Table 1.1 Citizen Practices

Have you done, during the last 12 months, one of the following things in order to influence the change of rules, laws or policies? (Percent of "Yes" answers) Sex Age Ethnic identity Total Male Female <=38 39-55 >=56 Bulgarians Other Submitting a suggestion to an administration 5.9 8.6 11.7 6.3 11.8 6.7 9.2 Protest against an administration 5.0 4.6 4.8 6.4 3.0 4.7 4.8 4.7 Activities which would control the work of 7.5 3.4 4.0 8.1 3.7 5.6 3.2 5.2 an administration NGO activities and projects 3.2 3.4 3.7 4.0 2.3 3.2 3.7 3.3 2.6 Voting in referendums 5.4 4.0 6.1 5.1 4.5 4.8 4.6 Participation in public meetings and 9.9 10.8 10.6 12.9 11.5 13.9 13.6 4.3 discussions 6.6 Participation in strikes 5.4 5.3 5.8 3.7 5.3 5.3 5.3 2.1 Meetings of trade union councils 9.1 7.1 6.1 13.0 5.6 9.1 7.9 Participation in meetings of 8.3 7.3 11.4 8.4 4.4 8.3 5.3 7.8 school/university councils Meetings of political parties 11.7 7.6 5.8 11.6 10.6 9.3 9.6 9.3 Calling the health control authorities 8.5 7.7 5.9 9.0 9.7 11.3 8.3 9.6 concerning the poor quality of food products Addressing the mass media in order to voice 8.9 6.6 6.1 7.2 7.9 7.6 9.8 5.3 a personal opinion Calling the police about an irregularity or a 19.6 12.2 12.4 19.9 14.4 16.6 8.6 15.3 crime Refusal to buy from a certain shop because of 35.3 33.7 36.5 25.7 42.2 38.3 12.3 34.2 bad service Buying certain products because of political, moral or environment protection 15.3 13.3 14.8 17.1 10.6 15.9 4.3 14.0 considerations Protest, which are not related to political or 2.4 2.3 2.9 1.2 2.5 2.5 1.6 2.3 employment relationships: What kind None of the above 27.0 33.1 27.8 24.6 37.0 27.3 45.5 30.1

¹⁹ For more details, see the full distribution in items Q31 – Q32 of the Annex. The responses to these questions were aggregated in consistent scales, ranking citizens' attitudes as low or high

 $^{^{20}\,}These\,practices\,have\,been\,traditionally\,employed\,in\,citizen\,participation\,research, including\,Professor\,Seyd's\,,Citizen\,Audit", 2001.$

For instance, 34.2% of the respondents have not refused to buy products from a certain shop because of bad service and 14.0% have purchased certain goods because of environmental considerations.

Crime-related citizen practices come next with 153% of the respondents declaring that they have called the police to report an irregularity or a crime. Practices ranked in the **middle** include participation in public meetings and discussions (11.5%), in meetings of political parties (9.3%), and

in meetings of trade unions or others. Also

Box 1.4

STRUCTURE AND GOALS OF MUNICIPAL FORUMS

The municipal forum is a form of direct citizen participation through which people can discuss and propose solutions to local problems of common importance as *citizens* and not as representatives of institutions (administrations or NGOs). Such forums are widespread in many European countries such as Germany, France, Switzerland and the U.K., where it is often the municipal administration that initiates and funds a forum as a way to channel proposals from citizens. The forums aim to consolidate diverse and sometimes even contradictory interests through an equal and open discussion and through the creation of new partnerships in the community. In Bulgaria such forums are held with the assistance of the Swiss government in six towns in the Stara Planina Mountain region - Teteven, Troyan, Apriltsi, Sevlievo, Gabrovo and Tryavna²¹.

The forum is constituted (structured) at a preliminary general meeting where all citizens are invited. The agenda, working tables, and by-laws of the forum are established here too. The working tables set the structure of the discussion and present the standpoints and interests of the main stakeholders in the community (the private business sector, the cultural and educational sector, the NGO's, the citizens, the municipal staff and the young). Each community representative is free to attend all sessions of the forum as a member of a specific working table. External and neutral moderators guide the discussions of the forums. The forum sessions are open for attendance to other citizens too (students, experts, media and institutions from outside the town), who can contribute to the search for a common solution. An operative group handles the logistical matters and the communication exchange with the participants, while a monitoring group exercises oversight. Each forum session addresses a particular topic or issue, and drafts project ideas or makes recommendations to the administration. Many of the ideas born out of these forums are later shaped into projects with support from the Bulgarian Balkan Assist Association, and are then financed by the Swiss government.

belonging to this group are proposals made to various administrations (8.6%) and addressed to the local or central authorities, school or business administration; calls to the Hygiene Inspection authorities (9.0%); and calls to the media (7.6%). Control and protest activities register **the lowest level** of participation: protests against the administration (4.7%); actions to control how one administration or another operates (5.2%); strikes (5.3%); and protests *unrelated to political or labor issues* (2.3%). Participation in NGO activities (3.3%) and voting in referendums (4.6 %) occupy the **bottom-most position in the ranking**.

An analysis of these initial data reveals some key features of citizen participation in Bulgaria. First, citizen participation is a response to major social issues of the everyday life, primarily crime and consumption. Second, although still nascent, citizen participation is essentially positive. Participation in public meetings and discussions, and feedback to the media and institutions (e.g.hygiene inspection), is stronger than participation in civil protests or strikes. The third main observation is that citizen participation tends to be individual rather than institutionalized through mediating organizations - as little as 3.3 % report to have participated in NGO projects.

The Discrepancy between Citizen Practices and Citizens' Readiness to Participate in Such Practices

An additional question "Would you participate in such actions?" was asked in connection with the above 16 practices. In most cases, **the willingness to participate exceeded the practices actually performed by more than 30-40%.** This discrepancy between the readiness for participation and actual practices was observed in connection with all forms of citizen practices.

There is an overall correspondence between the

 $^{^{21}}$ A part of the members of such municipal forums form the experimental sample of the survey in the present report.

hierarchy of the practices and that of the readiness, with one serious exception: 56.5% of the respondents are willing to participate in referendums, while only 4.6% have actually stated that they have participated in such exercises.²² Asked in a specific question, 75.0% of the respondents agree that issues of national importance must be decided by referendums; 2.8% disagree; and 22.2% cannot decide. One of the substantial discrepancies between existing citizen practices and intentions is due to a large expectation for participation in referendums and the absence of such. The willingness of many people to participate in referendums regardless of their political bias may also be interpreted as a willingness to be involved in public debate on bills, known as law simplification.

The second major discrepancy between the hierarchy of citizen practices and that of the citizens' willingness to participate speaks of their disappointment resulting from their participation in public meetings and discussions, particularly if these are related to political party issues. For instance, the participation in political party meetings ranks fifth among the most frequent practices, while the desire for such participation holds 14th place. Similar, though not so contrasting, are the discrepancies between the citizen practices and the desire to participate in

school board and trade union meetings. The latter corroborates the fact that Bulgarian citizens prefer direct and individual participation as opposed to its institutionalized alternatives, such as participation in party or political meetings.

A comparison between actual citizen practices and citizen intentions for participation brings attention to two key findings: first, the potential of the citizens to participate in the national governance in one form or another surpasses the opportunities offered in practice. It is clear that the mechanisms needed to mediate citizen participation are not in place. Second, efforts to encourage direct and individual forms of citizen participation, such as referendums and feedback to institutions, seem to be the most effective way to spur overall citizen participation.

The next three chapters of this report make an attempt to describe the progress made and the hardships encountered along the Bulgarian transition from an individual to a citizen from three main perspectives. First, to reveal the individual traits of citizen participation; second, to explore how the social and institutional environment checks or encourages citizen participation; and third, to see how citizen participation impacts the political governance of Bulgaria.

²² It is possible that real participation in referendums is even lower. The doubts are based on the high percentage (5.1%) of people aged over 55 who may have decided that a referendum means elections. The strong citizen intentions to participate in referendums may be a result of the renewed debate about the monarchy. Data indicate that UDF / Union of Democratic Forces/supporters are more inclined to participate in referendums than those of the National Movement Simeon II (NMSII).

CHAPTER TWO

THE INDIVIDUAL FACE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

This chapter focuses on the individual characteristics of Bulgarian citizens. It raises the issues of the socio-demographic profile of active and passive citizens, their economic activity, education, geographic differentiation, family environment and roles. The interrelation between citizen participation, ethnic tolerance and solidarity with the socially disadvantaged layers of society has been analyzed. Put in a most general way, this chapter considers the individual framework upon which citizen practices and expectations are built.

THE GENERAL SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CITIZEN PRACTICES AND ATTITUDES

The hierarchies of citizen intentions and practices have a relatively stable socio-demographic profile. Data shows that the most frequently observed practice, such as calling the police, occupies the top of the rating, both for low-income people and for wealthier respondents. Similarly, least frequently practiced activities, such as the participation in NGO activities, are at the bottom of the rating both for the socially disadvantaged and for the higher social strata. This means that the various forms of participation are not socially differentiated; i.e. there are no citizen practices typical of wealthy and educated citizens and other practices that are solely characteristic of the socially disadvantaged. This lack of differentiation is mainly due to the generally low level and underdevelopment of citizen participation. In fact, the actual differentiation is in **the degree** of participation of the different socio-demographic groups in practically all types of citizen practices.

The drastic social differentiation of citizen participation is also related to a great extent to the income levels of "participating" citizens. For example, 16.2% of people with income higher than 240 leva per household have participated in public meetings and discussions, compared to 8.4% of lower income respondents. Similarly, 10.9% of more affluent citizens have provided their opinions to the mass media, as compared to 4.9% of lower income respondents. However, it must be kept in mind that sociological surveys are unable to report adequately on people with the highest income, even though they are included in the samples. Usually the most affluent people refuse to participate in similar research, which by itself represents a citizen position. Therefore, the assertion that affluent people are more active compared to lower-income people applies rather to middle-income people. While the low income of passive citizens is really low (50 % of the sample have a household income under 230 leva), the higher income of active citizens is quite humble, when compared to European standards - as little as 3 % of the sample have a total household income exceeding 700 leva per month.23

Another differentiating factor for the degree of participation is the level of **education**. As little as 1.6% of people with a secondary education have participated in activities controlling administrative institutions, in comparison with 11.1 % of university graduates and 25.0% of postgraduates or holders of other academic degrees. The **ethnic identity** of citizens is also significant - 12.9 percent of Bulgarians declare to have participated in public discussions as compared to 4.3% of respondents other ethnic identity.

The **sex** of respondents is another possible boundary between citizen activity and non-participation. Here differences are relatively smaller than those encountered for education or income. Nevertheless, citizen participation in Bulgaria seems more a male than a female "business". Altogether, 33.1% of women have not engaged in any of the listed citizen actions, as compared to 27.0% of men. For instance, 11.7% of men declare that they have addressed proposals to

²⁵ The survey does not permit representative observations of people with total household income exceeding 1000 leva.

administrative institutions, as compared to 6.3% of women. Similarly, 7.5 percent of men have controlled some administrations, as compared to 3.4% of women. The participation in NGO activities seems somewhat more "feminine", though insignificantly.

On the other hand, people living in small **settlements** are less frequently "citizens" than those who live in the regional centers and in Sofia. The data shows that 16.4% of regional center residents have participated in public meetings as compared to 9.5% of small town residents. Similarly, 14.8% of Sofia residents have complained to the Hygiene Inspection, as compared to 8.9 percent of people living in small Bulgarian towns.

The influence of **age** is not so clear-cut. Active Bulgarian citizens are mostly middle-aged people between 39 and 55. 11.8% of the respondents from this age group have submitted proposals to administrative institutions, as compared to 7.4% of people below 39 and 6.7% of respondents older than 55.

Taken as a whole, the results of the survey indicate that citizen practices are relatively higher among middle-aged respondents living in larger towns, with higher education and higher income. The lowest levels of practical participation are encountered among unemployed and ethnic minorities. The sociodemographic portrait of citizen participation replicates the picture of the social differentiation and isolation in Bulgaria. Citizen activity is lowest among those social strata that actually have the highest need to be heard and to influence governance. Therefore,

social isolation and citizen participation become structurally interdependent. Social isolation is simultaneously a cause and an outcome of low citizen activity. On its part, citizen participation emerges as a socio-demographic variable, which differentiates marginalized social groups from those in society who are better-off.

Consequently, socio-demographic factors by themselves cannot be substantive determinants of citizen participation. Behind them lay deeper economic, social and human interrelations, as well as particular social values and norms. That is why this report tries in the next few sections to analyze citizen participation in depth through: (1) the economic activity, implying income; (2) the decentralization processes, which determine the impact of the settlement size; (3) social knowledge, behind which is the education degree; (4) family relations which determine gender equality; and (5) the lack of solidarity which may turn ethnic identity into a problematic issue

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AS CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

"In order that citizens should be able to 'form' the State, the latter must be economically dependent on them, and not vice versa".²⁵ To start one's own business means to break the networks of dependence from the State, transforming from a passive into an active citizen position, making decisions on one's own, and bearing the responsibility and consequences of those decisions.

Table 2.1

Generalized scales of citizen participation and attitudes by education and income									
		Inco	ncome Education						
		<=240	>=241	Below secondary	Secondary	Semi higher	Higher	Post graduate	Total
Level of citizen	No practices	62.5	41.3	73.8	43.8	27.9	34.9	12.5	51.9
practices	Up to 2 practices	22.3	26.0	18.4	28.3	39.3	26.2	12.5	25.2
	More than 2 practices	15.2	32.8	7.8	28.0	32.8	38.9	75.0	22.9
Level of citizen	Up to 2 practices	45.9	18.7	59.2	21.5	16.4	15.9	12.5	33.4
attitudes	From 3 to 7 practices	33.1	39.8	29.6	41.7	49.2	27.0	37.5	36.3
	More than 7 practices	20.9	41.5	11.2	36.8	34.4	57.1	50.0	30.3

 $^{^{24}}$ Scales integrated from the items of Q31 and Q32

 $^{^{25}}$ Gavriil Popov, "Ten years later", Lessons for the future, edition of the Zhelyo Zhelev Foundation, p. 275

The slow start of private self-initiative and the lack of effective mechanisms for its stimulation have had tremendous consequences for civic society. Small business, including self-employment, is by definition done by active people – both economically and in everyday life. For example, people engaged in their own businesses are much more likely to believe that their own child (and not the state) is responsible for finding a job (82.4%), as compared to people working in state-owned companies (58.0%). That is why the more developed the strata of independent economic agents is, the more developed is the individual and responsible participation in decision-making.

In support of this, the data shows that people with more citizen practices are more often among those who engage in private business. For example, 11.8% of people with their own businesses have participated in activities controlling administrative institutions, as compared to 3.7% of pensioners and 4.7% of unemployed. Overall, 10.9 % of people with more than two citizen practices have a successful private business, while only 4.2 % of successful business respondents have no citizen practices. Therefore, the favorable conditions for small business development do not only create opportunities for more people to make their living, but also create prerequisites for putting forward more individuals into an active citizen position.

However, what is probably the most interesting observation is that the proportion of citizen practices grows mostly among businesspersons with an unsuccessful business experience (13.2 % against 10.9% with successful business experience). In other words, business can generate a citizen position, but this position is even more active in the presence of failures. In this way, private business problems begin to be transformed themselves into citizen problems subject to social debate. As a result of this, we discover that respondents engaged in private business assess themselves as best heard by the government (2.43)²⁸ when compared to all

Box 2.1

POWER VALUES OF BULGARIAN MANAGERS

According to an ASA study²⁶, Bulgarian managers identify themselves with their presidents rather than with their partners. They perceive their partners as subordinates. In another research² in three eastern and three western European countries, Bulgarian managers rank last under the item "Encouraging the personal initiative of subordinates". The same study found that German managers prefer their subordinates to be honest rather than loyal (56%), where their Bulgarian colleagues prefer the loyalty to the honesty of their subordinates (77%).

Managers who depend on "Power" as a value category believe that there is a basic and insurmountable conflict between those who have power in society and those who have not. This implies the attitude that managers and managed people cannot have common interests or mutually beneficial relationships. That is why "power" managers tend to invest rather into political and status lobbies than directly into the market.

Box 2.2

EXPERIENCE OF SMALL AND BIG BUSINESS WITH CITIZEN PRACTICES

Business-related citizen initiatives arise most often on a professional basis and pursue mostly internal business interests. Less numerous are the initiatives that directly connect businesses with the various community and citizen interests. In such cases, the representatives of local small and medium-sized enterprises participate much more frequently than those agents from big businesses. For example, small and medium-sized businesses are among the most active participants in the Troyan Municipal Forum. They were not only able to provide financial assistance to solve part of the problems of the town's disabled people, but also discussed common local problems in a direct and equitable dialogue with the remaining citizens. The managers of large enterprises are much more distanced. Whenever they decide to assist the community, they rather do it from the superior position of benefactors rather than as equal right citizens. Differences between large and small businesses are not limited to their size. Large businesses, particularly in small towns, are mostly represented by executive directors appointed, for instance, by centralized privatization funds, while small businesses are authentically local ones. What is more important, though, is that small businesses are self-reliant and sell-sustainable. It turns out that businesses are more socially committed when their own welfare results from their individual efforts. On the contrary, when a business is incorporated or appointed with few personal efforts, social commitment seems hardly achievable.

 $[\]frac{1}{2^6}\,\text{Study of ASA} - \text{Dotcho Mihailov, commissioned by UNDP, Representative Youth Sample, 2001}.$

²⁷ Study of ASA — Dotcho Mihailov, under a PHARE international project coordinated by the Oxford University in England, Germany, France, Poland, Czech Republic and Bulgaria, 1994 – 1996, coordinated by Dr. Peter Collett.

²⁸ Average value for the respective demographic groups according to the "Knowledge" scale from 1 to 10.

other socio-demographic groups. Undoubtedly, this debate must be maintained and expanded.

From what has been said up to now, it can be inferred that the most active citizens belong to the middle socio-economic status. Those are people who have improved their socio-economic status to the extent that it permits them to visualize its further improvement. For such people, the social environment can be changed and they find it sensible to be involved in the changes through their personal participation. In contrast, participation is unthinkable for the poorest citizens because they see society from a position where a positive change within the foreseeable future seems impossible. The

Figure 2.1

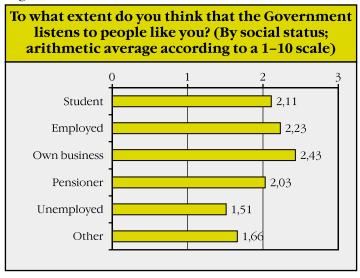
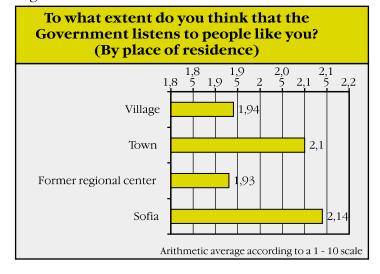


Figure 2.2



poorest social strata are so far from governance that they do not even admit the possibility for something to depend on them.

GOVERNANCE DECENTRALIZATION OR GEOGRAPHIC DIFFERENTIATION OF PARTICIPATION

While describing the general socio-demographic profile of citizen participation, it was mentioned that citizen attitudes and practices are lower among rural residents and in smaller settlements. The presentation of a personal opinion to the government is more realistic for people living in Sofia than for those out in the countryside. This observation shows that **the central authority appears most reachable from the capital**. In confirmation of this, Sofia residents feel considerably better heard, when asked *whether the government listens to people like them*, as compared to people from the country, and rural residents in particular.

There is a relationship between the geographical and psychological remoteness from power. This leads to the presumption that access of citizens to local authorities is easier than access to the central government. Indeed, a smaller proportion of respondents (20.9%) consider it "very appropriate" to present personally their opinion to the central authorities as compared to 27.0% in the case of local authorities. Similarly, public meetings are considered a more appropriate way to reach the local authorities than the central government. From the perspective of direct participation, local government seems closer, more relevant and more accessible for citizens. At the same time, as the Table 2.2 shows, such mechanisms of influence as elections, referendums, surveys and collective proposals, are considered to be more adequate as mechanisms in reaching the central government than the local authorities. This may mean that local power presumes a higher level of direct citizen participation, while mediated participating channels, such as elections and surveys are perceived more adequate for the central government.

Table 2.2

Ways to influence the Municipality and the Government							
	The Municipality	The Government					
A representative survey	2.23	2.29					
To provide the possibility for a certain minimum number of people (for	2.14	2.26					
instance, 7000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly							
Referendum	2.48	2.61					
Protests	2.03	2.02					
Elections	2.55	2.62					
Public meetings	2.23	2.18					
To present my opinion personally	1.86	1.76					
Act through an NGO	2.34	1.80					

Average values according to a 1 - 3 scale

On the other hand, expressing an opinion or providing a recommendation depends on the different prerogatives of central and local authorities. It is very unlikely that people will participate in governance that does not influence anything. When asked why they would not participate in a session of the Municipal Council, the majority (55.5%) indicated that their participation would not change anything. This makes us reconsider the commonly discussed over-expectations towards the State. When asked, "Who should be responsible for the finding of jobs for your children?", 57.5% indicate the state, and as little as 32.8% indicate the municipality. Besides, the expectations to the state are stronger among people who disagree to participate in Municipal Council sessions since this will not change anything (61.7%). This example shows that the lack of motivation to participate in local governance bodies is also based on the doubts about their prerogatives.

Therefore, the link between citizen participation and decentralization is in the lack of opportunities for citizens to exercise a meaningful influence on their lives at the local level.

In the final analysis, citizens want to be heard both by the central government and by local authorities. When asked "Do you think there is something you could recommend to the local administration and the central government?" respondents provide similar answers: 52.8 % have advice for the local authorities and 51.2 % - to the central government.

Overall, the "geographic, problem of citizen participation does not reside in the differences between people living in small towns or large cities. The real differentiation is in the divergent

prerogatives and capacities of local and central authorities. Therefore, the participation of people in governance is much more relevant and adequate if they live in the power centers. The excessive centralization of governance does not only hinder participation in local governance, but also provokes higher expectations of the state. The decentralization and the devolution of power to local authorities will provide opportunities for people to participate more actively in governance and to have a real impact on the decisions that directly affect their lives.

EDUCATIONAL DEGREE OR SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The general profile of citizen participation indicates that better educated people are much more active than people with lower education. However, education by itself is of little importance if it does not equip people with citizen knowledge. In fact, the lack of social, political and expert knowledge may be the main argument against citizen participation, and in favor of the passive delegation of power into the hands of the *"competent people who know how to use it"*.

It is very difficult to identify the level of social and political knowledge through several sociological questions, but even so, available data is quite indicative (Table 2.3). One-half of respondents do not find a difference between the Municipal Administration and the Municipal Council; as little as 42,3 % are aware that the electoral system in Bulgaria is a pro-

Table 2.3

1 abic 2.5	
Can you say quickly which ones of the following statements are true or untrue? (Correct an	swers)
	Total
The name of the Chairman of the Municipal Council of Sofia is Stefan Sofiyanski	33.1 %
The name of the Mayor of the City of Rousse is Dimitar Kalchev	27.4 %
Parliamentary elections in Bulgaria are based on the proportional electoral system	42.3 %
In Bulgaria, all citizens aged over 20 are entitled to vote	51.3 %
During the year 2000, the Children's Act was adopted.	32.0 %
The National Assembly has about 300 members of Parliament	39.1 %
According to official statistical data, presently the rate of registered unemployment in Bulgaria is about 14	43.5 %
By Law, the President of Bulgaria has equal rights with the National Assembly	42.0 %
The European Union is presently composed by 15 states	24.5 %
Bulgarian negotiations with the European Union on the "Small and medium-sized enterprises" chapter have already been concluded	6.1 %

portional one, about one-third notice that people in Bulgaria are entitled to vote when turning 18 and not 20 years old; finally, as little as 39.1 % are aware that the number of Bulgarian parliamentarians is not 300 (moreover, the question was asked during the pre-electoral campaign). Practically, there are more than 50 % correct answers only to the questions about the existence of different rights of the President and Parliament and about the level of unemployment in Bulgaria being different from 14 %. As little as 6.1 % are aware that the negotiations with the EU on the chapter of small and medium-sized business have been closed.

There could certainly be various interpretations on such data, including comments on the somewhat provocative way of asking the questions or that it makes no difference whether the number of parliamentarians is 240 or 300. However, the data permits some important observations. It is, evident, that the level of knowledge rises when it concerns local issues. The closer the problem is to people and to their everyday lives, the more probable it is that they will participate actively in its solution. If people have a real opportunity to participate in the solution of particularly important problems, they will start to acquire the needed knowledge and competence.

The data shows that social and political knowledge is relatively lower among young people and students²⁹ (3.17) than among middle-aged adults

(3.91) and employed respondents (4.21). This may result both from the inadequacy of the educational system and from the lack of interest among young people in social issues. Anyway it may be, there is a need for **special and targeted efforts to stimulate social and political knowledge among young people and particularly students.** This can happen through creating attractive conditions for citizen practices and through fostering a positive and encouraging social and political environment.

One of the possible ways to improve citizen knowledge is to strengthen citizen education in secondary and high school curricula. According to a UNDP survey on a representative youth sample³⁰, one of the substantial reasons for the non-participation of young people is precisely the lack of capacity to influence the decisions of the educational institutions. However, the building of such capacity cannot be regarded as a purely academic or didactic objective. The citizen participation of young people could lose its meaning if they have the required knowledge and competencies, but have no practical opportunities to influence governance or nobody hears them. According to the same survey, 19.0% of university students and 11.8% of pupils assess the lack of consultations with the school administration as an extremely important problem. Similarly, 19.0 % of university students and 15.5% of pupils stress the importance of being able to submit proposals with respect to the curriculum. Whatever the scenario, the main reason for non-participation is the

 $^{^{29}}$ Average value for the respective demographic groups according to the "Knowledge" scale from 1 to 10.

 $^{^{30}}$ Study of ASA — Dotcho Mihailov, commissioned by UNDP, Representative Youth Sample, 2001.

understanding that "this will not change anything". On the other hand, citizen practices should not be self-perpetuating. Citizen education and citizen practices must provide solutions to the real priority problems of young people. Precisely this is the main resource for the strengthening of citizen knowledge and competence – through the motivated, competent and practical participation in the solution of immediate and "hot" problems of the day.

FAMILY RELATIONS AND GENDER EQUALITY - A PREREQUISITE OR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

According to data from a survey representative for young people (16-25), 46.9 % of respondents maintain that they always participate in the making of family decisions, 40.8 % participate when personally concerned and 6.9 % never participate in family decisions. More importantly, the contribution of young people within the family is a prerequisite for the building of a citizen position. For instance, participation in decisions on important family issues is higher among young people who intend to vote in parliamentary elections (53.2 %) as compared to those who would not vote (39.3 %) and respectively greater among those who would like to participate in a youth initiative forum³¹ (49.6%), as compared to those who are not interested in it (43.5 %). We also find at the parent level 32 that respondents with more citizen practices (53.4%) and those from the experimental sample (62.7%) discuss family decisions with their children more often.

Democratic and partnership relations within the family are part of the individual framework within which social values and citizen awareness are built. The transition from an individual to a citizen is determined also by the family environment. It is much more probable for young people to participate in social life if their voice has been heard in the family; if they have already made decisions and if they have assumed responsibilities within their immediate environment.

The relationship between the participation of young people in family decision-making and citizen participation makes us focus on the relationships within the family and family gender roles. The 1999 issue of the National Human Development Report³³ analysed this problem partially, describing relatively stable gender equality attitudes. It emerges that in 2001 some of these attitudes appear even stronger. If in 1999 71.3 % of respondents would have preferred their son (up to 14 years old) to communicate with representatives of both sexes, this share increases to 79.3 % in 2001. Similarly, 70.3 % of respondents in 1999 maintain that their daughter should communicate with representatives of both sexes, as compared to 78.3% in 2001. Both surveys reveal a similar socio-demographic profile, whereas such attitudes are higher mostly among younger, better-educated and more affluent people; besides, this is equally typical among respondents from the two sexes.

This year we addressed the issue of violence within the family. When asked the question whether rape should be considered a crime if the man is married to the woman, (and respectively if not married), 77.9 % of respondents consider that rape should be treated as a crime if the man and the woman are a married couple and 95.0 % consider it a crime if the man and the woman are not a married couple. Probably these figures would look more alarmingly if put in the opposite way, that is, 22.1 % of respondents believe that it is no crime if a man rapes his wife. This share increases to 26.9 % for men, rises still further to 29.4 % for respondents living in villages and reaches 38% for ethnic minorities. Asking the question whether it is admissible for a married man to beat his wife sometimes, we discover similar attitudes. According to 7.6%, this is admissible if the woman deserves it, for 33% it is admissible if not done in front of the children,

³¹ UNDP project in which young people discuss and present their problems, priorities and expectations to the rulers, 2001

³² National sample, respondents with children above 10 years old, who live with them

³³ Bulgarian People's Aspirations, NHDR 1999 Vol. II, UNDP

while 89.1 % consider physical violence within the family as unacceptable.

As a whole, physical violence against women is more acceptable for men living in villages, for elderly respondents, for lower income and lower education people, and most of all for ethnic minorities - 17.8 % of respondents from ethnic minorities consider that beating one's wife is acceptable if she deserves this, and 7.6 % consider it acceptable, if not done in front of the children.

According to this indicative data, tolerance, gender equality attitudes and rejection of violence reach their highest values among respondents with more citizen practices and among the experimental (citizen) sample. For instance, 9.5% of people who believe that rape must be treated as a common crime even if the man and the woman are formally married, have also addressed recommendations to administrative institutions, as compared to 5.5 % of respondents who disagree with that statement. Similarly, 8.3% of those who consider physical violence to women as unacceptable have addressed the mass media in order to express a personal opinion, as compared to 1.1% of those for whom beating one's wife is acceptable if she deserves this. Overall, rejection of physical violence to women within the family reaches 95.8% among respondents with more than two citizen practices and up to 98.6% for the experimental (citizen) sample.

Table 2.4

Which of the following groups you would rather							
NOT have as neighbors?							
	Total	Total					
	2001	1998					
Bulgarians	1.1 %	0.8 %					
Roma	50.0 %	78.3 %					
Ethnic Turks	19.2 %	29.5 %					
Immigrants in Bulgaria	12.2 %	22.5 %					
Persons of other religions	10.5 %	19.2 %					
Ex - prisoners	47.2 %	68.3 %					
People from another race	13.2 %	25.7 %					
People with AIDS	45.0 %	51.0 %					
Divorced	4.5 %	9.0 %					
Homosexuals	54.8 %	56.0 %					
Drug addicts	76.3 %	-					

Rejection of violence against women and the existence of relations of equality and partnership within the family create values that may grow into an active citizen position. **Citizen participation** — **both as practices and attitudes, is** consistent with attitudes against violence. Therefore, stimulation of tolerance and gender equality can have wide and socially significant consequences - this would strengthen the entire value system of the transition from an individual into a citizen.

THE CITIZEN DIMENSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

Inter-Ethnic Relationships and Citizen Participation

According to the general demographic profile of participation, ethnic minority groups are considerably more passive than Bulgarians. For instance, 12.9% of Bulgarians have participated in public meetings and discussions, compared to 4.3% of citizens from ethnic minorities. But this demographic group overlaps up to a large extent with low-income groups, rural groups and groups with lower education levels. Therefore, **ethnic relationships and the tolerance of one ethnic group to another should be discussed within the context of the common social and economic environment**. According to the 1999 National Human Development Report³⁴, the general level of intolerance in Bulgaria decreased in comparison with 1993.

Table 2.4 shows that the positive trend of decreasing intolerance³⁵ continues in 2001. This is particularly valid for attitudes to the Roma. In 1998, 78.3 % of respondents did not *want Roma neighbors*, while in 2001 they are 50%. With respect to Turks, this indicator of ethnic intolerance fell from 29.5 % in 1998 to 19.2 % in 2001. As a whole, there is an increasing tolerance towards all studied groups. The most insignificant change regards homosexuals (1.2 % decreased intolerance) and people living with AIDS (down 6 %).

³⁴ Aspirations of the Nation, UNDP, 1999, p. 56

³⁵ Comparative data from representative surveys of 1992 (World Bank), 1999 (UNDP) and 2001 (UNDP).

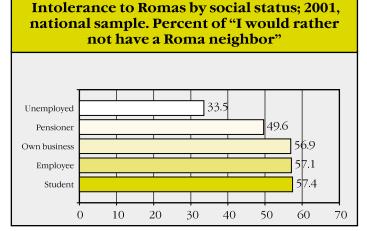
While in 1998 intolerance was highest against Roma people and former prisoners, today public opinion singles out homosexuals.

Nevertheless, the level of intolerance to Roma people remains disturbingly high. The causes of this phenomenon are complex and require an independent analysis, which looks at the roots of social exclusion. If at the end of 1998 neither the income levels, nor the social status of respondents influenced this intolerance,³⁶ the picture is different in 2001. 57.0 % of people with relatively high income (above 240 leva) would not like to have a Roma neighbor as compared to 43.4 % of the people with incomes below 240 leva. Similarly, intolerance is much more typical for people with a private business (56.9 %), than for pensioners (49.6 %) and even lower for unemployed (33.5 %).

The socio-demographic differences in Roma (Figure 2.3) acceptance prove to some extent the existence of socio-economic and status components in ethnic intolerance. There is a segregation attitude towards those who are economically different and vice versa –solidarity with those who are economically alike. Poverty provokes among affluent people numerous parallel associations and stereotypes - about health, education, culture and so on.

Another hypothesis about intolerance could be that Bulgarians and Roma do not know each other well enough. Still, available data at least about the awareness whether Roma celebrate St. George's day did not confirm this assumption. It turned out that a considerable percent of Bulgarians (66.8%) did know that the Roma celebrate St. George's day (which actually is the most important holiday for the community) but this knowledge does not lower intolerance. On the contrary, Bulgarians who do know about the Roma holiday are more likely to dislike Roma for their neighbors (51.5%, significance < 0.00). This could be explained with the impact of the socioeconomic status. Those who know more about the Roma holiday are not only more educated but also more affluent and so on. Therefore, the people who

Figure 2.3



National Sample, 2001

know more about the Roma are those who do not live near and do not want to live near them.

Actually, the factor, which seriously brings down intolerance, did not prove to be the knowledge, but Box 2.3

EDUCATION OF ROMA CHILDREN: INTEGRATION INSTEAD OF SEGREGATION

The education of Roma children in a multicultural environment is an important mechanism to obtain an equal education, which is one of the preconditions for the equal access to development. Practice shows, however, that in a number of cases Roma children are separated into differentiated and segregated classes.

Generally for the country and on average in stand-alone Roma schools and in stand-alone classes, 25 to $30\,\%$ of the children fall out from the second to the fourth grade, and $20\,\%$ do not start going to school at all.

The so-called "specialized institutions" provide additional segregation mechanisms. Those are schools for mentally disabled children, with different degrees of oligophrenia, Down's syndrome and other disabilities. However, about 70% of the pupils in such schools are completely healthy Roma children. They end up in such schools because of several reasons - their parents, usually illiterate or quasi-illiterate socially disadvantaged Roma, send them there because of the guaranteed boarding and clothing. On the other hand, teachers are interested to actively enroll pupils because otherwise the school might be closed down.

Nonetheless, from the point of view of citizen participation, it is more important that the enrolment of such children is practically carried out without the participation of the Roma community. The admittance tests are not adapted for bilingual children. In spite of the efforts made, there are still no efficient barriers for admittance of healthy children.

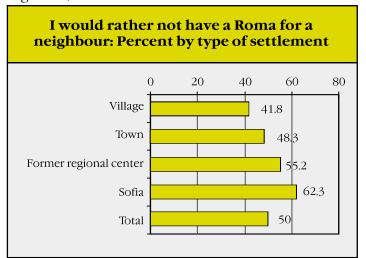
³⁶ Aspirations of the Nation, UNDP, 1999, p. 55

the actual interaction practices with the Roma community. Bulgarians who really do have Roma for neighbors report much less frequently (36.3 %) that they would not like to have Roma for neighbors as compared to those who in reality have no such neighbors (58.0%). Still, it is important to point out that the Bulgarians who live near Roma are again the poor ones. In reality, the practical interaction between Roma and Bulgarians only occurs between poor Bulgarians and poor Roma. This probably explains why (Figure 2.4) intolerance to Roma is lower in smaller settlements - not only because of the lower socio-economic contrasts, but also because of the higher opportunity for practical interaction and co-habitation between Bulgarians and Roma in smaller communities.

It is important to point out that the available data shows a decrease of intolerance attitudes and not of its practical appearance. Nevertheless, there is the encouraging fact that for many people it becomes socially unacceptable (in sociological surveys) to admit that one does not want to have a Roma for a neighbor. But of course this may have the effect of giving a distorted picture, since many people who indicate that they are tolerant in a survey may in reality be no more tolerant than those who openly admit intolerant attitudes.

The main factor, which can strengthen this positive

Figure 2.4



Solidarity as Charity or Solidarity as Participation

We showed in the previous section that people are more tolerant when they live together and when they have common practices. Does it mean, however, that socially disadvantaged people have solidarity and care for one another? Or, on the contrary, is there a competition between the socially disadvantaged people in order *to receive* solidarity and assistance, which can always be perceived as disproportionally high or disproportionally low?

Available data shows that both hypotheses are appropriate. For instance, group competition appears for younger people in their attitude to support¹ the construction in the locality of an *institution for drug addicts*, while elderly respondents

trend, is the practical interaction between people of different ethnic identity. Nevertheless, until now such practical interaction appears to be firstly very scarce and secondly- socially insignificant. One of the ways to strengthen tolerance is the non-discriminatory and fair participation of different ethnic groups in the solution of common social problems. This would help strengthen the fabric of a multi-cultural integrated society. Citizen participation by itself can lower intolerance - even if it does not occur on ethnic issues. For instance, 41.7 % of people who have participated in control of administrative institutions would not like to have Roma for neighbors, as compared to 50.4% of people who have not participated in such activities. Social commitment by itself implies higher tolerance and solidarity with the problems of marginalized groups. The involvement of ethnic groups in the solution of common social problems is first of all their right as citizens of the country. At the same time, the common undertaking of social responsibilities and obligations is also one of the ways to decrease intolerance. On the contrary, the separation of problems, for example into Bulgarian and Roma, implies a segregated and not an integrated citizen participation in their solution.

³⁷ Average value according to an acceptance scale from 1 to 5

Table 2.5

Will you support or oppose the initiative if it were proposed nearby:							
	Age level Unemployed Experimental Experimental						
	<=38		sample	sample over 55			
To build an institution for poor people	3.87	3.94	4.21	4.50	4.00		
To build a house for drug addicts	2.35	2.19	2.85	2.68	2.26		
To build a house for young people with antisocial behavior	2.17	2.17	2.70	2.76	2.14		

Average values on a scale from 1 to 5, where: 1- Totally oppose; 2 - Oppose to some extent; 3- Neither oppose nor support; 4- Support to some extent; 5- Totally support

support the *construction of a house for poor people*. In other words, the various groups support the problems of their own age. For young people this is drug addiction, while for adults it is poverty. When assistance is in short supply, competition emerges between the separate problems. Similarly, unemployed support their likes (building an institution for poor people - 3.94), rather than drug addicts (an institution for drug addicts - 2.19). There are, though, indicators of solidarity - poorer people are more likely to accept the nearby construction of a *house for young people with antisocial behavior*, as compared to well-off people.

There is not only group solidarity among socially disadvantaged groups such as drug addicts, unemployed and low-income people, but also group competition. Citizen participation provides us with a key to understand and overcome this contradiction. Table 2.5 shows that respondents to the experimental sample support to a much greater extent the provision of social services than the very groups at which the services are aimed. For example, active citizens show higher support for the construction of a bouse for poor people than unemployed respondents. Similarly, active citizens support, to a greater extent, the construction of a bouse for drug addicts

than the group of young people who are most vulnerable to narcotics. In fact, respondents from the experimental sample and respondents with more citizen practices have significantly higher values for nearly all indicators of tolerance and solidarity. Table 2.5 illustrates that elderly people with more citizen practices show more solidarity with younger people's problems (the construction of a house for drug addicts) than young people do themselves (from the national sample). Therefore, citizen participation can generate participation and solidarity with the problems of socially disadvantaged people.

The more important issue, however, is related to the participation of the vulnerable groups themselves. The responsibility for socially disadvantaged people is still attributed to the state: 61.6% of respondents believe that the *state is responsible for the presence of people who dig in the waste containers for food*, as little as 19.0% believe that society is responsible for this, and 11.5% consider *that disadvantaged people themselves are to blame*.

It is citizen participation indeed, which differentiates the perceptions of solidarity as charity or, alternatively, as "self-help assistance". Table 2.6 shows that respondents with more citizen

Table 2.6

Must there be a particular number of parliamentary seats reserved for:								
	Level of citizen practices Level of citizen attitudes					Experimen-		
	Without	Up to 2	More than 2	Up to 2	From 3 to 7	More than 7	tal sample	Total
	practices	practices	practices	practices	practices	practices	tarsampre	
Young people	79.3	79.0	78.6	76.9	77.4	83.5	76.9	79,1
Women	46.7	47.4	61.3	42.7	48.9	60.1	46.2	50,2
Disabled people	26.5	25.8	36.5	22.6	29.2	34.5	35.7	28,6
Romas	12.4	14.8	12.0	15.4	10.9	12.5	11.9	12,9
Turks	15.7	12.7	11.7	15.4	12.8	14.0	9.1	14,0
Pensioners	21.4	22.7	19.2	24.2	19.5	19.9	12.6	21,2

practices and stronger participation attitudes support to a greater extent the idea to have reserved quotas for socially disadvantaged people in Parliament. While the issue of quota representation is disputable and contradictory, the provision of more social responsibilities and participation opportunities to socially disadvantaged people is directly related to the active citizen position.

A key factor for the success of social assistance is the participation of vulnerable groups themselves in the formulation of priorities and the implementation of the support. Only then will they be in a position to accept the assistance provided as an opportunity for self-development and not as an insulting charity. However, the participation of vulnerable groups in the assistance process is only one of the possible perspectives. The final goal of citizen participation should be the socialization of vulnerable groups as equal-right partners in the governance of common social problems. For instance, whenever assistance

is provided to the Roma as an ethnic group, and not as a group of poor, illiterate, and excluded people, it has the effect of distancing them from the Bulgarians, of cultivating an attitude of paternalism among the Bulgarians towards them, and a passiveness among their community.

