

A faint, light blue world map is visible in the background of the slide, centered behind the text.

**ROMA POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION IN
BULGARIA**

March 2005

POLL PROFILE

Aims of the opinion poll

- To trace the forms of political participation of the Roma and their behavior as voters;
- To make a comparison between their behavior and that of Bulgarians as a whole;
- To present the poll results to political parties to help them develop their election strategies on Roma issues

About NDI

In April 2004, NDI began a program in Slovakia and Bulgaria to increase the participation of Roma in electoral politics and representative government. The program consists of three main components: a six-month leadership series to develop the political skills of 20 up-and-coming Roma party activists in each country; public opinion research on Roma political attitudes and priorities, which is being used to inform Roma policy and encourage political outreach to Roma; and a regional academy in July of 2005 to unite Roma across borders for networking and advanced political leadership training. For more information on NDI's Roma program, please contact Megan Unangst 202-728-5670.

POLL PROFILE

Poll range and research methods

- The opinion poll was fielded in the period March 2 – 9, 2005 by ALPHA RESEARCH Polling Agency.
- The methodology applied was that of quantitative research – direct standardized interviews with adults in their homes.
- The opinion poll includes a sample of Roma and a control national representative sample of the adult population.
- The size of the Roma sample is 1,006 interviews in 85 localities: the capital city, 27 cities - regional centers, 27 smaller towns (one in each of the regional centers), and 30 villages.
- The size of the national representative sample of adult population is 1,100 interviews from 88 localities throughout the country.
- Possible statistical distortion – 2%

POLL PROFILE

Methodology of selection of Roma respondents

- The interviews of Roma were distributed throughout the country, covering all basic types of settlements: the capital city, regional centers, smaller towns, and villages. 49% of the interviewed Roma people came from villages and smaller towns, which is proportionate to where Roma live.
- During the fielding of the poll, the Alpha Research staff were assisted by representatives of the Roma group typical of the respective settlement.

Regional distribution of the over-sample in 6 regions: northwestern, central-north, northeastern, southwestern, central-south, southeastern



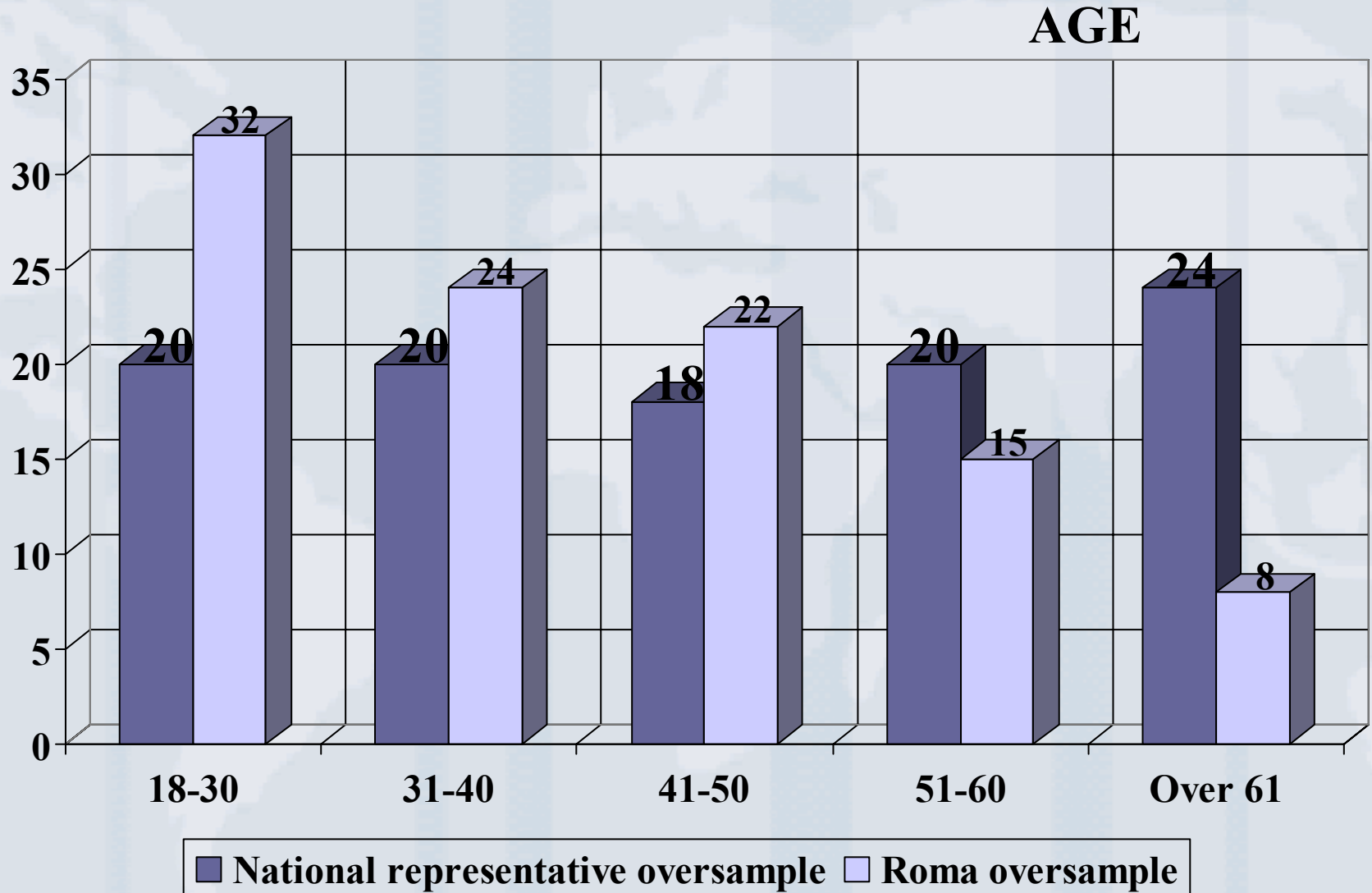
Self-identification of the interviewed Roma with the basic ethnic groups for the whole country and in the regions

Groups:	Total	South West	North West	South East	Central North	Central South	North East
Roma	78%	100%	99%	98%	84%	68%	46%
Millet	9%	-	-	2%	5%	2%	33%
Turkish	7%	-	-	-	3%	15%	17%
Bulgarian	4%	-	-	-	4%	12%	4%
Other	2%	-	1%	-	4%	3%	-

