

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS HATE SPEECH IN BULGARIA

The present report summarizes the findings of a public opinion survey conducted by the Open Society Institute – Sofia in the period 5-16 July 2013.

- **Ivanka Ivanova,**
author
- **Georgi Stoytchev,**
editor

The views and opinions expressed are solely the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the standpoint or the policies of the Open Society Institute – Sofia.

- **Alexey Pamporov, PhD,**
head of data collection unit
- **Petya Braynova and Dragomira Belcheva,**
data development

ISBN 978-954-2933-22-9

CONTENTS

| | | | |
|--|----|---|----|
| ▶ Executive Summary | 2 | ▶ Use of hate speech promoting violence | 16 |
| ▶ About the survey | 3 | ▶ Use of hate speech perceived as insulting | 18 |
| ▶ Context of the survey | 5 | ▶ Attitudes to hate speech criminalization and the introduction of hate crime provisions in criminal law | 19 |
| ▶ Incidence of hate speech | 6 | ▶ Public attitude towards hate speech prevention policies | 22 |
| ▶ Targets of hate speech | 10 | ▶ Conclusions and recommendations with regard to hate speech prevention policies | 24 |
| ▶ Popularity of selected negative public perceptions about minorities | 10 | ▶ Appendix: Questionnaire | 26 |
| ▶ Media of hate speech | 13 | | |
| ▶ Users of hate speech | 15 | | |
| ▶ Use of hate speech in the private sphere | 16 | | |

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY*

Hate speech is a widespread phenomenon in Bulgarian public life. Almost half (45.6%) of the adult Bulgarian citizens report that in the last 12 months they have heard public statements, which express disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities. Sensitivity to hate speech is greater among the residents of Sofia (66% of them report having been exposed to such speech, compared to a nationwide average of 46%), among young people between 18 and 29 years of age, and among people with tertiary education. Citizens above 60 years of age, people with low level of education, those with income less than 240 BGN per member of the household per month, and those living in villages report less often that they have encountered hate speech. 64% of those who have come across hate speech, report having heard such statements often or very often. This suggests that a considerable share of the population is often exposed to public statements that constitute hate speech.

Hate speech in Bulgaria is targeted mostly to three minorities: Roma, ethnic Turks, and gay people. Roma are the most common victims of hate speech – respondents report that they have come across hate speech against Roma twice as often as against the other two affected minorities.

Television is the most important factor for the proliferation of hate speech in Bulgaria. Internet ranks second among young and well-educated people. The immediate social environment also plays a significant role in the propagation of hate speech – almost 29% of the people who have come across hate speech, have been exposed to it in their communication with friends and relatives. This suggests that hate speech is deeply rooted in the private sphere. The immediate social environment is much more important a factor for the proliferation of hate speech among young people, than among other groups.

Politicians and journalists emerge as the most frequent users of hate speech in Bulgaria. 68% of the re-

spondents who have come across hate speech in the last year, have heard it from politicians, while 32% have heard it from journalists. The fact that the majority of respondents associate the use of hate speech with politicians as a group, suggests that there is no clear political or institutional leadership for the promotion of hate speech prevention policies. As for journalists, the findings indicate that the internal control systems at individual media and the ethics and self-regulation mechanisms within the profession currently do not achieve the effect of limiting the use of hate speech.

One third of the respondents claim that in the last 12 months they have heard public statements, which in their opinion could incite violence against minorities. This suggests that hate speech is not only widespread but sends a clearly recognizable criminal message, which reaches a significant share of the population.

Legislative amendments adopted in 2011 criminalized some of the manifestations of hate speech. However, the survey found that between one fourth and one third of the citizens are not aware that hate speech and bias-motivated offences constitute crime. Moreover, it was established that citizens rarely tend to report instances of hate speech or hate crime to the police or the prosecution service. These findings, however, correspond to the general acquiescence to crimes, which exists in the country. The average share of unreported crimes in Bulgaria for 2012 is approximately 50%, as is the share of the respondents who claim that they would not notify the police, if they witnessed instances of hate speech.

General crime is most widespread among men up to the age of 29 years, which suggests that as a subgroup of the people with low to average income and low education, they are most vulnerable to the risk of progressing from hate speech to hate crime. This group should be specifically targeted by awareness raising campaigns about the dangers, which hate speech and hate crime pose to society. Future awareness-raising campaigns should also take into account that the second most important factor for the proliferation of hate speech among poor, unemployed and less educated people, after television, is not the internet but social meeting places such as cafeterias, restaurants and shops.