When vulnerable groups participate in the achievement of common social tasks, they assume responsibility not only for themselves but for the others too. This is the moment when vulnerable groups become equal-right citizens and when solidarity takes up its social character. This is the reason why encouragement and support of the vulnerable strata in society should follow the line of solving common problem or behavior models – such as school drop-outs, economic passivity and unemployment rather than undertaking a separate approach to differentiated social groups.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION – PREREQUISITES AND BARRIERS

The accomplishment of individual potential for participation requires an enabling social environment. For instance, if the state and the municipal administration or the mediating organizations do not allow the access of those who are subject of governance to direct participation in it, successes will be underestimated and failures overestimated - simply because those who are being managed have had nothing to do with the way this happened. (Particularly so, if successes are not that visible). The main issue discussed in this chapter is whether the social environment enables or discourages citizen preparticipation. To this end the legal and institutional prerequisites and barriers will be reviewed as well as the role of the mediating organizations, such as NGOs, trade unions and the mass media. In addition, special attention will be paid to the "response" of local and central authorities.

LEGISLATION RELATED TO CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The statutory framework of citizen participation is mainly defined by the local self-government and administrative reform legislation. During the last five years, numerous new acts were adopted: on non-governmental organizations, on the access to information, the referendums, the municipal

property, the municipal budgets and the regional development, as well as the Administration Act, the Territorial Organization Act, the Cadaster and Property Register Act, the Civil Servant Act and others. The newly adopted acts also contain **some legislative prerequisites for direct citizen participation**. Thus, the right of citizens to participate in governance and to find solutions for important local issues is legalized through local referendums, general meetings of residents, petitions, local discussions, public assessment of urban development projects, environment impact assessments, discussion on investment projects, programs and plans for the sustainable development of settlements.

Nevertheless, the legislation does not establish sufficiently clear, specific and efficient mechanisms for the practical implementation of citizen participation. For instance, it excludes the possibility to hold a national referendum on the request of citizens. This right belongs exclusively to the National Assembly³⁸ when requested by one-quarter of parliamentarians, by the Council of Ministers or by the President³⁹. On the other hand, the minimum limits for the holding of local referendums, general meetings of residents and petitions are excessively high. The initiation of such activities must be supported by at least one-quarter of the population of a certain municipality, mayoralty or district. The Municipal Council is entitled to reject the holding of a local referendum if the request has been made by less than one-half of the voters⁴⁰. Some of the regulations related to the holding of general meetings of residents and the petitions are even more restrictive. If the mayor of a certain municipality decides that a decision of the general meeting of residents is not in the interest of the municipality, he has the right to stop its execution and to refer the matter to the Municipal Council even when the decision is supported by more than 50 percent of the population⁴¹ by open balloting. Similarly, petitions only have the nature of suggestions addressed to the Municipal Council. For the holding of a petition, it must be initiated by at least one-

 $^{^{38} \} By way of comparison, 50,000 \ persons \ can \ initiate \ a \ national \ referendum \ in \ Switzerland, which \ has \ a \ population \ of \ 6,722,900.$

³⁹ Article 6 of the Referendum Act

⁴⁰ Article 23, paragraph 2 of the Referendum Act (RA)

⁴¹ Article 48 of RA

quarter of the voters; the petition can only oblige the Municipal Council to consider the citizen suggestion⁴².

The legislation does not sufficiently regulate the role of citizen participation. For instance, it is not clear which is the stage of the development of an urban plan when citizens must be consulted - during the planning itself or on the point of final approval. The situation is similar in respect of projects and initiatives related to the protection of the environment, the regional development and the territorial organization. If the respective authorities and experts request the opinion of citizens, this is done as late as the last stage when corrections are practically impossible. Even then, citizens are represented through NGOs, because the authorities prefer to deal with institutions and experts. Therefore, this is the other main weakness of **the** legislation - it interprets public discussions as discussions between institutions, and not as a debate between citizens and government. To quote an example, the Territorial Organization Act regulates the participation of NGOs in the expert councils at national and local levels - the Union of Architects, the Chamber of Architects, the Association of Urbanists or the Housing Construction Chamber. However, the legislation contains no explicit norm concerning the public discussion of projects. The discussion remains at the expert level and may be carried out with the participation of citizens only if so desired by the local authorities or the investor.

Access to public information is an extremely important condition for the promotion of informed and efficient citizen participation. A part of the information kept by public institutions is directly related to the health, environment, public order and security of citizens. If state agencies and local government bodies create obstacles to access to information collected and kept by them, they obstruct human activities and make them more expensive. When information is kept for official use only, the administration raises a justified suspicion

and mistrust in governance. Alternatively, the unrestricted access to information improves the efficiency and the legitimacy of governance, expanding free choice opportunities and facilitating citizen participation. Thus, the adoption of the Access to Public Information Act by the 38th National Assembly in June 2000 is an important step forward to the devolution of power to citizens. However, even though it creates the required rules for governance transparency and allows for informed citizen participation, the practical application of this act is still hampered by administrative and regulatory obstacles. The existing legal framework must be refined so that citizens may see the real results of their participation. Nevertheless, in spite of the legislative imperfections, the main obstacles to the inclusion of citizens into governance have a different nature.

THE PERCEPTION OF BARRIERS FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

When asked why they would not participate in citizen actions, the majority of young people aged between 16 and 25 reply most frequently⁴³ that such activities simply do not interest them. But, after this really authentic youthful response comes the actual reason for the lack of interest - "*I do not want to participate because nobody listens to us*".

The representative survey for the entire population elicits similar results (Table 3.1). Adult respondents reply less frequently that they are not interested in the listed citizen practices, but the main reason for non-participation is the same – nobody will hear us (85.6%). Therefore, the main argument for non-participation is based on doubts whether the eventual participation will lead to efficient results.

What is more substantial, though, is that this doubt increases among the socially disadvantaged layers of society: 92.2 % of unemployed and 92.3 % of ethnic minorities have no citizen practices, *because they believe that nobody will hear them*, as compared to

⁴² Article 54, paragraph 1 of RA

 $^{^{43}\,}Study\,of\,ASA-Dotcho\,Mihailov, commissioned\,by\,UNDP, Representative\,Youth\,Sample\,(aged\,16-25), 2001$

Table 3.1

Reasons for non-participation in	citizer	actions	: (percent o	f "Yes" an	swers)	
	Sex		Ethnic identity		Experimental sample	Total
	Male	Female	Bulg	Other		
No one will hear us	87.2	84.6	84.0	92.3	27.7	85.6
There is a point when such activities are misappropriated by a few persons for their own interest	77.3	73.0	72.9	82.7	62.8	75.0
There are not enough people to join us	71.3	71.6	68.5	82.6	46.3	71.5
I do not think my opinion is valid for the other people - people have very different interests	66.4	74.4	69.6	79.3	56.8	71.5
We do not feel competent to influence the administration	71.0	71.6	66.0	91.2	33.3	71.3
There is no institution (or intermediary) to present our ideas to the administration	71.0	67.5	67.0	77.2	40.0	69.2
We do not know how to get organized	63.6	65.3	61.3	78.8	40.5	64.9
The administration should ask me instead of my going there	55.5	56.8	53.0	67.9	31.0	55.9
I do not know where I should go	52.6	51.1	47.9	66.9	11.9	51.7
I am not interested in such activities	48.8	48.1	44.5	62.8	5.1	48.4

85 % of private businessmen and 84.0 % of ethnic Bulgarians. In this respect, the distrust to the *audibility* of citizen participation do not only erect the highest barriers in front of citizen practices; such doubts discourage those layers of society who should be particularly heard and who need participation most of all.

The other most frequently quoted reasons for the lack of citizen practices are that such practices are misappropriated by a few for their own personal interest (75%), lack of competencies (71.3%), lack of support by other people (71.5%) and lack of certainty that the personal opinion coincides with common interests (71.5%). The lack of an institution, which should serve as a mediator for citizen participation is indicated comparatively less frequently. Here we face again the following, somewhat contradictory but logical, argument for non-participation: On the one hand, I will not participate because someone else will profit from this, and on the other hand -I will not participate, because we have no common interests and there are not enough people to support me. Such attitudes lighten the expectation that "the others must take into account my opinion and support it, without privatizing it or making profit out of it".

Consequently, another barrier to participation is the aggressive individualism and the lack of consensual attitudes. **Even if the government listens to the**

suggestions of citizens and seeks a citizen partnership, the citizens themselves would face the difficulties of finding a consensus. Nevertheless, the chances of reaching a consensus are much higher if citizens believe that their participation will lead to tangible results and to a meaningful change in their everyday lives. The result of citizen participation by itself can generate a culture of dialogue and communication in search of acceptable compromise. It is also

Box 3.1

THE DIFFICULTIES TO REACH A CONSENSUS AMONG CITIZENS:

At one of the sessions of the Tryavna Municipal Forum, a proposal was made to reconstruct an old historical street. The project envisaged the renewal of the infrastructure and the replacement of the old stone slates with pavement blocks. The restoration could have been supported financially both by the Swiss government and by the "Beautiful Bulgaria" 1 project. However, a group of citizens opposed the reconstruction of the ancient street, because the slates were a symbol of the character and the spirit of ancient Tryavna. The supporters of the reconstruction insisted that the slates were not authentic, but installed during the 1960s and that it was more important to be able to walk on the street. The attempts to reach a consensual and mutually acceptable decision were unsuccessful. The Municipal Council postponed the discussion, deciding to commission a new architectural design for the reconstruction of the street. In this way, the opportunity to renovate one of the most attractive places of Tryavna was missed. Nevertheless, both citizens and local authorities saw clearly that the important decisions for the town must be made based upon public discussions, the final responsibility being still borne by the Municipal Council.

indicative that 71.3 % of respondents have had no citizen practices, because they do not have the knowledge and skills to influence the administration. A part of this is due precisely to the lack of experience, but it also raises the issue of the so-called "citizen education" mentioned above.

ANONYMOUS OR MEDIATED PARTICIPATION

Table 3.2 shows that the most appropriate ways for citizen opinion to reach the government are referendums (68.7 %, very appropriate), elections (68.2 %), collective proposals on behalf of large groups of citizens (42.3%) and representative surveys (40.1 %). This data confirms the high expectations for participation in referendums and shows that the individual impact on governance is still understood as anonymous and passive voting. Active individual forms of participation, such as "presenting my opinion myself" are evaluated as very appropriate by as little as 20.9 % of respondents and score even lower than such collective forms of participation as public meetings (36.0 %, very appropriate).

Therefore, while the general public has a preference for the individual form of participation (referenda, submission of information, etc.), it is not willing to submit such information in person. For the majority of respondents (42.3 %) it is more appropriate to *submit suggestions on behalf of a*

large group of people, for example on behalf of 7,000 persons, than to present such a proposal in person. The main argument here may be that the citizen will not be heard alone. Indeed, the only reason for non-participation⁴⁵, which significantly² correlates with the attitude not to present one's personal opinion to the government is that "nobody will listen to me" - 47.8 % of those who share this doubt at the same time consider that presenting one's personal opinion is not very appropriate.

This means that citizen participation in fact needs mediation - despite the fact that individual forms of participation are no more favored than collective ones. This mediation is necessary most of all for citizen participation to be effective. This raises the issue of the legitimacy of mediating citizen organizations and the challenges in front of them.

THE PLACE AND ROLE OF NGOS

The survey responses make it clear that NGOs are the least desired mediator for the transmittal of citizens' opinions to the government (17.4 %) or the municipality (16.1 %). At the same time, the least frequently reported (3.3 %) and the least desired (14.6%) citizen practice is participation in NGO projects. What is then the place and the role of NGOs in Bulgaria?

According to existing data, more than 1,200 non-

Table 3.2

Can you assess the suitability of the following routes through which your opinion may reach the government?									
*	Not very appropriate	Reasonably appropriate	Very appropriate						
A representative survey	10.7 %	49.2 %	40.1 %						
To provide the possibility of a certain minimum number of people (for instance, 7,000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly	16.6 %	41.1 %	42.3 %						
Referendum	7.2 %	24.1 %	68.7 %						
Protests	26.8 %	44.8 %	28.4 %						
Elections	5.7 %	26.0 %	68.2 %						
Public meetings	18.1 %	45.9 %	36.0 %						
Present my opinion personally	45.1 %	34.0 %	20.9 %						
Act through a NGO	37.9 %	44.7 %	17.4 %						

⁴⁴A joint project of MLSP and UNDP

⁴⁵ Look at the distribution of answers to Q33 in the annex.

⁴⁶ Significance of Chi square = 0.054

Table 3.3

Tubic 3.3											
How do you assess the activities of existing NGOs (associations, foundations)?											
		Age				Social st	atus			Experi-	
	∠ - 28	30-55	>-56	Student	Emplo-	Own	Pensi-	Unemp-	Other		Total
	\-\	39-33	/-)0	Student	yed	business	oner	loyed	Other	sample	
Positively - they defend people's interests	13.0	13.9	9.8	10.6	15.5	12.0	10.4	8.4	13.2	39.9	12.0
Mixed feelings - some are useful, some	37.4	36.1	22.7	36.2	41.5	50.0	20.7	26.2	36.8	53.1	31.5
are not	37.1	50.1	22.7	30.2	11.0	70.0	20.7	20.2	50.0	7.7.1	31.5
Negatively - they defend their own	14.1	17.1	14.3	14.9	15.3	16.0	14.6	14.7	21.1	56	15.2
interests only				. ,	_	10.0	1 1.0			5.0	19.2
I can not say - I do not know what is this	35.5	32.9	53.2	38.3	27.7	22.0	54.3	50.8	28.9	1.4	41.2

governmental organizations function in Bulgaria and the BULSTAT-registered ones are about 9,000. The NGO sector is growing not only because of the availability of a *solvent and low-risk market* as represented by donors, but also because of the growing unemployment among intellectuals. From its very origin this market is an *export of services*. Therefore, the NGOs sector has not emerged in a natural way, as a response to internal citizen needs; it complies with an external demand, articulated in the donors' aspiration to stimulate civic society in Bulgaria.

Consequently, the sector generates a competition, which sometimes follows the requirements of the donors instead of the target groups. It happens that the winners are those organizations, which are most able to capture (intuitively, upon training or through direct personal contacts) the donors' understanding about the priorities of the sector. Sometimes NGOs become vulnerable to their own errors, prejudices or ideologies, both donors and the NGOs are not interested in a real assessment of their efficiency, because their existence depends on the reporting of successful results⁴⁷.

On the other hand, respondents assess the lack of an efficient institution, which represents the interests of citizens as a serious problem (69.2 %). Therefore, the need for sustainable and structured citizen participation mechanisms continues to exist⁴⁸. The issue is whether the existing NGO mediation is able to remove the main barriers leading to non-participation, namely, the doubts concerning

efficiency and the apprehensions that somebody might misappropriate the initiative.

Table 3.3 shows that only 12.0 % of respondents positively evaluate NGO activities, while 41.2 % *do not know what it is or cannot say*. The positive assessment of NGOs only reaches 17.7 % among respondents with more than two citizen practices and to 22.3 % among those who wish to have more citizen practices. This means that **the numerous non-governmental organizations registered in Bulgaria cannot represent civic society by themselves and that they do not efficiently encourage citizen participation.** On the other hand, there are many organizations that are strongly engaged in important activities without being tied

Box 3.2

A PARTICIPATION-BASED ORGANIZATION

The ROMA — LOM foundation is one of the very few good NGO examples, for which the participation of target groups is not just ideology but also real practice. Thus, for instance, one of the projects of the organization is to unite Bulgarian and Roma children in a common football team. There is a Bulgarian child in this team coming from another town in order to play football together with the Roma children in Lom. This team is perceived not as a Roma team but as the team of the town of Lom. A Board of Trustees comprising the parents of Bulgarian and Roma children governs the football team.

The local authorities are directly engaged in the activities by offering the free use of the premises, of the stadium and of agricultural land to be managed by the organization. The applicants for a permanent job in the organization must first pass the test of directly addressing the immediate and everyday problems of the Roma community. Ensuring the participation of its different target groups, the organization has created 500 new jobs in one of the towns with the highest unemployment in Bulgaria.

⁴⁷ "Status of the NGO sector in Bulgaria", 2000, ASA report, Dotcho Mihailov, commissioned by Inter-Assist, Sofia

⁴⁸ The survey Citizenship and Transition: The NGOs' Status in Bulgaria, made by the Information Center - NGO Against Poverty, commissioned by UNDP 2000, reaches to similar conclusions

by international donor programs and who accumulate funds from local small and mediumsized businesses.

Box 3.3

WOMEN ACTING TO PROMOTE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

For more than a century, Bulgarian women have been fighting persistently for and have been increasingly successful in gaining greater access to education, public work, constitutional guarantees, to the entitlement to vote and run for elective office, and to receive protection for maternity. Well educated (according to 1999 official data, 28.2% of working women in Bulgaria have an academic background, and another 55.1% are secondary school or specialized secondary school graduates), and active on the labor market (according to official data for 1999, women were 46.3% of the workforce employed in the national economy), women are a valuable economic resource and have a huge public potential. Recently, their demands for greater equality materialized in the bill on gender equality, aimed to complement the existing legislation by curbing gender-based discrimination and promoting equal chances for public fulfillment of women and men.

The gender equality bill was drafted through the broad participation of various government agencies, over 30 NGOs, numerous scientists, journalists, and free practicing lawyers. This forum ensured a valuable exchange of opinions, information and practices, and proved highly constructive in conceptualizing the bill and working out its mechanism of application. Never before in Bulgarian lawmaking has the drafting of a bill been the result of such a powerful synergy of public forces, or such active involvement of women's NGOs.

Examples of women's participation in public life and their citizen initiative abound. One of them is the partnership between Bulgarian Women's Union with the Municipality of Silistra, local businessmen and NGOs who united their efforts to renovate the local Danube Park and make it an attractive place for sport, leisure and educational activities. The reconstruction of children's playgrounds and the cutting of park allays, a park map, park celebrations, students' survey of the park past and present, and environmental seminars with local schools, have engaged the community in a diversity of activities for local development. Partnership between local government and citizens was strengthened and innovative solutions were implemented in the joint work. The Danube Park Internet website makes possible citizen control and dissemination of information about park related activities. The project was supported within the Danube River Initiative Program implemented by the United States Agency for International Development/Foundation for Local Government Reform.

In spite of their weaknesses, non-governmental organizations have accumulated an organizational experience to mobilize and structure citizen **participation**. The *Non-profit Legal Persons Act*, adopted in 2000 and in force from the beginning of 2001, has largely overcome the shortcomings of the previous legal framework and has created a modern statutory regime for such organizations. The act acknowledges the right of NGOs to engage in income-raising activities and creates prerequisites to end the dependence of the sector on benefactors and external donors. At the same time, the Act regulates the non-interference of the state administration in the NGOs organizational life and structure, as well as their internal organizational autonomy.

The need of NGO mediation is based also on the institutional nature of governance, which citizens would wish to influence. When solving specific problems, decision-makers want to negotiate specific responsibilities with legitimate institutions and not with single citizens⁴⁹. Actual sustainability of the sector will emerge when citizens recognize the NGOs as their own organizations. The main challenge for NGOs is to mediate, so that citizens are able to solve their problems by themselves, and not to solve the problems instead of the citizens. In the reverse, such organizations tend to encapsulate themselves into an NGO community, which addresses social issues that the general public is not even aware about.

As a whole, the NGO sector is largely "a social economy", based on projects financed by foreign donors. Such projects may solve isolated social problems or influence separate policies. However, when such activities and results are not achieved through citizen participation, first, they are not efficient, second, not responding to actual needs, and third, the legitimacy of the citizen is replaced by the legitimacy of an institution (NGO). In this way, the State initiates partnerships with institutions of its own kind, isolating the immediate voice of the citizen in the social dialogue.

⁴⁹ For instance, the Krasno Selo municipality in Sofia is willing to interact with the condominium councils in housing estates, but in their position of legal bodies and not as citizens. However, the presence of citizen institutions by itself is no proof of legitimacy. The municipality of Sofia is confronted with the presence of a large number of nongovernmental organizations pretending to represent the problems of Roma in the city. Confused by the contradictory internal relations between Roma organizations, the Municipality wishes to negotiate with a single consolidated and legitimate Roma institution. (In an interview of Sudhanshu Soshi and Dotcho Mihailov with a Deputy Mayor of the Sofia Minicipality)

THE OTHER, FORGOTTEN OR NEW, MEDIATORS

The change of 1989 brought in new organizations (political parties, NGOs, business organizations), but also revived the former formally existing organizations: the trade unions, the Chitalishta, the associations for the protection of disabled people and other traditional Bulgarian institutions.

The Professional Organizations

After the start of the changes, the old state-run trade union began to share its influence with the "Podkrepa" Confederation and subsequently, other trade unions, such as "Edinstvo" and "Promyana". Organizations of the employers were also created, as well as business organizations protecting the interests of larger and smaller entrepreneurs. Thus, social rights became a subject of constant bargaining. The principle of tripartite negotiations was introduced in Bulgaria through the Tripartite Commission of Social Partnership, which is trying with a variable success - to solve emerging controversies. But large trade unions became a meaningful element in the political play as well. Strikes and civil disobedience turned gradually into a frequent phenomenon for Bulgaria. Nevertheless, trade unions usually appear on the scene when crisis is already there and not to prevent it before that. Appearing on the political scene, the trade unions exchange a part of their labor **union legitimacy for political influence.** Public opinion is under the impression that the syndicates may counteract more efficiently governments than employers.

The Chitalishta

The traditional institutions such as the Chitalishta and the school boards of trustees (composed by teachers and parents) appear as ones of the most efficient "social and solidarity networks" that determine the social capital.

A pilot project of the Ministry of Culture, supported by UNDP and the Government of the Netherlands, demonstrated that the Chitalishte institution - one of the oldest forms of Bulgarian citizenship - has the potential to adapt to the new globalizing reality and to transform into a center of citizen partnership and participation. The Chitalishte institutions and the school boards of trustees are typical grassroots organizations just because they express important everyday needs of the people.

In contrast to specialized non-governmental mediators, the Chitalishte institutions can bring together a wide circle of citizen interests and activities. Nevertheless, as all other institutions, they can also be "exclusive" organizations. There are cases when Chitalishte Boards of Trustees have limited citizen access to the General meeting of Chitalishte members. At the same time, the age profile of

Table 3.4

TD (1 1 1 1 1	1 10 .0	• D C.	x 7 11
Practices and attitudes	towards mediating org	ganizations: Percent of "	Yes" answer
	Which of the following organizations would you generally prefer as an intermediary in order to give a chance to people like you to influence local authorities?	Which of these organizations exist in your town or village?	Have you joined any of the following organizations?
A branch of a political party	29.0	72.9	8.1
A local mass -media	43.9	58.7	
NGOs	26.2	36.9	4.6
The Chitalishte	29.1	76.7	4.8
A trade union	30.4	53.0	10.5
Professional business organization	26.8	33.2	2.3
Other	6.3	5.3	6.4

Chitalishte members does not always correspond to modern challenges. However, the Chitalishte institution has an enormous and uniquely Bulgarian citizen potential.

The Socio-Demographic Profile of Mediating Organizations

It is interesting to point out that the sociodemographic profile⁵⁰ of mediating organizations does not always correspond to the organizations' objectives. For example, the members of the trade unions are more often officials (27.4) %) than workers (16.5%) and more often employees of state-owned companies (32.4%), than employees of private companies (13.3%). Trade union members have considerably higher incomes than people who are not members of trade union organizations do. Overall, trade union members look as if they are middle-up level servants rather than as underprivileged workers seeking protection.

Similarly, the socio-demographic profile of NGO members appears very similar to the profile of political party members. The only difference is that NGO members have higher incomes than political party members do. Of course, membership by itself does not

Box 3.4

THE PILOT PROJECT "CHITALISHTA"

In 1997 the Ministry of Culture and UNDP, supported by the Government of the Netherlands, started a pilot project aimed at promoting community development and participation through expanding the role and activities of the Chitalishta. The pilot project had two main objectives: (1) To broaden the role and expand the activities of the Chitalishta thus encouraging the empowerment of civil society in Bulgaria and promoting active participation at the local level; and (2) To build the capacities of the selected Chitalishta to ensure their survival and sustainability by engaging in income generating activities and by attracting other sources of finance.

For a period of three years (1997-2000) the project included 42 Chitalishta from all over the country. There were two main approaches to the pilot Chitalishta. The *first approach* was based on the formation of a new type of running the institution through the "Chitalishte management" education programme, aimed at overcoming the lack of expertise, awareness and sufficient qualification to cope with the new conditions. The *second approach* was introducing new activities and practices by means of sub-projects funding. A general requirement for the sub-projects was to stimulate the processes of civil participation and development at the local level by performing activities and delivering services in order to satisfy the specific needs of local communities. Over the three years 22 sub-projects were financed in different fields: local entrepreneurship, tourism, revival of local crafts, civic education, access to Internet, social integration of marginalized groups, protection of human rights.

The pilot Chitalishta developed new roles, practices and approaches to local development and participation that could be multiplied by the rest of the Chitalishte institutions throughout the country.

Such roles are:

- The role of the Chitalishte as an intermediary between local authorities and citizens and as a catalyst of civic participation
- The Chitalishte as an Internet center the project proved that the provision of Internet and computer services is particularly successful when linked to the specific vocational or educational activities of the institution.
- The expanded role of the Chitalishte as an educational and vocational center these activities have proved to be very successful when they respond to the local demand and when a good interaction with local authorities is achieved.
- The role of the Chitalishte as an information/administrative center these services are successful in smaller settlements where the Chitalishta are faced with a higher demand on behalf of the population and a lower competition.
- The emerging NGO identity the Chitalishte started to adopt elements and characteristics of the traditional NGOs. This would probably increase its financial stability. However, the specific identity of the Chitalishte, which is that of a locally rooted, lasting, cultural and civic awareness institution, should be preserved and further strengthened.

In the beginning of this year the Ministry of Culture, supported by USAID, the Government of the Netherlands and UNDP, started a three-year national programme for the development of the Chitalishta in the country.

⁵⁰ The data on the socio-demographic profile of the mediating organizations are indicative

Table 3.5

There is an independent Ombudsman institution in some countries addressed by citizens when their civic rights are affected, for example, the right to access to public information. Do you think Bulgaria needs this institution?

	Age			Incom	Total	
	<=38	39-55	>=56	<=240	>=241	Total
No - already there are enough institutions in Bulgaria	18.9 %	21.2 %	32.8 %	31.7 %	18.1 %	24.7 %
There is a need, but the Ombudsman must be really different from presently existing institutions	40.8 %	39.5 %	32.8 %	35.9 %	36.9 %	37.6%
There is a need, even if at the beginning it is not as effective as in other countries	40.3 %	39.2 %	34.3 %	32.4 %	45.0 %	37.7 %

tell about the potential of the institution to mediate citizen participation. Nonetheless, these organizations take collective decisions. The social experience of these decision-makers should comply with the social expectations addressed to the organizations.

The Potential of the Ombudsman Institution

In October 2000, an Ombudsman draft law was submitted to the National Assembly for consideration⁵¹. This institution has been introduced at the local level in several municipalities, including in Sofia since August 2001. The main objective of the

Ombudsman is to guarantee the rights and freedoms of private law subjects, monitoring the governance of social processes and supervising the executive power activities. The prerogatives of the Ombudsman exclude the supreme state bodies (National Assembly, President, Constitutional Court and Supreme Judiciary Council), the activities related to the execution of the judiciary powers of the Court, the Public Prosecutor and the Judicial Investigation, as well as national security and foreign policy relations.

Table 3.5 shows that the majority of respondents (37.7 %) believe that the Ombudsman Institution *is*

Box 3.5

PREROGATIVES OF THE OMBUDSMAN. PROCEDURES

The Ombudsman must have certain prerogatives: to consider petitions addressed in any form to him/her by citizens, legal persons and informal organizations; to carry out investigations and inspections when a specific case has been brought to his attention; to address proposals and recommendations to all public bodies and persons subject to monitoring concerning the respect of rights and freedoms, as well as concerning the elimination of the consequences resulting from the violation of certain rights of freedoms and of the reasons having led to this; to mediate between the bodies and the persons in public power, on the one hand, and the concerned individuals, on the other hand, for the elimination of committed violations of their rights and freedoms and to conciliate their standpoints; to require and to receive timely, complete and accurate information from all bodies and persons subject to monitoring, including attendance at their meetings, discussions and other forums; to express publicly opinions on cases referred to him; to inform the bodies of the public prosecution, whenever as a result of his investigations and inspections, indications of a committed crime are established; to formulate and to submit an annual report to the National Assembly; to compile special reports, if required, as well as to inform the National Assembly about particularly grave instances of disrespect and violation of rights on a case-by-case basis.

The prerogatives of the Ombudsman do not compete with the prerogatives of institutional bodies. The Ombudsman does not have the constitutional bodies means of enforcement at his disposal. He does not act as a defense counsel in the legal sense of the word, nor does he provide a constitutionality control. His mechanisms of influence reside directly in the spheres of morality, authority and public awareness. It is envisaged that the Ombudsman will exercise his powers along extremely simplified and informal procedures.

Upon receipt of a complaint or a warning, the Ombudsman is required to inform the applicant within a certain period of time whether the complaint is accepted for consideration. The Ombudsman appoints local mediators. The operational costs of local mediators will be covered by the budget of the Ombudsman. The local mediators will work in co-operation with and under the methodical guidance of the Ombudsman.

⁵¹ The first draft was submitted by Ivan Sungarski, Dimitar Abadjiev, Annelia Toshkova, Alexander Pindikov and Ivan Dimov. A second draft on the same subject was submitted to the National Assembly by the parliamentarians Lyuben Kornezov and Atanas Merdzhanov in December 2000.

necessary, even if at the beginning it is not as effective as in other countries. The positive expectations to the Ombudsman are particularly high among young people, private businesses, employees of private companies, residents of larger towns, respondents intending to vote in the 2001 parliamentarian elections and, naturally, among respondents with more citizen practices and stronger civic participation attitudes. With regard to the need for an Ombudsman institution, there is a striking unanimity of all active socio-demographic groups, including businessmen and active citizens. The attitudes about where to locate Ombudsman institution are relatively more controversial. The general understanding is that it is more needed at local level (49.1 %) than at central level (30.7 %).

In general, the Ombudsman is in a position to facilitate the access of citizens to governmental bodies, easing at the same time the workload of the judiciary system and the state administration. The personality of the Ombudsman is of central importance for his or her efficiency. The

Ombudsman cannot impose sanctions and acts mainly through his or her authority. Therefore, the politicization of the election of the Ombudsman by the National Assembly could harm the institution. In case an unsuitable person were elected, the strengths of the institution may well turn into a disadvantage. The greatest risk of the Ombudsman institution consists in its eventual inefficiency - if it becomes the next institution, disregarded by citizens. Therefore, its introduction should go along with a wide information campaign. In fact, the best advertising will be the follow-up of successful practices. In addition, the introduction of the institution at national level should be preceded by an in-depth analysis of the experience accumulated in Sofia and in other cities with similar practices.

THE MEDIA AS A MEDIATOR FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The media are the most preferred mediator for citizen participation, particularly at the local

Box 3.6

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEDIA AS A SPACE FOR PARTICIPATION

At the end of the 1980s, the Bulgarian mass media was totally unprepared to confront the challenges of overwhelming social change. Their place at the time was occupied by party-directed programs, which in their substance were a political instrument of the power. It was not until Mihail Gorbachev's reforms that timid notes of criticism began to appear in the press and on the national radio (for instance, in the $_12+3$ " program). Newly emerging opposition newspapers were immediately transformed into organs of one political party position or another. During the beginning of the transition, there was no differentiation between commentary and propaganda, between direct political criticism and independent analysis. During this period, newly emerging media were not substantially different from the manifestations of immediate protest on the street.

Under such conditions in 1991, the tabloid style of Bulgarian mass media emerged — the "24 Hours" newspaper. "24 Hours" represented a professional, cultural and even grammatical standard, which reflects largely the main features of public life in Bulgaria. During the next period, from 1992 to 1996, the mass media gradually discovered smaller areas for direct confrontation between the heirs of the pre-1989 regime and the newly born political party subjects. During this period, however, the mass media were still unable to build their own identity as a space for debate on the actual problems of the transition. In 1997, the mass media raised for the first time in a clear and unambiguous way the "good governance" issue. Doing this, the media obtained for the first time an authentic inherent citizen political status.

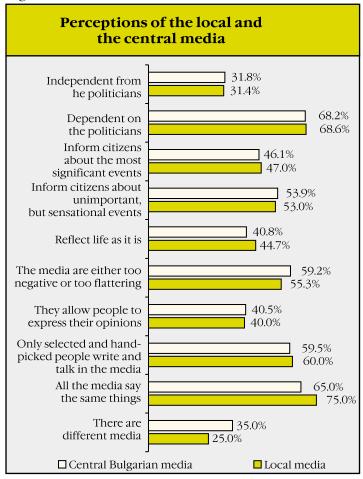
However, this development did not prove sustainable. During 1998, we witnessed a protracted conflict related to the management of the National Television, which again unveiled the nature of the "media - state" and "media – society" relationships in Bulgaria. Substantially the same conflict, but in a much more dramatic form developed in 2000 - 2001 in respect of the management of the Bulgarian National Radio. When put into a pre-electoral situation in 2001, the mass media (particularly the electronic ones) regress to their old inclination to identify with the party slogan of the day. The agenda of the media reverts once more to the topics of the past. In the final analysis, the politicizing of the election of the director of the Bulgarian National Radio provoked journalistic protests, which led to the revocation of the decision of the National Council on Radio and Television. However, the new user of a citizen position and independent analyses had already emerged.

level. They can be mediators in the most straightforward meaning of the term, providing the space for authentic citizen opinions and recommendations to the authorities or by expressing their own independent citizen position. Does this mean that the media are perceived as neutral or independent?

The expectations that the mass media should play a prime role as a mediator are understandable and easy to explain. On the one hand, when the citizen is deprived of meaningful opportunities to influence the current political process, he or she would tend to perceive the media as a natural ally against the political elite. On the other hand, the media have been playing a key role in public space ever since the beginning of the transition. They do not only inform but they also form public opinion about the transition process and the actors engaged in it. Here is the source of the natural expectation that they would assume their assigned role of a "fourth power". The essential condition for the media to be an intermediary is that it is not weighed down to heavily political associations and they are perceived as a trustworthy and objective source of information.

Figure 3.1 shows that the central media still do not comply with citizens' requirements. The dependence of the central media on politicians seems most critical: 68.2 % of respondents believe that the media are sooner dependent, than independent (31.8 %) on political influences. The media seem politically vulnerable, particularly to people from the private business (74.5 %). This perception increases among respondents with more citizen practices and with stronger attitudes

Figure 3.1



for citizen participation, reaching up to 83 % for the experimental sample.

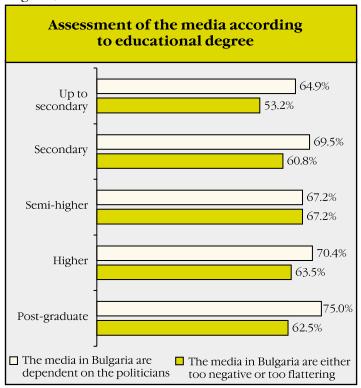
People's assessment of how susceptible to political influence the media are, is strongly dependent on their political affiliation, starting with 50 % amond MRF supporters, to 57.9 % among UDF supporters and finally to 73.1 % amond the supporters of NMS II and BSP.

It is particularly important that this perception increases

Table 3.6

Media assessment according to political affiliation									
	NMS II	UDF	BSP	MRF	Other	Undecided	Total		
The media in Bulgaria are dependent on the politicians	73.1 %	57.9 %	73.1 %	50.0 %	66.7 %	72.2 %	68.7 %		
The media in Bulgaria inform citizens about insignificant but sensational events.	60.4 %	47.9 %	49.0 %	15.6%	51.9%	57.3 %	53.2 %		
The media in Bulgaria are either too negative or too flattering	66.7 %	62.7 %	65.4 %	21.9 %	55.6%	61.6 %	61.7 %		
Only selected people write and talk in the media	60.1 %	47.2 %	65.0 %	31.3 %	63.0 %	62.0 %	57.8 %		
Most of the media say the same things	69.2 %	64.1 %	68.0 %	68.8 %	59.3 %	69.5 %	67.8 %		

Figure 3.2



along with the higher educational status of respondents. (Figure 3.2). It seems that during an election year the media were inclined to politicize.

Nevertheless, if we put ourselves in the place of the media, the dependence on the market will seem much more substantial than political dependence. Those media products that are able to attract a maximum number of customers satisfy best the "Sales" criteria. It is the current moment that is important; the "here and now" event; not the event itself but its reflection, often distorted, if this can make it more marketable.

The dependence of the media on "current sales" is a normal phenomenon in any market economy. Still, the emerging market economy differs from the stabilized one by the lack of compensatory mechanisms, which can make the long-term perspective possible. In fact, we should not expect that the media could be independent from the market or politically neutral. Neutrality is an abstract notion in the rapidly changing political and economic environment. As Ikeda writes, "it is very difficult to arrive at a real neutrality by combining the left-hand and the righthand halves of a certain problem and by cutting the resulting sum in the middle ... If the mass media adopt a position somewhere in between the people and the government, then - even though this may look as neutrality - in fact it is not so."52

Box 3.7

THE RELATIONS OF THE MEDIA WITH THE INSTITUTIONS

The printed and the electronic media have built up two different models of openness. Overall, the so-called "independent" press is anti-institutionally oriented, while the Bulgarian National Radio (BNR) and particularly the Bulgarian National Television (BNT) have created their informational and journalistic strategies as a continuation of those of the official institutions. The new political elite has been largely produced by the BNT, which provided the opportunity for its self-introduction and self-description.

The bipolar orientation "for" or "against" the institutions maintained the media activity in a latent crisis, which substituted the media message for the media presence. Politicians more than anybody else, were for a long time preoccupied with remaining on the agenda of the media, rather than with why they are in it. Thus, the media openness began to work in a self-destructive mode. The crisis was transformed from a latent into an effective one during the parliamentary elections when the public opinion sided with those for whom the media worked least. In this way, the public opinion showed a very poor assessment for the ability of the media to influence it.

The dominating media strategies have reached the point where they can only change – newspaper stories must improve their quality, while radio and TV accounts must improve their independence. For this purpose, a better media self-regulation 53 and legislative changes 54 are needed. It will be central whether the new ruling politicians will adopt a novel approach in their attitude to the mass media and whether they will be able to relinquish effectively (for the first time in transition history) the use of legal and paralegal instruments to influence them.

⁵² Arnold Toynbee and Daisaku Ikeda, Choose Life, Dialogue, 1995, p. 174

⁵³ During the BNR crisis, a large part of the professional community there showed a will to interfere in the media regulation in favor of the freedom of speech.

⁵⁴ The parliamentary committee on the media is already actively discussing the forthcoming amendments to the Radio and Television Act, while the chairman of the committee declared that such amendments are a parliamentary priority.

According to our data, the destructive mode and sensation seeking do not dominate anymore (at least not totally) the information demand. Table 3.7 shows that only 5.1 % look first at the criminal chronicle and respectively 3.2 % look first at celebrity gossip. The search for political news dominates over all other information (30.8 %) and reaches up to 52.4 % for the experimental sample.

The emotional model of the "bad news" hardly corresponds to the new citizen demand. This existing information supply does not correspond to the rational and analytical demand of the new users.

The media can be citizen mediators in three ways at least. First, they are the traditional and natural stage for the expression of authentic citizen opinion, secondly, they are the national mediator between NGOs and rulers, and thirdly, they are the source of impartial and autonomous information to be used for the building of an independent citizen position. Thus, the media can contribute to better governance "where conflicts are open and imply agreement"55.

The "well-informed citizen" looks for different and well-justified arguments about the substantial problems of governance. He looks for a

Table 3.7

when you read a centr		, where do you
usually	y look first?	
(Open	n question)	
	National	Experimental
	survey	sample
News	30.8 %	52.4 %
Sports	10.8 %	4.9 %
Celebrities	3.2 %	
Horoscopes	3.0 %	
Advertisements	2.1 %	1.4 %
Business information	3.2 %	4.2 %
Household advice	.7 %	
No preferences	3.1 %	6.3 %
Criminal diary	5.1 %	2.1 %
Humour	.4 %	
TV programs, weather	3.5 %	1.4 %
Culture	1.1 %	4.2 %
Other	1.6 %	1.4 %

When you read a central newspaper where do you

smaller number of ready-made confirmations or denunciations of the opinion of someone else and for more evidence needed for the building of an individual citizen position.

INTERACTION BETWEEN LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Citizen participation in governance presumes a good

Box 3.8

ESTABLISHMENT OF A MODEL MUNICIPALITY IN RAZLOG

In January 2001 the Municipality of Razlog, supported by the Government of the Netherlands and UNDP, started the implementation of a three-year pilot project for the establishment of a model for municipal governance. The project will focus on all the key aspects of *good local governance* and will build on already established practices while, at the same time, testing new approaches in areas that require the development of innovative mechanisms and instruments. Its main objectives include:

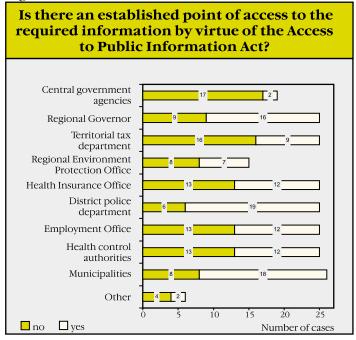
- Enhancing the municipal long-term development planning
- Improving the efficiency, transparency, accountability and responsiveness of the municipal administration and the service delivery
- · Promoting the effective and constructive interaction between local authorities, civil society and private sector
- Enhancing the vertical interaction between the municipal, regional and central authorities
- Fostering international and cross-border cooperation between local authorities.

The primary beneficiaries of the project will be the local authorities and the local community in Razlog. The Municipality will be supported with the necessary knowledge, skills, management techniques and practices to better assume its responsibilities and functions in a more efficient, transparent, cost-effective and responsive way. The citizens of Razlog will be encouraged to participate more directly in the local decision-making and to have their voice heard in the formulation of the policies that affect their everyday life.

At the end of the project the new decentralized approaches for improved municipal governance as well as the mechanisms and practices for vertical interaction and international cooperation, established in Razlog, will be largely disseminated and publicized through the existing national and international municipal networks. In this way all Bulgarian municipalities will be able to benefit from the project as they will be provided with a tested and operating good practices for replication.

⁵⁵ Paul Riqueur, The Language of Dreams, 1997, p. 16

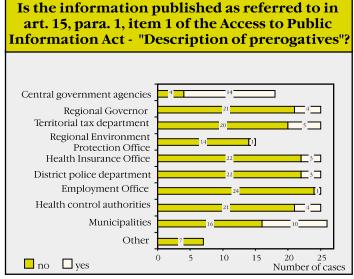
Figure 3.3



Source: Database, Access to Information Program, 2001

interaction between the authorities themselves at the local and the central level. At the very least this is because the power of these authorities has been delegated by the citizens. Box 3.9 shows that the interaction between the central and the local governments is accelerating. However, in most cases this interaction is initiated by the local authorities or by intermediaries, for instance by the National

Figure 3.4



Source: Database, Access to Information Program, 2001

Association of Municipalities in the Republic of Bulgaria /NAMRB/ and the Foundation for Local Government Reform /FLGR/. On the other hand, legislation related consultations are often held *post-factum* or at a late stage of legislative drafting. Inversely, the interaction is reported as more successful when local authorities are involved in legislative initiatives at an earlier stage. In this case the local government is more committed to the newly adopted legislation and to the common objectives of governance in general.