Self-identification of the interviewed Roma with a Roma sub-group

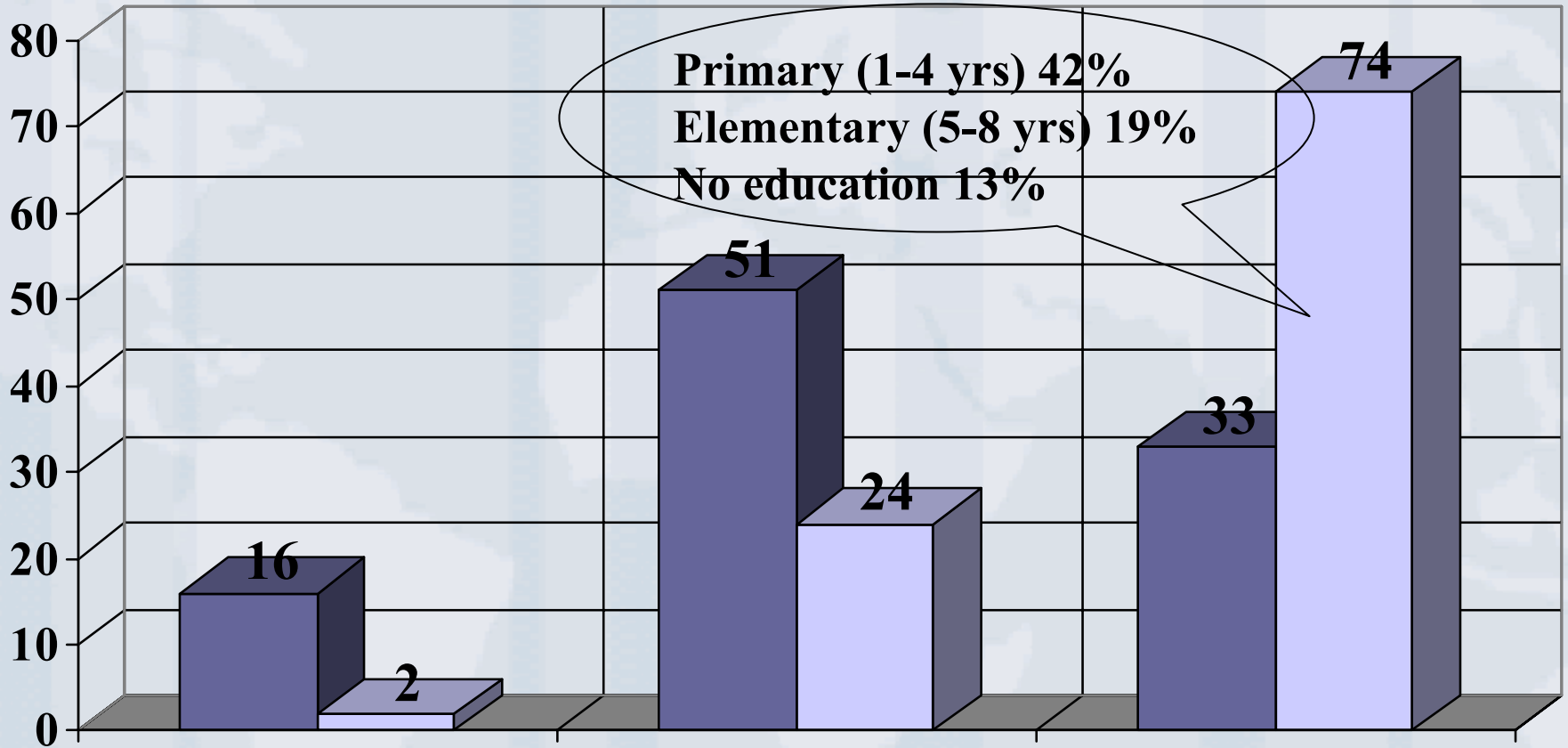
Groups:	Total	South West	North West	South East	Central North	Central South	North East
Roma	33%	47%	61%	9%	54%	64%	13%
Horohane	18%	9%	-	41%	10%	21%	49%
Dasikane	15%	30%	36%	20%	13%	12%	6%
Millet	8%	-	-	5%	17%	3%	27%
Yerlii	5%	11%	3%	25%	2%	-	1%
Kalderash	2%	3%	-	-	4%	-	4%

Social-demographic profile of the two groups



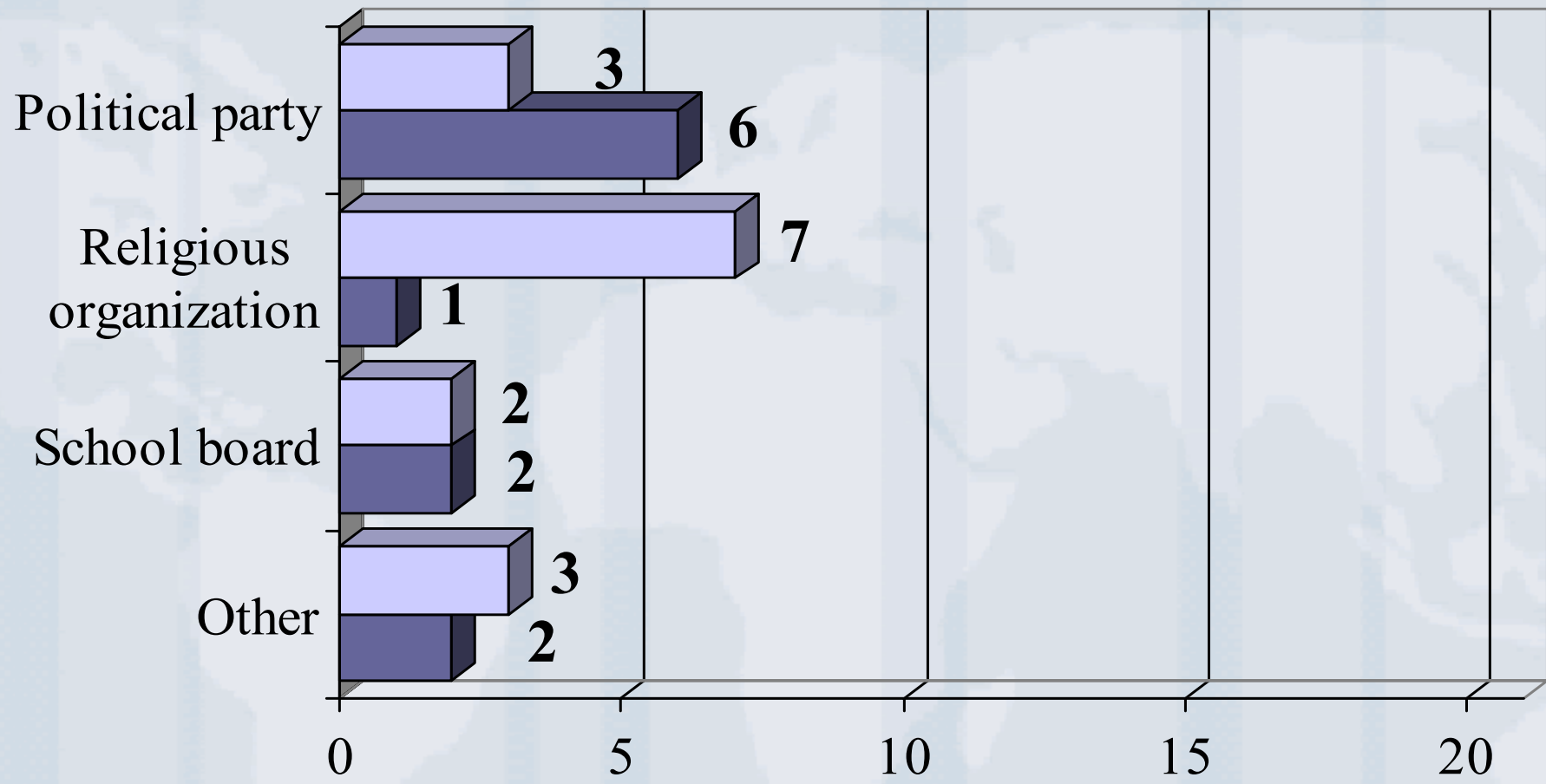
Social-demographic profile of the two groups