* We would like to sincerely thank Associate Prof. Dr. Boriana Dimitrova who made important comments and recommendations to an earlier version of this report, as well as to Dr. Boyan Zahariev, Marin Lesenski and Dimitar Dimitrov from the Open Society Institute – Sofia who provided valuable ideas for the final version of the report.

The prevalent attitude towards the use of hate speech in the public domain is one of disapproval. Most respondents (45%) claim that they never make statements constituting hate speech. This share is much higher among ethnic Turks (nearly 67% of them claim that they never use hate speech) and among Roma (with 53% claiming that they never use hate speech). Those who admit that they themselves tend to use hate speech often or very often are less than 10%. More than half of the respondents (51%) totally disapprove of the use of hate speech in the public domain, while 36% rather disapprove of it. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of the population (87%) disapprove of the use of hate speech in the public domain. The share of those who openly state that they approve or rather approve hate speech is only 6%.

The implementation of policies targeted to limiting the use of hate speech in the public domain enjoys strong public support. 58% of the respondents

believe that authorities should protect Roma, gay people and foreigners against public statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against them. Harsh measures such as criminal prosecution of hate speech and hate crimes also enjoy broad public support. 66% of the people believe that authorities should prosecute politicians and journalists who openly express disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities.

The findings about the proliferation of hate speech in the political and media environment, as well as the fact that hate speech is deeply rooted in the private sphere, suggest that hate speech prevention policies would require time, targeted effort and the involvement of a broad circle of institutions, including civic organizations. The traditional information channels would not be adequate for the effective implementation of hate speech prevention policies and should be complemented with personal communication and the promotion of values through personal example.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

The present report summarizes the findings of a public opinion survey conducted by the Open Society Institute – Sofia in the period 5-16 July 2013, through direct structured interviews administered to 1,155 adult citizens. The sample is nationally representative and includes respondents selected through cluster sampling, stratified by region and type of settlement (town/village). The survey was conducted in the framework of a regular (semi-annual) omnibus public opinion survey, which includes different sets of questions assessing different issues. Some of them are permanent, for instance the sets of questions gauging public opinion on economic and political issues, while others are included on an ad hoc basis, for the purposes of special research studies. In this particular case, the omnibus survey questionnaire included a separate set of 23 questions on the proliferation of hate speech (see Annex), which were developed by the OSI-Sofia's team specifically for the purposes of this survey.

The survey seeks to evaluate the proliferation of hate speech, to assess public opinion on the use of hate

speech¹, and to establish whether certain key policies targeted to limiting hate speech, enjoy the approval and support of the general public. An additional goal of the survey is to identify some aspects of the link between hate speech and hate crimes in the Bulgarian context.

This survey should be seen only as a first step to achieving these goals, as it is clear that further research and analysis is required to reveal the complete picture. At least three additional research studies need to be conducted for this purpose: a media content analysis to identify the level and modality of hate speech proliferation in the media, a qualitative survey, and a standard victimization survey among victims of crimes motivated by racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance.

Since this is the first survey on the topic for the Open Society Institute – Sofia, the research team was faced with two choices that need to be justified. Firstly, the team chose to consider hate speech in the broadest possible context – in relation to public attitudes and personal per-

¹ For a detailed analysis of international standards in hate speech prevention, see Chapter 6: "Hate speech" in: B. Boev, A. Kashumov, K. Kanev, N. Ognianova, P. Rusinova, Freedom of Expression, edited by K. Kanev, Sibi: Sofia, 2010.

ceptions of insult and threat, as well as by comparing the attitude towards different minorities to the attitude towards different professions. This choice was motivated by the perception underlying the survey that hate speech is not merely a problem of the majority's attitude towards minorities, but a problem of the community at large, and should be considered in relation to other problems of the community's political dimension.

Secondly, for the purposes of this survey, the internationally accepted definition of "hate speech" was adapted and simplified significantly. According to the established definition in international relations, the term "hate speech" is understood "as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin"².

Thus defined, the internationally accepted definition of hate speech can hardly be included in the questionnaire of a nationally representative public opinion survey because it contains complex notions that would need to be explained in the communication with the respondents. Therefore, for the purposes of the survey, the research team adopted a working definition of hate speech, which covers „public statements, which express disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities“. In the answers to some questions, the notion of "minority" was illustrated with examples to include ethnic and religious minorities, foreigners and sexual minorities. In the questions evaluating public support for hate speech prevention policies, the definition of minorities was extended to comprise also "aggressive nationalism".