But the interaction between central government and local authorities frequently terminates with the adoption of the laws. The analyses made concerning the results of the application of new primary or secondary legislation related to municipalities are quite rare and mostly limited to their budgets. During the financial year 2000 - 2001 a significant deficit was formed in the budgets of many municipalities. The financial independence of municipalities is still limited uniquely to the establishment of the level of local levies, while there is no consensus on local taxes among the municipalities themselves because of their different socio-economic conditions. Nonetheless, the missing consensus between municipalities emphasizes even more the necessity to have a direct dialogue between central and local authorities. Involving the mayors in the dialogue on the formulation of the municipal budgets is of crucial importance.

In some cases the lack of consensus and dialogue leads to higher social tensions. Usually this happens in the spheres of shared competencies between the municipalities and the central government. As a whole, there are still no rules and regulations to delineate clearly the competencies of the state and the municipalities, most notably in the spheres of healthcare, education, social activities and infrastructure.

The interaction between the different levels of governance in Bulgaria is still dependent on the good will of the partners and is not based on established practices and systematic rules. What may be more substantial, however, is that **the direct parti-**

FORMS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

According to Article 9 of the Local Self-Government and Local Administration Act, the National Association of Municipalities in the Republic of Bulgaria /NAMRB/, where all municipalities are members, is the official speaker for the interests of local authorities and the partner of the government and the National Assembly. The Foundation for Local Government Reform /FLGR/ and the regional associations also play an important role in the dialogue between the central government and the municipalities. The interaction between the central government and the local authorities is manifested in:

- **Forming mixed working groups** composed by representatives of the central government and the local authorities for the formulation of drafts of statutory acts:
- Participation in the work of parliamentary commissions, presenting standpoints, generalized information, appraisal of the application effect on municipalities from legislative and administrative statutory acts. The Commission of local self-government, regional policies and public works is particularly open for partnership with local authorities, while representatives of NAMRB and FLGR and the regional associations of municipalities may participate in the discussions.
- Framework agreements, coordination procedures, protocols and informal contacts between NAMRB and various ministries.
- **Consultations and signing of annual protocols** between NAMRB and the Ministry of Finance on the interaction between the central state budget and municipality budgets, as well as on the mechanisms and the formula to establish the amounts of subsidies for each municipality.
- **Discussion forums**, organized mainly by the FLGR, at which issues of local self-government are discussed from the viewpoint of the various interested parties local and central authorities, Parliament, NGOs and business organizations.
- Participation of representatives of the NAMRB as **observers** in funds distributing money for municipal projects.
- **Day of Dialogue** regional discussions, where representatives of the regional administrations, ministries and Parliamentarians formulate specific proposals on important municipality issues
- Day of the Bulgarian Municipality with different topic coverage for each year.

cipation of citizens themselves is almost completely missing from the dialogue between central and local authorities. Citizen participation is mediated by the views of the authorities or of the NGOs about citizen interests.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The main objective of this chapter is to show how the different level and forms of citizen participation between elections determine specific types of citizen behavior during elections. With this objective in mind, we shall engage in a short retrospective look at political participation in Bulgaria since the beginning of the transition period. We shall differentiate participation in elections from other forms of political participation and we shall discuss the results of the latest parliamentary elections in June 2001 as an example of the interaction between the different forms of citizen participation. Before this, however, we shall consider the legal framework and prerequisites for political participation of citizens in Bulgaria.

LEGAL PREREQUISITES FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Presently, three electoral laws are valid in Bulgaria: for parliamentary elections, presidential elections and for the election of local self-government bodies. The laws are based on the constitutional principles of *universal*, *equal* and direct electoral right with secret balloting. The Constitution does not set electoral qualifications, that is, there are no additional conditions established for the access of citizens to balloting boxes. The analysis of the respective dispositions of the Constitution⁵⁶ shows that **they are democratic in substance and they conform with European standards.** The Constitution provides opportunities for different social groups, political and other social structures to be represented in elected bodies. Groups of citizens who are not

organized by political parties, or are not supporters of any party, can also propose their own independent candidates.

The main factors which determine the democratic character of the existing electoral system can be seen in a number of ways: in the real right of all voters to express freely their will as to who represents them in elected bodies; in the opportunity for the maximum number of voters to participate in the election and to have the smallest possible number of nonparticipating voters; each voter is entitled to one vote; the votes of all voters should have an equal weight for the election of the separate bodies; the number of votes cast for one place in Parliament should be relatively constant; the methodology of the distribution of mandates should not favor certain political forces at the expense of others; the legislation should guarantee the free expression of the will of voters; the presence of legal and social prerequisites for a normal pre-electoral campaign; equality of electoral subjects when using the campaigning media. Together with this, however, the electoral legislation contains a number of dispositions, which can be refined.

The proportional representation system for the distribution of mandates in accordance with the number of valid votes obtained by parties and coalitions is just and democratic. Still, the proportional election is party-based, the votes are cast for hard-fixed party lists where candidates are arranged by the party leadership and can not be transposed according to the preferences of the voter. The proportional system could be refined through the introduction of majoritarian elements that could increase the weight of the individual choice and could respond to the need to vote for personalities.

The proportional spirit of the electoral system can be preserved by the introduction of dynamic ballot lists, which might replace the fixed party lists. Such lists are compiled by party leaderships, but the voter is entitled to change the sequence of candidates. The

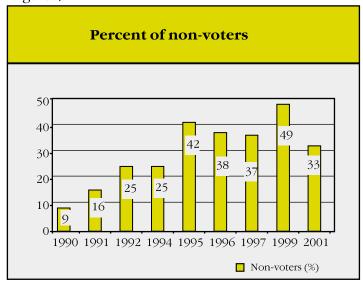
 $^{^{56}\,}Articles\,10,42,65,84$ - item 4,93,98 - item 1,138,etc.

voter can vote with the ballot paper of the respective party, but if he wishes, he may rearrange candidates. In this way, the voter can express his preferences for certain candidates out of the list. It is possible to allow the voter to change the entire sequence of candidates. However, most frequently the voter is entitled to rearrange only a few names from the list. Usually the number of possible changes depends on the number of parliamentarians elected by the respective electoral district. For instance, the Italian electoral law allows 3 preferences (rearrangements) for a district with up to 15 parliamentarian seats, respectively 4 preferences for a district with more than 16 parliamentarian seats.

A weakness of the preferential proportional system is that it involves considerable difficulties for the counting of votes because of the multitude of possible preference combinations. Therefore, from the technical point of view it would be less risky if the first preferential-proportional elections allow a relatively small number of preferences (replacements). Nevertheless, the introduction of a similar electoral system will not only indicate democratization of society, but will also illustrate the representativeness and the legitimacy of the party elite.

Other more substantial weaknesses of the legislation

Figure 4.1



Source: Mathematicians' group of the Central Electoral Commission

are the lack of efficient legal and financial control mechanisms over the grants and donations for parties and coalitions, as well as the open opportunity for candidates to be registered in two electoral districts. This disposition serves the interests of leaders and party favorites, undermining the principle of equality of candidates.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION THROUGH VOTING

The first years of the transition were characterized by an extremely active participation of citizens in the elections of the time. This was largely due to the new opportunities to change the totalitarian governance model opened up by the introduction of the multiparty system. The mass registration of political parties and the participation in meetings and protests organized by them witnessed the desire of people to achieve rapid changes. A general feeling of co ownership and co-authorship of political processes was omnipresent. However, this feeling proved to be deceptive and misleading, both for political parties and for citizens. In fact, political self-determination was based rather on the disapproval or justification of the past than on a clear vision for the future. On the other hand, the expectations for prompt reforms and a speedy improvement of economic situation of citizens were not justified. All this led to a crisis of confidence in the political class and to a retreat from political participation. As figure 4.1.shows, the percentage of people who did not participate in elections grew considerably during the years of transition.

In spite of some general trends, the motives to participate or not to participate in the separate elections are different. The General Elections of April 1997 were the first that came close to reflecting the true essence of citizen participation. This is not only due to the higher turnout of voters but also to the events preceding the elections. In a certain sense, the elections themselves were a form of *citizen protest* and a message to the rulers, such as: "*Things cannot go on like this*; *you must pay heed to us*!".

The 1997 protests raised citizen expectations of transparency and accountability of governance, but they stopped there. They did not show a readiness to share the responsibility of rulers and they did not put forward citizen leaders able to control or participate in governance. The "good governance" demands were mainly provoked by the financial and economic crisis that had led to the collapse of average monthly income of the population down to \$5. The 1997 vote was again an example of partisan delegation of power or, in other words, the redirection of the same expectations from one political party to its traditional opponents. Nevertheless, from this moment on, power in Bulgaria began to be delegated not by abstract voters, but by citizens who monitor and appraise governance, demanding accountability and eroding the trust in the rulers.

This trend continued during the 1999 local elections. Then for the first time the perception was formed that good governance does not necessarily mean partisan governance. Those elections were characterized by a number of new phenomena: first, there was an increase of the number of independent candidates elected for mayors (in spite of the question marks concerning their independence); second, the number of municipalities increased where mayors govern with municipal councils dominated by the opposite political power; third, the phenomenon "electing a personality instead of electing a political party" emerged. During the 1999 elections serious discrepancies were registered between the number of votes cast for certain mayorcandidates and the number of votes cast for the political party supporting this candidate.

The voting for personalities in 1999 suggests that political expectations and attitudes began to dissociate from partisan biases. This is a signal that the assessment of governance is now based not only on the results of the policies of the government but also on the methods such policies use. There is disappointment with the encapsulation of the partisan system in itself and with the behavior of its specific representatives. At the same time, the emergence of *bipartisan governance forms*, where

the Mayor and the Municipal Council may belong to different political parties, suggests attitudes and expectations for consensual governance where the interests of the community are put above narrow party interests.

As a whole, the 1997 and 1999 elections modified the status of citizens in political life. They confirmed the role of civil society in monitoring governance and in demanding accountability from specific political personalities in respect of specific commitments. *Good governance* expectations began to prevail over purely partisan biases. All this draws voting in elections closer to the essence of citizen participation.

However, political participation during the period of transition has been limited to participation in elections. The only alternative participation are the protests, which only register the lack of good governance. In the beginning of the '90s, people went to the streets in order to protest against the past or to justify it. At the end of the '90s, the streets were again full of people, who this time were only protesting. The space for constructive, consensual and partner-like citizen participation remains open.

OTHER FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In addition to elections and protests, citizens have other forms of opportunities for political participation. The citizen can be simply a voter, but he can also be a participant. These two roles are completely different but they are complementary to each other. As a voter, the citizen exercises his democratic right to delegate authority, to empower certain persons and political parties with the right to represent his interests and to solve his problems on his behalf and account. If we use the co-ownership metaphor, this would mean that during election time the stockholders elect the Board of Directors only, while during the remaining time they can directly influence the development of the company (society). In other words, elections do not

exhaust the essence and the diversity of political life. They are just the introductory and the concluding parts of political reality. In fact, the citizen manifestations of political participation happen between and not during elections. Then citizens have the opportunity not only to control the political mandate delegated by them, but also to participate directly in its implementation. Thus, the individual becomes a citizen when he or she walks the path from a passive voter to an active participant in political life.

Box 4.1

MEETINGS OF MAYORS AND CITIZENS

In January and February 2001, meetings of the citizens with the village mayors and/or administrators and with the Mayor of the Troyan Municipality were held. Invited were also representatives of the municipal council in Troyan, the employment office, the police department, the land commission, the water supply and sewerage enterprise, the electricity distribution enterprise, political parties, the state forestry office, health insurance fund office, etc. The local administration informed the citizens about its activity during the past year 2000. The citizens asked questions and presented specific problems. The Mayor and/or the attending guests provided answers depending on their competence.

The questions asked most frequently by citizens were related to: waste disposal — shortage of waste containers and cans, transportation; maintenance and repairs of roads, "Chitalishte" communal centers, public buildings and churches; inefficient use of leased land; tree felling in forest stands, particularly in water source areas; access regime for persons and animals to water source areas; the reinstatement of land and forests in real boundaries; water supply and distribution network; alternative sources of water supply, reservoir maintenance; distribution of electricity — condition of supply lines, street lighting; supply of heating wood for the population; premises and maintenance of pensioners' clubs; protection of private properties from unauthorized use as grazing grounds; transportation services; shortage of municipal budget funds; kindergartens; protection from stray dogs; condition of sewerage equipment; health services — general practitioners, veterinarian services, maintenance of ambulances; sales of municipal property on the territory of villages; active duties of policemen from the district police department; unemployment and creation of new jobs; usage of closed schools; social assistance — inadequate transparency of benefit granting.

The village mayors have submitted minutes of proceedings from the meetings to the "Administrative, legal and information servicing" directorate of the Troyan municipality. An analysis of the issues raised by citizens has been carried out, paying particular attention to questions unanswered during the meetings.

There are different forms of citizen participation in political life. They include membership and participation in the local structures of political organizations, interaction between citizens and local authorities (municipal councils and administrations), relations between citizens and their representatives in Parliament, as well as the separate manifestations of so-called "political activism". The survey data indicate that such practices are not used adequately by Bulgarian citizens. As little as a 9.3% of respondents have participated in political party meetings during the last 12 months (moreover, this is a year of parliamentary elections) and only 29.0% would like political parties to mediate in citizen initiatives. At the same time, 51.9% of respondents believe that candidates for Parliament should be selected at local meetings open for all citizens, and not by the party leader (1.7%), the party leadership (8.3%) or by local party members (9.0%). This suggests that the political parties in general are unable to select electoral candidates possessing citizen legitimacy.

The political interaction between citizens and local authorities is not particularly active either, though a number of municipal initiatives aimed at this direction have been carried out lately. It is highly indicative that only 7.8% of respondents can indicate "which is the most significant problem discussed at a session of the Municipal Council during this year". Those who can indicate the most significant problem have learnt about it most frequently from the local media (most of all, cable TV - 5.3 %) or "in conversations with people who know what is being discussed in the Municipal Council" (3.6%). Only 0.8% have obtained similar information from a public discussion and as little as 0.1% from Internet. For comparison, only 0.9% of respondents have visited the Internet site of their municipality or those are 5.7% from the active Internet users.⁵⁷

Political participation reveals also a significant discrepancy between actual practices and participation attitudes. The desire for political participation is directed more at the local authorities than towards local party structures.

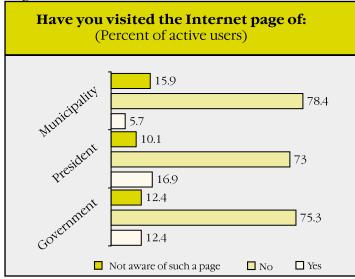
⁵⁷ According to the survey data, 46% of respondents can have access to the Internet within their settlement and only 4.7% "at home", while the rest can do it most often in clubs, "Chitalishte" or other institutions (43.2%). Active users — those who have used Internet during the last week — are 8.0%.

Overall, 40.0% of respondents declare that they would participate personally in the deliberations of the Municipal Council "If the topic is interesting" and 47.5% would visit the municipal Internet site. Respondents would do this most frequently in order to obtain information concerning the services offered by the municipality (19.2%), in order to have a look at the municipal budget (18.9%) and even to read the municipal development strategy (18.7%).

There are even attitudes for activities that may be described as political activism. For instance, the opportunity for a "group of citizens to submit a proposal to the Municipal Council" is perceived as a more adequate form than the submission of the same proposal through a non-governmental organization. Some of the citizen protests during the last few years can also be categorized as political activism. However, the data indicates that they are not perceived as "spontaneous events emerging independently from political or economic interests". This refers to the protests against the demolition of the Mausoleum (22.4% spontaneous), the protests of journalists from the Bulgarian National Radio (23.0 % - spontaneous), the protests against Jan Videnov's government (24.8 % - spontaneous), and to a smaller extent in respect of the parents' protests during the pupils' enrolment campaign of 1999 (40.0% - spontaneous). These fairly low percentages may indicate that citizen participation may be perceived as staged or directed by political party headquarters.

The main issue on the background of such results remains the same: Why citizens do not participate when they have the desire and the readiness to do it? Chapter Two has made it clear that citizen participation has determinants such as economic activity, degree of decentralization, social and political knowledge, solidarity, tolerance values and partnership family relations. Chapter Three has drawn attention to the need to have mediators for citizen participation who should structure citizen initiative without expropriating it. However, the main argument for non-participation is still the perception that citizen participation "cannot change

Figure 4.2



anything". This holds true also for participation in political life. Citizens would not participate in local political life or in the sessions of the Municipal Council because they think, *"it would be of no use*" (55.5%).

As a whole, the data reveals an isolation of citizens from political life. The positive participation experience having led to efficient and visible results in the everyday life of people is missing. There are still no working mechanisms and structures for the interaction between citizens and rulers. A positive example in this respect are the preliminary elections held by the UDF for the presidential elections in 1996. Nevertheless, the role of citizens in preliminary elections is again the one of "vote casters" who can only approve or reject one party decision or another. Preliminary elections can mobilize party support but do not provide an opportunity for an open and non-partisan selection of candidates. Altogether, the political parties do not succeed in promoting candidates for the governance of the country with the participation of citizens; they seem encapsulated within the circle of their limited membership.

Thus, elections seem to remain the only possible form of interaction between politicians and citizens. This creates quite misleading perceptions - politicians believe that they have received a legitimate

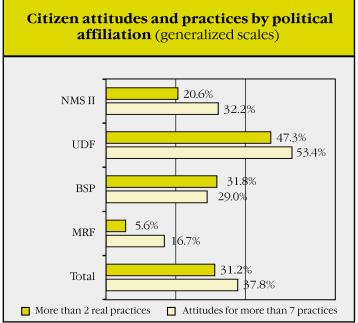
mandate to govern, while people remain with the feeling of a fulfilled citizen duty. In fact, neither of the two has materialized completely. Citizens should not be in a position to expect good governance if they are watching passively the rulers, wondering "what are they going to do next?". On the other hand, elections just formalize the legitimacy of power; they only provide an opportunity for the rulers to prove the citizenship of their government. The isolation of citizens from governance and the encapsulation of the political class into itself conceal a myriad of risks. The results of the latest parliamentary elections are

particularly eloquent in this respect.

THE PROTEST VOTE OF ISOLATED **CITIZENS**

According to Touraine⁵⁸, the idea that contradicts democracy most is that of the crowd - "The idea of a de-structured society, where no mediation exists between the individual and the central government ..., where each member of the crowd identifies himself

Figure 4.3



with the leader, with his words and with his personality". External observers may have been left surprised by the massive vote against a government that had achieved indisputable accomplishments: financial stability, macroeconomic growth, beginning of reforms in the social security and health-care spheres and, most significantly, serious progress in the negotiations of Bulgaria for membership in the EU and NATO. Why then, in spite of such undeniable achievements, the voters changed the government, moreover, through a completely new political formation?

According to some opinions, the results of the latest parliamentary elections have been determined by power or authoritarian values. The main idea is that the NMS II vote supposedly presumes the delegation of power into the hands of one single individual. The survey data do not support the hypothesis that those who voted for NMS II are more authoritarian than the supporters of the remaining political parties are. For instance, support of NMS II correlates more with the belief that the boss must consult his subordinates (23.6 %), rather than with the perception that the boss should command (19.7%). Table 4.1 shows that NMS II sympathizers are among the most active supporters of the idea that the choice of candidate-members of Parliament should be made at public meetings open for all citizens (58.1 %). On the contrary, UDF and BSP supporters are more likely (almost to an equal extent) to leave the choice of candidate-members of Parliament to their party leadership. The NMS II sympathizers are also stronger supporters of the statement⁵⁹ that referendums must be held on issues important for the country and of the idea that regional authorities must be elected and not appointed by the central government (ranking second after BSP sympathizers).

In other wordss, election-related authoritarian attitudes do not differentiate unequivocally one political party bias or another. What distinguishes NMS II votes are not authoritarian values but

⁵⁸ Touraine, A. 1991. Qu'est-ce que la democracie aujourd'hui? Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales, 128: 275-286

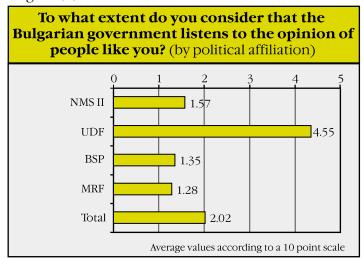
Answering the question "Must there be referendums on issues important for the country?" NMS II supporters express a stronger support, even though marginally so, as compared $to \, UDF \, sympathizers. However, when asked \, {\tt `Would you} \, participate \, in \, referendums? \, {\tt `UDF} \, supporters \, are \, significantly \, more \, inclined to \, participate. \, This \, corresponds to the \, {\tt `UDF} \, supporters \, are \, significantly \, more \, inclined to \, participate. \, This \, corresponds to the \, {\tt `UDF} \, supporters \, are \, significantly \, more \, inclined to \, participate. \, This \, corresponds to the \, {\tt `UDF} \, supporters \, are \, significantly \, more \, inclined to \, participate. \, This \, corresponds to the \, {\tt `UDF} \, supporters \, are \, significantly \, more \, inclined to \, participate. \, This \, corresponds \, to \, {\tt `UDF} \, supporters \, are \, significantly \, more \, inclined to \, participate. \, This \, {\tt `UDF} \, supporters \, are \, significantly \, supporters \, supporters \, supporter \, supporters \, supporter \, supporters \, supporter \, sup$ generally lower level of citizen practices and attitudes among NMS II supporters as compared to those of UDF. The NMS II sympathizers are slightly more in favor of referendums then UDF sympathizers are, but are less motivated to participate in than

the lack of citizen practices and attitudes. NMS

II voters are mainly people without participative attitudes towards the previous government. Those are the isolated citizens who neither protested against that government, nor participated in any way in the achievement of its objectives. Figure 4.3 shows that there are substantial differences between the citizen practices and attitudes on the part of UDF and NMS II supporters. As little as 20.6 % of NMS II supporters have had more than two citizen practices as compared to 47.3% of UDF supporters and 31.8 percent of BSP sympathizers. MRF sympathizers have the lowest number of practices.

Such results make understandable the answers provided to the question whether "the government listens to people like you". Figure 4.4 shows that the audibility of the previous government has been almost three times as high for UDF sympathizers as compared to supporters of the remaining political forces. This indicates that the achievements of a certain government are not of great importance, even if visible and tangible. Citizens are inclined to underestimate achieved progress if the accomplishments are only perceived as the

Figure 4.4



"ownership" of the rulers, and if the citizens have no share in the efforts to achieve them.

The results of the latest parliamentary elections are the natural outcome of the civic and political activity in Bulgaria up to the year 2001. They reflect not only the negative consequences of the transition for the social status of citizens, but also the way the transition is being implemented and managed. Until now, the

Table 4.1

Who should select parliamentary candidates?								
	NMS II	UDF	BSP	MRF	Other	Total		
The party leader	2.0 %	2.1 %	.9 %	2.8 %		1.8 %		
The party management	9.6%	16.7 %	17.9 %	5.6 %	14.3 %	13.3 %		
The local party members	7.1 %	18.8 %	21.7 %	13.9 %	17.9 %	14.5 %		
Local public meetings, opened for everyone	58.1 %	50.0 %	49.1 %	38.9 %	46.4 %	52.0 %		
It does not matter for me	23.2 %	12.5 %	10.4 %	38.9 %	21.4 %	18.6 %		

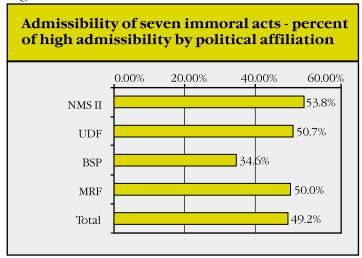
Table 4.2

Do you agree with the following statements? Percent "Yes"								
NMS II UDF BSP MRF Other Total								
Regional administrations should be elected, and not appointed by the central government	69.8 %	63.9 %	78.3 %	61.1 %	71.4 %	69.4 %		
There must be referendums on issues which are important of the country	78.8 %	76.2 %	77.5 %	75.0 %	67.9 %	76.9 %		

Table 4.3

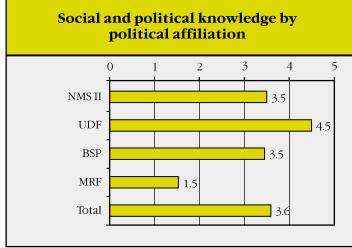
Some citizen practices by political support								
NMS II UDF BSP MRF								
Submitting a suggestion to an administration	6.3 %	16.2 %	11.2 %	2.8 %				
Participation in protests against an administration	3.6 %	4.5 %	5.1 %	2.8 %				
Activities controlling the work of an administration	2.1 %	8.1 %	6.1 %					
NGO activities and projects	3.1 %	5.4 %	3.1 %					

Figure 4.5



political elite has not been sufficiently successful to create among citizens a participative attitude towards the changes. Therefore, the new political situation is in no case a step backwards to authoritarian or antidemocratic attitudes, neither is it a negation of citizen participation. The election results reflect rather the missing opportunities for such participation. When people cannot be constructive participants in governance between elections, they express their discontent during election time. The enormous challenge in front of any new government is to mobilize the support of all citizens and to transform them into co-authors and partners of the new governance. In the contrary case,

Figure 4.6



Average values on a consolidated scale with a 9 point maximum value of true answers

when citizens have been isolated from governance for a long time, they start out to seek a completely new alternative. Alienated citizens are inclined to identify with those who have never governed. The less familiar and the more novel the candidates are, the closer they are to people isolated from governance.

As it has been made clear in Chapter Two, those citizens who are more active are also more educated and better informed politically. Therefore, the absence of knowledge and information is another major reason for the mass disappointment with the political class and the change of the status quo after the 2001 parliamentary elections. This hypothesis is confirmed also by the survey data. Altogether, 20.2% of respondents reply that they do not know whether a branch of a political party exists where they live, 17.4% do not know whether there is a local media and 29.2 % do not know whether trade unions exist or not. This lack of knowledge witnesses disengagement and a lack of interest in social and political life where those people live. The distribution of this data by types of political support does not show a different level of knowledge of the sympathizers of the various political parties about existing mediating organizations.

Nevertheless, when we look at real social and political knowledge (see Figure 4.6), NMS II sympathizers are less informed indeed. Thus, 57.9% of NMS II supporters reply incorrectly that the Chairman of the Municipal Council of Sofia is Stefan Sofiansky and 10.0% do not remember about it, as compared to 53.7% and respectively 1.9% of UDF supporters. Similarly, a smaller number of NMS II sympathizers are aware that the electoral system in Bulgaria is a proportional one and that the National Assembly consists of 240 parliamentarians. Figure 4.6 shows that the average values of correct answers to this short test are highest for UDF supporters. Inferior knowledge means a less informed political choice. The high percentage of people (3.44%) voting with the sham ballot papers imitating the ballot papers of NMS II is no accident.

The achievement of consensus among politicians is an important but insufficient precondition for good

THE CHALLENGE OF CONSENSUAL ATTITUDES

In spite of the specificity of the different types of voting, we discovered more similarities than differences in the socio-demographic profile of political attitudes. This applies predominantly to NMS II and UDF sympathizers. **First, UDF and NMS II sympathizers are socially and demographically much closer between themselves than if compared separately to BSP supporters. Existing social and demographic differences suggest a complementarity rather than competition or antagonism between UDF and NMS II.** For instance, there are more university graduates among UDF supporters (18.2 percent), but there are slightly more young people among NMS II supporters (37.2 percent aged below 38). Indeed, there is a certain difference between the incomes and the social status, which characterizes the support of NMS II as more socially oriented. For instance, we discover more unemployed and slightly more pensioners among NMS II supporters, than among UDF. The same applies to income: it is slightly lower with NMS II supporters than UDF ones. What is more substantial, though, is that the mentioned differences between UDF and NMS II are considerably lower than when compared to BSP. **As a whole, the socio-demographic profiles of UDF and NMS II voters suggest continuity and consensus rather than antagonism**.

On the other hand, NMS II voters are in a certain sense in the middle between the opposing pro-social groups of BSP and the somewhat elitist support for UDF. Nevertheless, this is not the arithmetic average between the UDF and BSP. This sociodemographic "middle" contains various multiform and potentially contradictory interests. Overall, both the socio-demographic profile and the concept of the role of the state define a place for NMS II sympathizers that is closer to UDF supporters, but is still somewhere in the middle between UDF and BSP. It is hard to say whether this middle is the center in a social or ideological meaning, but it presumes by no means the standoff of the political parties in antagonism. Moreover, these similarities allow us to maintain that NMS II voters are representative of Bulgarian social multiformity in a much higher degree than those who voted for the other political parties taken separately. Precisely this is the opportunity to change the monologue governance style and to implement the political practice of consensual decision-making on significant issues for the nation and for continuity in governance.⁶¹

governance. Confidence crises emerge not because of the lack of consensus among the different political forces, but because of the lack of consensus between rulers and citizens.

Exactly the lack of consensus between citizens and rulers is one of the central reasons to refrain from voting. As Table 4.5 shows, the key argument to refrain from voting in 2001 is the lack of confidence in politicians. A large proportion of the most active social categories⁶² do not want the parties as mediators. They are not recognized as representing the interests of active citizens. This points out once more to the need for new forms of citizen participation beyond partisan and governmental institutions.

The second and third non-voting arguments are no less important. They contain the motives that

the electoral system elects party members and not personalities, and that *nobody represents the interests of the voter*. These arguments are directed more at the mechanisms and the legitimacy of the political choice; at the rules of political participation and the consequences of those rules. Therefore, the emergence of new political formations does not substantially modify non-participation motives. Although such formations provide new opportunities for political identification, the citizens who do NOT want to vote are not in search of a new political party but of new forms for the delegation of political power.

In general, the access to political participation is a key feature of the transition from an individual into a citizen. The closer the individual is to the citizen status, the less significant are political

⁶⁰ There are two methods to investigate the relationship between socio-demographic factors and the support for various parties in elections. The first method consists in considering the way that socio-demographic factors influence the attitudes in support of one party or another; that is, what are the constituent members of one socio-demographic group or another. The second approach aims to see the way in which the attitudes change the socio-demographic profile of the party, that is, from what socio-demographic groups the support of the various parties comes. The second method has been applied.

⁶¹ See table 4.4

⁶² Parties are not wanted as intermediaries by 47.8% of students, 54% of businessmen, by 42.1% of people with a income above 241 leva for household, 40.6% of Bulgarians, 46.9% of private company employees, 47% of managers, 47.9% of Sofia residents, 36.8% of Internet users and 47.7% of members of the forum. Almost the same categories, but differing by degree of citizen participation (67.8% of persons with more than 2 practices) and attitudes of similar participation (67.7%) prefer some of the local media as a public mediator for the control over local government bodies.

Table 4.4

Table 1.1	Socio - demographic p	rofile of po	olitical sup	port		
		NMS II	UDF	BSP	MRF	Other
Sex	Male	43.8 %	53.6 %	36.7 %	45.5 %	60.9 %
	Female	56.3 %	46.4 %	63.3 %	54.5 %	39.1 %
Education	Up to secondary	29.2 %	11.8 %	46.9 %	77.8 %	39.1 %
	Secondary	55.7 %	62.7 %	41.8 %	19.4 %	39.1 %
	Semi-higher	6.8 %	7.3 %	3.1 %		4.3 %
	Higher	8.3 %	18.2 %	8.2 %	2.8 %	13.0 %
	Postgraduate					4.3 %
Ethnic community	Bulgarian Christian	89.1 %	93.6 %	89.7 %	2.8 %	78.3 %
	Bulgarian Moslem	1.6 %	3.6 %	3.1 %		
	Turkish	5.2 %	2.7 %	4.1 %	94.4 %	
	Roma - Christian	2.6 %		2.1 %	2.8 %	8.7 %
	Roma - Moslem	1.6 %		1.0 %		
	Other					13.0 %
Age	<=38	37.2 %	31.8 %	9.2 %	47.2 %	30.4 %
	39-55	25.7 %	31.8 %	17.3 %	27.8 %	21.7 %
	>=56	37.2 %	36.4 %	73.5 %	25.0 %	47.8 %
Social status recoded	Student	3.6 %	4.5 %	2.0 %	2.8 %	8.7 %
	Employed	32.3 %	44.5 %	20.4 %	33.3 %	26.1 %
	Own business	5.7 %	8.2 %	1.0 %		4.3 %
	Pensioner	36.5 %	32.7 %	66.3 %	27.8 %	43.5 %
	Unemployed	19.8 %	8.2 %	10.2 %	33.3 %	13.0 %
	Other	2.1 %	1.8 %		2.8 %	4.3 %
Income level	<=240	54.2 %	47.4 %	64.5 %	70.6 %	39.1 %
	>=241	45.8 %	52.6 %	35.5 %	29.4 %	60.9 %
Type of settlement	Village	28.8 %	23.1 %	38.8 %	69.4 %	39.1 %
	Town	31.9 %	28.7 %	29.6 %	22.2 %	21.7 %
	Former regional centre	26.7 %	25.0 %	23.5 %	8.3 %	13.0 %
	Sofia	12.6 %	23.1 %	8.2 %		26.1 %

Table 4.5

Non-voting motives								
		Age		Incom	Total			
	<=38	39-55	>=56	<=240	>=241			
I do not trust politicians	4.39 %	4.20 %	4.14 %	4.20 %	4.29 %	4.26 %		
The electoral system elects party members and not personalities	4.31 %	4.10 %	3.99 %	4.00 %	4.31 %	4.15 %		
Nobody represents my interests	4.18 %	4.01 %	4.07 %	4.07 %	4.13 %	4.09 %		
My vote will not change anything	3.91 %	3.86 %	3.96 %	3.98 %	3.87 %	3.91 %		
Parties are all alike	3.99 %	3.86 %	3.74 %	3.83 %	3.89 %	3.88 %		
There is no party to vote for	3.91 %	3.83 %	3.55 %	3.66 %	3.89 %	3.78 %		
I am not interested in elections	3.26 %	2.91 %	3.14 %	3.34 %	2.83 %	3.12 %		

Average values on a scale from 1 to 5

elections for good governance. When citizens are participants in governance, elections are a formality that legitimizes the better one among the various possible good governments. However, when citizens are isolated from governance, they use elections in order to change the government until they obtain the opportunity to govern between elections.

The change of the political situation in Bulgaria after the parliamentary elections in June 2001 is largely due to the fact that many Bulgarian citizens are poorly informed and isolated from governance. The results of the latest elections confirm that isolation from governance, alienation and lack of information provoke a change of government irrespectively of the accomplishments or failures of a certain administration. Therefore, ever since the moment of its entrance on the social and political scene, each new government is facing the challenge to govern with a well-informed social support that will be a guarantee for a successful and good governance.

CONCLUSION

"In order to illustrate a principle, you must exaggerate many things and a lot must be omitted,,,63 This probably holds true also about the principle of citizen participation presented in this report. There are many significant issues to which we were not able to pay sufficient attention - new technologies, national identity, societal values and other factors of citizen participation. However, this report has tried to answer the question where are Bulgarians in their transition from individuals to citizens. The answer is that as a whole, Bulgarians are now at a point, at which to return would be more arduous than to continue. But the longer part of the road is still ahead. This is the point of the transition where the wishes to participate exceed actual practices, and risks are smaller than unused opportunities are. Where they are now, their desires to participate exceed their actual participation, and the resulting risks are lower than the missed opportunities. Still, this point is not the same one for all Bulgarians. Precisely those who have the greatest need to be heard and to be included into governance - those who are poorer, less educated, living in remote areas and ethnic minorities - are lagging behind. The unequal citizen participation conceals the contradictions and the sinuous path of the entire transition to a democratic society; the variable degree of access to economic activity results in different levels of income; the variable degree of education justifies different levels of social knowledge and the centralization of power makes the residents of large cities "more citizens" than people who live in small settlements.

The transition from individuals to citizens reflects also the changes of family and social interrelations. The citizen values represent partnership within the family, gender equality, solidarity, tolerance, equally based inter-ethnic relations. Here, we discover again a situation where a lot has been achieved, but most of the work is still to be done. Ethnic

intolerance is on the decrease, but still one-half of the people in Bulgaria would not like to have a Roma neighbor. Common practices between Roma and Bulgarians could decrease intolerance but everyday life inter-ethnic relations cannot solve the general problems of poverty, unemployment and education dropout. Citizen participation can transform vulnerable social groups into responsible co-authors of the assistance aimed at them. Yet the greater challenge they face is to become full-fledged participants in the solution of issues of common public relevance.

The encouragement of citizen participation requires an enabling social environment. Such an environment is determined by stable and democratic power institutions, the mass media, the nongovernmental sector, and the legal framework, the holding of fair and democratic elections guaranteeing the representativeness of governance. The social environment in Bulgaria creates conditions for citizen participation, but they are still not sufficiently favorable for citizens to see the specific benefits it can provide. Generally, people still think that "participation will not change anything" and that nothing depends on them.

On the other hand, the non-governmental sector is still predominantly aimed at the solution of specific social problems, most frequently without the participation of people. Instead of opening up a new space for direct citizen participation, most NGOs are still encapsulated in their professional society. The mass media are the most preferred mediator for citizen participation, but they are still vulnerable to political influences (particularly the electronic media during election periods). The Chitalishta have an enormous potential to promote citizen participation but it still remains unused.

Political participation has reached the point where party biases begin to give ground to expectations of tangible results and accountability on behalf of the separate individuals. However, the political search of better governance is still short-lived and episodic; it

⁶³ Walter Bagehot, English social scientist, 1826 – 1877.

occurs during election time only and not between elections. The lack of participation between elections is one of the main reasons for the continuing frequent reshuffling of power during the last 10 years. The results of parliamentary elections are still dominated by the votes of the isolated citizens who are economically, informationally and socially remote from power and from its value system.

Citizen participation is a challenge facing not only citizens, but ruling politicians too. Efforts are needed for the strengthening of mechanisms and prerequisites for citizen participation and public control. This requires the development of the legal framework, refinement of the electoral system, strengthening of the institutional environment, decentralization of power as well as implementation of new managerial

approaches. The efficient interaction between the citizens and the government is impossible if the ruling politicians move away from the everyday problems of people. Thus, each of the parties must walk the path to the attainment of good governance in Bulgaria. This means that citizen passivity and dependence on the state must be changed in parallel with changing the governance culture of self-assurance or encapsulation. Direct citizen participation is the central mechanism for the achievement of consensual governance where conflicts are open and presume agreement. Nevertheless, participation would be meaningless if transformed into a self-perpetuating objective with no real impact on the everyday life of people. The staged, administered or showy activity is the utter contradiction to the genuine empowerment of people.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Participatory instruments and institutions										
Objective	Strategies/vision	Concrete policies	Opportunities and threats							
Promoting direct citizen participation	Citizens are responsible partners in governance. Bulgarian society transforms into society of citizens who: ✓ actively and directly participate in governance ✓ are knowledgeable and competent to influence governance ✓ share the values and practices of solidarity and social cohesion	 Holding of open public and media discussions between citizens and decision-makers on important governance issues at the central and at the local level, for instance priority formulation of local budgets, urban development planning, environmental projects or large investment projects Using the social assessment mechanisms with direct citizen participation Holding of referendums at local and national level Improvement of the access to public information through developing the respective legislation and increasing the efficiency of its application 	 Existing experience shows that such discussions are effective when held with regard to a relatively specific and visible problem the solution of which can have a direct impact on everyday life. A local debate on the priorities of strategic development may attract much less citizens' interest than, for instance, the debate on a concrete infrastructure problem The discussions have to lead to a practical result – implementation of citizens' recommendations or initiation of a project contributing to the solution of the specific problem Referendums must be preceded by wellorganized public discussions enabling a well-informed choice 							
Promotion of political participation	 The political choice made in elections is only one (final) part of the political life and governance The participation of citizens in elections is a direct expression of the legitimacy of governance The representative political election is a well-informed choice 	 Political choice is preceded by wide public debates on the programmes and the specific responsibilities of political personalities Introduction of elements of the majority vote into the electoral system and enhancement of its representativeness Gradual introduction of the preferential proportional system 	 The preferential proportional system is a technically complicated one. It is appropriate to introduce it gradually The introduction of elements of the majority vote does not eliminate the need for direct citizen participation and a well-informed political life 							

Objective	Strategies/vision	Concrete policies	Opportunities and threats
Institutional strengthening of citizen participation	Mediating organizations contribute to the direct dialogue between citizens and governors Institutions structure direct citizen participation without replacing it. NGOs mediate by creating the space for direct and authentic citizen influence on governance The media have a unique potential to be an efficient mediator for citizen participation, providing the space for direct citizen action and creating a secure space for opposing interests and points of view in society	 Adoption of an Ombudsman Act. Introduction of the Ombudsman institutional at both the central and local level, preceded by an analysis of the experience gathered in the pilot municipalities Institution building of the Chitalishta and development of their potential to promote civic participation Introduction of municipal Information Centers and/or Citizens Advice Bureaus Encouragement of community citizen participation through the delegation of rights and responsibilities to community structures and organizations such as school board of trustees, condominium councils etc. Maintaining a direct and open dialogue between decision-makers and the media 	 Two draft laws are present The Ombudsman institution may be politicized The Chitalishta have the authority of authentic citizen institutions. They must report the results of their subsidized activities not only to their General Assemblies but also at open public meetings In a number of municipalities, information centers have been created that facilitate the interaction between the local administrations and the citizens The government looks for institutionalized organizations as partners. For instance, condominium councils cannot be a real partner of the municipality if they are not legal persons
Integration of socially disadvantaged groups through participation	 Socially disadvantaged persons are citizens of Bulgaria with equal rights. Their position as full citizens can only be realized when they participate in the solution not only of their own problems, but also of common social problems Good policies concerning socially disadvantaged groups is sector and program based, and not ethnically or group oriented Undertaken assistance and policies should be based on the real needs of target groups 	 Enabling the cohabitation of the representatives of different ethnic groups within the same territory Support to integrating education where different ethnic groups have the opportunity to study at the same educational institutions Support to NGOs which contribute to the solution of social problems through the integration of different ethnic groups Assisted vulnerable groups assume specific responsibilities and have a personal contribution to the solution of problems 	 The integration of minorities while acknowledging their own unique cultural identity is a national priority Good practices are present that indicate the lowering of intolerance under real cohabitation conditions A high intolerance to Roma is still present. Municipalities do not have the required competencies and resources to effectively solve concrete local problems

	2. Participatory environment									
Objective	Strategies / vision	Concrete policies	Opportunities and threats							
Improve legis- lation that en- courages citi- zen participa- tion	The legislative changes are based on a continuity ensuring stable and clear regulations for citizen participation. The legislative changes are based on public discussions.	 Differentiation of obligatory from desirable public discussions on highly significant citizen issues Delineation of the citizen debate from the institutional or the expert dialogue Adoption of clear-cut procedures and conditions for the holding of local and national referendums Introduction of the mechanisms of the so-called "legislative simplification" required for direct citizen participation 	 Obligatory public discussions may become formal if not preceded by a broad information campaign and good preparation Citizen debates do not exclude the participation of experts who support the discussion competently 							
Strengthening of citizen knowledge and awareness	Civic education integrates theory with real citizen prac- tices, based on concrete needs of everyday life.	 The strengthening of civic education into the curricula of secondary schools as a compulsory subject or integrated in other compulsory subjects Including students in the management of educational institutions and the development of curricula Attracting pupils, students and young people to public discussions at local and national level 	Students will not be motivated to study a subject "civic education" if the knowledge acquired cannot solve specific problems of their everyday life and the teaching process							
Strengthening of decentrali- zation as a pre- requisite of citizen partici- pation	The debate on the definition of the forms and the degree of local self-government is held with citizen participation. The distribution of responsibilities between the local and the central authorities is built on the principle "whoever pays the bill, he manages".	 The debate on the financial decentralization of municipalities must be continued All statutes on local self-government must be accompanied by secondary legislation related to their application Considering the possibility to introduce elections for the regional authorities 	The differences in the socio-economic situation of municipalities force the poorer ones to demand more subsidies, while the more affluent ones demand financial independence. Such contradictions hamper the solution of the problem of the effective decentralization							

MUNICIPAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX 2001

"Decentralization" of the Human Development Reports: From an Analysis at National and Regional Level to a Consideration of Local and Individual Development

The human development indexes (HDI) represent an integrated assessment of the economic, health and educational development of Bulgaria. Technically, they are computed on the basis of several relatively simple statistics: GDP, rate of enrolment, rate of literacy, life expectancy, etc⁶⁴. However, statistical data have a heuristic meaning when they permit comparisons and analyses; therefore they are instrumental for better governance decision-making. The lower is the aggregation level of the data, the more interesting and more relevant to reality are the analyses. However, the lower aggregation level hides certain risks because small sets may cause serious distortions. Nevertheless, the computation of the HDI at the regional and the municipal level is an important instrument for the regional and local development planning. This is why the UNDP introduced in 1999 the HDI for the 28 regions of the country, and from 2000 the index was introduced also for the 262 municipalities, to be updated each year.