Education



■ National representative oversample □ Roma oversample

CIVIC PARTICIPATION



■ National representative oversample □ Roma oversample

POLITICAL AWARENESS

Those who gave the correct name of:	National representative over-sample	Roma over-sample
Their mayor	82%	81%
MP from their constituency	27%	17%
The Prime Minister	92%	72%
A minister from the current cabinet	69%	41%
The Bulgarian President	95%	83%

POLITICAL AWARENESS

Those who gave the correct name of:	National representative over-sample	Roma over-sample
The leader of NMSS	61%	36%
The leader of UDF	65%	35%
The leader of BSP	67%	34%
The leader of MRF	75%	55%
The leader of DSB	47%	24%
The leader of <i>The New Time</i>	42%	15%

POLITICAL AWARENESS /ROMA OVERSAMPLE/

A ROMA PARTY	
EVROROMA	28%
Roma	9%
DROM	6%
<i>Edinstvo</i> coalition	3%
MRF	2%
<i>Osmi April</i>	0,9%
Roma Democrats for Strong Bulgaria	0,6%

ROMA LEADER	
Tzvetelin Kanchev	16%
Iliya Iliev	5%
Toma Tomov	4%
Boris Tomov	4%
Kiril Rashkov-Tzar Kiro	3%

PAST VOTE

Share of those who did not vote in the last elections	National representative over-sample	Roma over-sample
Local elections 2003	35%	35%
National elections 2001	32%	32%
Presidential elections 2001	31%	27%

MOTIVATION OF THE VOTE

Factor that most influences vote	National representative over-sample	Roma over-sample
Image of the party/ candidate	42%	24%
Platform of the party/ candidate	28%	20%
Party/ candidate campaign	17%	13%
The family	13%	19%
Media campaigns	11%	7%
The opinion of the community leaders	5%	13%
Financial factors	1%	10%
Pressure	0,2	4%

Motivation for non-voting

	Roma over-sample (percent based on all respondents)
Disappointment with the last elected representatives	5.2%
Not interested in politics	4.8%
Lack of solutions for improvement the life of the Roma community	3.9%
No confidence in the candidates/parties	3.7%
No Roma (or representatives of your ethnic group) in the parties/ among the candidates	1.9%
Others	0.7%
Inadequate information about the parties/the candidates/ the elections	0.2%

ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CIVIC AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “AGREE”	National representative over-sample	Roma over-sample
I believe people like me can influence the activities of the government	15%	16%
The politicians do not explain well enough their activities and decisions	70%	68%
I understand what is happening in politics, however it simply has no relation to my life	40%	44%
It is important to choose the suitable political party, as it will be capable of changing our lives	49%	59%
Through their vote, the Roma/ your community can have a serious impact on the election results	55%	69%

Assessment of the work of the political parties – along the six-grade system

	Average grades
National Movement Simeon the Second, NMSS	3.0
Union of the Democratic Forces, UDF	2.7
Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP	3.4
Movement for Rights and Freedoms, MRF	3.1
Democrats for Strong Bulgaria, DSB	2.4
The New Time	2.4
Union of Free Democrats, UFD	2.7
Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, IMRO	2.5
<i>Gergyovden</i>	2.7
Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, BANU	2.6

Assessment of party leaders – along the six-grade system

	Average grades
Simeon Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha	3.3
Sergei Stanishev	3.4
Nadezhda Mikhai	2.9
Akhmed Dogan	3.2
Ivan Kostov	2.6
Emil Koshlukov	2.6
Stefan Sofianski	3
Krasimir Karakachanov	2.6
Lyuben Dilov	2.6
Anastasia Moser	2.6

Assessment of Roma political parties – along the six-grade system

	Average grades
Roma	3.5
DROM	3.4
EVROROMA	3.4
<i>Edinstvo</i> coalition	3.2
Roma Democrats for Strong Bulgaria	3.1
<i>Osmi April</i>	3.2

Assessment of Roma party leaders – along the six-grade system

	Average grades
Toma Tomov	3.3
Iliya Iliev	3.4
Sasho Filipov	3.1
Tzvetelin Kanchev	3.4
Kiril Rashkov (Tzar Kiro)	3.3
Hristo Kyuchukov	3.7
Vasil Chaprazov	3.4

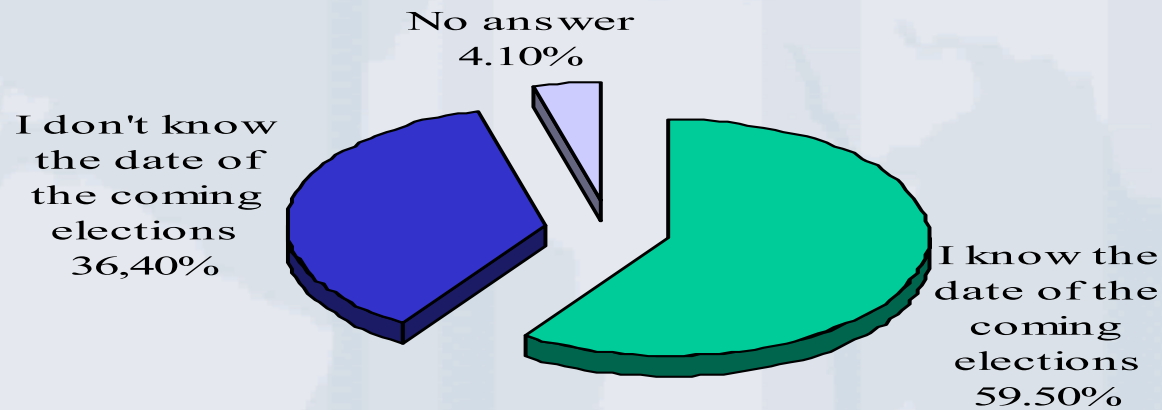
Promises the current government did not meet