Specifics of the working definition:

- In the working definition of hate speech, the notion of "minority" is broader than defined in the Bulgarian criminal law³, which envisages only racial, national

and ethnic minorities. However, we believe that extending the scope of the survey to include aggressive nationalism and sexual minorities is justified, as it brings the working definition closer to the sense and spirit of the established definition of hate speech in international relations.

- The working definition includes statements that not only incite hatred and aggression, but also express general "disapproval"⁴ of minorities. The underlying assumption is that a statement, which expresses "disapproval", entails negative attitude per se, thus inciting discrimination and hatred.
- The working definition of hate speech, however, is restricted inasmuch as it does not cover all forms of expression but is limited only to the spoken or written word. This choice was motivated by the need to make the questionnaire as simple and as accessible to the respondents as possible.

The team also made the conscious choice not to research all possible targets of hate speech. Other studies⁵ have indeed shown that hate speech is not directed only against minorities, but affects with equal hostility those members of the majority who have made it their cause to defend the fundamental rights of minorities. Moreover, in Bulgaria, there are many examples of hate speech directed against Bulgarian human rights organizations or journalists who stand up for minorities. There is no doubt that this phenomenon would have been a very interesting research subject, however the national representative survey method would not have been appropriate, as many studies have shown that in Bulgaria non-governmental organizations are not popular enough at the national level. Other research methods should be sought in the future to investigate the full spectrum of social groups falling victim to hate speech.

² Council of Europe. Committee of Ministers. Recommendation No. R (97) 20 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on "Hate Speech", adopted on 30 October 1997 at the 607th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies. [http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/hrpolicy/other_committees/dh-lgbt_docs/CM_Rec\(97\)20_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/hrpolicy/other_committees/dh-lgbt_docs/CM_Rec(97)20_en.pdf)

³ After the latest amendment in 2011, Art. 162 of the Bulgarian Penal Code states: "Anyone who spreads or incites discrimination, violence or hatred based on race, nationality or ethnicity through oral statements, the press or other means of mass communication, through electronic information systems or by any other means, shall be punished with one to four years of imprisonment, shall be ordered to pay a fine of five to ten thousand BGN, and shall be publicly reprimanded".

⁴ In a recent decision, the Supreme Administrative Court found that by associating the gay community with "perversions", in an interview with the Prime Minister, the host of a popular TV show had demonstrated "disapproval" but not hatred or aggression against them (Decision No. 16558 of 27 December 2012, cited by the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee in its annual report on the state of human rights in Bulgaria in 2012). This kind of "disapproval", however, undoubtedly fits within the definition of hate speech adopted by the Council of Europe.

⁵ See for example: Chon A. Noriega and Francisco Javier Iribarren, Quantifying Hate Speech on Commercial Talk Radio. A Pilot Study, CSRC Working Paper, November 2011.

CONTEXT OF THE SURVEY

Bulgaria is the poorest EU member state and the most quickly ageing nation in the EU. Between 2000 and 2008, in light of the prospects for EU membership, Bulgaria saw a period of steady economic growth,⁶ the longest in its modern history. The foreign investment as a share of the GDP increased significantly – from 15.8% in 2000 to 33.6% in 2008. In 2009, after the onset of the global economic crisis, both economic growth and foreign investment declined sharply, while 2010 and 2011 marked a very modest progress that ceased in 2012.

The level of employment has been decreasing since 2009 and in 2012 the employment rate of population aged 20-64 dropped to 63%, which marked a 7.7% decrease compared to 2008. The decline in employment affects men⁷ twice as often as women. In the second trimester of 2013, the unemployment rate of population aged 15-64 was 14.2% among men and 11.7% among women. Among the young people aged 15-24 unemployment reached 28.15%, while among the rural population it stood at 17%. Approximately 434,000 people are currently unemployed, 150,000 of whom have been unemployed for two or more years.

Bulgaria's accession to the EU in 2007 significantly limited the possibilities for Brussels to influence internal political developments in the country. The first five years of EU membership were dominated by a constant risk of reversing major achievements of democratic transition. Bulgaria, along with Romania, remains subject to special monitoring by the European Commission in the area of judicial reform and the fight against corruption and organized crime. 2013 saw new and serious restrictions⁸ on media freedom; the corruption perceptions index is also deteriorating.