Local Development – the First Attempt of a View in Perspective

The NHDR for this year has had for the first time the chance to analyze the changes that occurred in municipal human development indexes (MHDI) as compared to the previous year. This analysis has been

made on the basis of a refined methodology⁶⁵. The first substantial observation from this comparison is that **the general level of municipal indexes is on the decrease**. In 2001, both the average as well as the maximal and minimal values of the municipal index decrease. While the minimal value in 2000 was 0.735, it was 0.718 in 2001. The maximum value was respectively down from 0.830 to 0.820, and the average value was down from 0.788 to 0.774. This reduction suggests that the positive economic growth achieved during 1999 (where the GDP data come from) has not been "translated" into human development up to a sufficient extent. The data shows that the deterioration of the MHDI is largely due to non-economic components.

The slight decrease recorded in the levels of the HDI at the local level affected also the breakdown of the municipalities into different groups (with high, middle and low HDI levels). In terms of international standards, indexes above 0.800 are typical of countries or regions with high levels of human development. In 2000, 71 municipalities had HDIs above 0.800 and 4,534,732 persons lived there. However, the high-level HDI group of municipalities shrunk dramatically in 2001 and it now contains as little as 36 municipalities with a population of 3,510,894 persons. All other municipalities fall into the middle level group of human development according to international criteria.

Nevertheless, separate municipalities have a keener interest in their specific position in the general rating. Here, a number of qualifications must be made. First, the data concerning the three HDI components are quite rigid. They fluctuate within narrow limits during the year, so that minimal changes may cause significant reshuffling in the rating⁶⁶. On the other hand, there are sets of data which cannot be followed each year. For instance,

⁶⁴ See the Annex for details

⁶⁵ The Annex contains the MHDIs for 2000, computed according to the refined 2001 methodology, as well as the 1999 indexes recalculated according to the same methodology. It includes an adjustment for the municipal enrollment rates and the municipal values for life expectancy with the spread of the variation (mean square root) at the regional level. In this way, the distortion due to the small size of sets (in small municipalities) is compensated for.

⁶⁶ This is the small sets effect. In a very small municipality, the accidental death of a person from a young age group (for instance, because of a traffic accident) will lower dramatically the life expectancy value for the municipality, and this should not be interpreted as the manifestation of a dramatic demographic collapse. This problem is solved to a certain extent by the adjustment of municipal values, but it still has to be born in mind.

literacy data is acquired by the census of the population, which in this case is the last census of 1992. (The data from the 2001 census are not expected before 2002). This refers also to the information concerning the number of residents in separate municipalities. Though the balance of deaths and births at the municipal level is monitored annually, unregistered migration (particularly migration abroad, which in certain regions of the country is substantial) distorts the picture. The dynamics of enrolment rates is relatively stronger. As a whole, the HDI value is influenced most significantly by the levels of disposable income, which reflect the dynamics of the current economic situation and outlook. However, as it will be made clear further on, disposable income at the municipal level depends also very much on the redistribution role of the state. Despite all these qualifications, the data for the last two years provide substantial information concerning municipal level processes.

The HDI "rating" of municipalities in 2001 is led by Smolyan with a human development index of 0.820, and in addition, the municipality had the same rating also in 2000 (with a value of the index at the time of 0.830). There are no changes about the second place in the rating either; it is occupied again by Etropole with values of 0.817 in 2001 and 0.826 in 2000. Other members of the "Top 10" group are Chepelare, Roudozem, Plovdiv, Gotse Deltchev, Sofia-City, Bozhurishte, Panagyurishte and Vratsa. In the second league of the next 10 developed municipalities are Zlatitsa, Pordim, Rila, Varna, Troyan, Rousse, Madjarovo, Blagoevgrad, Stara Zagora and Lovech. The list of the "Top 20" municipalities is quite heterogeneous and deserves a more detailed attention - for instance, what is the reason for the high rating positions of municipalities such as Chepelare or Roudozem, Madjarovo or Rila? There is no straightforward answer to this. On the one hand, a substantial reason is represented by the fluctuations of the value of the economic component and the disposable income index. Its value is high in all small municipalities that occupy the top of the rating. Nevertheless, this is not due to the high productivity there but most of all to the central subsidizing as a

proportion of disposable income. To a large extent, this is the case with Vratsa (which improved its rating with no less than 133 places) or Madjarovo and Rila. The three municipalities have a high level of per capita subsidizing, which improves the general level of human development, but makes it highly dependent on the political conjuncture.

The Dynamics of Non-Economic HDI Components

The enrolment rates in the two educational levels increased insignificantly in most municipalities (there was a decrease in 4 municipalities only). Moreover, there is an increase both of the minimal value (from 0.616 to 0.624), and of the maximum value (from 0.969 to 1.000). In this case, however, changes are not equally great in the different municipality groups. The most significant improvement belongs to the municipality of Dobritch-Villages, where the enrolment rate grew by as much as 0.148 (from 0.759 to 0.906) and took the municipality from the 244th place in the enrolment rate ranking up to the 46th place. The second big "jump" was made by the municipality of Zemen - the enrolment rate grew by 0.8555 to 1.000 which took it to the first place according to this indicator together with Chelopech. Things look less optimistic in the bottom part of the rating according to enrolment. The improvement in those municipalities, even though present, is a minimal one and does not affect their rating. It remains practically the same as it was in 2000, changes being limited to one or two positions.

One is impressed also by the relative deterioration of the rating of the regional centres according to the "enrolment rate" indicator. Even though it has been improving in most of them (with the only exception of Dobritch–City), the increase is less significant than in other municipalities, because of which the predominant majority of regional cities "go down" in the rating according to this indicator. Probably this reflects also the dropout trend that affects particularly severely ethnic minority groups living in "poverty pockets" within larger cities. It is indicative that there is an improvement of the HDI value and

the HDI rating in the regional cities that have "gone down" the least in the enrolment rating (Blagoevgrad and Vratsa). As a whole, the situation in Bulgaria has not deteriorated with respect to the access to education as reflected in the enrolment rates. However, there is an alarming deepening of differences between municipalities, as represented by the values of the standard deviation, which for this indicator increased from 0.058 in 2000 to 0.062 in 2001.

Another important non-economic component is life expectancy. The average value of this indicator grew from 70.82 to 70.32, while the minimal value grew from 66.99 to 67.01 and the maximal value grew from 74.67 to 74.98. Nevertheless, it must be noted that this change is not uniform and it does not affect all municipalities. The average life expectancy decreased in 194 municipalities where 5,558,908 residents lived at the end of 1999. Out of them, 535,674 persons lived in municipalities where life expectancy decreased by more than 1 year and 46,017 persons lived in municipalities where life expectancy decreased by more than 2 years. At the same time, life expectancy has grown with more than 1 year in just 2 municipalities only. Against this background, the augmentation of the minimal and maximal limits of life expectancy is a positive trend, but it has not embraced the majority of Bulgarian municipalities as yet. In contrast, the trend of deepening disparities, manifested in the standard deviation values for life expectancy (which grew from 1.533 during 1996–99 to 1.577 in 1997-2000), is certainly a cause of concern.

HDI and Regional Centres

This year's HDI rating of municipalities threw new light on the dynamics of human development conditions in regional centres. Large cities traditionally offer more opportunities for fulfilment (particularly for finding a job), and it is normal to expect that human development levels there are also higher. It appears, though, that similar expectations are only valid when the economic component "dominates "over the remaining two.

The HDI value has improved uniquely in Vratsa, Shumen and Bourgas and has remained unchanged in Blagoevgrad. All remaining regional cities follow the general downward trend of human development. While in 2000 the values of HDI were above 0.800 in 17 municipalities that are regional centres, in 2001 their number is down to 15. Nevertheless, the general trend of decreasing HDI values is less pronounced in the regional centres than in the remaining municipalities, because of which practically all of them move forward in their HDI rating. The most significant advance is that of Kardjali (by 56 places, from 186th to 130th place) and Pazardjik (from 135th to 87th place).

Human Development and Subsidies

The role of subsidies for the formation of disposable income at the municipal level has already been mentioned. This is an important issue and it merits more detailed attention. Because of obvious reasons, an entirely "independent" development at the local level is impossible - the separate municipalities are no autonomous economic spaces; they are part of the national economy. Central subsidies are an element of the national regional policies. However, subsidizing can encourage a dependence culture.

The analysis of the breakdown of Bulgarian municipalities according to the human development index confirms the conclusion of the NHDR 2000 concerning the existence of "dependent" municipalities. In many cases, HDI values are at "decent" levels precisely because of the provision of central resources in the form of subsidies. Nevertheless, it is indicative that the general level of subsidizing decreases. Subsidies have grown in 13 municipalities only, with most substantial increases in Zlatitsa, Suhindol, Perushtitsa, Mirkovo, Krichim, Kostinbrod, Aksakovo, Vratsa, Kaspichan, Chepelare and Stamboliyski. All mentioned municipalities have improved their human development levels, the most significant improvement (by 0.019) belonging to the municipality of Zlatitsa. Correspondingly, such municipalities have improved their positions in the HDI rating, the biggest jump in the rating has been achieved by Stamboliyski (from 193rd to 81st place), followed by Zlatitsa (from 117th to 11th place). It can be argued that the rise of Chepelare from the 22nd to the 3rd place is also largely due to the increased subsidy.

The same observation is also valid with respect to the reverse trend - municipalities with significantly smaller subsidies "fall down" in the HDI rating. Here it is of particular importance to point out the exceptions, because they provide examples of a positive development despite the decrease of central subsidizing. The municipalities of Smolyan and Etropole are an example of this, as they have preserved the first two positions in the rating, although centrally redistributed funds have been cut almost by half. The case of Sofia is also similar, where in spite of the lower subsidy, the HDI value has decreased minimally and on the background of the general deterioration of levels, this municipality improves its position in the rating (respectively from 17th to 7th). The case with the Chernoochene municipality is also revealing; despite the substantial decrease subsidies there, the value of HDI grows, even though marginally (from 0.756 to 0.757) but this growth has permitted its rise practically from the bottom of the rating (255th place in 2000) to the 199th place in 2001.

Despite the general deterioration of the HDI level for the past year as compared to 2000, the values of the index and its components have not changed drastically. **The predominant number of municipalities in the country have preserved sufficiently high levels of human development.** However, a trend is noticeable towards a deepening of disparities, which probably reflects the general polarization trends in the country. In support of this we find that the statistical indicators

measuring the deviations from MHDI average values in 2001 are on the increase⁶⁷.

The problem of direct interference in municipal development by means of the centrally provided subsidies continues to require urgent attention both from the economic and the political perspective. As mentioned previously, the level of human development has improved in a number of municipalities (or has not decreased dramatically) solely because of the central subsidies, which have been made available additionally and which augment to a large extent the economic component of the HDI. In this respect, one should keep in mind that in 1999 municipal elections were held and that the central subsidies for municipalities were used for the active "encouragement" of certain electoral trends.

The 2001 changes of the HDI put forward the issue of subsidized development as the antipode of sustainable human development. The way in which a certain municipality can dramatically increase or decrease the index of its human development is very instructive as to the need of rapid and efficient decentralization in Bulgaria. From the point of view of citizen participation, subsidized development means that growth in some municipalities may be due to the efforts of their citizens and local authorities, while the development in other municipalities may be "downloaded" as a result of centrally made decisions. On the other hand, the increase or decrease of subsidies can always be interpreted as disproportionally high or disproportionally low. Therefore, as far as subsidizing is inevitable, it must be based on a wide, public and transparent dialogue - not only between responsible institutions, but also with the direct participation of citizens.

 $^{^{67}}$ As it has been already mentioned, the standard deviation records an increase in respect of all indicators. Naturally, it grows also when referred to the total value of HDI — from 0.018 in 1999 to 0.021 in 2000.

ANNEX 1: SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS: MAIN DISTRIBUTION OF RESULTS

	Sex		Ą	ge Leve	:1	Social status					Ethnic identity		Sample		
	Male	Female	%=38	39-55	95=<	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
1. What do you compare the current situation in Bulgaria with, when you want to assess or describe it?															
SINGLE RESPONS; Valid percent				_		•	•								
With the period before 9th September 1994	19.4	18.7	12.9	14.5	28.0	12,8	12,1	12,0	29,1	18.6	5.3	19.4	16.8	9.6	18,9
With the pre-transition period in Bulgaria	22.8	26.3	18.0	23.0	32,2	14.9	20.3	18.0	32.3	25.5	10.5	23.7	29.6	4.4	24.7
With countries from Western Europe	8.8	7.4	11.8	9.1	4.0	4.3	10.2	12.0	3.5	12.8	10.5	7.8	9.5	21.3	8.1
With the future in Bulgaria	22.6	22.3	28.0	21.8	18.2	44.7	23.0	28.0	18.5	19.1	39.5	21.7	26.8	27.2	22,5
With developing countries / Latin America / Third World	26.3	25.3	29.3	31.6	17.5	23.4	34.4	30.0	16.5	23.9	34.2	27.3	17.3	37.5	25.7
2. What is the personality from the past 20th century that Bulgaria needs for the new 21th one? Open-ended (Only values over 1% are listed in the table); Valid percent															
Simeon II	16.9	11.9	15.9	12.7	13.4	14.9	13.6	17.6	13.7	13.1	23.7	14.6	11.8	2.1	14.0
Stefan Stambolov	3.0	2.5	3.2	3.5	1.6		4.0	3.9	1.7	1.6	5.3	2.9	1.6	7.7	2.7
Peter Stoyanov	8.1	7.7	5.8	10.1	8.1	2.1	7.4	7.8	9.3	7.9	7.9	7.6	9.6	4.9	8.0
Ivan Kostov	3.4	2.5	1,9	2.9	3.7	4.3	2.9		3.4	2.1	2.6	3.2	1.1	4.2	2.8
Ivan Vazov	2.0	1.1	.5	2.0	1.9	2.1	1.4	2.0	1.5	1.0	2.6	1.8		.7	1.5
Stefan Sofiyanski	2.4	1.9	2.9	1.7	1.6	6.4	2.6		1.7	1.6		2.3	1.1	1.4	2.1
Vasil Levski	3.4	4.8	5.6	5.8	1.6	6.4	5.7	5.9	2.0	4.7	2.6	4.9	.5	7.7	4.1
Todor Jivkov Others	2.2	2.8	1.1	2.3	3.9	0.4	1.0	2.0	3.7	4.7	10.5	2.6	2.1	.7	2.5
	12.5	11.6	10.8	11.3	13.7	8.5	14.8	5.9	12.0	8.9	10.5	13.2	5.9	21.0	12.0
No response	46.2	53.3	52.4	47.7	50.5	55.3	46.7	54.9	51.1	54.5	44.7	47.1	66.3	49.7	50.3
3. Who is responsible for the					_									1	
Rulers during the socialist times	47.6	39.3	50.8	46.0	33.3	61.7	49.0	56.9	32.0	42.4	52.6	43.8	38.0	56.6	42.8
Rulers during the transition period	70.4	70.5	64.6	70.5	75.0	55.3	67.1	70.6	76.3	70.2	60.5	70.8	65.8	65.7	70.0
The people themselves during the socialist times	12.5	12.7	16.4	12.1	9.3	10.6	16.0	13.7	9.0	13.6	7.9	12.7	11.2	21.7	12.5
The people themselves during the transition period	24.6	26.6	28.8	26.6	21.8	21.3	33.8	25.5	20.8	19.4	26.3	27.1	17.6	45.5	25.6
External factors during the socialist times	16.3	12,1	15.9	14.7	11.8	17.0	15,2	19.6	12,5	12.6	15.8	14.0	14.4	23.8	14.0
External factors during the transition period	27.0	21,0	19.6	26.9	24.5	27.7	24.3	19.6	25.7	20.9	10.5	24,1	20.9	28.7	23.6
Other reasons	7.7	9.1	8.5	10.7	6.5	8.5	9.8	7.8	7.8	6.3	15.8	7.2	15.5	10.5	8.5

	Se	.	A	ge Leve	el			Social	status			Eth iden	nic tity	Sam	ple
	Male	Female	8 E=>	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
4. Choose one of the followin	e obb	ostup	staten	nents:	ANSW	ER BAC	H ROU	v: Vali	d nerc	ent					
The main responsibility of the boss is to manage rather than watch if											31.6	22.0	35.9	21.5	33.4
subordinates are satisfied	38.0	29.6	32.3	33.8	34.3	37.0	31,1	34.0	35.6	33.5	51.0	33.0	22.9	21,5	J J J A
Before taking a decision the boss should ask his subordinates about their opinion	62.0	70.4	67.7	66.2	65.7	63.0	68.9	66.0	64.4	66.5	68.4	67.0	64.1	78.5	66.6
If everybody takes care of himself everybody will be OK	59.8	54.4	60.6	59.3	51.8	54.3	61.5	51.0	51.0	61.3	55.3	54.9	67.4	46.6	56.8
If everybody looks after his own interest nothing will change	40.2	45.6	39.4	40.7	48.2	45.7	38.5	49.0	49.0	38.7	44.7	45.1	32.6	53.4	43.2
In Bulgaria one can get rich only if he	56.1	57.5	62.3	53.6	55.2	45.5	54.4	46.0	57.2	65.1	73.7	54.6	69.6	51.2	57.0
steals In Bulgaria one can get rich by working	43.9	42.5	37.7	46.4	44.8	54.5	45.6	54.0	42.8	34.9	26.3	45.4	30.4	48.8	43.0
hard I prefer to work alone, not depending on	63.5	50.2	66.5				59.5	80.0	43.6	60.7	65.8		49.5	89.8	
anybody and to be able one day to get rich I prefer to be an employee with a				58.4	45.0	80.4						57.4			56.1
secure, though lower income	36.5	49.8	33.5	41.6	55.0	19.6	40.5	20.0	56.4	39.3	34.2	42.6	50.5	10.2	43.9
It is better for one to seize a company but to make it work	79.4	76.2	83.7	81.5	69.2	82.6	82.1	88.0	69.6	79.9	83.8	78.8	72.6	94.4	77.7
It is better the company to decline, but no one to seize it	20.6	23.8	16.3	18.5	30.8	17.4	17.9	12.0	30.4	20.1	16.2	21,2	27.4	5.6	22.3
I prefer higher taxes but more social responsibilities of the state	45.5	43.8	45.1	41.1	47.5	35.6	42.8	37.3	49.0	42,1	55.3	44.4	45.5	45.5	44.8
I prefer lower taxes but everyone should be responsible for his own destiny	54.5	56.2	54.9	58.9	52.5	64.4	57.2	62.7	51.0	57.9	44.7	55.6	54.5	54.5	55.2
5. Please consider your (futu ANSWER EACH ROW; Agree; Valid My children better be corrupt than poor	-					<i>// Wisu</i>	Ri cen	ng wa	w we j	unun	mig on	100 6 11146	7443		
The best isk for my skilden would be		22.7	31.2	22.9	17.5	29.8	22.1	20.0	17.6	35.6	40.5	22.2	30.4	10.5	23.6
The best job for my children would be to get big money for less work	60.8	55.5	65.6	55.8	17.5 52.0	29.8 66.0	22.1 57.8	20.0 56.9	17.6 52.6	35.6 61.8	40.5 81.1	22.2 56.4	30.4 63.6	10.5 40.5	
	60.8 36.4	-		-											57.7
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it ANSWER BACH ROW; YES; Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order	36.4 would percer 55.6 69.9 61.7	55.5 33.2 1 be no nt 52.5 66.5 56.1	65.6 44.9 ermal : 61.2 78.2 66.6	55.8 34.3 tbat I : 52.4 65.4 58.1	52.0 25.2	66.0 59.6	57.8 36.3	56.9 39.2	52.6 24.8 elp m ; 49.8 61.0	61.8 41.4	81.1 47.4	56.4 35.1	63.6	40.5	23.6 57.7 34.5 53.8 67.9 58.4
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it ANSWER EACH ROW; YES; Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do to	36.4 would percer 55.6 69.9 61.7	55.5 33.2 1 be no nt 52.5 66.5 56.1	65.6 44.9 61.2 78.2 66.6	55.8 34.3 tbat I : 52.4 65.4 58.1	52.0 25.2 use m 48.2 60.7 51.3	66.0 59.6 y com 76.6 83.0 78.7	57.8 36.3 section 51.0 67.6 57.8	56.9 39.2 ns to h 55.1 78.4 65.3	52.6 24.8 eip m 49.8 61.0 51.6	61.8 41.4 y cbile 60.2 74.2 64.7	81.1 47.4 Iren ij 65.8 81.1 72.2	56.4 35.1 *tbey: 51.5 66.5 57.0	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6	40.5 45.2 25.7 44.9 29.3	57.5 34.5 53.8 67.9
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it ANSWER EACH ROW; YES, Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do a ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid To receive state benefits to which you	36.4 would percer 55.6 69.9 61.7	55.5 33.2 1 be no nt 52.5 66.5 56.1	65.6 44.9 61.2 78.2 66.6	55.8 34.3 tbat I : 52.4 65.4 58.1 gs? 1-Nexe	52.0 25.2 use m 48.2 60.7 51.3	66.0 59.6 y com 76.6 83.0 78.7	57.8 36.3 section 51.0 67.6 57.8	56.9 39.2 ns to h 55.1 78.4 65.3	52.6 24.8 24.8 24.8 49.8 61.0 51.6	61.8 41.4 y cbile 60.2 74.2 64.7	81.1 47.4 Iren ij 65.8 81.1 72.2	56.4 35.1 *tbey: 51.5 66.5 57.0	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6	40.5 45.2 25.7 44.9 29.3	57.3 34.5 53.8 67.5 58.4
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it answer BACH ROW; YES; Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do to answer BACH ROW average valid	36.4 would percen 55.6 69.9 61.7 the follows of a	55.5 33.2 1 be no st 52.5 66.5 56.1 1 lowing	65.6 44.9 61.2 78.2 66.6 g tbin 1-4: 1	55.8 34.3 tbat I : 52.4 65.4 58.1	52.0 25.2 use m 48.2 60.7 51.3	66.0 59.6 y comm 76.6 83.0 78.7	57.8 36.3 section 51.0 67.6 57.8	56.9 39.2 ms to h 55.1 78.4 65.3	52.6 24.8 eip m 49.8 61.0 51.6	61.8 41.4 y chile 60.2 74.2 64.7	81.1 47.4 Iren ij 65.8 81.1 72.2	56.4 35.1 51.5 66.5 57.0 ble; 4-	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6	40.5 45.2 25.7 44.9 29.3	57.3 34.5 53.8 67.9
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it ANSWER EACH ROW; YES; Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do a ANSWER EACH ROW Average valuate not entitled To receive state benefits to which you are not entitled To buy knowingly something stolen To smoke weed (cannabis)	36.4 would percent 55.6 69.9 61.7 the follows of a 1.54 1.62 1.15	55.5 33.2 1 be no out 52.5 66.5 56.1 1 scale: 1.47 1.47 1.12	65.6 44.9 61.2 78.2 66.6 g tbin 1-4: 1 1.66 1.80 1.26	55.8 34.3 tbat I : 52.4 65.4 58.1 gs? (-New 1.52 1.51 1.10	52.0 25.2 use m ; 48.2 60.7 51.3 1.34 1.32 1.04	66.0 59.6 76.6 83.0 78.7 2arely a 1.82 1.87 1.41	57.8 36.3 1ection 51.0 67.6 57.8 1.45 1.57 1.13	56.9 39.2 ns to b 55.1 78.4 65.3 sble ; 3- 1.44 1.54 1.24	52.6 24.8 24.8 49.8 61.0 51.6 Someta 1.36 1.32 1.04	61.8 41.4 y chile 60.2 74.2 64.7 imes at 1.82 1.77 1.25	81.1 47.4 Iren ij 65.8 81.1 72.2 ccepta 1.69 1.75 1.06	56.4 35.1 51.5 66.5 57.0 ble; 4- 1.45 1.51 1.12	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6 Accepta 1.74 1.69 1.19	25.7 44.9 29.3 able 1.17 1.39 1.14	57.3 34.5 53.6 67.5 58.4 1.5-1
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it answer Bach ROW; YES; Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do a answer Bach ROW Average valuation or control of the control	36.4 would percer 55.6 69.9 61.7 the fol- ues of a 1.54 1.62 1.15 2.26	55.5 33.2 1 be noted 52.5 66.5 56.1 1000 in 1.47 1.47 1.12 2.13	65.6 44.9 61.2 78.2 66.6 g tbin 1-4: 1 1.66 1.80 1.26 2.56	55.8 34.3 that I : 52.4 65.4 58.1 gs? 1.52 1.51 1.10 2.20	52.0 25.2 use m ; 48.2 60.7 51.3 27; 2-R 1.34 1.32 1.04 1.86	76.6 83.0 78.7 2 arely a 1.82 1.87 1.41 2.55	57.8 36.3 1ection 51.0 67.6 57.8 1.45 1.57 1.13 2.34	56.9 39.2 ms to h 55.1 78.4 65.3 ble; 3- 1.44 1.54 1.24 2.27	52.6 24.8 49.8 61.0 51.6 Sometiments 1.36 1.32 1.04 1.85	61.8 41.4 y chile 60.2 74.2 64.7 4mes at 1.82 1.77 1.25 2.40	81.1 47.4 iren ij 65.8 81.1 72.2 cceptai 1.69 1.75 1.06 2.57	56.4 35.1 51.5 66.5 57.0 ble; 4- 1.45 1.51 1.12 2.21	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6 Accepta 1.74 1.69 1.19 2.08	25.7 44.9 29.3 able 1.17 1.39 1.14 2.12	57.3 34.5 53.4 67.3 58.4 1.50 1.11 2.11 2.11
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it ANSWER EACH ROW; YES, Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do a ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid To receive state benefits to which you are not entitled To buy knowingly something stolen To smoke weed (cannabis) To keep money, found on the street Not to call the policeif you had bumped somebody's car on the parking lot	36.4 would percen 55.6 69.9 61.7 the fol- ues of a 1.54 1.62 1.15 2.26 2.02	55.5 33.2 See note: 52.5 66.5 56.1 Souring: 1.47 1.47 1.12 2.13 1.85	65.6 44.9 78.2 66.6 g thin 1-4: 1 1.66 1.80 1.26 2.56 2.17	55.8 34.3 52.4 65.4 58.1 1.52 1.51 1.10 2.20 2.03	52.0 25.2 use m ; 48.2 60.7 51.3 1.34 1.32 1.04 1.86 1.61	76.6 83.0 78.7 2 arely a 1.82 1.87 1.41 2.55 2.19	57.8 36.3 51.0 67.6 57.8 57.8 50.0 1.45 1.57 1.13 2.34 2.12	56.9 39.2 ms to b 55.1 78.4 65.3 bble; 3- 1.44 1.54 1.24 2.27 1.92	52.6 24.8 49.8 61.0 51.6 Sometimes 1.36 1.32 1.04 1.85 1.58	61.8 41.4 y child 60.2 74.2 64.7 4mes a 1.82 1.77 1.25 2.40 2.05	81.1 47.4 fren ij 65.8 81.1 72.2 cceptai 1.69 1.75 1.06 2.57 2.18	56.4 35.1 51.5 66.5 57.0 ble; 4- 1.45 1.51 1.12 2.21 1.92	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6 Accepta 1.74 1.69 1.19 2.08 1.98	25.7 44.9 29.3 able 1.17 1.39 1.14 2.12 2.06	57.3 34.5 53.6 67.5 58.4 1.5 1.1 2.19
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it ANSWER BACH ROW; YES; Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do to ANSWER BACH ROW Average valid To receive state benefits to which you are not entitled To buy knowingly something stolen To smoke weed (cannabis) To keep money, found on the street Not to call the policeif you had bumped	36.4 would percer 55.6 69.9 61.7 the fol- ues of a 1.54 1.62 1.15 2.26	55.5 33.2 1 be noted 52.5 66.5 56.1 1000 in 1.47 1.47 1.12 2.13	65.6 44.9 61.2 78.2 66.6 g tbin 1-4: 1 1.66 1.80 1.26 2.56	55.8 34.3 that I : 52.4 65.4 58.1 gs? 1.52 1.51 1.10 2.20	52.0 25.2 use m ; 48.2 60.7 51.3 27; 2-R 1.34 1.32 1.04 1.86	76.6 83.0 78.7 2 arely a 1.82 1.87 1.41 2.55	57.8 36.3 1ection 51.0 67.6 57.8 1.45 1.57 1.13 2.34	56.9 39.2 ms to h 55.1 78.4 65.3 ble; 3- 1.44 1.54 1.24 2.27	52.6 24.8 49.8 61.0 51.6 Sometiments 1.36 1.32 1.04 1.85	61.8 41.4 y chile 60.2 74.2 64.7 4mes at 1.82 1.77 1.25 2.40	81.1 47.4 iren ij 65.8 81.1 72.2 cceptai 1.69 1.75 1.06 2.57	56.4 35.1 51.5 66.5 57.0 ble; 4- 1.45 1.51 1.12 2.21	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6 Accepta 1.74 1.69 1.19 2.08	25.7 44.9 29.3 able 1.17 1.39 1.14 2.12	57. 34. 53. 67. 58. 1.5 1.1 2.1 1.9 1.4
to get big money for less work In this world it is better for my children sometimes to lie 6. If I bad the opportunity, it ANSWER EACH ROW; YES, Valid Apply to university Apply for a job position Participate in a public tender to win an order 7. How acceptable is it to do a ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid To receive state benefits to which you are not entitled To buy knowingly something stolen To smoke weed (cannabis) To keep money, found on the street Not to call the policeif you had bumped somebody's car on the parking lot To throwout your garbage on a public place	36.4 would percen 55.6 69.9 61.7 the fol- ues of a 1.54 1.62 1.15 2.26 2.02 1.47 1.38	55.5 33.2 Ibe no 52.5 66.5 56.1 Ilowin 1.47 1.12 2.13 1.85 1.47 1.22	65.6 44.9 78.2 66.6 g tbin 1-4: 1 1.66 1.80 1.26 2.56 2.17 1.66 1.42	55.8 34.3 that I : 52.4 65.4 58.1 1.52 1.51 1.10 2.20 2.03 1.40 1.27 OW Averally is	52.0 25.2 use m ; 48.2 60.7 51.3 1.34 1.32 1.04 1.61 1.36 1.20 erage :	76.6 83.0 78.7 2 arely a 1.82 1.87 1.41 2.55 2.19 1.74 1.40	57.8 36.3 51.0 67.6 57.8 1.45 1.57 1.13 2.34 2.12 1.41 1.30	56.9 39.2 55.1 78.4 65.3 1.44 1.54 1.24 2.27 1.92 1.27 1.31	52.6 24.8 49.8 61.0 51.6 Someting 1.36 1.32 1.04 1.85 1.58 1.38 1.18	61.8 41.4 y chile 60.2 74.2 64.7 4mes a 1.82 1.77 1.25 2.40 2.05 1.77 1.45	81.1 47.4 65.8 81.1 72.2 cceptal 1.69 1.75 1.06 2.57 2.18 1.58 1.39	56.4 35.1 51.5 66.5 57.0 ble; 4- 1.45 1.51 1.12 2.21 1.92 1.43 1.26	63.6 31.0 65.0 74.9 65.6 1.74 1.69 1.19 2.08 1.98 1.73 1.51	25.7 44.9 29.3 able 1.17 1.39 1.14 2.12 2.06 1.39 1.47	57.3 34.5 53.6 67.5 58.4 1.5-1

	S	ex	A	ge Leve	el			Social	status			Eth iden		Sam	ple
	Male	Female	<=38	39-55	9 5= <	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
9. What are the active people	-	or exc	mple	tbe pe	ople i	bat pe	urticiți	ate in	prote	sis, pi	ıblic a	liscus	sions,	etc.?	
SINGLE RESPONSE; Valid percer People that have nothing else to do	16.1	20.6	16.9	16,4	21.8	13.3	15,4	17.6	23.3	17.5	15.8	15.6	34.4	1.4	18.6
Naives thinking that something		16.6													
depends on them	20.8	10.0	20.2	18.1	17.1	20.0	18.0	9.8	16.0	24.3	26.3	18.3	18.9	17.9	18.3
People, who want to get a personal interest on behalf of the society	13.9	13.0	11.6	13.2	15.2	8.9	11.8	15.7	14.8	15.9	5.3	12.9	16.1	5.7	13.3
People manipulated by others with power (politicians, business circles, trade unions)	23.8	17.6	20.7	20.2	19.7	28.9	20.2	27.5	19.5	16.9	26.3	21.6	11.7	20.0	20.3
The people on whom the future of Bulgaria depends	25.4	32,2	30.6	32.2	26.3	28.9	34.6	29.4	26.3	25.4	26.3	31.6	18.9	55.0	29.4
10. What would make you pr	ntest é	e Aron	t of th	e Pari	llame	nt hudi	dino?	сноо	SR uto t	to 3 obt	ions !	VRS- VA	did te	rcent	
Drastic deterioration of the economic															(20
situation in the country	66.1	62.4	66.9	68.5	57.9	61.7	66.0	62.7	59.7	70.2	63.2	63.3	65.8	69.9	63.8
Drastic increase in crime	54.4	52.1	48.1	57.2	53.9	44.7	54.5	58.8	54.3	48.2	50.0	55.4	38.5	42.0	52.9
Obvious corruption among politicians	35.3	28.6	31.2	31.2	31.3	34.0	31.0	35.3	32.3	28.8	31.6	33.5	18.7	39.9	31.3
Drastic increase in education taxes Drastic increase in health-related taxes	8.7	11.6	13.8 30.2	11.6	6.0	40.4	13.1	9.8 21.6	6.1	5.2	13.2	11.0 36.0	6.4	11.9	10.2
Repression of the freedom of speech	28.8 9.9	40.2 8.5	14.0	34.7 7.2	39.6 6.3	31.9 19.1	31.7 10.5	11.8	42.5 6.1	30.9 8.9	36.8 10.5	9.4	29.4 7.5	29.4 30.8	35.0 9.0
Repression of minorities	10.9	9.4	13.2	13.0	5.6	2.1	8.3	3.9	6.6	25.7	13.2	2.7	49.7	5.6	10.2
Introduction of forms of dictatorship	31.0	22.3	28.0	31.5	20.1	23.4	34.8	43.1	17.6	23.6	21.1	28.8	12.8	51.0	26.2
Manipulation of elections			1/1		100	_			0.0		150	140			
Manipulation of elections	15.7	11.7	16.4	13.6	10.2	8.5	17.9	23.5	8.8	11.5	15.8	14.8	5.9	22.4	13.4
Other	15.7 2.6	11.7 4.9	1.6	3.2	6.5	8.5	2.1	23.5	6.8	3.1	2.6	3.6	5.3	22.4 2.1	13.4 3.9
Other	2.6	49	1.6	3.2	6.5		2.1	20	6.8	3.1	2.6				
Other 11. Do your children particip	2.6 Date is	49 takin	1.6	3.2 ully de	6.5 ciston		2.1	2.0 SPON	6.8 E; Val	3.1 id pen	2.6 cent	3.6	5.3	2.1	3.9
Other 11. Do your children particit No - they are too young	2.6 Date in	4.9 takin 12.3	1.6 1.6 1.6 1.6 1.6	3.2 ully de 5.4	6.5 cision 2. 7		2.1 GLE RE 13.6	2.0 SPON 11.4	6.8 E; Val 1.5	3.1 id per 22.3	2.6 cent 36.8	3.6	5.3 25.0	6.0	3.9 12.7
Other 11. Do your children particity No - they are too young Yes, when it concerns them	2.6 Date in 13.5 39.4	4.9 takin 12.3 34.4	1.6 1 g fam 38.0 47.3	3.2 ally de 5.4 39.0	6.5 ciston 2.7 23.6	s? SIN	2.1	2.0 SPON: 11.4 40.0	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1	3.1 id pen	2.6 cent	3.6	5.3 25.0 39.1	6.0 31.3	3.9 12.7 36.7
Other 11. Do your children particit No - they are too young	2.6 Date in	4.9 takin 12.3	1.6 1.6 1.6 1.6 1.6	3.2 ully de 5.4	6.5 ciston 2.7 23.6		2.1 GLE RE 13.6	2.0 SPON 11.4	6.8 E; Val 1.5	3.1 id per 22.3	2.6 cent 36.8	3.6	5.3 25.0	6.0	3.9 12.7
Other 11. Do your children partici No - they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes	2.6 2.6 13.5 39.4 47.1	4.9 12.3 34.4 53.2	1.6 1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6	6.5 ciston 2.7 23.6 73.6	100.0	2.1 GLE RI 13.6 43.0 43.4	2.0 SPON: 11.4 40.0 48.6	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1	3.1 id per 22.3 38.3	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4	3.6 10.1 35.8	5.3 25.0 39.1	6.0 31.3	3.9 12.7 36.7
Other 11. Do your children particip No - they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions	2.6 2.6 13.5 39.4 47.1	4.9 12.3 34.4 53.2	1.6 1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6	6.5 ciston 2.7 23.6 73.6	100.0	2.1 GLE RI 13.6 43.0 43.4	2.0 SPON: 11.4 40.0 48.6	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1	3.1 id per 22.3 38.3	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4	3.6 10.1 35.8	5.3 25.0 39.1	6.0 31.3	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7
Other 11. Do your children particit No - they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average	2.6 Date in 13.5 39.4 47.1 1d you 2.04	123 34.4 53.2 like ye	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 our ck 1.95	3.2 4lly dec 5.4 39.0 55.6 6lldren 1.93	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11	100.0 100.0 1.86	2.1 GLE RI 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMRE	2.0 2SPON 11.4 40.0 48.6	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5	3.1 Fid per 22.3 38.3 39.4	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1	5.3 25.0 39.1 35.9	6.0 31.3 62.7	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7
Other 11. Do your children particit No - they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average	2.6 Date in 13.5 39.4 47.1 Id you 2.04	49 t takin 12.3 34.4 53.2 like ye 1.98	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 000 Ck 1.95	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 61dren 1.93	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 to ba 2.11 SPONS	100.0 100.0 1.86	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMBEE 1.97	2.0 2SPON 11.4 40.0 48.6	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5	3.1 iid pen 22.3 38.3 39.4	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05	6.0 31.3 62.7	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7
Other 11. Do your children particip No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion in the family	2.6 Date in 13.5 39.4 47.1 dd you 2.04 matte 66.1	4.9 ** takin 12.3 34.4 53.2 ** title ye 1.98 ** r mos 75.0	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 tt? SING 57.3	3.2 11y de 5.4 39.0 55.6 11.93 3.E.RE 74.2	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 to ba 2.11 SPONS 80.6	100.0 100.0 1.86 E	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMBEE 1.97	2.0 2SPON 11.4 40.0 48.6 1.89	6.8 5.8; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09	3.1 iid pen 22.3 38.3 39.4	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05	6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00
Other 11. Do your children particip No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends	2.6 Date in 13.5 39.4 47.1 dd you 2.04 matte 66.1 18.5	4.9 12.3 34.4 53.2 14ke ye 1.98 75.0 11.2	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 17 SING 57.3 26.0	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 1.93 74.2 9.6	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2	100.0 100.0 1.86 E 34.0 53.2	2.1 GLE RI 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMRE 1.97	2.0 2SPON 11.4 40.0 48.6	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5	3.1 iid per 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5
Other 11. Do your children particip No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion in the family	2.6 Date in 13.5 39.4 47.1 Ld you 2.04 matte 66.1 18.5 .8	12.3 34.4 53.2 14ke ye 1.98 75.0 11.2 1.7	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 47 SING 57.3 26.0 3.2	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 6 6 6 74.2 9.6 .6	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2 .2	100.0 100.0 1.86 E	2.1 GLE RI 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMRE 1.97 63.2 15.5 1.9	2.0 SSPON: 11.4 40.0 48.6 R 1.89 56.9 9.8	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09 81.7 8.6	3.1 iid per 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99 76.3 15.8 .5	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82 78.9 15.8	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00 69.7 15.4 1.5	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05 76.3 10.8	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6 1.4	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5 1.3
Other 11. Do your children particip No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends At school/University	2.6 Date in 13.5 39.4 47.1 dd you 2.04 matte 66.1 18.5	4.9 12.3 34.4 53.2 14ke ye 1.98 75.0 11.2	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 47 SING 57.3 26.0 3.2	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 6 6 6 74.2 9.6 .6	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2	100.0 100.0 1.86 E 34.0 53.2	2.1 GLE RI 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMRE 1.97	2.0 2SPON 11.4 40.0 48.6 1.89	6.8 5.8; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09	3.1 iid per 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5
Other 11. Do your children particip No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends At school/University At work Among other relatives	2.6 13.5 39.4 47.1 2.04 matte 66.1 18.5 .8 12.2 2.4	12.3 34.4 53.2 11/8 198 27 mos 75.0 11.2 1.7 5.9 6.2	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 57.3 26.0 3.2 10.3 3.2	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 1.93 74.2 9.6 6 12.8 2.9	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2 .2 .3.5 7.5	100.0 100.0 1.86 E 34.0 53.2 12.8	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMRE 1.97 63.2 15.5 1.9 16.7 2.6	2.0 SPON: 11.4 40.0 48.6 R 1.89 9.8 33.3	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09 81.7 8.6 1.7 7.9	3.1 id per 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99 76.3 15.8 .5 2.1 5.3	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82 78.9 15.8 2.6 2.6	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00 69.7 15.4 1.5 9.3 4.1	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05 76.3 10.8 .5 4.8 7.5	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6 1.4 35.0 2.1	3.9 12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5 1.3 8.6
Other 11. Do your children particip No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends At school/University At work	2.6 13.5 39.4 47.1 2.04 matte 66.1 18.5 .8 12.2 2.4	12.3 34.4 53.2 11/8 198 27 mos 75.0 11.2 1.7 5.9 6.2	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 000 Ck 1.95 57.3 26.0 3.2 10.3 3.2	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 1.93 74.2 9.6 6 12.8 2.9	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2 .2 .3.5 7.5	100.0 100.0 1.86 E 34.0 53.2 12.8	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMRE 1.97 63.2 15.5 1.9 16.7 2.6	2.0 3SPON3 11.4 40.0 48.6 1.89 56.9 9.8 33.3	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09 81.7 8.6 1.7 7.9 EER EAC	3.1 iid pen 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99 76.3 15.8 5 2.1 5.3 CH ROV	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82 78.9 15.8 2.6 2.6	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00 69.7 15.4 1.5 9.3 4.1	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05 76.3 10.8 .5 4.8 7.5	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6 1.4 35.0 2.1	12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5 1.3 8.6 4.7
Other 11. Do your children particip No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends At school/University At work Among other relatives 14. Do you agree that rape si	2.6 13.5 39.4 47.1 2.04 matte 66.1 18.5 .8 12.2 2.4 bould	12.3 34.4 53.2 like y 1.98 75.0 11.2 1.7 5.9 6.2	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 57.3 26.0 3.2 10.3 3.2	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 1.93 74.2 9.6 6 12.8 2.9	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 to ba 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2 2 3.5 7.5	100.0 100.0 1.86 E 34.0 53.2 12.8	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMBE 1.97 63.2 15.5 1.9 16.7 2.6	2.0 SPON: 11.4 40.0 48.6 R 1.89 9.8 33.3	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09 81.7 8.6 1.7 7.9	3.1 id per 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99 76.3 15.8 .5 2.1 5.3	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82 78.9 15.8 2.6 2.6 V; YES;	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00 69.7 15.4 1.5 9.3 4.1 Valid	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05 76.3 10.8 .5 4.8 7.5	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6 1.4 35.0 2.1	12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5 1.3 8.6 4.7
Other 11. Do your children particity No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends At school/University At work Among other relatives 14. Do you agree that rape slift the man is married to the woman. If the man is not married to the woman	2.6 2.6 2.7 2.04	12.3 34.4 53.2 11ke ye 1.98 75.0 11.2 1.7 5.9 6.2 be com 81.5 96.4	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 57.3 26.0 3.2 10.3 3.2 10.3 76.5 93.4	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 6.1 1.93 74.2 9.6 6.1 12.8 2.9 78.8 96.2	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2 .2 3.5 7.5 rime ij 78.2 95.3	100.0 1.86 E 34.0 53.2 12.8 ft bay 76.6 91.5	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMBE 1.97 63.2 15.5 19. 16.7 2.6 Dens. 80.9 96.2	2.0 3SPON 11.4 40.0 48.6 8 1.89 9.8 33.3 70.6 90.2	88; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09 81.7 8.6 1.7 7.9 ER EAC 79.2 95.3	3.1 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99 76.3 15.8 .5 2.1 5.3 CH ROV 69.7 93.2	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82 78.9 15.8 2.6 2.6 V; YES; 84.2 97.3	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00 69.7 15.4 1.5 9.3 4.1 Valid 81.0 96.4	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05 76.3 10.8 .5 4.8 7.5 perces 62.0 88.2	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6 1.4 35.0 2.1	12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5 1.3 8.6 4.7
Other 11. Do your children particity No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends At school/University At work Among other relatives 14. Do you agree that rape sill fithe man is married to the woman. If the man is not married to the woman. 15. Is it acceptable for a mar. It is acceptable, if he decides that she	2.6 2.6 2.7 2.04	12.3 34.4 53.2 11ke ye 1.98 75.0 11.2 1.7 5.9 6.2 be com 81.5 96.4	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 57.3 26.0 3.2 10.3 3.2 10.3 76.5 93.4	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 6.1 1.93 74.2 9.6 6.1 12.8 2.9 78.8 96.2	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2 2.3.5 7.5 rime ij 78.2 95.3	100.0 1.86 E 34.0 53.2 12.8 ft bay 76.6 91.5	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMBE 1.97 63.2 15.5 19. 16.7 2.6 Dens. 80.9 96.2	2.0 3SPON 11.4 40.0 48.6 8 1.89 9.8 33.3 70.6 90.2	88; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09 81.7 8.6 1.7 7.9 ER EAC 79.2 95.3	3.1 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99 76.3 15.8 .5 2.1 5.3 CH ROV 69.7 93.2	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82 78.9 15.8 2.6 2.6 V; YES; 84.2 97.3	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00 69.7 15.4 1.5 9.3 4.1 Valid 81.0 96.4	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05 76.3 10.8 .5 4.8 7.5 perces 62.0 88.2	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6 1.4 35.0 2.1	12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5 1.3 8.6 4.7 77.9 95.0
Other 11. Do your children particity No-they are too young Yes, when it concerns them Yes, always when the family makes important decisions 12. How many children would arithmetic Average 13. Where does your opinion In the family Among friends At school/University At work Among other relatives 14. Do you agree that rape so If the man is married to the woman If the man is not married to the woman 15. Is it acceptable for a married.	2.6 13.5 39.4 47.1 2.04 matte 66.1 18.5 .8 12.2 2.4 could: 73.1 93.2	123 34.4 53.2 11ke ye 1.98 75.0 11.2 1.7 5.9 6.2 be con 81.5 96.4	1.6 38.0 47.3 14.7 0ur ck 1.95 57.3 26.0 3.2 10.3 3.2 10.3 3.2 93.4 at be s	3.2 5.4 39.0 55.6 1.93 74.2 9.6 6.6 12.8 2.9 78.8 96.2	6.5 cistom 2.7 23.6 73.6 to ba 2.11 SPONS 80.6 8.2 2 3.5 7.5 rime ij 78.2 95.3	100.0 100.0 1.86	2.1 GLE RE 13.6 43.0 43.4 UMBE 1.97 63.2 15.5 1.9 16.7 2.6 Dens. 80.9 96.2	2.0 3SPON: 11.4 40.0 48.6 R 1.89 56.9 9.8 33.3 70.6 90.2	6.8 SE; Val 1.5 22.1 76.5 2.09 81.7 8.6 1.7 7.9 EER EAC 79.2 95.3	3.1 id pen 22.3 38.3 39.4 1.99 76.3 15.8 5.5 2.1 5.3 CH ROW 69.7 93.2	2.6 cent 36.8 47.4 15.8 1.82 78.9 15.8 2.6 2.6 2.6 84.2 97.3	3.6 10.1 35.8 54.1 2.00 69.7 15.4 1.5 9.3 4.1 Valid 81.0 96.4 d perce	25.0 39.1 35.9 2.05 76.3 10.8 .5 4.8 7.5 perces 62.0 88.2	2.1 6.0 31.3 62.7 2.20 49.0 12.6 1.4 35.0 2.1 91.4 97.8	12.7 36.7 50.7 2.00 70.9 14.5 1.3 8.6