	Roma over-sample
The timeline of 800 days for radical changes in the life of the people	41.6%
None of them	33.6%
Cannot judge	21.9%
The new moral and end of corruption	20.4%
Direct control of the citizens on their MPs in Parliament	9.1%
Radical changes in the business environment	5.2%
Cutting down the number of employed in administration	5%

INTENTIONS OF VOTING IN 2005 ELECTIONS

	National representative over-sample	Roma over- sample
Will vote	48%	64%
Will not vote	18%	14%
Haven't decided yet	34%	22%

Knowledge of the date of the coming elections (Roma over-sample)



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PARTY PREFERENCES	National representative over-sample	Roma over-sample
Coalition for Bulgaria	23,0%	20,1%
NMSS	10,8%	8,2%
United Democratic Forces - UDF, Gergyovden, Democratic Party	7,6 %	4,5%
MRF	5,6%	8,0%
Coalition UFD, BANU-National Union, IMRO	2,6%	1,9%
DSB	1,8%	0,2%
The New Time	0,8%	1,3%
EVROROMA	0,8%	17,5%
Other	4,5%	3,9%
Haven't decided yet	20,1%	13,0%
I won't vote	24,0%	21,6%

PREFERENCES FOR PRESIDENT

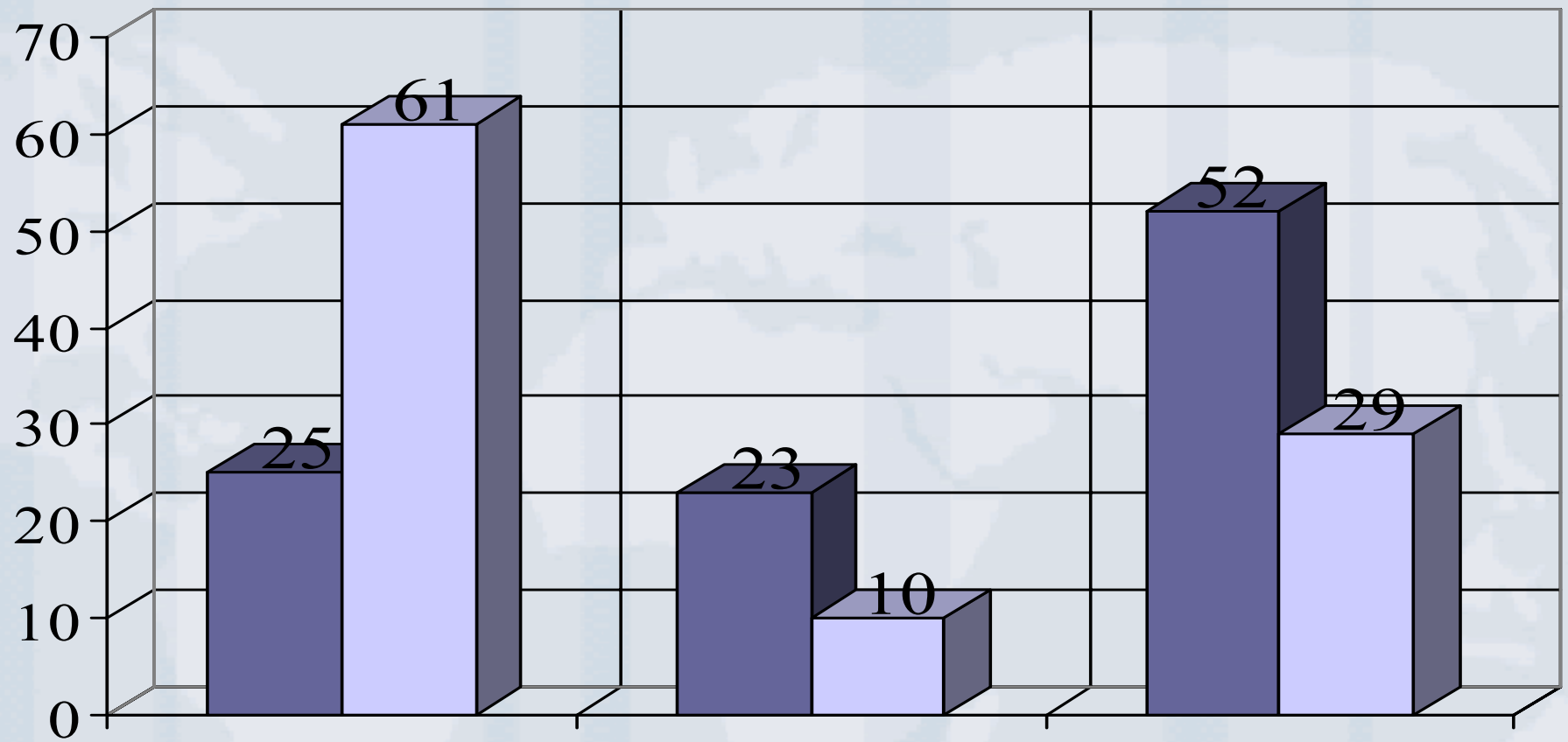
	National representative oversample	Roma oversample
GEORGI PARVANOV	49%	48%
PETAR STOYANOV	3%	5%
SIMEON SAXE-COBOURG-GOTHA	2%	2%
OTHER	4%	3%
NO ANSWER	42%	42%

SPECIFICITY OF THE ROMA VOTE IN THE DIFFERENT REGIONS

The Roma vote shows considerable variations in the different regions:

- **Central-South** region has the greatest support for MRF, BSP comes second. Here the number of supporters of EVROROMA is the lowest.
- **Northeastern** region, though with the greatest share of those who identify themselves as Turkish or Muslim, gives a greater preference for BSP (second in 6 regions), and only then comes MRF (again second in 6 regions). According to readiness to support EVROROMA, the region comes 4th out of the 6 regions.
- **Southeastern** region, in spite of the biggest number of Roma Muslims, gives a very low voting support for MRF, the preference for BSP dominates – the biggest support for BSP among the six regions. EVROROMA support comes fifth.
- **Central-North** region – the vote is divided between BSP and EVROROMA. The share of support for both parties comes third among the six regions. The vote for BSP is more clearly defined, compared to that for EVROROMA.
- The vote in the **Northwestern** region is evenly divided between BSP and EVROROMA (one fifth of the vote for each), which makes these two parties leaders in the region. The highest vote for NMSS of all six regions.
- **Southwestern** region – the highest vote for EVROROMA – amounts to one third of the overall vote. All the other parties together cannot get such a share.

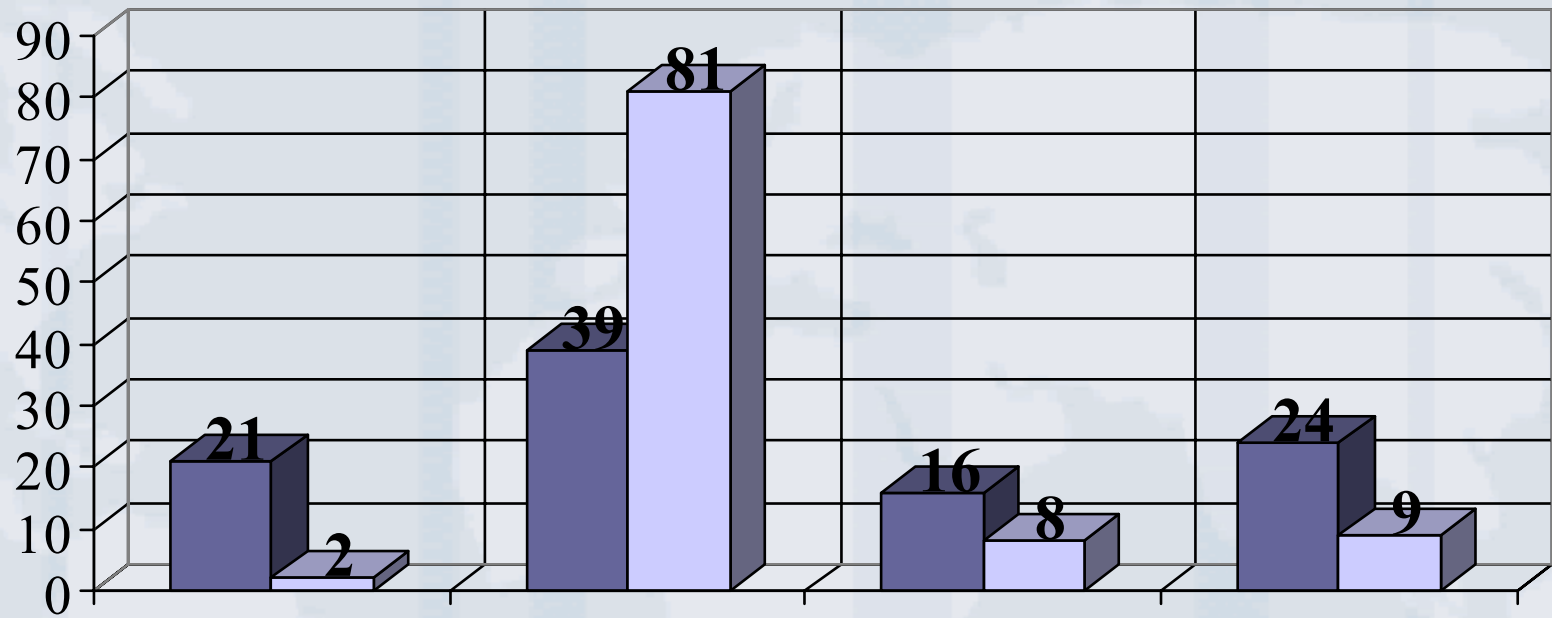
ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMITMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE ROMA ISSUES



The authorities avoid solving the problems of the Roma Roma issues are among the priorities of the authorities Cannot judge

■ National representative oversample ■ Roma oversample

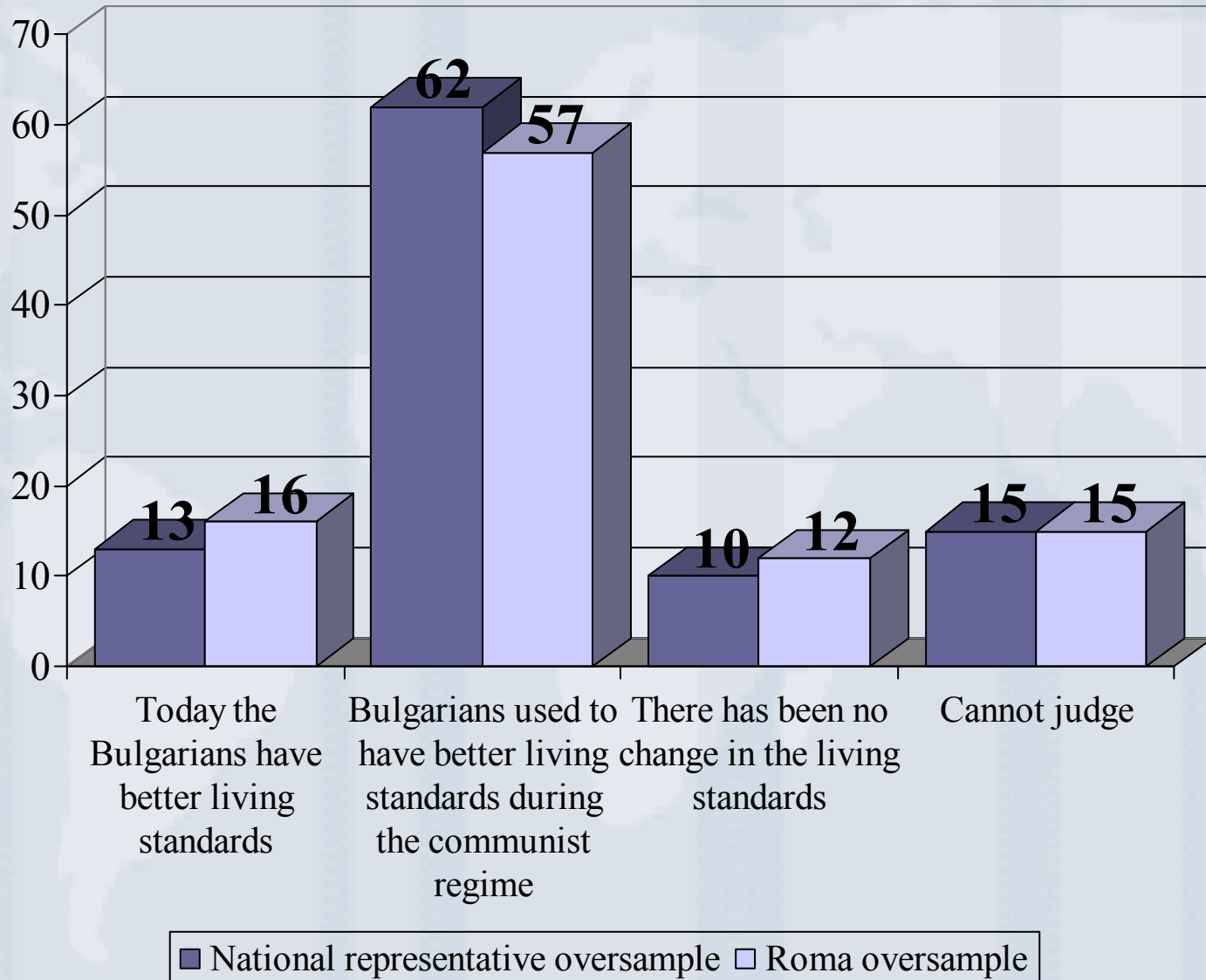
ASSESSMENT OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE ROMA