	Se			ne T	a l			Social	ntata-			Eth	nic	San	-ale
				ge Leve	:1			300321	BEZEUS			iden	tity	3411	ibre
	Male	Female	<=38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
16. Must there be a particular t	num	ber of	'parli	ımeni	ary se	ats re	served	for: l	<i>MULTII</i>	LE RES	SPONS.	ES; YES	; Valid	l perce	ent
	79.0	79.1	79.6	81.5	76.4	72.3	80.2	72.5	77.0	84.3	78.9	80.6	70.6	76.9	79.1
Women .	43.1	56.4	47.9	51.4	51,4	38.3	54.0	45.1	51.6	42,4	60.5	52,3	39.6	46.2	50,2
	31.3	26,9	27.5	32,1	27.1	34.0	32.4	35.3	28,1	19.4	26.3	31.3	15.0	35.7	28.6
	13.7	12,4	12,7	13.9	12,5	8.5	9.0	17.6	12,7	20.9	15.8	9.1	33.2	11,9	12,9
	15.1	12.8	15.9	14.2	12.5	8.5	12.9	15.7	12.2	22.0	13.2	8.0	45.5	9.1	14.0
Pensioners	17.5	24.1	10.1	15.9	35.0	8.5	11.7	17.6	35.7	15.7	15.8	22.4	15.0	12.6	21.2
17. With what sex your child sho	ruld :	nast fi	reaues	ativ cos	******	icate:	until 1	4 veer	s of as	e: If vo	ur child	d is ma	le:Valid	d perc	ent
Male	9.7	11.8	9.7	9.9	12.5	4.3	10.2	5.9	12.3	12.4	8.8	8.8	21.2	6.2	10.8
Female	- <u>''</u>	1.1	.8	1.2	.5	1.5	1.0	2.0	.5	1.1	5.0	.7	1.1	1.6	.8
Equally	79.2	79.8	84.6	81.4	73.3	84.8	84.7	86.3	73.2	76.3	91.2	82.2	64.7	90.7	79.3
N/r	10.7	7.3	4.9	7.5	13.7	10,9	4.1	5.9	14.0	10.2		8.3	13.0	1.6	9.1
18. With what sex your child sho	add a	unet A		utla oo		daata	metall 1	Anna	m o f av	sau Hara	المائه سد	d le form	ala Va	lid too	wood
Male	.6	1.6	1.6	.6	1.2	WANT !	1.2	2.0	1.3	5. 19 yo	2.8	.8	2.7	1.6	1.2
	10.6	12.0	9.7	10.8	13.3	6.5	10.8	8.0	13.1	12.8	2.8	9.1	23.1	7.1	11.3
	77.9	78.9	83.6	81.0	71.7	82.6	83.6	84.0	71.5	76.6	94.4	81.7	61.0	89.8	78.3
* /	10.8	7.4	5.1	7.5	13.8	10.9	4.4	6.0	14.1	10.1	71.1	8.4	13.2	1.6	9.2
19. What do you prefer as a fair To live with a partner, not being	11.0	mode 9.6	18.1	9.0	2.8 3.8	E; Valid 25.5	d perc	ent 9.8	4.5	9.6	13,2	11,0	6.0	18.9	10,2
married, separately from the parents To live with a partner, not being	11,0	2.0		9.0	5.0	2),)		9,0	70.7		1,3,2			10.9	
married, with the parents	1.0	.8	1.9		.7		.7	2.0	.8	1.6		.7	1,6		9
with the parents To live with a partner being married	12.2	10.6	9.3	7.6	16.4	4.3	8.6	5.9	16.4	10.1	13.2	8.9	23.9	4.2	11.4
separately from the parents	71.2	72.7	66.4	78.7	71.4	66.0	72.9	78.4	70.8	72.3	71.1	73.7	63.0	75.5	72.0
To live alone	4.6	6.3	4.3	4.7	7.6	4.3	3.8	3.9	7.6	6.4	2.6	5.7	5.4	1.4	5.6
20. Did you participate in the n	mass		tizati	oni; V	alid pe	ercent									
	31.9	31.6	20.2	39.9	34.9	6.4	37.2	41.2	33.7	20.0	23.7	34.3	17.2	53.5	31.5
No .	68.1	68.4	79.8	60.1	65.1	93.6	62.8	58.8	66.3	80.0	76.3	65.7	82.8	46.5	68.5
21. If YES, do you know bow th	e coi	mpan	y deve	lops ti	bat yo	u bav	e sbar	es in?,	Valid	perce	nt				
	25.6	25.1	26.3				38.5	28.6	15.4	7.9	22.2	27.3	6.3	30.3	25.3
	67.5	69.0			79.2	66.7	53.2	66.7	80.9		77.8	66.4	87.5	64.5	
I do not care	6.9	5.9	10.5	5.8	4.7	33.3	8.3	4.8	3.7	7.9		6.4	6.3	5.3	
22. Did you receive back agric			<u> </u>						.	***					
Yes	48.4			49.4	70.2		41.1	43.1	69.9	33.0	16.2	51.9	31.7	55.8	
	51.6	51.0	77.7 ז סדר ית	50.6	29.8	79.5	58.9	56.9	30.1	67.0	83.8	48.1	68.3	44.2	51.3
No	dt		11.1 15 1.	CALL	CEYSES	رتحد را	casts ()	51 UE7U							
No 23. If yes, what do you do with Rented (to cooperatives or private	26.2	26.6	10.6	27.5	39.4	8.5	23.6	23.5	38.1	15.2	13.2	30.5	5.3	27.3	26.4
No 23. If yes, what do you do with Rented (to cooperatives or private business)	26.2	26.6	10.6	27.5		8.5	23.6	23.5			13.2	_			
No 23. If yes, what do you do witte Rented (to cooperatives or private business) I gave it for free (donated it)	26.2 .8	26.6 2.2	10.6 .5	27.5 1.4	2.5		.7		2.7	2.1		1.4	2.1	2.8	1.6
No 23. If yes, what do you do witto Rented (to cooperatives or private business) I gave it for free (donated it)	26.2	26.6	10.6	27.5		8.5 4.3 2.1		23.5 13.7 2.0			13.2 2.6	_			1.6

	S	ex	A	ge Lev	el			Social	status			Eth		Sam	ple
	Male	Female	%=38	39-55	95=≺	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarlan	Other	Experimental	National total
24. Have you tried to start a j	helvat	e busi	ness u	th to d	ate? SI	NGLE	RESPO	NSR: V	alid ne	ercent					
Yes, and I succeeded	9.4	4.8	8.0	10.5	2,8	2,1	5.5	76.0	2,5	1.6	7.9	6.7	7.0	23,1	6.8
Yes, but I did not succeed	13.5	7.6	14.4	13.5	3.9	8.5	12,2	16.0	3.4	18.2	15.8	10,4	9.2	14.0	10.2
No, I have not tried yet	77.1	87.5	77.6	76.0	93.3	89.4	82,3	8.0	94.1	80.2	76.3	82.9	83.8	62,9	83.1
25. If NO, do you plan to star	t up a	priva	te bus	iness?		perce	nt				_	_		-	_
Yes	18.2	15.2	35.7	15.8	2.6	51.3	25.9	25.0	2.7	18.8	24.1	17.0	13.0	38.9	16.4
No	81.8	84.8	64.3	84.2	97.4	48.7	74.1	75.0	97.3	81.2	75.9	83.0	87.0	61.1	83.6
26. Who should be responsible	for fu	nding .	a job f	oryou	r cblle	l (grai	ıdcbile	d)? CH	OOSE 7	HREE	4NSWE	RS; YES	:Valid	perce	nt
Schools and universities	16.3	20.4	18.3	21,1	16.7	17.0	19.0	13.7	17.8	19.4	23.7	19.8	10.7	25.2	18.4
Companies providing employment	42,9	38.8	39.2	45.7	37.0	40.4	47.1	47.1	34.7	37.2	36.8	42,3	29.9	44.1	40.3
Independent business centers	15.1	18.4	22.0	22.3	8.6	36.2	26.0	25.5	7.6	11.0	15.8	19.2	5.3	41.3	17.0
The State	56.5	58.1	51.6	52.6	66.4	48.9	48.3	33.3	67.7	63.4	60.5	54.9	70.1	26.6	57.5
The Municipality	30.6	34.8	29.1	30.6	38.0	10.6	28.1	15.7	39.6	38.7	34.2	28.7	54.5	10.5	32.8
The child himself	59.3	56.9	61,1	54.9	57.4	59.6	60.7	82.4	56.5	50.3	47.4	60.5	44.4	81.8	57.7
The family of the child	33.9	29.7	32,3	34,1	28.7	21,3	33.3	49.0	28.1	33.0	34.2	30.1	39.6	28.7	31.5
The trade unions	6.5	3.6	4.0	5,2	5.3	2,1	4.5	9.8	5.4	4.2	2.6	5,2	3.2	1.4	4.8
27. Concerning your work, ca	n you:	ANSWI	REAG	HROW	' Avera	ge valu	ies of a	scale 1	-3; 1	Not at a	aII; 2-1	nawa	y; 3-La	agety	
Determine when to start and finish work	1.67	1.59	1.56	1.56	1.78	1.61	1.44	2.46	1.77	1.66	1.50	1.57	1.89	2.08	1.62
Influence the way your working day is organized	196	1.86	1.83	1.88	2.00	1.86	1.82	2.67	1.96	1.78	1.70	1.87	2.03	2.60	1.90
Influence your labor conditions, for instance, safety, length of breaks	1.79	1.67	1.64	1.66	1.90	1.71	1.55	2.57	1.88	1.71	1.52	1.68	1.90	2.15	1.72
28. Would you leave the coun	ury? SI	NGLE	RESPO	NSE; V	alid pe	ercent									
Yes, for ever	10.1	7.3	18.8	6.6	.7	14.9	11.7	11.8	.5	13.6	21,1	8.9	5.9	8.4	8.5
Yes, for a short time	31.7	24.6	48.9	31.8	6.7	61.7	36.7	39.2	6.4	41.4	39.5	26.9	33.7	53.8	28.0
No	58.1	68.1	32,3	61,6	92.6	23.4	51.7	49.0	93.1	45.0	39.5	64.3	60.4	37.8	63.5
29. IF Yes, when? SINGLE RESPO	ONSE;	Valid į	bercer	ıt											
Immediately - as soon as I collect the necessary money and documents	32.9	32.4	34.8	26.0	38.7	20.0	28.9	23.1	30.8	51.0	17.4	30.6	43.2	20.7	32.6
When I see that the situation is not	26.6	23.0	23.3	27.5	29.0	17.1	26.9	38.5	34.6	15.4	34.8	25.9	20.3	26.4	24.9
getting better I have not decided yet when	40.6	44.6	41.9		32.3	62.9	44.3	38.5	34.6	33.7	47.8	43.5	36.5	52.9	42.4
·															
30. Do you think that the con	ung e	ection	is can	cban	ge you	n obu	non o	n emiį	gratin	g fron	t the c	ountr	ye; Vai	sa per	cent
Yes, if a better government comes I can	62.6	65.2	62.5	71.2	50.0	65.6	65.4	70.4	55.6	57.7	79.2	61.7	70.0	74.4	63.4
reconsider my decision No, I will leave no matter what government comes	37.4	34.8	37.5	28.8	50.0	34.4	34.6	29.6	44.4	42.3	20.8	38.3	30.0	25.6	36.6
31. Have you done, during the laws or policies? ANSWER EACH						ollow	ing thi	ings in	orde	r to in	fluenc	e tbe	chang	e of n	ules,
Submitting a suggestion to an administration (educational, at work, local government, central government)	11.7	6.3	7.4	11.8	6.7	2.1	12.4	13.7	6.6	6.8		9.2	5.9	65.7	8.6
Protest against an administration (educational, at work, local government, central government)	5.0	4.6	4.8	6.4	3.0	2.1	7.4	2.0	2.7	5.2	2.6	4.7	4.8	18.9	4.7
Activities which would control the work of an administration (educational, at work, local	7.5	3.4	4.0	8.1	3.7	2.1	6.9	11.8	3.7	4.7		5.6	3.2	36.4	5.2
government, central government)															

	Se	ex.	A	ge Leve	. 1			Social	status			Eth		Sam	ple
				J								iden	tity		
	Malc	Female	<=38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
Continuing Q31: Have you don change of rules, laws or polic					ontbs,	one o	f the f	ollow	ing th	ings in	orde	r to in	fluenc	e tbe	
NGO activities and projects	3.2	3.4	3.7	4.0	2.3	4.3	4.0	9.8	1.7	3.1	2.6	3.2	3.7	68.5	3.3
Referendums	5.4	4.0	2.6	6.1	5.1		3.6	2.0	5.4	6.8	5.3	4.5	4.8	11.2	4.6
Participation in public meetings and discussions	13.9	9.9	10.8	13.6	10.6	8.5	16.2	9.8	9.3	8,9	5.3	12.9	4.3	81.1	11.5
Participation in strikes	5.4	5.3	6.6	5.8	3.7	2.1	6.7		3.4	8.9	2.6	5.3	5.3	12.6	5.3
Meetings of trade union councils	9.1	7.1	6.1	13.0	5.6	2.1	14.5	5.9	4.4	4.2	2.6	9.1	2.1	21.0	7.9
Participation in meetings of	7.3	8.3	11.4	8.4	4.4	23.4	12.1	5.9	3.2	5.2	7.9	8.3	5.3	42.7	7.8
school/university councils Meetings of political parties	11.7	7.6	5.8	11.6	10.6	2.1	11.4	7.8	10.5	5.8	2.6	9.3	9.6	34.3	9.3
Callingthe health-control authorities	9.7	8.5	7.7	11.3	8.3	4.3	10.2	15.7	9.0	6.3	5.3	9.6	5.9		9.0
concerning the poor quality of food products	9.7	6.7	7.7	11.5	6.3	4.5	10.2	15./	9.0	0.5	2.5	9.0	5.9	15.4	9.0
Addressing the mass media in order to voice a personal opinion	8.9	6.6	6.1	9.8	7.2	2.1	9.5	13.7	6.4	6.3	5.3	7.9	5.3	46.2	7.6
Calling the police about an irregularity or a crime	19.6	12,2	12,4	19.9	14,4	12,8	17.4	31.4	14,2	11,5	7.9	16.6	8.6	39.9	15.3
Refusal to buy from a certain shop because of bad service	35.3	33.7	36.5	42,2	25.7	48.9	43.6	64.7	24,2	23.6	36.8	38.3	12,3	80.4	34.2
Buying certain products because of political, moral or environment protection considerations	15.3	13.3	14.8	17.1	10.6	21.3	16.4	29.4	10.0	12.0	13.2	15.9	4.3	35.7	14.0
Protests, which are not related to political or work relationships WHAT KIND OF:	2.4	2.3	2.9	1.2	2.5	2.1	2.1	5.9	2.4	2.1		2.5	1.6	12.6	2.3
NONE of the above	27.0	33.1	27.8	24.6	37.0	21.3	21.4	13.7	38.6	38.2	31.6	27.3	45.5		30.1
32. Would you engage in such	an a	ctivity	PANSV	VER EA	CH RO	W; YES	; Valid	perce	ent						
administration (educational, at work, local government, central government)	31.7	28.6	33.6	37.3	21.1	38.3	39.0	51.0	19.3	26.2	28.9	31.3	22.5	76.9	30.0
Protest against an administration (educational, at work, local government, central government)	27.6	22.1	33.1	29.8	13.0	34.0	32.9	37.3	12.0	27.2	28.9	25.3	20.9	58.0	24.5
Activities which would control the work of an administration (educational, at work, local government, central government)	29.4	22.6	28.3	36.4	14.6	29.8	35.5	41.2	13.2	26.2	23.7	27.8	13.9	72. 7	25.6
NGO activities and projects	15.5	13.8	16.7	21,1	7.4	14.9	19.5	23.5	7.3	17.3	13.2	15.8	8.6	76.9	14.6
Referendums	58.5	55.2	60.8	63.3	47.5	61.7	68.3	66.7	47.4	47.1	57.9	59.1	42,2	86.7	56.5
Participation in public meetings and discussions	36.9	29.8	36.0	38.4	25.9	40.4	41.2	51.0	24.9	25.7	34.2	35.2	21.9	79.7	32.9
Participation in strikes	24.6	22,9	32.0	32,1	9.3	27.7	35.2	29.4	7.8	27.7	34.2	24.3	20.3	42.0	23.6
Meetings of trade union councils	20.8	17.3	21,4	27.2	10.0	19.1	31.0	27.5	7.8	13.6	21,1	20.8	9.1	40.6	18.9
Participation in meetings of	17.7	20.9	30.4	23.1	6.7	53.2	28.1	29.4	5.9	15.7	31.6	20.6	11.8	58.7	19.3
school/university councils Meetings of political parties	20.8	14.8	16.7	21,4	15.3	10,6	21,7	25.5	14.9	15.7	7.9	17.0	18.7	38.5	17.5
Calling the health control authorities concerning the poor quality of food		56.1	59.0	67.1	42.8	53.2	69.5	76.5	42.5	46.1	63.2	59.8	31.6	83.9	55.3
	54.8														270
products Addressing the mass media in order to voice a personal opinion	39.3	35.5	42.3	43.9	26.9	38.3	48.1	51.0	25.7	33.0	42.1	39.6	23.5	72.7	37.0
products Addressing the mass media in order to voice a personal opinion Calling the police about an irregularity or a crime	39.3 67.5				26.9 56.5	38.3 68.1	48.1 79.5	51.0 76.5	25.7 55.5	33.0 51.3	42.1 65.8	39.6 69.1	23.5 43.3	72.7 85.3	65.0
products Addressing the mass media in order to voice a personal opinion Calling the police about an irregularity	39.3	35.5	42.3	43.9			-								65.0
products Addressing the mass media in order to voice a personal opinion Calling the police about an irregularity or a crime Refusal to buy from a certain shop because of bad service Buying certain products because of political, moral or environment	39.3 67.5	35.5 63.7	42.3 67.7	43.9 73.1	56.5	68.1	79.5	76.5	55.5	51.3	65.8	69.1	43.3	85.3	65.0 60.9
products Addressing the mass media in order to voice a personal opinion Calling the police about an irregularity or a crime Refusal to buy from a certain shop because of bad service Buying certain products because of	39.3 67.5 61.1	35.5 63.7 61.1	42.3 67.7 68.0	43.9 73.1 67.6	56.5 49.8	68.1 66.0	79.5 75.0	76.5 84.3	55.5 49.6	51.3 45.5	65.8 73.7	69.1 65.7	43.3 35.8	85.3 77.6	37.0 65.0 60.9 28.4

	s	ex	A	ge Leve	el			Social	status			Eth iden		Sam	ple
	Male	Female	<=38	39-55	>=5€	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
33. If NOT, what is the reason	n for n	ot tak	ing Da	ert in s	auch c	itizen	activi	ties?-	ANSWE	R EACI	H ROW	: YES: \	Valid i	ercen	ıt
No one would listen to us	87.2	84.6	84.0	86.8	86.3	80.0	82,1	85.0	86.6	92,2	79.2	84.0	92.3	27.7	85.6
There is not an institution/intermediary/ that would present our ideas to the administration	71.0	67.5	69.0	67.6	70.2	68.0	62.6	70.0	70.7	73.8	83.3	67.0	77.2	40.0	69.2
Such activities at a certain moment get under the control of several people, who do it just for their own interests	77.3	73.0	77.0	70.4	76.7	84.0	70.1	60.0	76.6	78.9	79.2	72.9	82.7	62.8	75.0
We do not know how to organize ourselves	63.6	65.3	62.9	60.6	69.3	60.0	57.3	60.0	69.0	69.4	70.8	61.3	78.8	40.5	64.9
We do not feel competent to influence the administration There are not enough people to join us	71.0 71.3	71.6 71.6	70.3 71.8	66.8 75.4	75.7 69.2	68.0 66.7	63.9 73.1	75.0 75.0	74.4 70.5	77.7 70.5	70.8 79.2	66.0 68.5	91.2 82.6	33.3 46.3	71.3 71.5
I do not think my opinion is valid for the other people - people have very different interests	66.4	74.4	71.6	73.8	70.2	64.0	68.6	80.0	73.0	71.0	83.3	69.6	79.3	56.8	71.5
I do not know where to go	52.6	51.1	50.2	45.5	57.1	44.0	37.7	45.0	56.9	62.8	66.7	47.9	66.9	11.9	51.7
The administration should ask me instead of my going there	55.5	56.8	55.7	54.0	57.5	48.0	48.0	65.0	59.2	59.3	70.8	53.0	67.9	31.0	55.9
I am not interested in such activities	48.8	48.1	49.0	42.7	51.9	45.8	39.0	50.0	52.5	51.6	62.5	44.5	62.8	5.1	48.4
34. Do you bave a favourite			_				50.01	60.0 1	250	10.0	40.5	10.0	99.0	20.4	10.5
Yes No	60.0 40.0	26.1 73.9	49.1 50.9	49.0 51.0	27.4 72.6	55.6 44.4	52.9 47.1	60.8 39.2	25.0 75.0	40.0 60.0	40.5 59.5	42.8 57.2	29.9 70.1	39.4 60.6	40.8 59.2
35. Do you participate in the RESPONSES; YES; Valid percent Participate in meetings of the football fans Participate in the general club assemblies	-	4.8 .6	14.7	10.1	59 34	12.0	11.7	12.9 3.2	8.8 1.0	10.5 1.3	6.7	10.2 1.2	14.3 1.8	12.5 1.8	10.8
Participate by voluntary work Other direct participation:	.3	2.4	.5	1.2	1.7		.9	3.2	2.0			.7	3.6	1.8	1.1
36. What is the MINIMUM mus building, for example a Mini Alone	stry? 5	INGLE 4.4	RESPO 4.5	NSE; V 4.2	alid p 4.8	ercent 4.3	4.7	6.8	3.8	5.8	2.7	4.6	4.5	14.0	10.8
Group of 5 - 20 people Group of 10 - 100 people	9.9 20.7	10.1 18.9	12.0 23.5	7.7 19.9	9.8 16.6	10.9 19.6	9.8 21.7	13.6 15.9	9.7 16.2	11.0 24.3	5.4 18.9	9.2 20.5	14.7 16.0	20.2 24.0	10.0
Group 100 - 500 people	24.0	21.7	20.7	25.6	22.2	32.6		25.0	22.4	19.7	18.9	24.8	10.9		22.7
More than 500 people	40.7	44.9	39.2	42.6	46.6	32.6	40.6	38.6	47.8	39.3	54.1	40.9	53.8	30.2	42.8
37. Do you think there is som															
Yes No	57.9 42.1	49.1 50.9	50.1 49.9	58.9 41.1	50.4 49.6	29.8 70.2	58.6	66.7 33.3	48.8 51.2	54.5	40.5	54.2	46.5 53.5	91.5 8.5	52.8
ATW					440	/4.4	41.4	22.2	21.4	45.5	59.5	45.8	22.7		
38. And the central administr	ration	?					ايمير		40.0	geal	40.6	go 0 1			
Yes	ration 54.5	48.8	47.0	57.1	50.0	29.8	53.1	68.6		55.3 44.7	40.5 50.5	53.2 46.8	41.4	84.3	51.2
Yes No 39. Personally for you, bow to prosperous: ANSWER EACH RO	ration 54.5 45.5 impor	48.8 51.2 tant is	47.0 53.0	57.1 42.9	50.0 50.0	29.8 70.2	46.9 mmu n	68.6 31.4	51.0 er gros	44.7 ups of	59.5 peop i	46.8 le sboi	41.4 58.6	84.3 15.7	51.2 48.8
Yes No 39. Personally for you, bow i	54.5 45.5 impor W Aver import	48.8 51.2 tant is rage va	47.0 53.0 it tha lues of	57.1 42.9 t the fe	50.0 50.0 ollowi	29.8 70.2 ing co	46.9 mmun mporte	68.6 31.4 Mittes o	51.0 or gros all; 2-5	44.7 ups of fornewi	59.5 peopi bat im	46.8 le sboi bortan	41.4 58.6 uld be t; 3- In	84.3 15.7 aporta	
Yes No 39. Personally for you, bow to prosperous: ANSWER EACH RO 4-Very important; 5- Extremely:	ration 54.5 45.5 impor	48.8 51.2 tant is	47.0 53.0	57.1 42.9	50.0 50.0	29.8 70.2	46.9 mmu n	68.6 31.4	51.0 er gros	44.7 ups of	59.5 peop i	46.8 le sboi	41.4 58.6	84.3 15.7	51.2 48.8

	Se	ex	A	ge Levi	-1			Social	status			Eth		Sam	ple
				_		ıt	96	Own business	1	loyed		iden	nity	Experimental	National total
	Male	Female	%=38	39-55	95= <	Student	Working	Own b	Rethred	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experi	Nation
Continuing Q 39: Personally for be prosperous	r you,	bow	impor	tant is	it tba	t the f	ollow	ing co	nmu	rities (or gro	ups oj	peop	le sbo	uld
The neighborhood I live in	3.30	3.33	3.25	3.41	3.30	3.09	3.39	3.56	3.30	3.21	3.16	3.34	3.19	3.35	3.32
The town / the village / the inhabited				_											
area I live in	3.63	3.62	3.61	3.74	3.55	3.43	3.76	3.90	3.55	3.47	3.58	3.66	3.45	4.17	3.62
The country I live in	3.88	3.92	3.95	4.02	3.76	3.83	4.10	4.22	3.74	3.73	3.95	3.96	3.57	4.57	3.90
The Balkans	3.48	3.47	3.46	3.63	3.38	3.34	3.65	3.86	3.38	3.29	3.29	3.54	3.18	3.98	3.48
The Ruropean Union	3.36	3.35	3.41	3.43	3.25	3.30	3.52	3.78	3.25	3.14	3.34	3.40	3.14	3.81	3.36
The world	3.36	3.37	3.39	3.45	3.29	3.38	3.53	3.82	3.28	3.08	3.47	3.44	3.05	3.78	3.37
40. Which of the following gr	oupsj	ou w	ould <u>N</u>	OT HA	e to b	ave as	neigh	bors i	Answ	er NO;	Valid j	percer	ut .		
Bulgarians	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.4	.9	2.1	.2	2.0	1.0	2.6	2.6	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.1
Roma	50.2	50.2	48.1	53.5	49.3	57.4	57.1	56.9	49.6	33.5	44.7	54.5	26.7	49.7	50.0
Ethnic Turks	18.8	19.6	18.3	21.7	18.3	25.5	21.4	17.6	18.6	13.6	23.7	22,1	3.7	8.4	19.2
Immigrants in Bulgaria	11.7	12.7	12,2	13.9	11,1	8.5	13.6	13.7	12.0	8.4	21,1	12.8	9.6	2.8	12,2
Persons with other religious affiliation than yours	11.1	10.0	7.9	11.8	11.8	10.6	8.3	17.6	12,2	9.4	10.5	10.8	9.1	4.2	10.5
Ex - prisoners People from another race	42.9	51.0	45.2	46.5	49.5	51.1	45.7	45.1	50.4	41.9	57.9	48.2	42.2	32.9	47.2
People with AIDS	12.7 42.9	13.6 46.2	11.9 40.2	13.3	14.4	8.5	13.6	9.8	14.7	11.0	13.2	12.4 42.2	17.6	3.5	13.2
Divorced			3.2	44.5	49.3 6.3	34.0 2.1	39.3 3.3	39.2 5.9	49.1 6.6	49.7 3.7	55.3		59.4 6.4	18.2	45.0
Homosexuals	4.2 56.7	4.8		3.8 60.4	54.9	36.2	55.7			57.6	60.5	4.1 53.3	63.6	.7	4.5
Drug addicts	76.4	52.9 76.2	49.7 76.2	82,1	72.0	83.0	81.2	54.9 76.5	54.0 71.4	74.9	76.3	76.4	76.5	32.9 75.5	54.8 76.3
41. Do you bave Roma neigh					7 220	03.0	V 1,2	700)	7 * 17	777	, 0.0	7017	700	, ,,,,	700
Yes	21.0	22.2	24.1	20.3	21.0	23.4	16.9	19.6	20.9	33.2	23.7	19.5	34.6	99	21.9
No	79.0	77.8	75.9	79.7	79.0	76.6	83.1	80.4	79.1	66.8	76.3	80.5	65.4	90.1	78.1
42. Have you visited them as	a gue	st dur	ing the	e last 2	-3 m o	ntbs?;	Valid	perce.	nt						
Yes	25.5	24.5	30.2	24.7	21.6	13.8	22.0	17.9	20.9	41.4	36.0	20.4	49.6	26.1	25.5
No	74.5	75.5	69.8	75.3	78.4	86.2	78.0	82,1	79.1	58.6	64.0	79.6	50.4	73.9	745
43. Who is most responsible th	at ther	e are i	beoble	, diggi	ng for	food	in the i	itter b	oxes?	SINGLE	RESPO	NSE; V	alid p	ercent	•
The State	58.3	64.1	50.1	63.8	69.8	51.1	53.4	48.0	71.1	67.5	47.4	60.0	68.8	41.3	61.6
They, themselves	12.5	10.8	15.7	9.0	9.8	19.1	13.0	22.0	9.1	6.3	23.7	12.7	5.4	14.0	11.5
The whole society	20.8	17.6	24.0	21.2	12.9	19.1	23.6	26.0	12.3	20.4	26.3	19.4	17.7	37.8	19.0
Their families	3.0	3.9	4.8	3.2	2.8	2.1	4.8	2.0	3.2	3.1		3.5	3.8	2.8	3.6
They are simply unlucky	5.4	3.6		2.9	4.7	8.5	5.3	2.0	4.2	2.6	2.6	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.3
44. Last year, did you receive a	eselstan	sce du	ring as	rv trac	el on t	be roa	d with	a car	orabi	us? SIIVO	JE RE	PONSE	:Valid	berce	nt
Yes - we have received help by				_											
occasional drivers for free	16.8	7.7	13.5	14.6	7.5	6.7	16.6	30.0	5.2	9.1	18.4	12.4	7.6	23.8	11.6
Yes - we received help by occasional drivers and we had to pay for this	1.6	1.4	1.9	1.7	.9	4.4	1.7	2.0	1.0	1,1	2.6	1.4	1.6	2,1	1.5
No - no one helped us	7.5	6.1	7.8	8.2	4.2	6.7	8.7	14.0	3.2	6.4	13.2	7.1	4.3	1.4	6.7
I have not experienced such a problem	74.1	84.8	76.8	75.5	87.3	82,2	73.0	54.0	90.5	83.4	65.8	79.1	86.5	72.7	80.3
45. Do Roma people celebrat															
Yes	67.1	62.7	59.8	67.2	67.1	53.2	67.0	72.0	65.6	63.4	42.1	66.8	54.5	65.5	64.7
		_				25.4		72.0			1411				
No Do not know	2.6	2.2 35.1	2.6 37.6	2.9	1.6 31.2	46.8	1.7 31.3	28.0	1.7 32.7	6.8		1.7 31.5	6.4 39.0	4.9 29.6	2.4