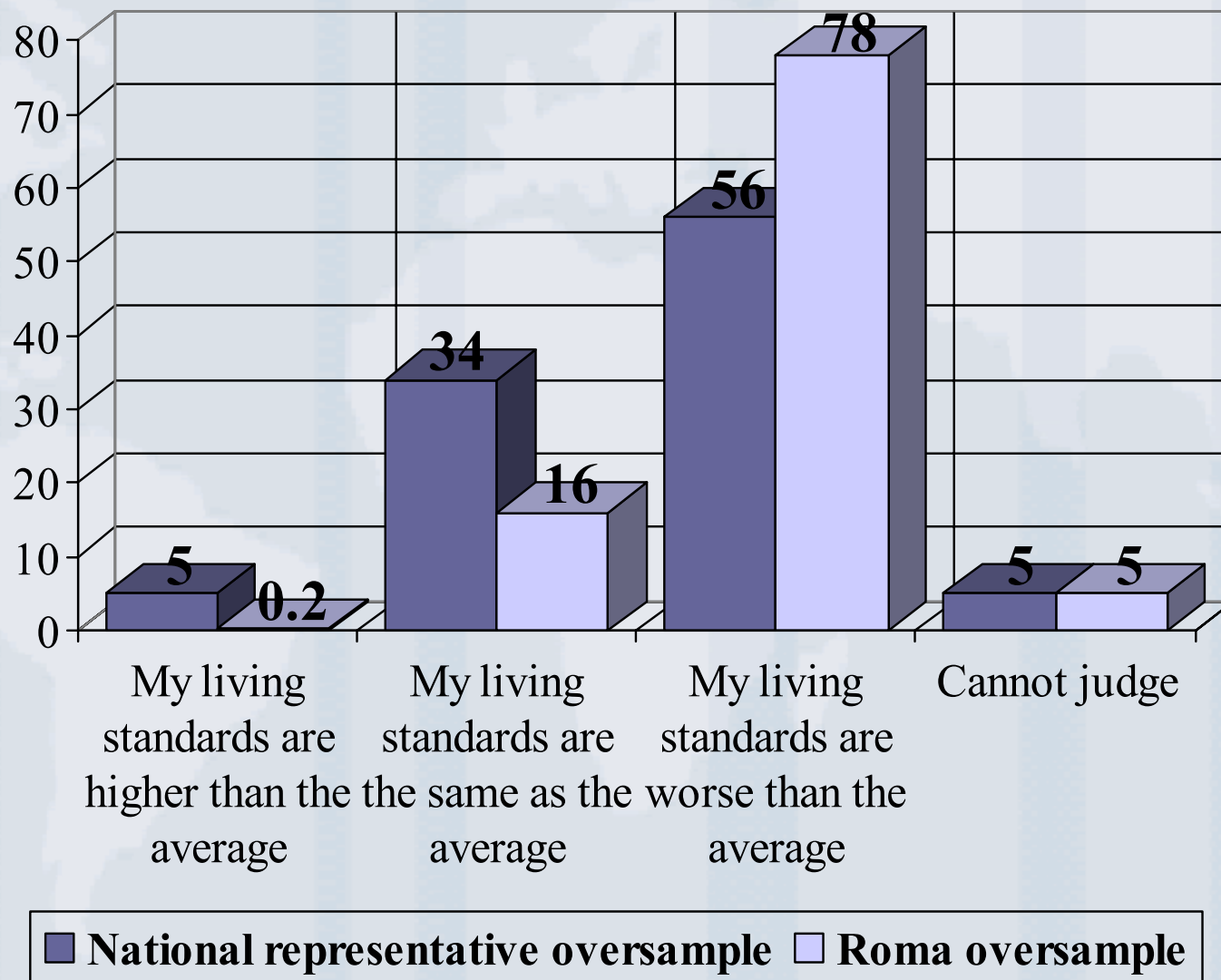
Today the Roma have higher living standards The Roma used to have better living standards during the communist regime There has been no change in the living standards Cannot judge

■ National representative oversample □ Roma oversample

ASSESSMENT OF THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE BULGARIANS

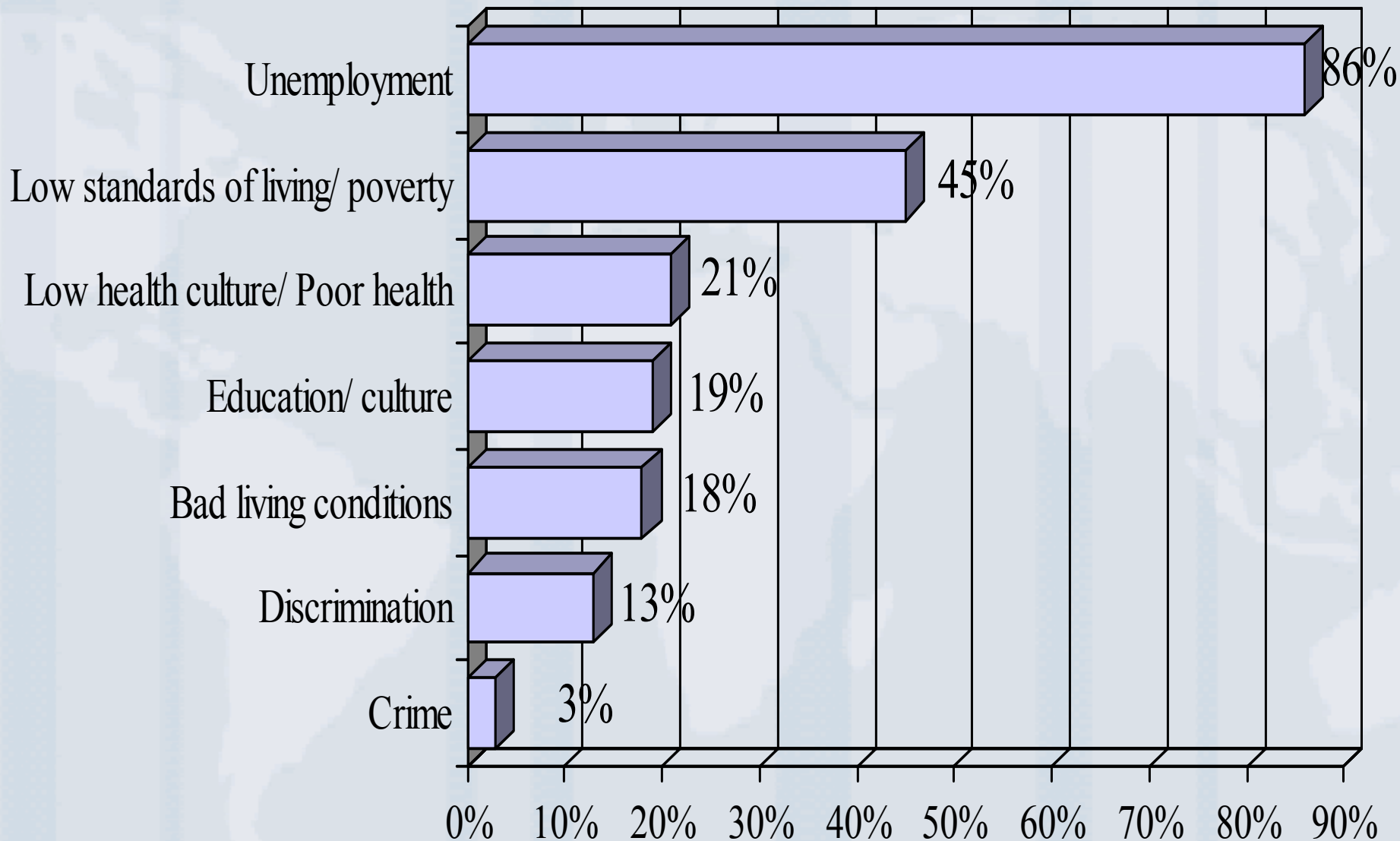


ASSESSMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL LIVING STANDARDS (assessment of the individual living standard compared to that of the average Bulgarian)



THE MOST SERIOUS ROMA PROBLEMS /Roma oversample/

Participants were asked to choose all that applied

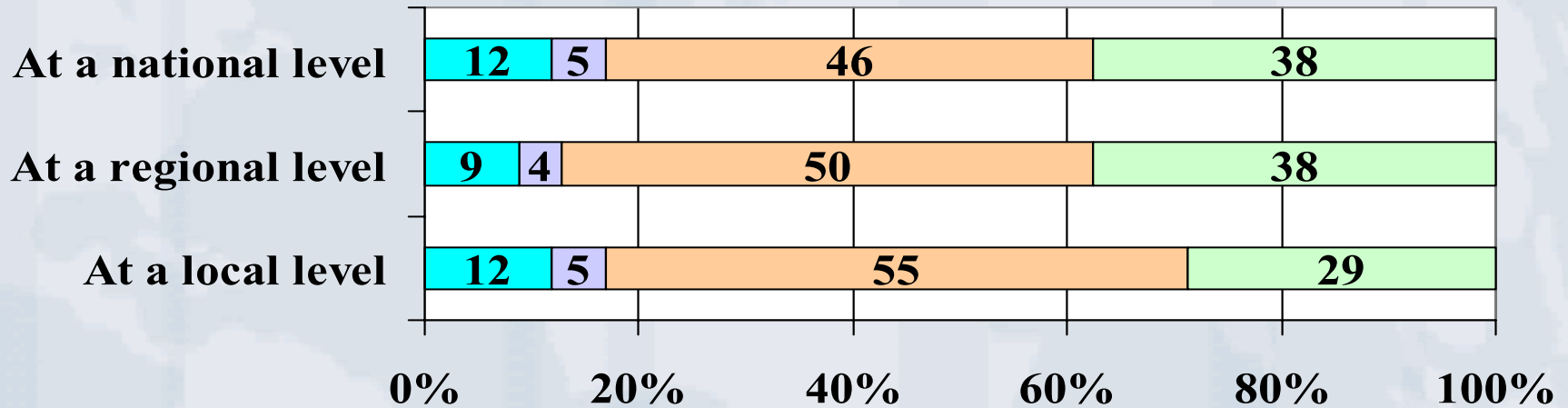


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Areas in Which Respondents Want More information on Legislative and Executive Work

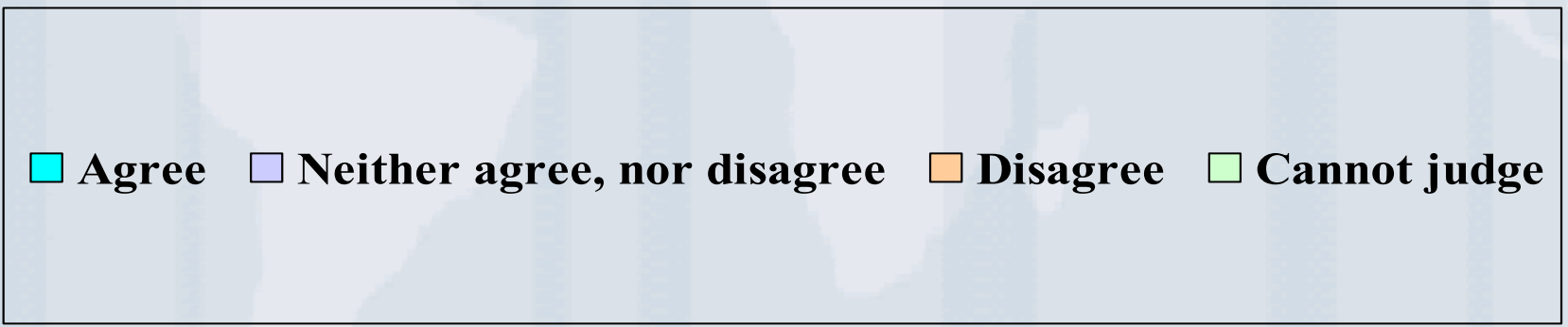
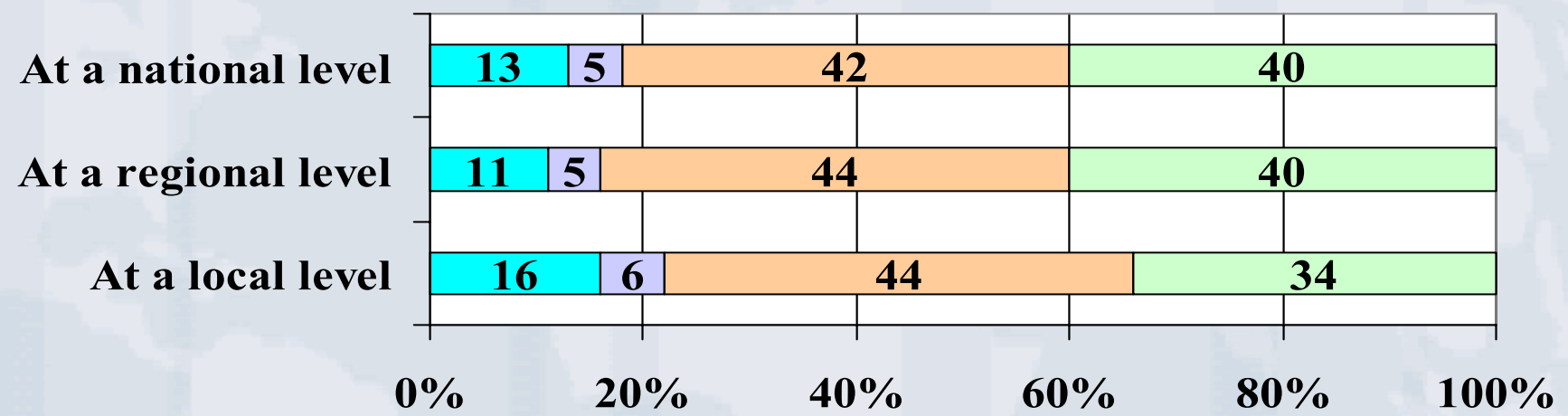
	National representative oversample	Roma oversample
Healthcare	<u>59%</u>	49%
Poverty	42%	<u>55%</u>
Employment	40%	<u>55%</u>
Crime/ Security	<u>39%</u>	17%
Education	26%	28%
Infrastructure	25%	23%
EU enlargement	<u>19%</u>	7%
Housing policy	11%	<u>21%</u>
Racism/ Human rights	9%	<u>30%</u>
Cannot judge	6%	8%