	s	eх	A	ge Leve	:1			Social	status			Eth iden	nic tity	Sam	ple
	Male	Female	8E=>	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
46. Would you spend time for	r volus	ntarv t	vork (witho	ut baı	ment)? MUL	TIPLE .	RESPO	NSES: 1	YES: Va	ilid be	rcent		
Yes, if the work would provide me with some skills, that I can use in the future	33.9	30.9	47.4	37.9	14.4	42.6	45.7	45.1	12.7	36.1	44.7	31.7	33.7	68.5	32,1
Yes, it is better to do something even for free instead of staying at home	21.2	21.8	18.3	22.8	23.4	14.9	23.1	15.7	22.2	22.5	10.5	22.3	17.6	22.4	21.5
Yes - just to help people	54.0	55.3	51.1	60.7	53.0	51.1	59.5	56.9	52.6	51.8	42.1	54.0	57.8	83.2	54.5
No - I do not have time for this	12.1	12.8	14.3	11.6	11.6	12.8	14.0	21.6	11.7	7.9	15.8	13.5	8.0	1.4	12.6
No, I do not want to	15.3	14.8	13.0	10.7	20.4	14.9	7.4	5.9	21.8	19.9	15.8	15.3	15.0		15.2
I do not know what <i>vokuntary work</i> means	5.0	4.8	4.2	2.3	7.6	2.1	1.9	3.9	8.1	5.2	5.3	3.8	10.7	2.8	4.9
47. Will you do the following	for fr	ee? AN	SWER I	RACH R	OW: V	S: Val	id hen	cent							
Be a member of the jury	25.3	22.5	21.7	26.4	22.8	27.7	28.6	32.0	21.6	16.2	10.5	25.6	12.4	49.3	23.5
Donate blood	64.8	53.8	67.4	69.8	42.4	57.4	74.9	75.5	40.1	60.7	50.0	58.7	58.3	83.8	58.7
Help in the rehabilitation of a park or a children's playground	71.9	65.2	69.5	78.4	58.8	59.6	80.1	79.6	58.5	64.4	55.3	68.3	66.8	91.5	68.0
Participate in a parents committee	32.3	37.6	39.8	45.5	23.2	37.0	45.3	62.0	21.8	30.5	52.6	35.5	33.9	67.2	35.2
Be a local municipal counselor	26.3	21.3	22.7	27.3	21.1	27.7	26.7	40.8	19.3	22.3	13.2	24.1	20.1	59.4	23.5
<u>-</u>		21.5		2/.5						_	57.9	59.9	59.7	81,2	60.0
Spare two hours monthly in order to help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your											YOUR	STRE	ET:		
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valimportant; 5-Extremely important	ou the j tues of a	follow a scale	ing pi 1-5; 1-	roblen Not in	is thai	may l	bappe 4; 2-Sc	n on i mewb	be NE . at imp	XT TO ortant;	YOUR 3-Imp	STRE Oortan	ET: t; 4- Ve	יניע	3.60
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valimportant; 5-Extremely important There is a water pipe broken	ou the just of a	follow a scale 3.60	ing pi 1-5; 1-	roblen - Not in	is that iporta	may int at at	bappe 4; 2-Sc 3.68	n on i mewb	be NE. at imp	XT TO ortani;	YOUR 3-Imp	STRE	ET: t; 4- Ve	ry 3.78	3.60
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid important; 5-Extremely important. There is a water pipe broken. Someone has cut the pine trees before Christmas Eve	ou the just of a state	follow a scale 3.60 3.40	ing pi 1-5; 1- 3.44 3.17	3.68	s that porta 3.68 3.53	3.15 2.93	3.68 3.44	3.88 3.65	be NE. at imp 3.66 3.50	XT TO ortant; 3.37 3.15	YOUR 3-Imp 3.34 3.03	3.65 3.46	ET: t; 4-Ve 3.35 2.98	7y 3.78 3.75	3.38
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help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valimportant; 5 - Extremely imported There is a water pipe broken Someone has cut the pine trees before Christmas Eve The garbage cans are not regularly collected Street dogs litter the children's play sands 49. How important would be ANSWER EACH ROW Average valimport; 4-I will support to some	3.60 3.72 3.64 2.your just of a extension	3.60 3.40 3.78 3.65 proble a scale: t; 5-I t	3.44 3.17 3.66 3.54 3.54 3.54	3.68 3.43 3.81 3.76 NEXT 1 I will cally sup	3.68 3.53 3.77 3.63 O YOu	3.15 2.93 3.60 3.51 UR STI	3.68 3.44 3.89 3.82 REET 1	3.88 3.65 4.04 3.98 it wers	3.66 3.50 3.76 3.62 propsist to s	3.37 3.15 3.41 3.23 osed:	3.34 3.03 3.55 3.76	3.65 3.46 3.87 3.79 3-1 will	3.35 2.98 3.12 2.87	3.78 3.75 4.13 4.06	3.38 3.75 3.64 nor
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for you and any any any and any any any and any any any and any	3.60 3.39 3.72 3.64 2.your just of a gent extens	3.60 3.40 3.78 3.65 proble a scale: t; 5-I t 2.60	3.44 3.17 3.66 3.54 3.54 3.54	3.68 3.43 3.81 3.76 NEXT'1 1 will cally sup	3.68 3.53 3.77 3.63 (O YO) omple port 2.72	3.15 2.93 3.60 3.51 UR STI	3.68 3.44 3.89 3.82 REET 1	3.88 3.65 4.04 3.98 tt wers will re	3.66 3.50 3.76 3.62 propsist to s	3.37 3.15 3.41 3.23 osed: come e.	3.34 3.03 3.55 3.76 axtent; 2	3.65 3.46 3.87 3.79 3-1 will	87: 4; 4- Ve 3.35 2.98 3.12 2.87	3.78 3.75 4.13 4.06	3.38 3.75 3.64 nor 2.68
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help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid important; 5- Extremely important. There is a water pipe broken. Someone has cut the pine trees before Christmas Eve. The garbage cans are not regularly collected. Street dogs litter the children's play sands. 49. How important would be ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid as factory. To build a factory. To build a factory. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for young people with antisocial behavior. 50. Can you assess the suital ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid A representative survey. To provide the possibility for a certain minimum number of people (for instance, 7,000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly Referendum.	3.60 3.39 3.72 3.64 2.79 4.03 2.26 2.17 3.64 2.25	3.60 3.40 3.78 3.65 proble a scale t; 5-1 t 2.60 3.99 2.26 2.11 f the f a scale 2.32 2.27 2.61	3.44 3.17 3.66 3.54 m if 1 1-5; 1- vill tota 2.63 3.87 2.35 2.17 collow 1-3: 1- 2.29 2.26 2.62	3.68 3.43 3.81 3.76 VEXT 1 1 will coally sup 2.68 4.13 2.31 2.14 ing rot 2.33 2.30 2.64	3.68 3.53 3.77 3.63 3.77 3.63 70 YO 0mples port 2.72 4.02 2.14 2.10 utes fi ery suit 2.27 2.21	3.15 2.93 3.60 3.51 UR STI tety res 2.33 3.60 2.47 2.29 prougi able; 2 2.17 1.80 2.41	3.68 3.44 3.89 3.82 3.82 2.51 4.07 2.37 2.13 5 wbic - Some 2.32 2.32	3.88 3.65 4.04 3.98 4 were will re 2.37 4.02 2.20 2.00 b you wwbats 2.35 2.24	3.66 3.50 3.76 3.62 2.78 4.00 2.17 2.13 2.13 2.25 2.23	3.37 3.15 3.41 3.23 osed: come e. 3.01 3.94 2.19 2.17 tion m 2: 3- Ve 2.32 2.28 2.59	3.34 3.03 3.55 3.76 2.61 4.05 2.24 2.11 2.40 2.20 2.57	3.65 3.46 3.87 3.79 3-1 will 2.50 3.97 2.32 2.15 2.62	3.35 2.98 3.12 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.94 2.04 2.24 2.28 2.59	3.78 3.75 4.13 4.06 7 resist 2.68 4.21 2.85 2.70 7 resist 2.18 2.26 2.18	3.38 3.75 3.64 **nor 2.68 4.00 2.26 2.14 *** 2.29 2.26
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average validation that it is a water pipe broken. Someone has cut the pine trees before Christmas Eve. The garbage cans are not regularly collected. Street dogs litter the children's play sands. 49. How important would be ANSWER EACH ROW Average validations. ANSWER EACH ROW Average validation to build a factory. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for young people with antisocial behavior. 50. Can you assess the suital ANSWER EACH ROW Average validation in the possibility for a certain minimum number of people (for instance, 7,000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly. Referendum.	3.60 3.39 3.72 3.64 your journ 2.79 4.03 2.26 2.17 wiltry of 2.25 2.24 2.62 2.02	3.60 3.40 3.78 3.65 proble a scale a	3.44 3.17 3.66 3.54 m if 1 1-5; 1- vill tota 2.63 3.87 2.35 2.17 collow 1-3: 1- 2.29 2.26 2.62 2.12	3.68 3.43 3.81 3.76 VEXT 1 I will coally sup 2.68 4.13 2.31 2.14 ing roc -Not ve 2.33 2.30 2.64 2.03	3.68 3.53 3.77 3.63 3.77 3.63 70 YO 0mples port 2.72 4.02 2.14 2.10 utes the rry suit 2.27 2.21	3.15 2.93 3.60 3.51 UR STI tely res 2.33 3.60 2.47 2.29 mougi able; 2 2.17 1.80	3.68 3.44 3.89 3.82 3.82 2.51 4.07 2.37 2.13 5 wbic - Some 2.32 2.32 2.67 2.04	3.88 3.65 4.04 3.98 4.02 2.20 2.00 5 your what s 2.35 2.24 2.67 2.10	3.66 3.50 3.76 3.62 2.78 4.00 2.17 2.13 2.23 2.23 2.58 1.90	3.37 3.15 3.41 3.23 osed: come e. 3.01 3.94 2.19 2.17 elon m 2; 3-Ve 2.32 2.28 2.59 2.10	3.34 3.03 3.55 3.76 2.61 4.05 2.24 2.11 2.40 2.20 2.57 2.37	3.65 3.46 3.87 3.79 3-1 will 2.50 3.97 2.32 2.15 2.62 2.62 2.03	3.35 2.98 3.12 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.94 2.04 2.24 2.28 2.59 1.94	3.78 3.75 4.13 4.06 7 resist 2.68 4.21 2.85 2.70 7 rames 2.04 2.18 2.65 1.77	3.38 3.75 3.64 2.68 4.00 2.26 2.14 2.29 2.26 2.26 2.26
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid important; 5- Extremely important. There is a water pipe broken. Someone has cut the pine trees before Christmas Eve. The garbage cans are not regularly collected. Street dogs litter the children's play sands. 49. How important would be ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid as institution for poor people. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for young people with antisocial behavior. 50. Can you assess the suital ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid A representative survey. To provide the possibility for a certain minimum number of people (for instance, 7, 000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly. Referendum. Protests.	3.60 3.39 3.72 3.64 2.79 4.03 2.26 2.17 2.24 2.62 2.02 2.61	3.60 3.40 3.78 3.65 proble a scale a	3.44 3.17 3.66 3.54 2.63 3.87 2.35 2.17 3.60 2.62 2.62 2.62 2.62	3.68 3.43 3.81 3.76 VEXT 7 I will coally sup 2.68 4.13 2.31 2.14 ing roo 2.33 2.30 2.64 2.03 2.66	3.68 3.53 3.77 3.63 3.77 3.63 70 YO 0mples port 2.72 4.02 2.14 2.10 utes the rry suit 2.27 2.21 2.21 2.21	3.15 2.93 3.60 3.51 2.87 2.33 3.60 2.47 2.29 2.17 1.80 2.41 2.00 2.59	3.68 3.44 3.89 3.82 3.82 2.51 4.07 2.37 2.13 5 wbic - Some 2.32 2.32 2.67 2.04 2.65	3.88 3.65 4.04 3.98 4 were will re 2.37 4.02 2.20 2.00 2.00 2.35 2.24 2.67 2.10 2.67	3.66 3.50 3.76 3.62 2.78 4.00 2.17 2.13 2.23 2.23 2.58 1.90 2.61	3.37 3.15 3.41 3.23 osed: come e. 3.01 3.94 2.19 2.17 elon m 2; 3-Ve 2.32 2.28 2.59 2.10 2.60	3.34 3.03 3.55 3.76 2.61 4.05 2.24 2.11 2.40 2.20 2.57 2.37 2.61	3.65 3.46 3.87 3.79 3-1 with 2.50 3.97 2.32 2.15 2.62 2.03 2.63	3.35 2.98 3.12 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.94 2.04 2.24 2.28 2.59 1.94 2.60	2.68 4.21 2.85 2.70 2.04 2.18 2.65 1.77 2.54	3.38 3.75 3.64 2.68 4.00 2.26 2.14 2.29 2.26 2.61 2.02 2.62
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valimportant; 5- Extremely imported There is a water pipe broken Someone has cut the pine trees before Christmas Eve The garbage cans are not regularly collected Street dogs litter the children's play sands 49. How important would be ANSWER EACH ROW Average valimport; 4-1 will support to some To build a house for drug addicts To build a house for drug addicts To build a house for young people with antisocial behavior 50. Can you assess the suital ANSWER EACH ROW Average valimport and the possibility for a certain minimum number of people (for instance, 7, 000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly Referendum Protests Elections Public meetings	2.79 4.03 2.26 2.17 2.24 2.62 2.61 2.16	3.60 3.40 3.78 3.65 proble a scale a	3.44 3.17 3.66 3.54 2.63 3.87 2.35 2.17 2.29 2.26 2.62 2.12 2.62 2.15	3.68 3.43 3.81 3.76 VEXT 7 I will coally sup 2.68 4.13 2.31 2.14 ing roo 2.33 2.30 2.64 2.03 2.66 2.21	3.68 3.53 3.77 3.63 3.77 3.63 70 YO 0mples port 2.72 4.02 2.14 2.10 2.27 2.21 2.21 2.21 2.21 2.21 2.21	3.15 2.93 3.60 3.51 2.87 2.29 2.33 3.60 2.47 2.29 2.17 1.80 2.41 2.00 2.59 1.93	3.68 3.44 3.89 3.82 3.82 2.51 4.07 2.37 2.13 5 wbic - Some 2.32 2.67 2.04 2.65 2.21	3.88 3.65 4.04 3.98 4 were will re 2.37 4.02 2.20 2.00 2.00 2.35 2.24 2.67 2.10 2.67 2.13	3.66 3.50 3.76 3.62 2.78 4.00 2.17 2.13 2.13 2.25 2.23 2.58 1.90 2.61 2.18	3.37 3.15 3.41 3.23 0sed: come e. 3.01 3.94 2.19 2.17 2.17 2.17 2.32 2.28 2.59 2.10 2.60 2.19	3.34 3.03 3.55 3.76 2.61 4.05 2.24 2.11 2.40 2.20 2.57 2.37 2.61 2.09	3.65 3.46 3.87 3.79 3-1 with 2.50 3.97 2.32 2.15 2.62 2.03 2.63 2.19	3.35 2.98 3.12 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.94 2.04 2.24 2.28 2.29 2.29 2.24 2.28 2.29 2.21 2.21	2.68 4.21 2.85 2.70 2.04 2.18 2.65 1.77 2.54 2.11	3.38 3.75 3.64 2.68 4.00 2.26 2.14 2.29 2.26 2.61 2.02 2.62 2.18
help the poor people from your neighborhood 48. How important are for your ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid important; 5- Extremely important. There is a water pipe broken. Someone has cut the pine trees before Christmas Eve. The garbage cans are not regularly collected. Street dogs litter the children's play sands. 49. How important would be ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid as institution for poor people. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for drug addicts. To build a house for young people with antisocial behavior. 50. Can you assess the suital ANSWER EACH ROW Average valid A representative survey. To provide the possibility for a certain minimum number of people (for instance, 7, 000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly. Referendum. Protests.	3.60 3.39 3.72 3.64 2.79 4.03 2.26 2.17 2.24 2.62 2.02 2.61	3.60 3.40 3.78 3.65 proble a scale a	3.44 3.17 3.66 3.54 2.63 3.87 2.35 2.17 3.60 2.62 2.62 2.62 2.62	3.68 3.43 3.81 3.76 VEXT 7 I will coally sup 2.68 4.13 2.31 2.14 ing roo 2.33 2.30 2.64 2.03 2.66	3.68 3.53 3.77 3.63 3.77 3.63 70 YO 0mples port 2.72 4.02 2.14 2.10 utes the rry suit 2.27 2.21 2.59 1.90 2.60	3.15 2.93 3.60 3.51 2.87 2.33 3.60 2.47 2.29 2.17 1.80 2.41 2.00 2.59	3.68 3.44 3.89 3.82 3.82 2.51 4.07 2.37 2.13 5 wbic - Some 2.32 2.32 2.67 2.04 2.65	3.88 3.65 4.04 3.98 4 were will re 2.37 4.02 2.20 2.00 2.00 2.35 2.24 2.67 2.10 2.67	3.66 3.50 3.76 3.62 2.78 4.00 2.17 2.13 2.23 2.23 2.58 1.90 2.61	3.37 3.15 3.41 3.23 osed: come e. 3.01 3.94 2.19 2.17 elon m 2; 3-Ve 2.32 2.28 2.59 2.10 2.60	3.34 3.03 3.55 3.76 2.61 4.05 2.24 2.11 2.40 2.20 2.57 2.37 2.61	3.65 3.46 3.87 3.79 3-1 with 2.50 3.97 2.32 2.15 2.62 2.03 2.63	3.35 2.98 3.12 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.87 2.94 2.04 2.24 2.28 2.59 1.94 2.60	2.68 4.21 2.85 2.70 2.04 2.18 2.65 1.77 2.54	3.38 3.75 3.64 2.68 4.00 2.26 2.14 2.29 2.26 2.61 2.02 2.62

	S	EX.	A	ge Leve	el			Social	status			Eth iden		Sam	ple
	Male	Female	8£=>	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
51. Can you assess the suital ANSWER EACH ROW Average val													e mun	icipal	tty?
A representative survey	2,19	2,25	2,20	2,26	2,22	2,11	2,26	2,25	2,19	2,20	-		212	2.07	2,23
To provide the possibility for a certain minimum number of people (for instance, 7, 000) to submit a draft law to the National Assembly	2.14	2.14	2.18	2.16	2.09	1.85	2.19	2.17	2.19	2.15	2.40	2.24	2.13	2.19	2.14
Referendum	2.51	2.46	2.47	2.51	2.48	2.23	2.51	2.53	2.48	2.48	2.50	2.50	2.40	2.57	2.48
Protests	2.02	2.03	2.11	2.04	1.95	2.07	2.03	2.10	1.95	2.10	2.29	2.05	1.91	1.79	2.03
Elections	2.54	255	2.51	2.59	2.54	2.48	2.56	2.49	2.56	2.52	2.53	2.56	2.50	2.53	2.55
Public meetings	2.24	2.22	2.22	2.24	2.23	2.05	2.24	2.25	2.23	2.24	2.17	2.25	2.13	2.33	2.23
Presents my opinion personally Act through an NGO	1.74	1.88	1.91 1.83	1.96 1.82	1.92	1.90	1.92 1.81	2.00 1.84	1.91 1.70	1.95 1.78	2.00 1.97	1.96 1.80	1.79 1.68	2.21	1.93 1.78
52. In general, which of the f want to influence the local g		nent?	ANSWE	ailons								ben pe	ople i		
A branch of a political party	32.5	26.1	26.6	33.2	28.0	15.2	32.0	22.0	27.8	31.9	25.0	28.9	29.9	38.6	29.0
The local media	42.7	45.2	44.2	53.9	35.3	47.8	53.0	62.0	36.7	34.2	44.4	47.1	27.2	71.3	43.9
NGO's	24.8	27.4	28.7	33.3	18.5	23.9	34.9	31.4	16.5	27.9	25.0	28.5	15.2	81.9	26.2
The Chitalishte	26.3	31.3	25.7	32.4	29.5	22.2	27.5	20.0	31.6	32.5	27.8	29.8	26.5	17.3	29.1
A trade union Professional / havings assentiation	29.8	30.8	30.2	43.7	19.7	26.1	41.6	34.0	19.9	29.5	26.5	32.5	19.6	22.5	30.4
Professional / business organization Other indicate	29.3 5.3	25.3 6.8	35.5 8.2	34.3 6.5	13.0 4.8	43.5 5.3	38.1 7.7	62.0 11.8	10.2 4.3	25.5 6.7	20.0 11.8	28.5 7.4	18.1 3.4	65.2 25.7	26.8 6.3
53. Which of these organizat A branch of a political party	77.8	69.3	76.7	78.0	65.7	68.1	80.4	84.3	65.5	70.0	78.9	74.8	63.6	97.8	72.9
The local media NGO	59.4	58.7	62,4	68.4	47.7	74.5	69.8	70.6	47.9	46.6	78.9	64.6	29.6	92,1	58.7
The Chitalishte	37.8	36.4	38.9	44.8	28.7	48.9	47.5	52,0	26.8	27.0	42,1	41.9	11.8	85.1	36.9
A trade union	79.6 53.2	74.7 53.3	77.7 56.3	82.5 65.2	71.4 40 .4	76.6 70.2	82.0 67.9	82.0 62.7	71.5 38.9	75.3 42.0	78.9 60.5	81.3 58.8	53.5 24.3	95.7 83.6	76.7
Professional/business organization	36.2	31,4	37.5	41.3	22,9	50.0	42.5	58.8	20.4	29.3	34.2	37.4	12,4	71.6	53.0 33.2
Other indicate	5.7	5.0	4.0	7.2	5.0	7.1	3.2	14.3	5.1	7.1	6.3	6.3	2,8	36.7	5.3
54. Are you are a member of A branch of a political party							.							27.3	8.1
NGO	5.0	4.3	4.0	5.8	3.9	4.3	6.2	5.9	3.7	3.7	2.0	5.2	1.6	58.7	4.6
The Chitalishte	4.2	5.3	4.5	3.2	6.5	4.3	3.8	2.0	5.6	7.3		45	6.4	16.8	4.8
A trade union	10.5	10.7	7.4	19.9	5.6		23.1	2.0	2.7	6.3	2.6	11.4	6.4	15.4	10.5
A professional/business organization	2.6	2.2	1.9	4.0	1.4	2.1	3.1	11.8	.7	1.6	2.6	2.3	2.1	14.7	2.3
Sports club	4.0	1.2	4.0	2.3	.9	2.1	4.3	2.0	.7	2.6		2.4	2.7	9.8	2.4
Other club	5.6	3.1	4.5	4.9	3.2	6.4	5.7	7.8	2.2	3.7	2.6	4.3	2.7	26.6	4.1
Other: indicate	5.2	7.0	4.2	4.6	9.3	2.1	3.3		9.5	8.4	5.3	5.7	10.2	2.8	6.4
55. How do you assess the act	ivities (of the	existin	g NGC)s (ass	ociati	ons, fo	unda	tions).	SINGL	E RESP	ONSE;	Valid j	bercen	ŧ
Positively - they defend people's interests Medium - some of them are useful,	13.0	11.5	13.0	13.9	9.8	10.6	15.5	12.0	10.4	8.4	13.2	13.5	4.9	39.9	12.0
others - not Negatively - they defend their own	31.9	31.5	37.4	36.1	22.7	36.2	41.5	50.0	20.7	26.2	36.8	34.1	17.8	53.1	31.5
interests only I cannot judge - I do not know what is	17.8	13.2	14.1	17.1	14.3	14.9	15.3	16.0	14.6	14.7	21.1	16.3	9.7 67.6	5.6	15.2
this	37.3	43.8	35.5	32.9	53.2	38.3	27.7	22,0	54.3	50.8	28.9	36.2	67.6	1.4	41,2

	S	ėx	A	ge Leve	싎			Social	status			Eth iden	_	Sam	ple
	Male	Fernale	9£=>	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
56. What activities would you	u like i	be Cb	italisk	ite to j	rovid	le in ye	our se	tileme	nt?						
CHOOSE THE TWO MOST IMPOR	RTANT;	YES; V	alid p	ercent		•									
Traditional (library, dances and	68.1	70.5	67.2	69.7	71.1	57.4	68.3	68.6	72.9	68.1	68.4	70.4	65.2	86.0	69.3
language courses, etc.) Internet, computer courses and									, =,,						
services	29.8	28.7	42.6	30.3	16.7	55.3	41.0	39 .2	14.4	25.1	36.8	31.1	19.8	42.0	29,2
Professional qualification courses	28.4	29.1	33.6	33.2	20.6	46.8	31.7	37.3	21.0	30.4	36.8	28.7	27.3	11.2	28.6
Business information and contacts	12.3	7.7	13.2	11.3	5.3	12.8	10.2	25.5	5.4	12.0	13.2	10.3	5.9	16.8	9.6
Public debates that would present suggestions to the Municipality administration or the Municipality council	36.5	36.5	25.4	35.5	46.8	25.5	33.1	29.4	46.5	27,2	31.6	38.6	24.6	37.1	36.3
57. Can you name a project s OPEN - ENDED (Valid values ov	er 1%);	Valid	perce	nt											
Beautiful Bulgaria	7.9	6.6	7.7	8.1	6.0	6.4	9.8	9.8	5.1	5.8	5.3	8.3	1.6	7.7	7.1
Phare SAPARD	4.4	3.6	4.0	5.8	2.1	2.1	6.4	3.9	1.5	3.1	7.9	4.3	1.6	2.8	3.9
Danube bridge	3.0	1.9	2.4	4.6	5	4.3	4.0	5.9	.5	1.0	2.6	2.3	2.7	3.5	2.3
Other projects	2.2 4.4	1.1 4.8	1.3 4.2	1.7 6.6	1.6 3.2		1.7 8.6	3.9 3.9	1.5 2.7	1.0	2.6 5.3	1.8 5.2	.5 1.6	2.1 52.4	1.6 4.6
No response	78.2	82.1	80.4	73.1	86.6	87.2	69.5	72.5	88.8	88.0	76.3	78.2	92.0	31.5	80.5
civic rights are affected - for institution? SINGLE RESPONSE, No - there are enough institutions in	Valid	perce	nt												
Bulgaria	24.4	24.4	18.9	21.5	32.7										
There is a need, but it must be really						13.0	17.8	12.0	33.8	27.8	22.2	21.2	44.9	7.7	24.7
different from the now-existing institutions	37.1	38.3	40.8	39.4	32.9	50.0	40.6	34.0	34.0	36.7	36.1	39.0	44.9 29.3	7.7 35.9	
different from the now-existing	37.1 38.5	38.3 37.3	40.8	39.4 39.1											37.6
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the	38.5	37.3	40.3	39.1	32.9 34.4	50.0 37.0	40.6	34.0	34.0	36.7	36.1	39.0	29.3	35.9	37.6
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level	38.5	37.3	40.3	39.1	32.9 34.4	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2	40.6	34.0 54.0 29.8	34.0 32.2 25.3	36.7 35.6 27.2	36.1 41.7	39.0 39.8 32.6	29.3	35.9 56.3 28.3	37.6 37.7
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality	38.5 sore n 32.5 47.9	37.3 ecess 29.4 50.3	40.3 22-y? SI 35.8 50.6	39.1 NGLE I 31.5 50.0	32.9 34.4 RESPO 25.4 47.1	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2 52.3	40.6 41.6 34.6 51.3	34.0 54.0 29.8 63.8	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5	36.1 41.7 41.7 38.9	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level	38.5 sore 11 32.5	37.3 ecessi 29.4	40.3 24*y? SI 35.8	39.1 NGLE I 31.5	32.9 34.4 RESPO	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2	40.6	34.0 54.0 29.8	34.0 32.2 25.3	36.7 35.6 27.2	36.1 41.7	39.0 39.8 32.6	29.3 25.7	35.9 56.3 28.3	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so	38.5 more n 32.5 47.9 19.5	37.3 ecesse 29.4 50.3 20.3	40.3 ary? SI 35.8 50.6 13.7	39.1 NGLE I 31.5 50.0 18.5	32.9 34.4 RESPO 25.4 47.1 27.5	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2 52.3 4.5	40.6 41.6 34.6 51.3 14.1	34.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3	36.1 41.7 41.7 38.9 19.4	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4 4.3	49.1 20.2
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so at 1-Not important at all; 2-Somet	38.5 more n 32.5 47.9 19.5	37.3 ecesse 29.4 50.3 20.3 follow	40.3 35.8 50.6 13.7 wing f.	39.1 31.5 50.0 18.5 problem	32.9 34.4 RESPO 25.4 47.1 27.5 ms in: 4	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2 52.3 4.5 scbool	40.6 41.6 34.6 51.3 14.1 Ist ANS	34.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4 WER E	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7 ACH R	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3 OW; Au	36.1 41.7 41.7 38.9 19.4 verage s	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5 values	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4 of a sca	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4 4.3	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so 1-Not important at all; 2-Some School facilities are bad There is a lack of modern education	38.5 more n 32.5 47.9 19.5	37.3 ecesse 29.4 50.3 20.3	40.3 ary? SI 35.8 50.6 13.7	39.1 NGLE I 31.5 50.0 18.5	32.9 34.4 RESPO 25.4 47.1 27.5	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2 52.3 4.5	40.6 41.6 34.6 51.3 14.1	34.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3	36.1 41.7 41.7 38.9 19.4	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4 4.3	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so a 1-Not important at all; 2-Somet School facilities are bad There is a lack of modern education equipment (computers, for example) The curriculum is not linked to the future professional realization	38.5 more m 32.5 47.9 19.5 lve the what in 4.01	37.3 29.4 50.3 20.3 follomporta 3.94	40.3 35.8 50.6 13.7 wing f nt; 3-1 3.99	39.1 31.5 50.0 18.5 problem 4.10	32.9 34.4 RESPO 25.4 47.1 27.5 ms to: 3 3.83	50.0 37.0 NSE 43.2 52.3 4.5 school Very in 3.91	40.6 41.6 34.6 51.3 14.1 1s? ANS	34.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4 WER Ent; 5-E 4.36	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7 ACH R	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3 OW; At	36.1 41.7 41.7 38.9 19.4 verage toortant 3.84	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5 values	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4 of a sca	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4 4.3 ale 1-5	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2 3.97 3.93
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so a 1-Not important at all; 2-Some a School facilities are bad There is a lack of modern education equipment (computers, for example) The curriculum is not linked to the future professional realization There are not enough practical exercises	38.5 32.5 47.9 19.5 live the what the 4.01 4.03 3.96 3.86	37.3 eccesss 29.4 50.3 20.3 follow porta 3.94 3.87 3.78 3.63	40.3 ary? SI 35.8 50.6 13.7 wing 1 3.99 4.04 3.89 3.77	39.1 NGLE I 31.5 50.0 18.5 problem mporta 4.10 4.04 3.93 3.81	32.9 34.4 RESPOL 25.4 47.1 27.5 ms in: 4- 3.83 3.76 3.75 3.62	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2 52.3 4.5 scbool Very in 3.91 3.89 3.89 3.91	34.6 51.3 14.1 18? ANS 14.17 4.13 3.98 3.86	34.0 54.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4 6.4 6.4 4.36 4.32 4.11 4.06	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7 ACH R Extrema 3.81 3.74 3.75 3.62	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3 OW; Au ely imp 3.82 3.85 3.76 3.62	36.1 41.7 38.9 19.4 verage : cortant 3.84 3.95 3.76 3.57	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5 values 4.00 3.96 3.87 3.77	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4 of a scc 3.79 3.82 3.75 3.54	35.9 56.3 67.4 4.3 4.26 4.40 4.34 4.00	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2 3.97 3.93 3.85 3.73
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so I - Not important at all; 2 - Somet School facilities are bad There is a lack of modern education equipment (computers, for example) The curriculum is not linked to the future professional realization There are not enough practical	38.5 more m 32.5 47.9 19.5 live tibe what tm 4.01 4.03 3.96	37.3 eccesss 29.4 50.3 20.3 follow porta 3.94 3.87 3.78	40.3 2079? SI 35.8 50.6 13.7 2010g f 101; 3-16 3.99 4.04 3.89	39.1 31.5 50.0 18.5 problem 4.10 4.04 3.93	32.9 34.4 RESPO 25.4 47.1 27.5 ms in: 4- 3.83 3.76 3.75	50.0 37.0 NSE 43.2 52.3 4.5 School Very in 3.91 3.89 3.89	40.6 41.6 51.3 14.1 is? ANS iporta : 4.17 4.13 3.98	34.0 54.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 4.36 4.32 4.11	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7 ACH R Extrema 3.81 3.74 3.75	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3 OW; At ely tmp 3.82 3.85 3.76	36.1 41.7 38.9 19.4 vortant 3.84 3.95 3.76	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5 4.00 3.96 3.87	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4 of a sca 3.79 3.82 3.75	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4 4.3 4.26 4.26 4.40 4.34	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2 3.97 3.93 3.85 3.73
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so 1-Not important at all; 2-Some School facilities are bad There is a lack of modern education equipment (computers, for example) The curriculum is not linked to the future professional realization There are not enough practical exercises Relationships between students and	38.5 32.5 47.9 19.5 live the what the 4.01 4.03 3.96 3.86	37.3 eccesss 29.4 50.3 20.3 follow porta 3.94 3.87 3.78 3.63	40.3 ary? SI 35.8 50.6 13.7 wing 1 3.99 4.04 3.89 3.77	39.1 NGLE I 31.5 50.0 18.5 problem mporta 4.10 4.04 3.93 3.81	32.9 34.4 RESPOL 25.4 47.1 27.5 ms in: 4- 3.83 3.76 3.75 3.62	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2 52.3 4.5 scbool Very in 3.91 3.89 3.89 3.91	34.6 51.3 14.1 18? ANS 14.17 4.13 3.98 3.86	34.0 54.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4 6.4 6.4 4.36 4.32 4.11 4.06	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7 ACH R Extrema 3.81 3.74 3.75 3.62	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3 OW; Au ely imp 3.82 3.85 3.76 3.62	36.1 41.7 38.9 19.4 verage : cortant 3.84 3.95 3.76 3.57	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5 values 4.00 3.96 3.87 3.77	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4 of a scc 3.79 3.82 3.75 3.54	35.9 56.3 67.4 4.3 4.26 4.40 4.34 4.00	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2 3.97 3.93 3.85 3.73 3.91
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so 1-Not important at all; 2-Some 1-Not imp	38.5 more m 32.5 47.9 19.5 lve thee what tm 4.01 4.03 3.96 3.86 3.95	37.3 ecesse 29.4 50.3 20.3 follow porta 3.94 3.87 3.78 3.63 3.90	40.3 2279? SI 35.8 50.6 13.7 2010 13.99 4.04 3.89 3.77 3.80	39.1 31.5 50.0 18.5 problem 4.10 4.04 3.93 3.81 4.02	32.9 34.4 RESPO 25.4 47.1 27.5 ms in: 4- 3.83 3.76 3.75 3.62 3.93	50.0 37.0 NSE 43.2 52.3 4.5 School Very in 3.91 3.89 3.89 3.91 3.79	40.6 41.6 51.3 14.1 is? ANS iporta ; 4.17 4.13 3.98 3.86 3.98	34.0 54.0 54.0 29.8 63.8 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7 ACH R Extrema 3.81 3.74 3.75 3.62 3.93	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3 OW; Au ely imp 3.82 3.85 3.76 3.62 3.72	36.1 41.7 41.7 38.9 19.4 vortant 3.84 3.95 3.76 3.57 3.89	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5 20.0 3.96 3.87 3.77 3.98	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4 of a scc 3.79 3.82 3.75 3.54 3.54	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4 4.3 4.26 4.40 4.34 4.00 4.21	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2 3.97 3.93 3.85 3.73 3.91 3.57
different from the now-existing institutions There is a need, even if it is in the beginning not so effective as in the other countries 59. Where is this institution in At a central level At a local level - in the Municipality Nowhere 60. How important is it to so a 1-Not important at all; 2-Somet School facilities are bad There is a lack of modern education equipment (computers, for example) The curriculum is not linked to the future professional realization There are not enough practical exercises Relationships between students and teachers are not based on mutual respect There is no access to Internet at school Teachers are not qualified	38.5 32.5 47.9 19.5 lve the what in 4.01 4.03 3.96 3.86 3.95 3.69	37.3 eccessa 29.4 50.3 20.3 follow porta 3.94 3.87 3.78 3.63 3.90 3.48	40.3 35.8 50.6 13.7 wing t 13.99 4.04 3.89 3.77 3.80 3.73	39.1 31.5 50.0 18.5 problem mporte 4.10 4.04 3.93 3.81 4.02 3.67	32.9 34.4 25.4 47.1 27.5 27.5 27.5 27.5 27.5 27.5 27.5 27.5	50.0 37.0 VSE 43.2 52.3 4.5 School Very in 3.91 3.89 3.89 3.91 3.79 3.57	34.6 51.3 14.1 1s? ANS portar 4.17 4.13 3.98 3.86 3.98 3.73	29.8 63.8 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4 6.4	34.0 32.2 25.3 46.0 28.7 ACH R Rectrema 3.81 3.74 3.75 3.62 3.93 3.33	36.7 35.6 27.2 48.5 24.3 OW; Au ely tmp 3.82 3.85 3.76 3.62 3.72 3.59	36.1 41.7 38.9 19.4 9erage : 0ortant 3.84 3.95 3.76 3.57 3.89 3.65	39.0 39.8 32.6 49.9 17.5 4.00 3.96 3.87 3.77 3.98 3.61	29.3 25.7 18.8 44.8 36.4 of a sca 3.79 3.82 3.75 3.54 3.54 3.34	35.9 56.3 28.3 67.4 4.3 4.26 4.40 4.34 4.00 4.21 3.83	37.6 37.7 30.7 49.1 20.2

	S	e x	A	ge Leve	el			Social	status			Eth iden		Sam	ple
	Male	Female	<=38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
61. Choose one of the follow				ement	s, wbi	cb des	cribe i	MOST	of t be	centr	al Bul	garias	ı medi	ia in	
general: . ANSWER EACH ROW; The media in Bulgaria are independent					00.0	20.4	20.4	24.4	240	20.4	261	24.4	0.4.1	4-0	
from the politicians The media in Bulgaria are dependent	30.9	33.0	30.9	31.4	33.3	30.4	30.5	25.5	34.8	30.5	36.1	31.1	35.1	17.0	31.8
on the politicians	69.1	67.0	69.1	68.6	66.7	69.6	69.5	74.5	65.2	69.5	63.9	68.9	64.9	83.0	68.2
The media in Bulgaria inform citizens about the most important issues of life	42.9	48.7	45.1	45.9	47.8	51.1	43.0	34.0	49.5	50.0	43.2	43.2	61.3	39.9	46.1
The media in Bulgaria inform citizens	57.1	51.3	54.9	54.1	52.2	48.9	57.0	66.0	50.5	50.0	56.8	56.8	38.7	60.1	53.9
about insignificant but sensational events The media in Bulgaria reflect life as it is	39.2	41.9	41.0	39.5	42.0	36.2	38.8	33.3	42.0	44.6	51.4	38.2	54.3	19.9	40.8
The media in Bulgaria are either very negative or very flattering	60.8	58.1	59.0	60.5	58.0	63.8	61.2	66.7	58.0	55.4	48.6	61.8	45.7	80.1	59.2
Media discussions give opportunity to the people to express their opinion	39.7	40.8	43.3	41.6	37.3	38.3	38.2	43.1	39.1	48.4	43.2	38.5	52.0	38.8	40.5
Just selected people write and talk in the media	60.3	59.2	56.7	58.4	62.7	61.7	61.8	56.9	60.9	51.6	56.8	61.5	48.0	61.2	59.5
Most of the media say the same things	64.9	65.4	70.1	66.6	59.1	70.2	67.1	66.7	60.4	70.1	62.2	64.0	70.5	71.9	65.0
There are very different media in Bulgaria	35.1	34.6	29.9	33.4	40.9	29.8	32.9	33.3	39.6	29.9	37.8	36.0	29.5	28.1	35.0
62. Choose one of the follows ANSWER EACH ROW; YES; Valid The local media are independent from	bercer	at .			-										
the politicians	28.3	34.1	29.7	29.7	34.6	17.9	28.0	21.7	36.2	35.0	31.4	29.7	39.6	50.0	31.4
The local media are dependent on the politicians	71.7	65.9	70.3	70.3	65.4	82.1	72.0	78.3	63.8	65.0	68.6	70.3	60.4	50.0	68.6
The local media inform citizens about the most important issues of life	44.3	49.0	48.3	46.4	46.8	48.7	43.2	39.1	48.8	54.4	45.7	43.3	65.4	78.5	47.0
The local media inform citizens about insignificant but sensational phenomena	55.7	51.0	51.7	53.6	53.2	51.3	56.8	60.9	51.2	45.6	54.3	56.7	34.6	21.5	53.0
The local media reflect life as it is The local media are either very	43.3	45.6	46.6	44.9	43.4	41.0	42.6	42.2	43.9	50.6	57.1	42.2	59.2	46.2	44.7
negative or very flattering	56.7	54.4	53.4	55.1	56.6	59.0	57.4	57.8	56.1	49.4	42.9	57.8	40.8	53.8	55.3
Local media discussions give opportunity to the people to express their opinion	38.1	41.3	44.0	39.7	37.0	51.3	40.8	30.4	38.0	44.3	31.4	37.5	53.6	66.9	40.0
Just selected people write and talk in the local media	61.9	58.7	56.0	60.3	63.0	48.7	59.2	69.6	62.0	55.7	68.6	62.5	46.4	33.1	60.0
Most of the local media inform about similar things	77.4	73.5	78.7	74.9	72.0	71.8	78.2	80.9	73.1	75.8	57.1	74.0	79.5	82.0	75.0
There are very different media in the region	22.6	26.5	21.3	25.1	28.0	28.2	21.8	19.1	26.9	24.2	42.9	26.0	20.5	18.0	25.0
62 Campon - House to Jest &	.tl•			n=- 14	. 1+		1			har					
63. Can you estimate if the for independently from political		_							_			743 OC	L##777	8	
The protests of the BN radio journalists								<u> </u>				217	445	20.6	00.0
during the spring of 2001 The parents' protest related to the	26.1	20.4	23.1	28.2	18.6	14.9	28.0	28.0	17.0	26.3	21,1	24.6	14.0	33.6	23.0
secondary school enrollment campaign in 1999	40.5	39.6	42.9	49.3	30.4	48.9	51.2	54.0	27.5	36.3	44.7	45.1	14.6	74.3	40.0
The protests related to the Mausoleum destruction	24.4	21.0	19.9	24.2	23.3	12,8	26.3	28.6	19.4	22.8	15.8	24.7	10.8	27.9	22,4
The events of the winter of 1997, which lead to the downfall of Jan Videnov's Government	28.6	22.0	29.1	26.4	20.0	29.8	29.2	42.0	18.9	20.6	34.2	26.9	13.9	37.4	24.8
64. Did you vote in the: ANSW	ER EAC	HROW	, YES;	Valid j	bercer	ıt									
Previous President's elections	79.9		65.2	85.4	89.1	25.5	82.0	88.2	88.5	74.2	57.9	80.6	77.8	91.5	80.1
Previous Parliamentary elections	80.4	77.4	61,8	83.1	90.0	23.4	77.2	88.0	89.5	74.2	59.5	78.8	78.3	85.8	78.6
Previous local elections	78.4	77.3	61.5	82.7	88.0	23.4	76.7	88.0	87.0	74.6	59.5	77.5	79.0	87.3	77.7

	S	ex	A	ge Leve	e1			Social	status			Eth:		Sam	ıple
	Male	Female	%=38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
65. Are you going to vote in t	be con	d ng ei	lection	us?: Va	lid be	rcent									
Yes	66.4	59.9	56.0	61.2	70.5	59.6	62.8	62.7	69.0	55.8	39.5	62.4	64.2	73.6	62.7
No	10.5	10.9	13.8	11.3	7.4	17.0	9.1	11.8	8.1	15.8	21.1	10.9	9.6	7.9	10.6
Undecided	19.3	24.1	25.7	22.3	17.9	19.1	24.6	21.6	18.7	22.1	28.9	23.1	16.0	15.7	21.9
Do not want to answer	3.8	5.1	4.5	5.2	4.2	4.3	3.6	3.9	4.2	6.3	10.5	3.6	10.2	2.9	4.8
66. If NO or UNDECIDED, we some extent; 3-Neither agree no	_				_		-			Comple	tely dis	agree;	2-Dis	agree t	o
Voting would not change anything	3.96	3.88	3.91	3.86	3.96	3.72	3.86	3.20	3.97	4.06	4.35	3.93	3.79	3.30	3.91
There is not a party to vote for	3.75	3.79	3.91	3.83	3.55	3.94	3.83	3.71	3.55	3.98	3.71	3.85	3.34	3.45	3.78
Parties are not different	3.95	3.82	3.99	3.86	3.74	4.11	3.B4	3.74	3.74	4.11	3.88	3.92	3.62	3.39	3.88
The voting system elects party members and not personalities	4.30	4.05	4.31	4.10	3.99	4.39	4.25	3.79	3.99	4.20	4.25	4.20	3.84	4.46	4.15
I do not trust politicians	4.29	4.23	4.39	4.20	4.14	4.56	4.30	3.63	4,14	4.37	4.44	4.28	4.13	4.15	4.26
No one represents my interests	4.09	4.08	4.18	4.01	4.07	422	4.05	3.53	4.09	4.23	4.19	4.10	4.00	3.72	4.09
I am not interested in elections	3.09	3.11	3.26	2.91	3.14	3.63	2.90	2.39	3.09	3.46	3.69	3.05	3.53	2.11	3.12
67. IF YES, which is the party	you a	re incl	lined t	o vote	for a	t the n	omen	t? OPI	N-EN	DED; V	/alid f	ercen	ıt		
NDS II	21.9	23.1	25.7	20.5	21.0	22.6	20.1	29.7	22.2	28.4	14.3	23.9	15.0	6.7	22.4
UDRS	15.4	10.9	12,7	14.6	11.8	16,1	15.9	24.3	11.4	6.7	7.1	14.4	5.0	33.3	12.9
BSP	9.4	13.2	3.3	7.1	21.3	6.5	6.5	2.7	20.6	7.5		12,2	7.1	8.6	11.4
MRF	3.9	3.8	6.2	4.2	2.7	3.2	3.9		3.2	9.0	3.6	.1	25.0		4.2
Other	3.6	1.9	2.5	2.1	3.3	6.5	1.9	2.7	3.2	2.2	3.6	2.5	3.6	4.8	2.7
Undecided Do not want to answer	27.6 18.2	28.2 18.8	30.4	28.9	25.1	29.0 16.1	30.1 21.7	21.6	25.3	28.4	35.7	28.3 18.5	25.7	21.9	27.7
68. Did you vote for the same			19.2 e pre u 23.5	22.6 2003 <u>p</u> 36.5	14.8 parila: 43.6			18.9 lectio 38.9	14.2 43?; V	17.9 alid pe 27.6	35.7 ercent 22.2		18.6	52.9	35.4
No	32.8	32.8	45.3	29.3	26.2	66.7	32.8	33.3	26.7	40.2	37.0	34.3	23.8	22.7	32.7
Do not remember	4.0	4.1	4.0	1.6	5.8	7.4	2.0		6.1	3.9	3.7	3.6	6.3		4.0
Do not want to answer	27.5	28.1	27.1	32.5	24.4	14.8	29.4	27.8	26.1	28.3	37.0	28.5	25.2	24.4	27.8
69. Do you agree with the for	lowin	g state	ment	s? ANS	WER EA	CH RC	W; YES	; Valid	1 perc	ent					
elected, and not appointed by the central government There must be referendums on issues	69.4	64.1	66.8	71.1	62.1	56.5	74.2	74.5	58.8	67.2	63.2	68.5	55.1	75.2	66.3
which are important for the country	77.5	73.3	75.3	81.5	69.7	67.4	82.6	88.2	67.5	73.9	76.3	77.8	60.1	90.6	75.0
70. Who should decide about						tidate	87; Val								
The party leader	1.8	1.6	1.3	2.3	1.4		1.4	2.0	1.2	2.6	5.3	1.2	3.8		1.7
The party management	10.5	6.6	7.2	8.1	9.4	10.9	9.8	8.0	8.7	5.3		8.9	4.9	5.0	8.3
The local party members	99	8.3	6.1	11.8	9.4	8.7	10.3	12.0	8.7	7.4	5.3	8.8	9.2	15.6	
Local public meetings, opened for everyone	53.5	50.5	52.4	55.5	48.2	39.1	54.4	58.0	47.8	58.4	44.7	54.6	37.8	69.5	51.9
It does not matter to me	24.3	33.0	32.9	22.3	31.6	41.3	24.1	20.0	33.7	26.3	44.7	26.4	44.3	9.9	29.2
71. How often do you think y Average values of a scale 1-4: 1-							ı you e	are?							
With your friends	2.74	2,46			2.63	1.94	2.67	2,90	2.57	2,53	2,35	2.59	2,57	3.09	2,58
With your family	2,65	2.60	2,51	2.67	2.69	2,22	2.69	2.80	2.65	2,51	2,41	2.64	2,50	3.06	
Mark A I A I	220	216	1.98	2.20	2.40	1 5 1	2.10	2.42	3.24	2 22	200	210	2 27	2.19	2,22
With neighbors With colleagues	2,30	2,16	1.70	2,28	2.40	1,51	2,19	2.42 2.67	2.34	2,22	2,00	2,19	2.37 2.34	2.17	2,22

	Se	ex	A	ge Leve	el			Social	status			Eth iden		Sam	ple
	Male	Female	<=38	39-55	95=<	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
72. Do you think that the Rui Use a scale from 0 to 10, where 0												tent.			
Arithmetic average	1,95	2.08	1.99			2.11	2.23	2.43	2.03	1.51	1.66	2.07	1.79	2.44	2.02
73. What is the most importa- beginning of the year? If you k				ULTIP	LE RES	PONSE					your M		pality	since	
The local cable radio network	3.2	3.1	2.1	4.6	2.8	4.3	4.0	2.0	2.4	3.1		3.3	2.1	16.1	3.1
Local radio Local TV	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.3	4.3	29	2.0	2.4	.5	2.6	2.5	1.1	10.5	2.2
Local rewspaper	5.2 5.0	5.4	5.0 2.6	6.6 7.8	4.4 3.9	6.4 2.1	6.4 6.2	7.8 7.8	4.6 3.9	3.7	2.6 2.6	6.0 5.1	2.1	28.7	5.3
I participated in a public debate on the problem	5.0 1.4	4.5 3	2.6 .5	1.2	3.9 .7	2.1	1.0	3.9	<u> 59</u> .5	3.1	2.10	9.1	2.7	28.7 32.2	4.7
From people, who were present there	2.0	2.5	1.1	3.8	2.1		3.1		1.7	3.1		2.3	2.1	25.2	2.2
From talking to people who know	4.2	3.1	3.4	4.3	3.0	2.1	4.8		2.7	4.2	2.6	3.5	4.3	15.4	3.6
what was discussed there		J.1		4.0	J.0	2.1			4.7	44	2.0		4.0	13.4	
Internet	.2		.3				.2					.1			.1
74. Would you participate in	Munic	ipalit	y Cou	ncil se	ssion	s, wbi	cb are	inter	esting	forya	nu?; Va	lid pe	rcent		
Yes No	43.8	37.4	38.8 61.2	48.2 51.8	34.4 65.6	40.4 59.6	50.6	49.0	31,2	36.2	26.3	43.1	24.3 75.7	90.7 9.3	40.0 60.0
75. If NO, wby? SINGLE RESPO I do not know it is allowed to participate in MC sessions	15.8	14.2	17.6	17.0	11.0	14.3	20.5	32.0	10.3	10.2	21.4	14.7	13.7		14.7
I do not have time for this I have nothing to say there	13.7	10.7	15.0	16.5	6.2	3.6	19.5	24.0	7.4	7.6	14.3	13.4	5.8	7.7	11.8
My participation will be of no use	14.0 56.5	20.4 54.7	18.9 48.5	15.3 51.1	18.7 64.1	28.6 53.6	16.1 43.9	8.0 36.0	19.2 63.1	19.5 62.7	10.7 53.6	16.4 55.5	24.5 56.1	92.3	18.0 55.5
76. Can you say quickly whic ANSWER EACH ROW; Valid perc The name of the Chairman of the					staten	nents	are tri	ue or 1	mirue	?					
municipal council of Sofia is Stefan Sofiyanski	36.7	30.7	35.8	35.5	29.0	32.6	40.4	36.0	27.2	27.7	42,1	35.0	21.6	79.3	33.1
The name of the Mayor of the City of Rousse is Dimitar Kalchev	32.5	23.4	23.8	32.9	26.0	14.0	33.2	29.4	25.9	21.3	24.3	30.1	14.1	64.7	27.4
Parliamentary elections in Bulgaria are based on the proportional system	47.7	38.3	43.0	52,2	34.0	51,2	55.7	41,2	31,1	35.7	44.7	45.6	26.1	79.1	42.3
In Bulgaria, all citizens aged over 20 are entitled to vote	51,0	51.6	61,1	52,6	41.6	60.0	61.7	51,0	40.0	49.5	60.5	54,2	36.2	75.4	51,3
During the year 2000, the Children's Act was adopted. The National Assembly has about 300	34.7	30.3	31.3	43.0	23.7	31.1	42.3	34.0	23.5	28.3	26.3	34.9	17.4	52.2	32.0
members of Parliament According to official statistical data,	45.3	34.6	39.6	42,1	36.8	33.3	46.7	44.9	34.3	34.4	34.2	42.0	24.3	65.4	39.1
presently the percentage of registered unemployment in Bulgaria is about 14	45.5	42.4	44.1	49.6	38.4	41.9	52.0	58.0	36.3	38.8	35.1	46.3	29.9	32.8	43.5
By Law, the President of Bulgaria has equal rights with the National Assembly The European Union is presently	47.1	38.5	43.9	47.7	35.8	40.0	53.4	52.9	33.3	34.8	36.8	46.5	18.0	92.6	42.0
composed of 15 states The negotiations of Bulgaria with the	29.2	21.0	25.3	31.6	17.9	30.2	32.7	31.4	15.9	22.9	18.4	26.6	14.1	49.2	24.5
Buropean Union on chapter "Small and medium enterprises" were already concluded	7.3	5.2	4.9	7.6	6.0	4.5	8.2	4.0	5.8	4.3		7.1	.5	11.5	6.1

	Se	:X	A	ge Leve	ı			Social	etatus				ntity	San	ıple
	Male	Pemale	<=38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
77. Do vou bave Internet acc	ess in	vour i	own o	e citvi	мпл	TPLE R	ESPON	SRS: VI	RS: Val	id ben	cent				
Yes, in an education institution	62	3.7	5.8	7.8	1.4	17.0	6.7	15.7	1.0	2.6	5.3	5.6	.5	16.1	4.7
Yes, if I go to a club, Chitalishte or	6.3	7.1	10.3	8.4	2.3	31.9	9.5	9.8	2.4	4.2	2.0	7.4	3.2	23.8	6.7
another institution No, there is not such opportunity in my		-	-					-			<i></i> -		<u> </u>	_	_
settlement	42.3	44.4	57.4	54.3	21.8	78.7	61.4	62.7	21.0	34.0	60.5	49.5	11.2	72.0	43.2
I do not know	27.0	19.8	21.7	21.4	25.2	8.5	20.2	17.6	24.4	32.5	13.2	18.6	44.4	11.9	22.9
Yes, in an education institution	27.2	33.7	18.0	19.9	51.6	2.1	14.5	9.8	53.5	31.9	28.9	28.2	46.5	2.1	31.1
70 Unio mass conditutement d		tion to	n i ana	1.9. T7:	dellar	v-n=+									
78. Have you used Internet d				_			110	240		22	6.1	06	-	257	0.0
No.	10.3 89.7	6.3 93.7	15.6 84.4	8.0 92.0	1.0 99.0	38.3 61.7	11.0 89.0	24.0 76.0	.5 99.5	5.5 94.5	5.4 94.6	9.5 90.5	.6 99.4	35.7 64.3	92.0
A10	07./	93.7	04.4	92.0	77.0	01./	07.0	70.0	77.7	74 .7	24.0	70.7	77.4	04.5	92.0
79. Have you visited a websit	e of: A	NSWEI	R EACH	I ROW:	YES: V	alid to	ercent								
The Government	1.5	1.2	2.0	1.8	3	2.4	1.7	4.8	.3	1.4		1.4	.8	21.2	1.3
The President	2.1	1.6	3.0	2.2	-3	49	2.3	2.4	.3	2.8		2.0	.8	17.5	1.8
The Municipality	.3	1.4	•	2.2	.6	.,,	1.7		.3	.7		1.0		23.1	.9
I do not have Internet access	37.7	37.9	35.7	33.3	43.4	23.3	29.6	34.2	449	43.9	37.5	34.2	53.8	22.2	37.8
80. If you had the opportunit Valid percent Summaries of the discussions and				_											ı
decisions of the Municipality Council	12.9	13.1	12.4	17.3	9.7	12.8	20.0	21.6	8.6	5.8	7.9	14.1	7.0	40.6	12.9
The opportunity to see the Municipality badget	21.6	17.2	21.7	22,5	13.7	10,6	27.9	29.4	11.7	14.7	18.4	20.3	11.8	48.3	18.9
The opportunity to provide suggestions to the Municipality administration	12.1	11.0	10.8	14.7	9.3	4.3	16.4	15.7	8.6	8.4	7.9	12.6	5.9	39.9	11.5
The opportunity to submit a complaint	17.1	14.4	16.7	18.5	12.0	14.9	19.8	21,6	12,2	12.0	15.8	16.3	11.8	25.9	15.5
To obtain information about the	18.1	20.4	21,2	28.6	10.0	17.0	29.3	33.3	9.3	15,2	21,1	20.8	11,2	53.8	19,2
services, provided by the Municipality To obtain information about the property															
status of the Municipality servants	12.1	10.8	11.4	13.9	9.3	6.4	14.5	21,6	9.0	8.4	7.9	12.6	4.8	11,2	11.3
To read the Municipality development strategy	20.2	17.8	19.6	24.0	13.4	23.4	25.0	39.2	12.2	13.1	15.8	20.7	8.6	65.0	18.7
To receive information about tender	165	100	1/0	176	,	100	21.0	100	- /			150	4.2	20.1	122
conditions, results concerning privatization of Municipality property	16.5	10.8	16.9	17.6	6.5	10.6	21.0	49.0	5.6	5.2	5.3	15.0	4.3	30.1	13.2
Other	3.2	3.2	3.7	3.8	2.3	8.5	3.3	2.0	2.2	4.2	2.6	3.3	2.7	16.1	3.2
Nothing - I am not interested in these	51.0	53.2	47.1	43.4	64.6	51.1	38.6	27.5	66.7	57.6	57.9	48.6	72.2	4.9	52.5
81. What do you think about	Balka	n men	talitvi	SINGL	E RESI	PONSE	Valid	berce	nt						
It is one of the biggest problems of the region	28.1	19.5	21.7	29.1	20.1	21.7	25.6	37.3	20.0	22.6	18.4	24.8	15.3	34.8	23.3
It determines the uniqueness of the region and provides development apportunities	15.5	16.4	19.0	15.4	13.6	23.9	18.7	9.8	12.9	18.4	7.9	17.9	6.6	22,7	16.0
Balkan people are like all other people in the world	56.4	64.1	59.4	55.5	66.3	54.3	55.7	52.9	67.1	58.9	73.7	57.3	78.1	42.6	-
82. Do you support the decisi bappen? SINGLE RESPONSE; Va	on the	u Bulg							be EUi				l		
In 5 years	50.1	48.1	53.5	48.7	44.6	51,1	49.3	62.7	44.1	52.9	52.6	48.7	49.7	49.6	
In 10 years	30.7	27.3	28.3	34.5	25.1	25.5	35.9	23.5	25.4	23.8	26.3	28.9	29,1	29.8	
In 15 years	55	7.7	7.0	5.8	7,2	8.5	5.3	11.8	8.1	4.8	7.9	7.4	2.8	10.6	
In 20 years	3.8	4.4	4.3	3.5	4.8	2.1	3.1		4.5	8.5		3.9	5.6	7.1	
This will never happen I am against this	4.8	5.0	3.7	3.8	6.9	8.5	2.6	2.0	6.8	5.3	7.9	4.7	6.1	2,1	4.9
1 STILL SESTINATE (13)2	5.1	7.5	3.2	3.8	11,5	4.3	3.8		11,1	4.8	5.3	6.4	6.7	.7	6.4

	_			_								Eth	nic	_	_
	3	CE .	A	ge Leve	1			20C131	status			iden	tity	Sam	ibie
	Male	Female	%=38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
83. Essentially, what do the go															
On the will of their Governments On the extent the peoples know each	41.4	41.5	43.5	42.7	38.7	40.4	42.2	35.3	39.0	47.1	42.1	41.1	43.7	34.8	41.5
of the extent the peoples know each other and communicate with each other	16.7	18.6	17.6	14.5	20.4	23.4	14.8	15.7	21.8	17.5	5.3	17.3	20.8	10.6	17.8
On the great powers	19.3	16.9	17.6	17.2	19.0	17.0	18.4	21.6	17.6	18.5	10.5	18.6	14.2	17.7	18.0
On the existence of a common interest	22.7	23.0	21.3	25.6	21.8	19.1	24.6	27.5	21.6	16,9	42.1	22.9	21.3	36.9	22.8
84. What does the Bulgarian	memb	ersbij	in EU	depe	nd on	first o	f all? S	SINGLE	RESPO	ONSE; 1	Valid j	ercen	t		
On the will of the EU member countries	41.4	38.4	41.1	39.7	38.7	31.9	37.5	45.1	39.4	44.7	44.7	38.3	46.7	18.4	39.7
On the efforts of the Bulgarian people	10.6	13.2	120	11.9	12.2	6.4	12.6	11.8	12.4	12.6	7.9	12.1	12.2	22.0	12.1
On the governance of Bulgaria	17.7	22.4	20.5	16.8	23.4	29.8	19.3	11.8	23.7	16.8	15.8	20.8	18.9	14.9	20.4
On the existence of common interests between EU and Bulgaria	30.3	26.0	26.4	31.6	25.8	31.9	3 0.5	31.4	24.5	25.8	31.6	28.7	22.2	44.7	27.8
85. Do you think that with you	educe	dion.	VOIL IUX	vuld be	comb	etitive	on the	labor	o mar	ket? SI7	VGLER	ESPON.	SE: Vali	id bero	ent
In Bulgaria	35.3	27.7	35.2	39.5	20.1	30.4	45.2	60.0	16.6	24.2	18.4	34.5	13.0	56.8	30.9
Abroad	4.4	3.4	4.6	4.9	1.9	8.7	6.7	8.0	1.3	.5	5.3	4.2	2.2	13.7	3.9
Neither here nor there	30.0	32.9	26.9	30.2	37.4	10.9	23.2	18.0	39.2	41.6	42.1	29.2	44,9	8.6	31.8
I can not judge	30.2	36.0	33.3	25.3	40.5	50.0	24.9	14.0	43.0	33.7	34.2	32.1	40.0	20.9	33.5
86. What can integration wit	b ibe I	tulgar	ian ac	cessio	m to t	be EU	SING	LE RES	PONSE	;Valid	perce	nt			
Bulgaria to comply with what the EU suggests and demands	38.6	30.9	39.6	36.5	28.1	426	40.1	35.3	27.2	36.8	23.7	34.4	33.5	24.6	34.3
Bulgarla to specialize in some particular economical sectors, through which the	21.8	22.3	27.9	27.0	12.6	25.5	27.0	49.0	12.6	20.5	36.8	24.6	9.7	58.7	22.1
Bulgarla to recover its traditional markets, so that the country prepares	15.2	10.1	6.9	12.5	17.1		11.7	9.8	16.5	8.4	13.2	13.4	7.0	7.2	12.3
for the EU membership I cannot judge	24.4	36.7	25.5	24,1	42.2	31,9	21.2	5.9	43.7	34.2	26.3	27.6	49.7	94	31,2
· •												27.0	72.7	24	J1,2
87. What could Bulgaria be co									_					4.5	
Agriculture Toxirism	6.3	6.2	5.8	8.4	4.6	6.4	6.7	21.6	4.4	5.2	5.3	6.9	2.7	29.4	6.2
Wine industry	5.8	6.2	7.9	7.2	3.0	4.3	6.4	25.5	2.7	7.3	5.3	6.7	2.1	29.4	5.9
Electronics	.2 .8	.3	.3	.6	7	2.1	.5	20	-	.5		.3	-	1.4	.3
Light industry	- 4 4	.3	.5	3	.7	2.1	.2	2.0	.5	.5	70	.5 10	.5	1.4 5.6	.5 16
Military productions	1.2	1.9 .3	2.6	. 1.2 .9	.9		2.1 .5	2.0	.7	1.0	7.9	1.9 .3		<u>م.ر</u> 7.	1.6
Qualified personnel	.8	9	1.1	12	.5		1.2	2.0	.7		26	.9	.5	2.8	.9
88. Do you support the decis	ion Bu					0 men				do yo					
SINGLE RESPONSE; Valid percent		40.1	47.5	4/-	9/2	40.0	45.4	-/-	26.0	445	CO. C	40.0	40.6	-//	42.5
In 5 years In 10 years	46.8	40.4	47.5	46.7	36.3	42.2	47.4	56.0	36.2	44.3	50.0	42.3	48.6	56.6	43.2
In 15 years	20.2	20.5	23.1	20.1	18.4	20.0	24.7	22.0	18.4	16.8	11.1	20.0	23.1	19.9	20.4
In 20 years	4.3	4.0	5.2	3.8	3.4	6.7	3.2	6.0	3.8	5.4 5.4	5.6	4.1	3.5	5.1 2.7	4.1
This will never happen	3.7	3.4 5.2	2.5 5.5	4.4	3.9 5.1	2.2	3.9	40	3.3	5.4 5.0	8.3	3.8 5.1	2.3 4.0	3.7 1.5	3.6 5.0
I am against this	4.7 20.4	5.3 26.4	16.2	4.4 20.4		13.3 15.6	3.7 17.1	4.0 12.0	4.8	5.9 22.2	25.0	24.6	4.0 18.5		23.6
	20.4	40.4	10.2	40.4	32.9	13.0	1/.1	14.0	33.4	44.4	47.0	44.0	10.7	13.2	47.0

	Se	ex	Ą	ge Leve	ı		,	Social	status			Eth iden		Sam	ple
	Malc	Female	< - 38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
DEMOGRAPHY SECTION															
Sex; Valid percent															
Male			46.3	44.0	41.4	44.7	48.0	66.7	37.9	47.6	10.5	42.8	49.7	40.8	43.8
Female			53.7	56.0	58.6	55.3	52.0	33.3	62.1	524	89.5	57.2	50.3	59.2	56.2
Age; Valid percent			70	75:21	7										
<=38	34.4	31.1				100.0	41.6	43.1	1.0	51.8	81.6	30.3	44.9	36.9	32.7
39-55	30.0	29.7					51.2	49.0	6.4	38.7	15.8	30.4	27.8	45.4	29.9
>=56	35.6	39.2					7.2	7.8	92 .7	9.4	2.6	39.4	27.3	17.7	37.4
Education; Valid percent															
Below secondary	31.2	34.8	22.5	17.1	55.8	31.9	9.3	5.9	58.4	41.4	26.3	26.5	69.2	2.1	33.3
Secondary	53.6	47.0	62.6	57.1	33.1	59.6	64.0	60.8	32.8	49.2	52.6	53.8	28.6	10.6	49.8
Semi-higher	4.6	5.9	2.9	8.1	4.9	2.1	6.2	15.7	4.4	3.1	5.3	6.1	1.1	4.9	5.3
Higher	10.5	11.3	11.4	16.8	5.6	4.3	19.5	17.6	3.9	6.3	13.2	12.8	1.1	77.5	10.9
Post graduate	.2	1.1	.5	.9	.7	2.1	1.0		.5		2.6	.8		4.9	.7
Social status; Valid percent	4.2	4.0	12.5									4.7	.5	2.8	4.1
Housekeeper	4	4.0	5.8	1.7								2.3	3.2	2.0	2.4
Seasonal or temporary employment			3.2		- 1					-				1.4	
Production worker	2.6	1.5		2.9	.2							1.8	3.8	1.4	2.1
Agricultural worker / farmer	15.5	9.6	16.2	20.0	2.3							13.3	5.9	2.1	12.1
	3.0	1.5	3.4	2.9	.5					-		1.0	8.1	.7	2.2
Employed in the nonproductive sphere	18.8	21.0	23.3	36.2	3.9							22.4	7.0	65.5	20.0
Self-employed	6.7	2.6	5.8	7.2	.9							4.8	2.7	10.6	4.4
Pensioner	30.8	39.3	1.1	7.5	87.7							36.7	28.6	9.2	35.4
Unemployed	17.7	15.1	26.3	21.4	4.2							12.2	38.9	1.4	16.5
Other	4	1.2	2.4		.2							.8	1.1	6.3	9
Number of unemployed in th	e fami	ly; Val	id perc	ent											
Mean	.82	.83	.98	.94	.58	.78	.54	.46	.55	1.83	1.17	.68	1.56	.74	.83
Family status of the responde	ents: V	alid be	ercent												
Married / living with a partner		71.6			76.5	6.7	74.9	88.2	76.2	71.6	83.8	71.7	79.3	82,1	73.0
Single / without a partner	25.7	28.4	43.6	13.3	23.5	93.3	25.1	11.8	23.8	28.4	16.2	28.3	20.7	17.9	27.0
		40.4	400	13.3	43.3	73.7	4.3.1	11.0	23.0	40.4	10,4	40.)	40,/	113	47.0
Number of respondents' child		4 / 0 1	40.1	4-0	4 00		1 40 1	4 / 4	400	4 1	4.40	1	0.0-1	4 4 4 1	4.7
Arithmetic average	1.59	1.68	1.04	1.78	1.99	.11	1.50	1.65	1.99	1.51	1.50	1.56	2.07	1.33	1.64
Size of the bousebold (memb															
Mean	3.31	3.19	3.71	3.44	2.68	3.53	3.42	3.68	2.69	3.83	3.54	3.11	3.95	3.13	3.24
Montbly income of the entire															
Arithmetic average	272.09	255.56	312.98	302.18	190.70	326.39	347.55	524.12	185.87	167.79	366.00	280.55	168.45	427.16	261.77

	Se	ex	Ą	ge Leve	ı		,	Social	status			Eth iden		Sam	ple
	Malc	Female	< - 38	39-55	>=56	Student	Working	Own business	Retired	Unemployed	Other	Bulgarian	Other	Experimental	National total
DEMOGRAPHY SECTION															
Sex; Valid percent															
Male			46.3	44.0	41.4	44.7	48.0	66.7	37.9	47.6	10.5	42.8	49.7	40.8	43.8
Female			53.7	56.0	58.6	55.3	52.0	33.3	62.1	524	89.5	57.2	50.3	59.2	56.2
Age; Valid percent			70	75:21	7										
<=38	34.4	31.1				100.0	41.6	43.1	1.0	51.8	81.6	30.3	44.9	36.9	32.7
39-55	30.0	29.7					51.2	49.0	6.4	38.7	15.8	30.4	27.8	45.4	29.9
>=56	35.6	39.2					7.2	7.8	92 .7	9.4	2.6	39.4	27.3	17.7	37.4
Education; Valid percent															
Below secondary	31.2	34.8	22.5	17.1	55.8	31.9	9.3	5.9	58.4	41.4	26.3	26.5	69.2	2.1	33.3
Secondary	53.6	47.0	62.6	57.1	33.1	59.6	64.0	60.8	32.8	49.2	52.6	53.8	28.6	10.6	49.8
Semi-higher	4.6	5.9	2.9	8.1	4.9	2.1	6.2	15.7	4.4	3.1	5.3	6.1	1.1	4.9	5.3
Higher	10.5	11.3	11.4	16.8	5.6	4.3	19.5	17.6	3.9	6.3	13.2	12.8	1.1	77.5	10.9
Post graduate	.2	1.1	.5	.9	.7	2.1	1.0		.5		2.6	.8		4.9	.7
Social status; Valid percent	4.2	4.0	12.5									4.7	.5	2.8	4.1
Housekeeper	4	4.0	5.8	1.7								2.3	3.2	2.0	2.4
Seasonal or temporary employment			3.2		- 1									1.4	
Production worker	2.6	1.5		2.9	.2							1.8	3.8	1.4	2.1
Agricultural worker / farmer	15.5	9.6	16.2	20.0	2.3							13.3	5.9	2.1	12.1
	3.0	1.5	3.4	2.9	.5					-		1.0	8.1	.7	2.2
Employed in the nonproductive sphere	18.8	21.0	23.3	36.2	3.9							22.4	7.0	65.5	20.0
Self-employed	6.7	2.6	5.8	7.2	.9							4.8	2.7	10.6	4.4
Pensioner	30.8	39.3	1.1	7.5	87.7							36.7	28.6	9.2	35.4
Unemployed	17.7	15.1	26.3	21.4	4.2							12.2	38.9	1.4	16.5
Other	4	1.2	2.4		.2							.8	1.1	6.3	9
Number of unemployed in th	e fami	ly; Val	id perc	ent											
Mean	.82	.83	.98	.94	.58	.78	.54	.46	.55	1.83	1.17	.68	1.56	.74	.83
Family status of the responde	ents: V	alid be	ercent												
Married / living with a partner		71.6			76.5	6.7	74.9	88.2	76.2	71.6	83.8	71.7	79.3	82,1	73.0
Single / without a partner	25.7	28.4	43.6	13.3	23.5	93.3	25.1	11.8	23.8	28.4	16.2	28.3	20.7	17.9	27.0
		40.4	400	13.3	43.3	73.7	4.3.1	11.0	23.0	40.4	10,4	40.)	40,/	113	47.0
Number of respondents' child		4 / 0 1	40.1	4-0	4 00		1 40 1	4 / 4	400	4 1	4.40	1	0.0-1	4 4 4 1	4.7
Arithmetic average	1.59	1.68	1.04	1.78	1.99	.11	1.50	1.65	1.99	1.51	1.50	1.56	2.07	1.33	1.64
Size of the bousebold (memb															
Mean	3.31	3.19	3.71	3.44	2.68	3.53	3.42	3.68	2.69	3.83	3.54	3.11	3.95	3.13	3.24
Montbly income of the entire															
Arithmetic average	272.09	255.56	312.98	302.18	190.70	326.39	347.55	524.12	185.87	167.79	366.00	280.55	168.45	427.16	261.77

ANNEX 2: MUNICIPAL AND REGIONAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICES

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX METHODOLOGY

The Human Development Index (HDI) is computed as an average of the indices of the following three variables:

- 1. Life expectancy;
- 2. Educational attainment is represented as an average, weighted as follows:
 - 2.1. The adult population literacy index has a weight of "2"; the data about this component is still derived from the last population census of 1992;
 - 2.2. The general enrolment index is based on the enrolment ratios in the three levels of education (with a weight of "1"). It refers to the population aged between 7 and 24 and represents the ratio between those enrolled for regular education in the three levels of education and the total number of individuals within the same age bracket;
- 3. Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. For the purpose of international comparisons, GDP in current prices is computed in a comparable currency based on the purchasing power parity of the national currency re-calculated in U.S. dollars; the resulting quantitative indicator is referred to as real GDP in purchasing power parity dollars, or PPP\$.

The conversion of the values of each one of these variables into *indices* is necessary in order to eliminate the differences in the measurement scales for the indicators of the levels of the three quantitative characteristics of human development. The indices or each variable are computed according to Formula 1:

$$Index = \frac{x_i - \min x}{\max x - \min x}$$

The average of the three indices (the life expectancy index, the educational attainment index and the GDP index) forms the value of the general Human Development Index (HDI), which allows to compare the achievements of a country in the field of human development to those of other countries.

MUNICIPAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX METHODOLOGY (MHDI) FOR 2000 AND 2001

No common worldwide methodology exists for the computation of the human development index on a regional or local level. Each country engaged in a similar analysis is free to develop an appropriate methodology depending on its specificity.

In Bulgaria, the Regional Human Development Index (RHDI) is computed for the third consecutive year, while the Municipal HDI - for the second time. In order to reflect in a most adequate way the development context in the Bulgarian municipalities and districts, the Bulgarian team of NSI and UNDP experts modified the general methodology for computing the MHDI and its components.

Computation of the Enrolment Rate for 2001

The enrolment rate has been calculated on the basis of enrolment data in general education schools, special and vocational schools from the first and the second degrees (elementary, primary and secondary education) for schoolchildren and students aged between 7 and 18 inclusively, enrolled as of 1 October 2000. These figures have been related to the total number of the population aged between 7 and 18, enrolled as of 31 December 2000. The computations have been made for the levels of both municipalities and districts. Since the denominator of the rate is the number of the population calculated as of 31 December of the respective year, and not as of 1 October, there may be a problem of unrecorded migration. For this reason, the values for some municipalities (and even some districts such as Razgrad, Silistra, Haskovo and Kardjali) appear considerably lower (officially registered population values in the respective districts included in the formula's denominator are higher than the real ones; for that reason the total value of the coefficient is lower than the real one). Besides, the value of the enrolment rate is influenced additionally by the different methodologies of the computation of the numbers of the population and of the number of enrolled schoolchildren and students. In the first case, the census is made based on the place of residence, while in the second case the numbers are established on the basis of the location of the educational institution. In some cases, the combined influence of such factors leads to certain discrepancies. Most indicative is the case of schoolchildren living in settlements close to the boundary of the municipality and enrolled in schools of the neighboring municipality. In this case they increase the enrolment rate in the municipality of the school and decrease it in the municipality of their residence. Similar discrepancies, even though in a less significant degree, are observed with respect to the computation of the Human Development Index for the different countries of the world, as published annually in the UNDP Global Human Development Report.

In order to offset this set of problems to the extent possible, the output municipal values deviations of the net enrolment rate were reduced by using the square root of its absolute deviation from the regional enrolment rate. In this manner, the comparability of individual values by municipalities is preserved and the justified comparative analysis between separate municipalities is made possible. The deviations were reduced through the application of the following formula:

$$\begin{split} &S_{i} = SQRT \left[X_{i} - X_{obl}\right] \\ &X_{i}' = X_{obl} + S_{i,} \text{ when } X_{i} - X_{obl} \text{ is more than 0; and} \\ &X_{i}' = X_{obl} S_{i,} \text{ when } X_{i} - X_{obl} \text{ is less than 0} \end{split}$$

Thus, the sign of the difference between municipalities is preserved, reducing deviation values within the region. For the purposes of the computation of the Municipal Human Development Index, the values exceeding 1.0 are assumed to equal.

Computation of the Enrolment Rate for 2000

For the purposes of the comparison between the years 2000 and 2001, the net enrolment rate has been computed along exactly the same methodology, but based on the enrolled schoolchildren and students as of 1 October 1999 and the population numbers in the respective settlements as of the same date. This must be kept in mind because the data differ from those published in the previous Human Development Report, where the population figures are those applicable for 31 December 1999.

Computation of the Rate for 2001

The average life expectancy has been calculated on the basis of demographic data (number of live births, deaths by five-year age groups from 5 to 70 years of age and by years for the ages from 1 to 4) for the period 1997 - 2000. The denominator for the computation of age-based death rates is assumed to equal the average number of the population for the respective period:

$$P_x = P_x^{.97}/2 + P_x^{.98} + P_x^{.99} + P_x^{.00}/2,$$

where: x = the age interval for which the rate is being computed.

The discrepancies of individual life expectancy values by municipalities have been reduced through applying the same formula as in the case of the enrolment rate. For the purposes of the comparison between the years 2000 and 2001, the average life expectancy for 2000 (calculated on the basis of the data for the previous year 1999) has been equalized in the same way as the average life expectancy for 2001. The data for 1999 published in the previous Human Development Report are based on mortality tables applicable for the two periods 1992 - 1993 and 1996 - 1999, without equalization by means of the square root of the absolute deviation from the average regional rate. Therefore, in some cases (and more specifically, in small municipalities) significant deviations may result. The deviations are caused by isolated cases of death, particularly in young age groups, exercising a disproportionate negative influence on death rate values within a certain municipality (such deviation not being due to deteriorated living conditions). The smaller a certain municipality is, the heavier is the weight of the separate mortality cases in the younger age groups (for instance, a young person from a very small municipality dying in a traffic accident may influence very strongly in a negative direction the life expectancy rate, while at the same time infant death rates or the rate of vaccination coverage may have improved).

3. Computation of the Disposable Income Rate

The HDI economic component at a national level is computed on the basis of GDP per capita. The main hypothesis underpinning this component is the assumption that GDP levels in a certain country are pre-determining consumption levels (based on the assumption that the balance of external debt is zero and that the generated GDP equals the income consumed). At a national level, the access to public goods and services is also directly dependent on GDP per capita levels.

However, things are completely different at a municipal level. Due to the existence of industries of national (and not of regional) importance and size and because of the redistribution functions of the central administration, municipal level GDP reflects rather the production capacity of a certain territorial entity than the levels of consumption within it. In addition, the public goods and services directly related to the level of human development are the subject of central government funding, and not of local financing, therefore they do not depend on municipal GDP levels alone, but also on the redistribution function of the state.

Having in mind this reason and in order to enable the economic component of the HDI at the municipal level to reflect the philosophy of human development, instead of using municipal GDP per capita levels (computed on the basis of the regional share of GDP at the municipal level according to the same methodology used during the previous year), it is more appropriate to use the category "disposable income". In order to calculate the disposable income, it is necessary to simulate, as far as possible, the redistribution function of the state on a regional plan.

For this purpose, a hypothesis is used to the effect that all municipalities form with their tax contributions to the Central State Budget a certain "central redistribution fund" (into which actually other revenues are also paid, such as customs duties). This "fund" is subsequently redistributed by the state back to the municipalities. Thus, the state performs its redistributive function and implements certain priorities in its regional policies. Municipalities are donors for this fund to a different extent and they are its beneficiaries also to a different extent.

For the purposes of the analysis, it is assumed that the state "expropriates" for this fund that part of the GDP generated on the municipal territory, which exceeds the average value per capita in the country. On the other hand, each municipality receives a certain share of this fund, corresponding to the share of each municipality in the total amount of centrally paid subsidies.

Therefore, the disposable income in municipalities is computed in the following way:

- 1. Municipalities are ranked according to GDP per capita in purchasing power parity dollars (PPP\$);
- 2. The municipalities, which have higher values of GDP per capita in PPP\$ than the average for the country, are assumed to be the "donors". For these municipalities, the volume of disposable income remaining in the municipality before redistribution is calculated through multiplying the average GDP per capita in PPP\$ by the average annual population of the municipality.
- 3. The contribution of these municipalities to the common "redistribution fund" is expressed as the difference between the real GDP generated on the territory of the municipality and the average GDP per capita in PPP\$ for the country, multiplied by the average annual population of the municipality. Thus, the "surplus" is taken out from these municipalities and is transferred to the "redistribution fund".
- 4. For municipalities, which have GDP per capita values in PPP\$ that are lower or equal to the average for the country, the volume of disposable income remaining in the municipality before the redistribution is calculated by multiplying the PPP\$ GDP per capita in the municipality by the average annual population of the municipality. The contribution of such municipalities to the common redistribution fund equals zero. The disposable income of the municipality before redistribution equals the really generated GDP.
- 5. The redistribution of the amount accumulated in the common "redistribution fund" is made in accordance with the proportion of the subsidies, which each municipality has received out of the total amount of centrally provided subsidies. The total amount of the funds accumulated for distribution at the central level is multiplied by the percentage of subsidizing, which every municipality received in 1999. In this way, one calculates the subsidy that each municipality may have received through one channel or another.
- 6. The value of "GDP before redistribution" (the average value for the country multiplied by the number of the population for donor municipalities or by the real value of generated GDP for the remaining municipalities) is aggregated with the "central subsidy" derived as indicated in p. 5. The obtained sum is the value of the disposable income on the basis of which the economic component of the municipal human development index is computed.