Those who agree with the statement: “The Roma are well represented in the authorities at the following three levels”
(Roma oversample)



■ Agree ■ Neither agree, nor disagree ■ Disagree ■ Cannot judge

Those who agree with the statement: “Through their cadres, the Roma can effectively defend their interests at the following three levels:”
(Roma oversample)

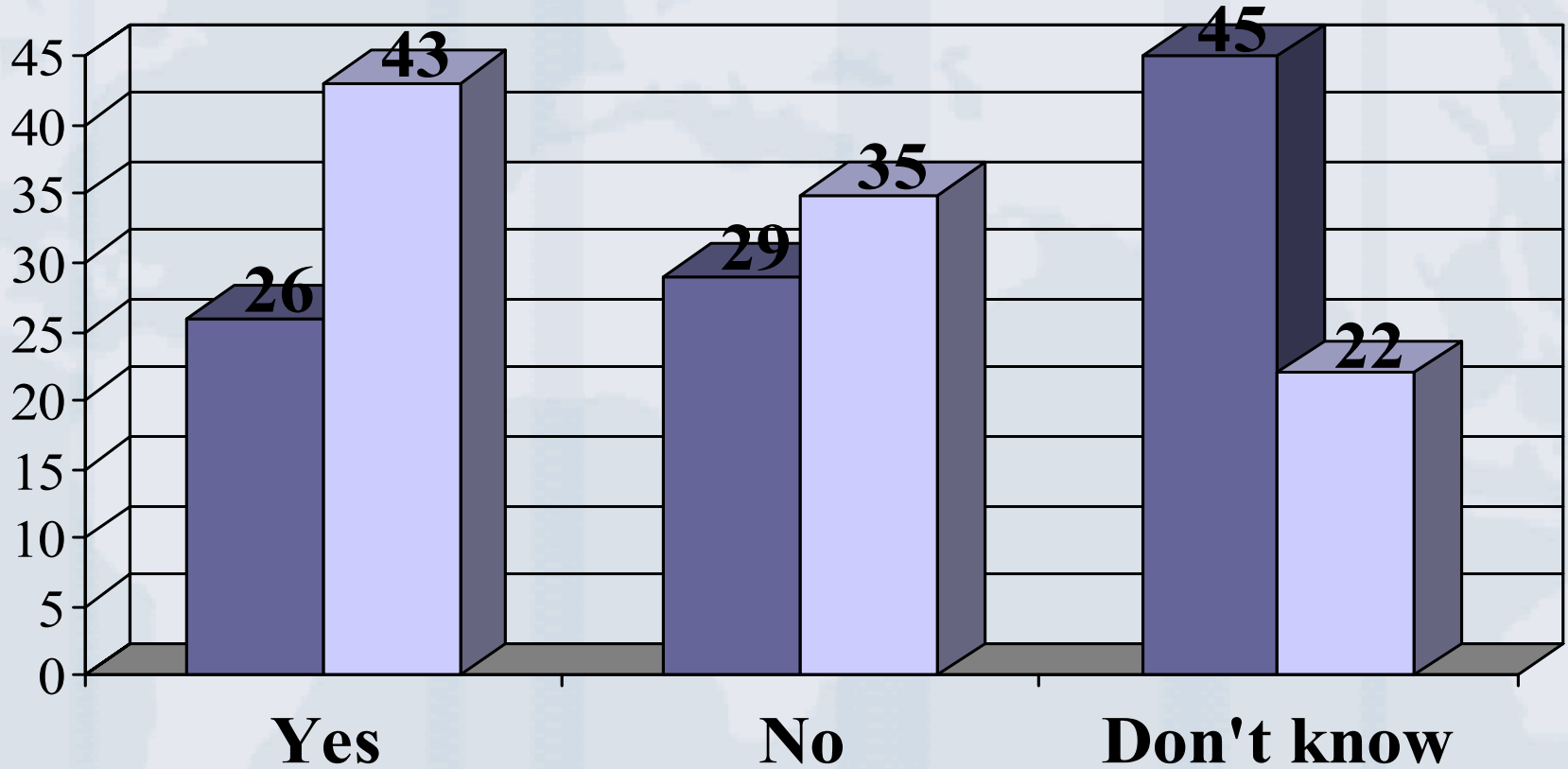


Assessment of the capability of the institutions to cope with the Roma problems:

		Roma oversample
Which of the institutions most effectively copes with the problems of the Roma?	Cannot judge	32.3%
	The government	<u>24.2%</u>
	EU structures	<u>22.9%</u>
	The local governments	22.5%
	Parliament	13.8%
	The National Council for Cooperation on Ethnic and Demographic Issues	9.3%
	Presidency	8.6%
	Others	0.2%

ACCESS TO POLITICAL LEADERS

Have you been visited by politicians or party
functionaries?



■ National representative oversample □ Roma oversample

Access to political leaders (Roma over-sample)

What was the purpose of the leader's visit?	To organize an election campaign	36.6%
	To provide information about the candidate/ party	<u>6.5%</u>
	To offer help	<u>3.2%</u>
	To inform him/herself about the main problems and priorities of the community	3%
	To provide information about Roma/ community programs	1.9%
	Others	1.5%
	To provide information about the government	0.9%

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SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON POLITICAL ISSUES

(Participants were asked to choose all that applied)

	National representative over-sample	Roma over- sample
National television	91%	89%
National radios	54%	30%
Print media	54%	22%
Friends, neighbors	19%	24%
Local media	6%	4%
Internet	5%	2%
Politicians	5%	3%
Community leaders	3%	11%
Local NGOs	2%	5%
Others	1%	0,4%
Roma media	0.3%	3%

**TRUST IN INFORMATION SOURCES
(among Roma)**

(Participants were asked to choose all that applied)

National television	66.9%
Friends, neighbors	13.8%
National radios	10.2%
Print media	8.4%
Roma community leaders	7.6%
Roma media	5%
Local NGOs	4.6%
Internet	0.4%
Politicians	0.2%
Local media	0.2%
Others	0.2%