Municipal Human Development Index

Municipality	Enrol	bined lment ite	Lite- racy	Li Expec	fe tancy	GDP Red	apita PPP Istri- ted	Educ	bined ation dex	Expec	fe tancy lex		DP iex	H	DI	Ra	ınk
	2000	1999	1992	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2000	1999	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2001	2000	2001	2000
Smolian	0.959	0.936	98.1	71.88	72.94	6846	7 736	0.974	0.966	0.781	0.799	0.705	0.726	0.820	0.830	1	1
Etropole	0.944	0.892	99.6	71.42	72.79	6 507	7 402	0.979	0.962	0.774	0.796	0.697	0.718	0.817	0.826	2	2
Chepelare	0.933	0.918	98.2	71.67	72.58	6824	6364	0.965	0.960	0.778	0.793	0.705	0.693	0.816	0.815	3	22
Rudozem	0.870	0.846	97.0	73.31	73.52	6761	7 231	0.936	0.928	0.805	0.809	0.703	0.715	0.815	0.817	4	16
Plovdiv	0.929	0.923	99.2	71.93	72.19	6 221	7 5 3 2	0.971	0.969	0.782	0.786	0.689	0.721	0.814	0.826	5	3
Gotze Delchev	0.913	0.887	98.7	72.85	73.29	5 928	6540	0.962	0.954	0.797	0.805	0.681	0.698	0.814	0.819	6	10
Sofia city	0.932	0.930	99.7	72.46	71.94	5 6 7 9	6429	0.975	0.974	0.791	0.782	0.674	0.695	0.813	0.817	7	17
Bojurishte	0.975	0.918	99.5	71.89	73.60	5 528	6 0 7 6	0.988	0.969	0.781	0.810	0.670	0.685	0.813	0.822	8	4
Panagiurishte	0.859	0.835	99.3	71.69	71.63	6988	7 5 3 0	0.948	0.940	0.778	0.777	0.709	0.721	0.812	0.813	9	27
Vratza	0.916	0.894	99.3	69.73	70.61	7 2 1 8	6697	0.967	0.960	0.746	0.760	0.714	0.702	0.809	0.807	10	41
Zlatitza	0.962	0.919	99.2	69.42	70.34	6785	4 824	0.982	0.967	0.740	0.756	0.704	0.647	0.809	0.790	11	117
Pordim	0.869	0.849	98.7	72,15	71.71	6 2 7 5	6519	0.948	0.941	0.786	0.779	0.691	0.697	0.808	0.806	12	48
Rila	0.858	0.849	98.3	71.43	67.91	6998	7211	0.941	0.938	0.774	0.715	0.709	0.714	0.808	0.789	13	122
Varna	0.974	0.949	99.3	71.00	71.36	5 562	6701	0.987	0.978	0.767	0.773	0.671	0.702	0.808	0.818	14	14
Troyan	0.900	0.862	99.6	72.09	72.62	5 721	6 086	0.964	0.951	0.785	0.794	0.675	0.686	0.808	0.810	15	31
Russe	0.946	0.935	99.5	70.83	71.04	5 881	6 363	0.979	0.975	0.764	0.767	0.680	0.693	0.808	0.812	16	28
Madjarovo	0.770	0.771	94.6	7299	72.56	8 104	5 673	0.887	0.887	0.800	0.793	0.734	0.674	0.807	0.785	17	150
Blagoevgrad	0.933	0.913	99.2	71,14	70.94	5 830	6246	0.973	0.966	0.769	0.766	0.679	0.690	0.807	0.807	18	43
Stara Zagora	0.908	0.886	98.8	71.36	71.44	5 978	6425	0.961	0.954	0.773	0.774	0.683	0.695	0.806	0.808	19	39
Lovech	0.935	0.914	99.2	70.56	70.88	5 953	6677	0.973	0.966	0.759	0.765	0.682	0.701	0.805	0.811	20	30
Shumen	0.887	0.865	99.1	70.28	70.48	6735	6751	0.956	0.949	0.755	0.758	0.703	0.703	0.804	0.803	21	60
Montana	0.933	0.918	98.8	69.91	70.68	6428	6790	0.970	0.965	0.748	0.761	0.695	0.704	0.804	0.810	22	32
Bansko	0.940	0.911	99.2	72.44	73.10	4 7 7 5	6498	0.975	0.965	0.791	0.802	0.645	0.697	0.804	0.821	23	5
Burgas	0.899	0.888	99.3	71.01	71.02	5 947	5 895	0.962	0.958	0.767	0.767	0.682	0.680	0.803	0.802	24	64
Godech	0.932	0.880	98.7	71.43	72.94	5 391	6 708	0.968	0.951	0.774	0.799	0.666	0.702	0.803	0.817	25	15
Elin Pelin	0.953	0.898	99.1	70.09	70.87	5 808	6 0 5 9	0.978	0.960	0.752	0.764	0.678	0.685	0.803	0.803	26	61
Gabrovo	0.896	0.888	99.8	72.64	73.29	4 884	6426	0.964	0.961	0.794	0.805	0.649	0.695	0.802	0.820	27	7
Pleven	0.937	0.922	99.3	70.97	71.20	5408	5 754	0.974	0.969	0.766	0.770	0.666	0.676	0.802	0.805	28	52
Veliko Turnovo	0.941	0.936	99.4	69.65	69.90	6 058	6626	0.977	0.975	0.744	0.748	0.685	0.700	0.802	0.808	29	38
Primorsko	0.894	0.855	98.7	68.48	71,27	7 690	8 282	0.956	0.943	0.725	0.771	0.725	0.737	0.802	0.817	30	18
Sandanski	0.876	0.855	98.4	72.42	71.15	5410	6415	0.948	0.941	0.790	0.769	0.666	0.695	0.802	0.802	31	65
Biala (Varna)	0.993	0.965	97.1	69.22	69.57	6 123	4 9 5 8	0.978	0.969	0.737	0.743	0.687	0.652	0.801	0.788	32	131
Sevlievo	0.862	0.852	98.7	71.28	71.62	6046	6532	0.945	0.942	0.771	0.777	0.685	0.698	0.800	0.806	33	50
Trekliano	0.936	0.852	97.4	68.92	69.48	6924	8 061	0.961	0.933	0.732	0.741	0.707	0.733	0.800	0.802	34	63
Dospat	0.877	0.857	97.5	73.42	73.85	4 948	6901	0.943	0.936	0.807	0.814	0.651	0.707	0.800	0.819	35	9
Razlog	0.898	0.892	98.8	72.50	71.53	4 941	7 200	0.958	0.956	0.792	0.776	0.651	0.714	0.800	0.815	36	23
Kostinbrod	0.904	0.851	98.9	71.58	72.77	5 271	4 809	0.960	0.943	0.776	0.796	0.662	0.646	0.799	0.795	37	89
Rodopi	0.840	0.833	98.1	72.86	73.70	5 4 2 7	5 840	0.934	0.932	0.798	0.812	0.667	0.679	0.799	0.807	38	42
Gorna Oriahovitza	0.928	0.925	99.4	71.11	71.76	5 124	6 297	0.972	0.971	0.769	0.779	0.657	0.691	0.799	0.814	39	25
Dragoman	0.890	0.840	98.5	70.40	72.36	6 134	6425	0.953	0.937	0.757	0.789	0.687	0.695	0.799	0.807	40	45
Belene	0.882	0.867	98.9	70.98	71.76	5 772	6 050	0.953	0.948	0.766	0.779	0.677	0.685	0.799	0.804	41	56
Gorna Malina	0.938	0.858	99.0	69.11	71.24	6100	6578	0.973	0.946	0.735	0.771	0.686	0.699	0.798	0.805	42	51
Aksakovo	0.897	0.872	98.5	69.44	69.48	6 554	5 989	0.955	0.947	0.741	0.741	0.698	0.683	0.798	0.791	43	113
Lakd	0.894	0.855	91.8	70.60	72.34	7 662	7 877	0.910	0.897	0.760	0.789	0.724	0.729	0.798	0.805	44	54

Municipality	Enrol	bined lment	Lite- racy	Li Expec		GDP Red	apita PPP istri- ted	Educ	bined ation iex	Expec	fe tancy lex	GI Ins	DP dex	180	DI	Ra	unik
	2000	1999	1992	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2000	1999	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2001	2000	2001	2000
Svoge	0.900	0.855	98.3	71.43	72.48	5 356	5 834	0.955	0.940	0.774	0.791	0.664	0.679	0.798	0.803	45	59
Vidin	0.908	0.899	98.5	69.64	70.23	6178	6426	0.959	0.956	0.744	0.754	0.688	0.695	0.797	0.802	46	66
Devin	0.879	0.857	96.4	72.80	73.64	5111	7 471	0.936	0.928	0.797	0.811	0.657	0.720	0.796	0.820	47	8
Tran	0.874	0.854	97.6	72.03	71.05	5 234	6411	0.942	0.936	0.784	0.767	0.661	0.694	0.796	0.799	48	73
Yambol	0.906	0.883	98.7	69.97	70.21	5 755	6443	0.960	0.952	0.749	0.754	0.676	0.695	0.795	0.800	49	70
Pirdop	0.938	0.900	99.1	69.42	71.30	5 600	6311	0.973	0.960	0.740	0.772	0.672	0.692	0.795	0.808	50	37
Suhindol	0.863	0.859	98.7	68.79	69.57	6 980	5 762	0.946	0.944	0.730	0.743	0.709	0.677	0.795	0.788	51	128
Lom	0.922	0.910	98.6	70.23	69.50	5 387	7 349	0.965	0.961	0.754	0.742	0.665	0.717	0.795	0.806	52	46
Tryavna	0.852	0.843	99.7	71.67	73.49	5 127	6903	0.949	0.946	0.778	0.808	0.657	0.707	0.795	0.820	53	6
Lyubimetz	0.791	0.783	97.5	72.57	72.54	5 773	6472	0.913	0.911	0.793	0.792	0.677	0.696	0.794	0.800	54	71
Borino	0.873	0.850	95.1	74.44	74.67	4 466	7 064	0.925	0.917	0.824	0.828	0.634	0.711	0.794	0.819	55	11
Pomorie	0.817	0.807	97.6	70.67	71.12	6 568	6417	0.923	0.919	0.761	0.769	0.698	0.695	0.794	0.794	56	95
Simitli	0.846	0.826	98.2	71.59	71.21	5 500	6 393	0.937	0.930	0.776	0.770	0.669	0.694	0.794	0.798	57	79
Kazaniak	0.899	0.876	98.9	70.42	70.92	5 369	6441	0.959	0.951	0.757	0.765	0.665	0.695	0.794	0.804	58	57
Koprivshtitza	0.934	0.846	99.8	69.94	72.01	5 052	6 5 5 6	0.977	0.947	0.749	0.784	0.655	0.698	0.793	0.810	59	33
Haskovo	0.870	0.863	97.5	69.92	69.94	6 234	6667	0.940	0.938	0.749	0.749	0.690	0.701	0.793	0.796	60	87
Svilengrad	0.861	0.849	97.9	71.25	72.23	5448	6 363	0.939	0.935	0.771	0.787	0.667	0.693	0.792	0.805	61	53
Dimitrovgrad	0.820	0.807	98.4	71.71	71.91	5 46 4	5 927	0.929	0.925	0.778	0.782	0.668	0.681	0.792	0.796	62	85
Zlatograd	0.882	0.864	96.2	72.23	72.82	4 962	7812	0.936	0.930	0.787	0.797	0.652	0.727	0.791	0.818	63	13
Svishtov	0.875	0.886	99.1	71.63	71.77	4 702	6177	0.952	0.956	0.777	0.779	0.643	0.688	0.791	0.808	64	36
Chelopech	1.000	0.969	99.8	68.06	69.45	5 071	4 809	0.999	0.989	0.718	0.741	0.655	0.646	0.791	0.792	65	106
Malko Tarnovo	0.831	0.810	98.6	69.28	68.70	6 606	7 5 7 8	0.934	0.927	0.738	0.728	0.699	0.722	0.791	0.793	66	104
Bobov dol	0.863	0.855	98.5	71.30	71.64	5 071	4 809	0.944	0.942	0.772	0.777	0.655	0.646	0.790	0.789	67	127
Tzarevo	0.824	0.812	98.5	70.37	70.00	5 973	7440	0.931	0.927	0.756	0.750	0.683	0.719	0.790	0.799	68	75
Targovishte	0.853	0.841	98.5	68.73	69.13	6 609	7 122	0.941	0.937	0.729	0.735	0.699	0.712	0.790	0.795	69	92
Kiustendil	0.929	0.923	98.5	69.92	70.35	5 035	5 157	0.967	0.964	0.749	0.756	0.654	0.658	0.790	0.793	70	102
Dryanovo	0.919	0.909	98.6	70.79	71.71	4 685	6936	0.964	0.961	0.763	0.778	0.642	0.708	0.790	0.815	71	21
Karnobat	0.866	0.837	97.6	70.01	70.47	5849	6031	0.939	0.929	0.750	0.758	0.679	0.684	0.789	0.790	72	115
Yablanitza	0.849	0.830	98.1	69.22	69.97	6 378	6812	0.937	0.931	0.737	0.750	0.694	0.705	0.789	0.795	73	93
Belovo	0.807	0.789	99.0	71.48	71.46	5 306	5 749	0.929	0.923	0.775	0.774	0.663	0.676	0.789	0.791	74	108
Samokov	0.934	0.889	98.2	70.84	71.00	4 549	6781	0.966	0.951	0.764	0.767	0.637	0.704	0.789	0.807	75	44
Ivaylovgrad											0.816					76	29
Omurtag		0.778				6 583			0.890			0.699		0.788	0.786	77	137
Pernik	1	0.918			70.36			0.977	0.969	0.750				0.788		78	68
Slivnitza		0.833				4 888							0.655			79	134
Petrich	1	0.857				3 856			0.939	0.811	0.804		0.696		0.813	80	26
Stamboliyski		0.830				4 809			0.926			0.646		0.787	0.777	81	193
Razgrad		0.830				6404						0.694		0.787	0.792	82	105
Perushtitza		0.897				5 095				0.756			0.594		0.782	83	160
Kresna		0.834				4 280						0.627		0.786		84	24
Mirkovo	0.873					5815							0.646			85	183
Apriltzi		0.930				3 752				0.774				0.786		86	20
Pazardjik	0.881					5 232								0.785		87	135
Madan	0.880	0.859				4 665								0.785		88	40
Mezdra		0.836				5 171						0.659		0.785		89	83
Nesebar	0.871	0.862	98.0	70.29	71.04	5 071	5 879	0.944	0.941	0.755	0.767	0.655	0.680	0.785	0.796	90	86

Municipality	Enrol	bined Iment ite	Lite- racy	Li Expec		Red	apita PPP stri- ted	Educ	bined ation dex	Expec	fe tancy lex	Gi In)P lex	н	DI	Ra	ınk
	2000	1999	1992	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2000	1999	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2001	2000	2001	2000
Dupnitza	0.912	0.905	98.9	71.54	71.63	3 984	6118	0.963	0.961	0.776	0.777	0.615	0.687	0.785	0.808	91	35
Dobrich city	0.823	0.855	98.3	69.21	69.19	6106	6472	0.930	0.940	0.737	0.737	0.686	0.696	0.784	0.791	92	110
Botevgrad	0.896	0.853	99.4	70.04	70.87	4635	6122	0.961	0.947	0.751	0.764	0.640	0.687	0.784	0.799	93	72
Sozopol	0.811	0.803	97.0	70.01	69.27	6053	6 296	0.917	0.914	0.750	0.738	0.685	0.691	0.784	0.781	94	168
Hadjidimovo	0.845	0.826	97.2	74.03	73.57	3 730	4708	0.930	0.923	0.817	0.810	0.604	0.643	0.784	0.792	95	107
Banite	0.857	0.838	93.9	72.44	73.58	4860	6725	0.912	0.905	0.791	0.810	0.648	0.702	0.784	0.806	96	47
Radnevo	0.846	0.829	98.4	70.41	70.07	5071	4 809	0.938	0.932	0.757	0.751	0.655	0.646	0.783	0.777	97	192
Beloslav	0.911	0.882	98.8	68.95	69.37	5 071	5 421	0.963	0.953	0.733	0.740	0.655	0.666	0.783	0.786	98	138
Valchi dol	0.908	0.880	96.3	68.93	68.73	5 659	5 050	0.944	0.935	0.732	0.729	0.674	0.655	0.783	0.773	99	212
Roman	0.896	0.853	99.0	70.04	70.10	4 645	5973	0.958	0.944	0.751	0.752	0.641	0.683	0.783	0.793	100	103
Mineralni Bani	0.867	0.852	93.2	72.48	72.18	4815	6210	0.911	0.905	0.791	0.786	0.647	0.689	0.783	0.794	101	97
Asenovgrad	0.865	0.857	96.7	72.75	72.50	4 079	5 580	0.933	0.931	0.796	0.792	0.619	0.671	0.783	0.798	102	80
Georgi Damyanovo	0.928	0.910	97.7	70.49	71.00	4 267	6 3 3 3	0.961	0.955	0.758	0.767	0.626	0.692	0.782	0.805	103	55
Silistra	0.812	0.803	97.8	68.49	68.49	6547	7 054	0.923	0.920	0.725	0.725	0.698	0.710	0.782	0.785	104	144
Breznik	0.891	0.863	98.6	72.16	71.36	3729	4 569	0.954	0.945	0.786	0.773	0.604	0.638	0.781	0.785	105	142
Galabovo	0.850	0.830	97.8	70.10	70.03	5 071	4 809	0.935	0.929	0.752	0.750	0.655	0.646	0.781	0.775	106	202
Ihtiman	0.896	0.850	98.2	68.85	69.93	5 145	6052	0.953	0.938	0.731	0.749	0.658	0.685	0.781	0.791	107	114
Prayetz	0.985	0.932	98.8	67.93	68.74	4612	5676	0.987	0.969	0.716	0.729	0.639	0.674	0.781	0.791	108	111
Krumovgrad	0.624	0.616	92.9	74.42	73.80	6 246	5 307	0.827	0.824	0.824	0.813	0.690	0.663	0.780	0.767	109	233
Batak	0.875	0.856	98.0	69.21	69.62	5 145	6659	0.945	0.938	0.737	0.744	0.658	0.701	0.780	0.794	110	94
Oryahovo	0.847	0.827	97.9	71.03	71.29	4 540	5 237	0.935	0.929	0.767	0.772	0.637	0.661	0.780	0.787	111	132
Kozloduy	0.896	0.871	98.0	68.87	69.24	5 071	4 809	0.952	0.944	0.731	0.737	0.655	0.646	0.780	0.776	112	197
Devnya	0.902	0.880	98.5	68.49	68.81	5071	4 809	0.957	0.950	0.725	0.730	0.655	0.646	0.779	0.776	113	199
Shabla	0.852	0.793	98.0	70.81	70.45	4 477	6424	0.938	0.918	0.763	0.758	0.634	0.695	0.779	0.790	114	116
Belogradchik	0.838	0.839	99.0	68.70	70.45	5 458	7 230	0.940	0.940	0.728	0.757	0.668	0.714	0.778	0.804	115	58
Kostenetz	0.890	0.850	99.4	69.65	70.40	4 3 5 8	5 148	0.960	0.946	0.744	0.757	0.630	0.658	0.778	0.787	116	133
Kovachevtzi	0.874	0.846	98.6	68.96	70.94	4 946	7 112	0.949	0.939	0.733	0.766	0.651	0.712	0.777	0.806	117	49
Satovcha	0.864	0.845	97.9	74.00	73.33	3 131	4 893	0.941	0.934	0.817	0.806	0.575	0.649	0.777	0.796	118	84
Nedelino	0.867	0.846	95.2	73.38	73.54	3665	7900	0.924	0.917	0.806	0.809	0.601	0.729	0.777	0.818	119	12
Ardino	0.633	0.628	94.1	74.64	73.68	5 337	6136	0.838	0.837	0.827	0.811	0.664	0.687	0.777	0.778	120	184
Karlovo	0.865	0.858	98.5	70.51	70.62	4 247	5811	0.945	0.943	0.759	0.760	0.626	0.678	0.776	0.794	121	96
Pavlikeni	0.868	0.865	98.8	71.79	71.75	3 657	5 924	0948	0.947	0.780	0.779	0.601	0.681	0.776		122	62
Chirpan	0.854		97.8	71.67	71.97	3 937	4786	0.937	0.928	0.778	0.783		0.646	0.776		123	140
Veliki Preslav	0.885		97.3	69.73	69.81	4 565	5 442	0.944	0.937	0.745	0.747		0.667		0.784	124	157
Zemen	1.000		98.0	69.09		3747	5 198	0.987	0.939	0.735	0.738		0.659		0.779	125	182
Balchik	0.812		96.6	68.82		5 896	6513	0.914	0.906	0.730	0.736	0.680	0.697		0.780	126	181
Radomir	0.883		98.4	69.87		4 267	6 165	0.950	0.951	0.748	0.757		0.688		0.799	127	74
Gutkovo	0.835		97.9	69.58			7 564	0.931	0.925	0.748	0.801	0.650			0.755		19
Novi Pazar	0.836		98.1	69.78		4763		0.932	0.929	0.746	0.754		0.636			129	211
Kardjali	0.711		94.6	71.44		5919	6910	0.868	0.865	0.774	0.763		0.707		0.778	130	186
Kula		0.836	96.9			5 702	7 189	0.928	0.925	0.719	0.717		0.707		0.785		143
Suvorovo	0.912		97.1		68.56		4698	0.952	0.941	0.733	0.726		0.643		0.770		221
Kaspichan	0.831		97.1 97.7		68.59		5 871	0.928	0.915	0.718	0.726		0.680		0.774	133	206
	0.860		97.3	71.34		3924	4987	0.935	0.913	0.772	0.726		0.653		0.774		141
Kneja Berkovitza		0.852	97.5	69.51	70.44		6447	0.938	0.934	0.772	0.757	0.635			0.795		88
Hitrino		0.787	97.5			4 402		0.919	0.912	0.742	0.769	0.632			0.795	135 136	69
пши	0.007	0./8/	7/.)	/0.80	/1,1)	4 402	/ 227	0.313	0.912	0./03	0.709	0.002	0./21	0.7/1	0.801	130	עט

Municipality	Enrol	bined ment ite	Lite- racy	Li Expec	fe tancy	Red	apita PPP Istri- ted	Educ	bined ation lex	Expec	fe tancy lex		DP lex	н	DI	Ri	ınk
	2000	1999	1992	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2000	1999	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2001	2000	2001	2000
Popovo	0.796	0.788	98.3	70.17	70.74	4601	5 589	0.921	0.918	0.753	0.762	0.639	0.672	0.771	0.784	137	154
Strajitza	0.861	0.854	97.9	69.37	69.82	4 446	5 632	0.940	0.937	0.739	0.747	0.633	0.673	0.771	0.786	138	139
Peshtera	0.799	0.781	97.1	71.61	71.64	4 159	6 133	0.913	0.907	0.777	0.777	0.622	0.687	0.771	0.791	139	112
Hisarya	0.848	0.837	98.6	71.91	72,52	3 446	4977	0.940	0.936	0.782	0.792	0.591	0.652	0.771	0.793	140	99
Kocherinovo	0.945	0.924	98.1	69.14	69.83	3 795	5 195	0.969	0.962	0.736	0.747	0.607	0.659	0.771	0.789	141	119
Varshetz	0.905	0.903	98.1	69.80	71.16	3 8 3 1	5 895	0.956	0.955	0.747	0.769	0.608	0.680	0.770	0.802	142	67
Yakoruda	0.863	0.845	95.3	73.93	73.37	3 073	5616	0.923	0.917	0.816	0.806	0.572	0.672	0.770	0.799	143	76
Teteven	0.876	0.859	97.6	71.58	72,19	3 448	6723	0.943	0.937	0.776	0.787	0.591	0.702	0.770	0.809	144	34
Elena	0.851	0.855	98.5	69.68	69.84	4 189	6 253	0.941	0.942	0.745	0.747	0.623	0.690	0.770	0.793	145	101
Topolovgrad	0.798	0.789	96.9	70.26	70.48	4631	5 288	0.912	0.909	0.754	0.758	0.640	0.662	0.769	0.777	146	194
Maritza	0.836	0.828	97.8	71.09	72.21	3 808	4 317	0.930	0.928	0.768	0.787	0.607	0.628	0.769	0.781	147	169
Sliven	0.798	0.783	97.7	68.93	69.49	5 120	6 195	0.917	0.912	0.732	0.742	0.657	0.689	0.769	0.781	148	171
Bratya Daskalovi	0.830	0.813	97.6	72.46	72.17	3 359	4 139	0.927	0.922	0.791	0.786	0.587	0.621	0.768	0.776	149	195
Bratzigovo	0.857	0.833	98.2	71.64	72.02	3 369	4 466	0.940	0.933	0.777	0.784	0.587	0.634	0.768	0.783	150	158
Boynitza	0.922	0.907	93.5	67.76	66.89	5 230	7 452	0.931	0.926	0.713	0.698	0.660	0.720	0.768	0.781	151	167
Antonovo	0.781	0.770	95.9	71.70	72,11	4 241	5 628	0.899	0.896	0.778	0.785	0.625	0.673	0.768	0.785	152	152
Nevestino	0.889	0.868	94.8	70.20	71.68	4 123	5 037	0.929	0.922	0.753	0.778	0.621	0.654	0.768	0.785	153	151
Simeonovgrad	0.787	0.780	96.7	69.55	69.40	4994	5 520	0.907	0.905	0.743	0.740	0.653	0.669	0.767	0.771	154	216
Krichim	0.843	0.836	98.1	70.61	72.52	3798	2615	0.935	0.933	0.760	0.792	0.607	0.545	0.767	0.756	155	249
Velingrad	0.861	0.845	97.4	71.07	71.52	3 588	6040	0.936	0.931	0.768	0.775	0.598	0.684	0.767	0.797	156	81
Kameno	0.816	0.803	95.3	68.15	67.87	5714	6139	0.907	0.903	0.719	0.715	0.675	0.687	0.767	0.768	157	228
Harmanli	0.798	0.791	98.4	70.85	71.80	3992	4810	0.922	0.919	0.764	0.780	0.615	0.646	0.767	0.782	158	163
Strumyani	0.831	0.807	94.3	70.66	70.36	4 473	7 163	0.906	0.898	0.761	0.756	0.634	0.713	0.767	0.789	159	124
Provadiya	0.908	0.883	97.4	69.42	70.09	3816	5 350	0.952	0.944	0.740	0.751	0.608	0.664	0.767	0.786	160	136
Sungurlare	0.806	0.796	95.7	69.48	69.70	4964	5 285	0.907	0.904	0.741	0.745	0.652	0.662	0.767	0.770	161	219
Sadovo	0.882	0.868	96.9	71.32	70.98	3 361	4355	0.940	0.935	0.772	0.766	0.587	0.630	0.766	0.777	162	191
Chavdar	0.874	0.824	99.1	68.48	71.97	4 126	4870	0.952	0.935	0.725	0.783	0.621	0.649	0.766	0.789	163	126
Dolna Mitropoliya	0.863	0.847	98.0	70.05	71.26	3733	5 124	0.941	0.936	0.751	0.771	0.604	0.657	0.765	0.788	164	129
Anton	0.886	0.845	99.5	69.12	70.04	3 686	4815	0.958	0.945	0.735	0.751	0.602	0.647	0.765	0.781	165	172
Miztya	0.852	0.833	98.1	70.06	70.46	3753	4 472	0.938	0.932	0.751	0.758	0.605	0.634	0.765	0.775	166	204
Bregovo	0.923	0.914	96.1	68.39	69.14	4 173	5 217	0.948	0.945	0.723	0.736	0.623	0.660	0.765	0.780	167	175
Cherven Bryag		0.867	_			3415					0.765					<u> </u>	90
Tutrakan	0.760		96.1		70.16		7 165	0.894	0.889	0.736	0.753	0.661	0.713				147
Sapareva Banya		0.850	98.4		72.49		4015	0.941	0.939	0.786	0.792			0.763			161
Ivanovo		0.852	98.8		71.25		5794	0.944		0.739	0.771			0.763			82
Tundia		0.792	97.8		70.82		5 200	0.923	0.916	0.755	0.764		0.659				180
Garmen	0.845		96.7	73.69		2717	4920	0.926	0.919	0.812	0.804	0.551	0.650	0.763		173	109
Kavarna	0.847		95.7	70.86		3720	7 299	0.920	0.904	0.764	0.760		0.716			174	100
Gulyantzi		0.834	97.5	72.04	71.87	3 063	4 372	0.932	0.928	0.784	0.781	0.571	0.631		0.780	175	178
Belitza	0.871		95.6	71.24		3 400	4910	0.928	0.915	0.771	0.789	0.589	0.650			176	146
Dalgopol	0.903		96.9		71.30		3872	0.947	0.938	0.771	0.772	0.581	0.610	0.762		177	207
Byala (Ruse)	0.872		98.6		69.53		5 133		0.945	0.738	0.772		0.657	0.761		178	165
Boychinovtzi	0.864		96.9		70.58		5783	0.934		0.742	0.742		0.677			179	123
1		0.847	98.6						0.940				0.667				
Levski Slivo Pole	0.861						5 445			0.756	0.756					180	130
		0.856	98.7	69.91	_		4 426	0.946		0.749	0.778		0.633	0.761	0.785		222
Vetrino	0.903	0.877	97.7	07.45	69.29	204 C	4275	0.952	0.944	0.737	0.738	0.592	0.627	0.760	0.770	162	222

Municipality	Comi Enrol Ra	ment	Lite- racy	_	fe tancy	Red	apita PPP stri- ted	Educ	bined ation dex	Expec	fe tancy lex	Gl	DP iex	H	DI	Re	ınk
	2000	1999	1992	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2000	1999	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2001	2000	2001	2000
Boboshevo	0.876	0.858	97.5	69.24	69.33	3 667	5 000	0.942	0.936	0.737	0.739	0.601	0.653	0.760	0.776	183	198
Nikopol	0.855	0.840	96.1	69.39	69.37	3968	5922	0.925	0.921	0.740	0.740	0.614	0.681	0.760	0.780	184	174
Byala Slatina	0.865	0.845	98.1	68.65	68.86	3 833	4811	0.942	0.936	0.728	0.731	0.609	0.647	0.759	0.771	185	218
Maglij	0.841	0.818	96.6	69.79	70.12	3790	6081	0.925	0.917	0.747	0.752	0.607	0.686	0.759	0.785	186	148
Medkovetz	0.856	0.843	97.3	69.66	69.56	3 623	5 586	0.934	0.930	0.744	0.743	0.599	0.671	0.759	0.781	187	166
Momchilgrad	0.656	0.646	90.7	73.97	73.47	4 571	7 209	0.823	0.820	0.816	0.808	0.638	0.714	0.759	0.781	188	173
Rujintzi	0.845	0.838	96.7	69.50	69.03	3 829	4966	0.927	0.924	0.742	0.734	0.608	0.652	0.759	0.770	189	220
Zlataritza	0.852	0.849	97.6	69.35	70.27	3 689	4936	0.934	0.934	0.739	0.755	0.602	0.651	0.759	0.780	190	179
Dimovo	0.831	0,821	97.4	69.16	70.27	3 9 3 3	5 121	0.926	0.923	0.736	0.755	0.613	0.657	0.758	0.778	191	187
Chiprovizi	0.830	0.824	99.1	68.81	69.12	3762	5 284	0.937	0.935	0.730	0.735	0.605	0.662	0.758	0.778	192	190
Novo Selo	0.842	0.828	97.9	68,61	70.84	3 934	5765	0.933	0.928	0.727	0.764	0,613	0.677	0.758	0.790	193	118
Dolni Dabnik	0.864	0.857	97.6	69.10	69.05	3617	4 171	0.939	0.936	0.735	0.734	0.599	0.623	0.758	0.764	194	241
Borovan	0.900	0.888	97.5	68.90	70.12	3 449	5015	0.950	0.946	0.732	0.752	0.591	0.653	0.758	0.784	195	156
Iskar	0.856	0.841	98.0	70.09	71.51	3 256	4706	0.939	0.933	0.752	0.775	0.581	0.643	0.757	0.784	196	155
Smyadovo	0.814	0.792	97.4	68.64	69.47	4 173	4657	0.921	0.914	0.727	0.741	0.623	0.641	0.757	0.765	197	239
Brusartzi	0.844	0.833	97.1	68.96	69.39	3 834	5 697	0.929	0.925	0.733	0.740	0.609	0.675	0.757	0.780	198	177
Chernoochene	0.641	0.634	87.4	74.98	74.12	4 6 4 5	5042	0.797	0.794	0.833	0.819	0.641	0.654	0.757	0.756	199	251
Gramada	0.839	0.830	97.6	67.88	69.84	4 2 2 3	5 877	0.931	0.928	0.715	0.747	0.625	0.680	0.757	0.785	200	145
Kaynardja	0.738	0.718	93.5	69.61	69.86	5096	6138	0.870	0.863	0.743	0.748	0.656	0.687	0.756	0.766	201	238
Yakimovo	0.844	0.831	97.2	69.17	70.76	3715	5 0 6 5	0.929	0.925	0.736	0.763	0.603	0.655	0.756	0.781	202	170
Lukovit	0.844	0.829	96.4	69.46	69.74	3 702	5 095	0.924	0.919	0.741	0.746	0.603	0.656	0.756	0.774	203	205
Bolyarovo	0.822	0.802	96.0	68.15	67.54	4 481	6948	0.914	0.907	0.719	0.709	0.635	0.708	0.756	0.775	204	203
Tzenovo	0.853	0.845	99.0	71.31	70.93	2 720	4 124	0.944	0.942	0.772	0.765	0.551	0.621	0.756	0.776	205	196
Kirkovo	0.627	0.620	93.6	74.31	73.82	3 884	5 349	0.833	0.831	0.822	0.814	0.611	0.664	0.755	0.769	206	223
Elhovo	0.848	0.829	98.5	71.47	70.96	2 725	6 480	0.939	0.933	0.774	0.766	0.552	0.696	0.755	0.798	207	77
Sredetz	0.817	0.810	97.1	68.76	68.71	4 006	5 499	0.920	0.918	0.729	0.728	0.616	0.669	0.755	0.772	208	215
Aitos	0.825	0.816	96.5	69.97	70.40	3 529	4 861	0.918	0.915	0.749	0.757	0.595	0.648	0.754	0.773	209	208
Opan	0.812	0.793	96.7	69.72	70.04	3 6 5 1	5913	0.915	0.909	0.745	0.751	0.600	0.681	0.754	0.780	210	176
Straldja	0.831	0.805	96.5	69.09	68.49	3765	5 167	0.921	0.912	0.735	0.725	0.606	0.658	0.754	0.765	211	240
Brezovo	0.857	0.833	98.4	69.80	70.46	3 074	4 492	0.942	0.934	0.747	0.758	0.572	0.635	0.753	0.775	212	200
Djebel	0.644	0.637	92.3	74.48	73.94	3 758	5 557	0.830	0.828	0.825	0.816	0.605	0.671	0.753	0.771	213	217
Avren	0.890	0.863	97.2	68.70	68.65	3 353	4 479	0.945	0.936	0.728	0.727	0.586	0.635	0.753	0.766	214	237
Pavel Banya	0.843	0.818	96.5	69.77	69.90	3 400	4 574	0.924	0.916	0.746	0.748	0.589	0.638	0.753	0.767	215	230
Isperih	0.766	0.760	95.5	69.34	69.90	4 269	5 266	0.892	0.890	0.739	0.748	0.627	0.662	0.752	0.767	216	235
Nova Zagora	0.782	0.749	97.5	68.92	69.13	3945	5 9 7 5	0.911	0.900	0.732	0.735	0.613	0.683	0.752	0.773	217	213
Doini Chiflik	0.892	0.867	96.1	69.26	69.03	3 227	3706	0.938	0.930	0.738	0.734	0.580	0.603	0.752	0.756	218	252
Hayredin	0.843	0.819	97.3	68.54	69.19	3 645	4 491	0.929	0.921	0.726	0.737	0.600	0.635	0.752	0.764	219	242
Borovo	0.872	0.861	98.4	69.94	71.28	2854	4 479	0.947	0.943	0.749	0.771	0.559	0.635	0.752	0.783	220	159
Vetovo	0.864	0.853	95.8	70.18	70.73	3 129	4 4 7 5	0.927	0.923	0.753	0.762	0.575	0.634	0.751	0.773	221	209
Dolna Banya	0.896	0.885	98.2	68.88		3 035	4 4 3 2	0.953	0.950	0.731	0.803			0.751			91
Rakovski	0.845	0.840	97.1	71.63	72,20	2 645	5 420	0.929	0.927	0.777	0.787	0.547	0.666	0.751	0.794	223	98
Glavinitza	0.734	0.723	92.4	70.91	70.66	4 270	5 972	0.860	0.857	0.765	0.761	0.627	0.683	0.751	0.767	224	234
Streicha		0.785	98.9	70.02		3 108	6 572	0.928	0,921	0.750	0.775	0.574	0.699	0.751	0.798	225	78
Krivodol		0.816	97.3	69.89		3 130	3 983	0.928	0.921	0.748	0.767			0.750		226	229
Venetz	0.818		95.4				5 300	0.908	0.901	0.739	0.738		0.663			227	232
Nikolaevo	0.831	0.808	98.1	68.81	73.04	3 394	3 183	0.931	0.923	0.730	0.801		0.578	0.750	0.767	228	231

Municipality	Comi Enrol Ra		Lite- racy	Li Expec	fe tancy	GDF Red	apita PPP Istri- ted	Educ	bined ation lex	Expec	ife ctancy iex		DP lex	Н	DI	Rs	ınk
	2000	1999	1992	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2000	1999	1997- 2000	1996- 1999	1999	1998	2001	2000	2001	2000
Parvomay	0.857	0.845	97.1	70.15	70.59	2 902	4 763	0.933	0.929	0.753	0.760	0.562	0.645	0.749	0.778	229	188
Kaloyanovo	0.836	0.829	98.4	70.14	70.91	2 874	3 678	0.934	0.932	0.752	0.765	0.560	0.602	0.749	0.766	230	236
Dobrich	0.906	0.759	94.9	69.37	69.74	3 072	6 052	0.935	0.886	0.740	0.746	0.572	0.685	0.749	0.772	231	214
Chuprene	0.827	0.812	96.7	67.97	70.54	3 845	5 809	0.920	0.915	0.716	0.759	0.609	0.678	0.748	0.784	232	153
Makresh	0.808	0.799	97.8	67.51	70.73	3966	6096	0.922	0.919	0.709	0.762	0.614	0.686	0.748	0.789	233	125
Lyaskovetz	0.847	0.843	99.4	69.33	69.92	2 873	5729	0.945	0.944	0.739	0.749	0.560	0.676	0.748	0.789	234	120
Nikola Kozlevo	0.808	0.784	95.4	68.10	68.10	4 092	4 805	0.905	0.897	0.718	0.718	0.619	0.646	0.748	0.754	235	253
General Toshevo	0.801	0.777	95.4	69.42	70.46	3 595	6 363	0.903	0.895	0.740	0.758	0.598	0.693	0.747	0.782	236	162
Kubrat	0.769	0.762	95.3	68.20	68.78	4 228	6176	0.892	0.889	0.720	0.730	0.625	0.688	0.746	0.769	237	224
Dve Mogili	0.871	0.866	97.5	68.83	68.85	2 958	4 548	0.940	0.938	0.730	0.731	0.565	0.637	0.745	0.769	238	225
Opaka	0.781	0.775	96.5	69.00	69.20	3 591	4 788	0.904	0.902	0.733	0.737	0.598	0.646	0.745	0.761	239	246
Letnitza	0.846	0.829	98.4	69.29	69.59	2 847	5 2 1 9	0.938	0.932	0.738	0.743	0.559	0.660	0.745	0.778	240	185
Kaolinovo	0.811	0.790	95.0	70.46	70.22	3 089	4 526	0.904	0.897	0.758	0.754	0.573	0.636	0.745	0.762	241	245
Loznitza	0.769	0.762	95.6	70.38	70.74	3 299	4 163	0.894	0.891	0.756	0.762	0.584	0.622	0.744	0.759	242	247
Samuil	0.752	0.743	94.7	67.87	68.46	4 502	5616	0.882	0.879	0.715	0.724	0.635	0.672	0.744	0.758	243	248
Ugarchin	0.832	0.814	94.9	69.45	70.07	3 198	4 890	0.910	0.904	0.741	0.751	0.578	0.649	0.743	0.768	244	227
Lesichevo	0.793	0.775	98.0	68.80	69.78	3 251	4415	0.918	0.912	0.730	0.746	0.581	0.632	0.743	0.763	245	244
Polski Trambesh	0.858	0.848	99.0	69.09	70.15	2 645	5611	0.946	0.943	0.735	0.753	0.547	0.672	0.743	0.789	246	121
Valche dram	0.854	0.838	96.5	69.01	69.55	2941	4 285	0.928	0.923	0.734	0.742	0.564	0.627	0.742	0.764	247	243
Tzar Kaloyan	0.751	0.749	97.8	67.69	68.02	3 897	4 543	0.902	0.902	0.712	0.717	0.611	0.637	0.742	0.752	248	254
Zavet	0.768	0.761	95.5	68.20	68.63	3 923	4 489	0.892	0.890	0.720	0.727	0.612	0.635	0.742	0.751	249	255
Saedinenie	0.841	0.837	98.1	70.88	72.11	2318	3 652	0.934	0.933	0.765	0.785	0.525	0.600	0.741	0.773	250	210
Krushari	0.801	0.772	93.6	67.01	66.29	4 227	5712	0.891	0.881	0.700	0.688	0.625	0.675	0.739	0.748	251	257
Septemvri	0.810	0.793	97.5	69.58	70.47	2 720	5 627	0.920	0.915	0.743	0.758	0.551	0.673	0.738	0.782	252	164
Tervel	0.791	0.768	93.0	69.20	70.80	3 455	6125	0.884	0.876	0.737	0.763	0.591	0.687	0.737	0.775	253	201
Rakitovo	0.808	0.789	96.5	68.75	69.23	3 023	3 675	0.913	0.906	0.729	0.737	0.569	0.602	0.737	0.748	254	256
Stambolovo	0.778	0.765	90.5	71.23	71.62	3 102	3 678	0.862	0.858	0.771	0.777	0.573	0.602	0.735	0.746	255	259
Sitovo	0.728	0.719	95.3	69.25	70.36	3 442	6714	0.878	0.875	0.737	0.756	0.591	0.702	0.735	0.778	256	189
Varbitza	0.810	0.787	93.4	68.60	68.62	3 242	5112	0.893	0.885	0.727	0.727	0.581	0.657	0.733	0.756	257	250
Tvarditza	0.721	0.707	96.1	67.63	67.53	3744	5 196	0.881	0.876	0.711	0.709	0.605	0.659	0.732	0.748	258	258
Dulovo	0.735	0.718	91.4	68.64	68.35	3 560	5166	0.854	0.849	0.727	0.723	0.596	0.658	0.726	0.743	259	261
Alfatar						<u> </u>	6 285										
Ruen							3 428										
Kotel							4 668				0.715						
Min	0.624						2614.7			0.700	0.688			0.718			
Max	1.000						8282.0			0.833	0.828			0.820			
Average	0.855						57354				0.764						
St. Dev.							1035.4			0.026			0.032		0.018		

Regional Human Development Index

	GDP	Index	1	Life Exp	ectanc	Ţ	En	rolment	t Rate	Educ.	Index	н	DI	Ra	nk
Name	1999	1998	Ye 1997- 2000	ars 1996- 1998	Inc 1997- 2000	iex 1996- 1998	2000	1999	1992	2000	1999	2001	2000	2001	2000
City of Sofia	0.674	0.695	72.5	70.4	0.791	0.757	93.2	93.0	99.7	0.975	0.974	0.813	0.809	1	3
Smolyan	0.676	0.719	72.9	72.3	0.798	0.788	91.0	88.8	96.7	0.948	0.941	0.807	0.816	2	1
Gabrovo	0.661	0.698	72,1	72.4	0.785	0.791	88.2	87.2	99.4	0.956	0.953	0.801	0.814	3	2
Varna	0.660	0.686	70.5	70.3	0.759	0.755	94.4	91.9	98.7	0.973	0.964	0.797	0.802	4	8
Blagoevgrad	0.645	0.689	72.6	71.8	0.793	0.780	89.1	87.0	98.2	0.951	0.944	0.797	0.804	5	5
Plovdiv	0.653	0.689	71.6	71.3	0.777	0.772	88.9	88.2	98.4	0.952	0.950	0.794	0.804	6	6
Sofia	0.657	0.683	70.4	71.7	0.757	0.779	92,2	87.5	98.8	0.966	0.951	0.794	0.804	7	4
Stara Zagora	0.661	0.682	71.1	70.7	0.768	0.762	88.0	85.9	98.4	0.949	0.942	0.793	0.795	8	12
Ruse	0.653	0.678	70.6	70.3	0.760	0.755	91.3	90.3	98.9	0.963	0.960	0.792	0.798	9	10
Lovech	0.652	0.689	70.8	71.1	0.764	0.769	89.2	87.3	98.4	0.954	0.947	0.790	0.802	10	9
Veliko Tarnovo	0.647	0.688	70.5	70.7	0.759	0.761	89.9	89.6	99.1	0.960	0.959	0.789	0.803	11	7
Vratza	0.663	0.673	70.0	70.0	0.751	0.750	88.4	86.3	98.5	0.951	0.944	0.788	0.789	12	19
Haskovo	0.668	0.685	71.1	70.7	0.768	0.761	83.3	82.5	97.5	0.928	0.925	0.788	0.790	13	17
Burgas	0.666	0.676	70.6	69.9	0.759	0.748	85.8	84.8	97.7	0.938	0.934	0.788	0.786	14	21
Pernik	0.634	0.679	70.5	69.6	0.759	0.744	92.4	90.0	99.1	0.969	0.961	0.787	0.795	15	13
Vidin	0.669	0.690	69.8	69.6	0.747	0.743	88.1	87.2	97.9	0.946	0.943	0.787	0.792	16	16
Montana	0.653	0.693	70.2	70.1	0.753	0.751	89.7	88.4	98.1	0.953	0.948	0.786	0.797	17	11
Pleven	0.637	0.669	70.8	70.5	0.764	0.758	90.0	88.6	98.6	0.958	0.953	0.786	0.793	18	15
Kiustendil	0.637	0.667	70.8	70.5	0.763	0.758	90.4	89.6	98.5	0.958	0.955	0.786	0.793	19	14
Shumen	0.669	0.683	69.8	69.6	0.746	0.743	85.4	83.1	97.8	0.936	0.929	0.784	0.785	20	23
Targovishte	0.677	0.692	69.9	70.0	0.749	0.751	81.8	80.9	97.5	0.923	0.920	0.783	0.787	21	20
Yambol	0.644	0.686	70.4	69 .7	0.757	0.745	87.1	84.8	98.1	0.945	0.937	0.782	0.789	22	18
Pazardjik	0.638	0.673	70.4	70.3	0.757	0.755	84.7	82.7	97.8	0.934	0.928	0.777	0.785	23	22
Dobrich	0.651	0.695	69.8	69.3	0.747	0.738	83.8	81.3	96.6	0.923	0.915	0.774	0.783	24	24
Kardjali	0.661	0.689	73.1	72.2	0.801	0.786	66.7	65.9	93.4	0.845	0.842	0.769	0.772	25	26
Razgrad	0.651	0.678	69.0	69.2	0.733	0.736	79.7	78.9	96.7	0.910	0.908	0.765	0.774	26	25
Silistra	0.660	0.696	69.3	68.9	0.738	0.731	77.3	76.1	95.3	0.893	0.889	0.763	0.772	27	27
Sliven	0.639	0.681	68.8	68.6	0.730	0.727	77.2	75.7	97.0	0.904	0.899	0.758	0.769	28	28