The political situation at the time of the survey is rather unstable. Citizens have greater confidence in the EU institutions (42% confidence), than in the national ones. Public trust in the Parliament and the judiciary remains steadily below 15%. All institutions of representative democracy in Bulgaria are plagued by low public trust. Even the most popular institution in the country, the Police, rallies only 31.2% confidence, followed by the President

⁶ According to NSI data, the average GDP growth rate for the period was 6.7%.

⁷ According to NSI data, in 2012 the employment rate decreased by 10.3% among men and by 5.2% among women, compared to 2008.

⁸ According to the Press Freedom Index, Reporters without Borders.

and the Bulgarian National Bank (with 30% each). Since the fall of 2012, the country has been witnessing recurrent waves of social protest, motivated initially by ecological (the fall of 2012) and then by economic concerns (February 2013). At the end of February 2013, the government of the populist, center-right party Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (better known with its Bulgarian acronym, GERB) resigned under public pressure.

Early parliamentary elections were held on 12 May 2013. GERB won them again, but with too narrow a majority and it was not able to form a government, either alone or in coalition. On 29 May 2013, the second and third parliamentary parties – the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) – formed a coalition government, which runs the country with the tacit support of the fourth parliamentary party, the nationalist Ataka. An ill-fated appointment decision⁹ of the parliamentary majority on 14 June 2013, led to an upsurge of protests in Sofia, which have been calling for the resignation of the government ever since, and in the first weeks attracted tens of thousands of citizens.

The key vehicle for hate speech prevention policies at the national level so far have been the international legal obligations of the country. The public trust in national institutions is low, while the bodies charged with protecting civil rights (such as the Ombudsman and the Commission for Protection against Discrimination) are rather unfamiliar to the general public, have no national coverage, and face budget and administrative constraints. So far, no national institution has emerged as a leader of public policies against the use of hate speech and the instigation of hate crimes.

Currently one can hardly identify also major political parties or individual politicians involved in the fight against hate speech or even condemning publicly the use of hate speech. In this situation non-governmental organizations and the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee in particular emerge as the most active actor in curbing hate speech and maintaining public intolerance towards such phenomena.

The findings of the survey should be interpreted in the context of another recent development. The survey was conducted in July 2013, when the wave of refugees from the conflict in Syria had just reached the borders of Bulgaria. According to data made public by the State

⁹ On 14 June 2013 an appointment decision of the National Assembly for Head of the State National Security Agency (counterintelligence) provoked strong public discontent and was revoked two days later under mass protests in Sofia.

Agency for Refugees¹⁰, in the period January – August 2013, the number of asylum seekers in the country has increased five times, compared to the same period in 2012. Additional reception centers were opened in Sofia and at the border with Turkey. In the period September – November 2013, the issue attracted major media and political attention, which in turn accelerated the use of hate speech against refugees. It is quite possible that by the time this survey is published, some public attitudes towards foreigners may have changed. A survey conducted by Alpha Research in September 2013¹¹ registered “sharpened public sensitivity towards the refugee issue, with 83% of the population expressing concerns that the growing number of foreigners poses risks to national security”, and concluded that public opinion “is divided on whether Bulgaria should continue to accept refugees”.

INCIDENCE OF HATE SPEECH

In the last 12 months, almost half (45.6%) of the adult Bulgarian citizens have heard public statements, which express disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities. Residents of Sofia, people with tertiary education, more well-to-do people and young respondents (18-29 years) more often report that they have come across hate speech. This, however, most probably does not only suggest that they have been exposed more frequently to statements constituting hate speech. These particular groups have greater sensitivity, tend to recognize hate speech more accurately, and are more likely to identify it as a problem.

Citizens above 60 years of age, people with low level of education, those with income less than 240 BGN per member of the household per month, and those living in villages report less often that they have encountered hate speech. These groups are least sensitive to hate speech and least likely to recognize it as a problem. The reasons for this probably have to do with the general

marginalization of these people who have often other, more serious problems to solve than hate speech.

The respondents who identify themselves as Roma report having encountered hate speech slightly more often than the average citizen (49.3% compared to 45.6%). However, ethnic Turks seem to come across hate speech far less often than the average citizen (35.1% compared to 45.6%).

24% of those who have come across hate speech report that they have very often heard statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities, while almost 40% report that they have often encountered such speech. This suggests that a very high share of the population, nearly 64%, have been exposed often or very often to public statements that constitute hate speech.

Active people tend to recognize hate speech more accurately, while the older the respondents, the fewer the reported encounters with hate speech and the lesser the frequency of such encounters.

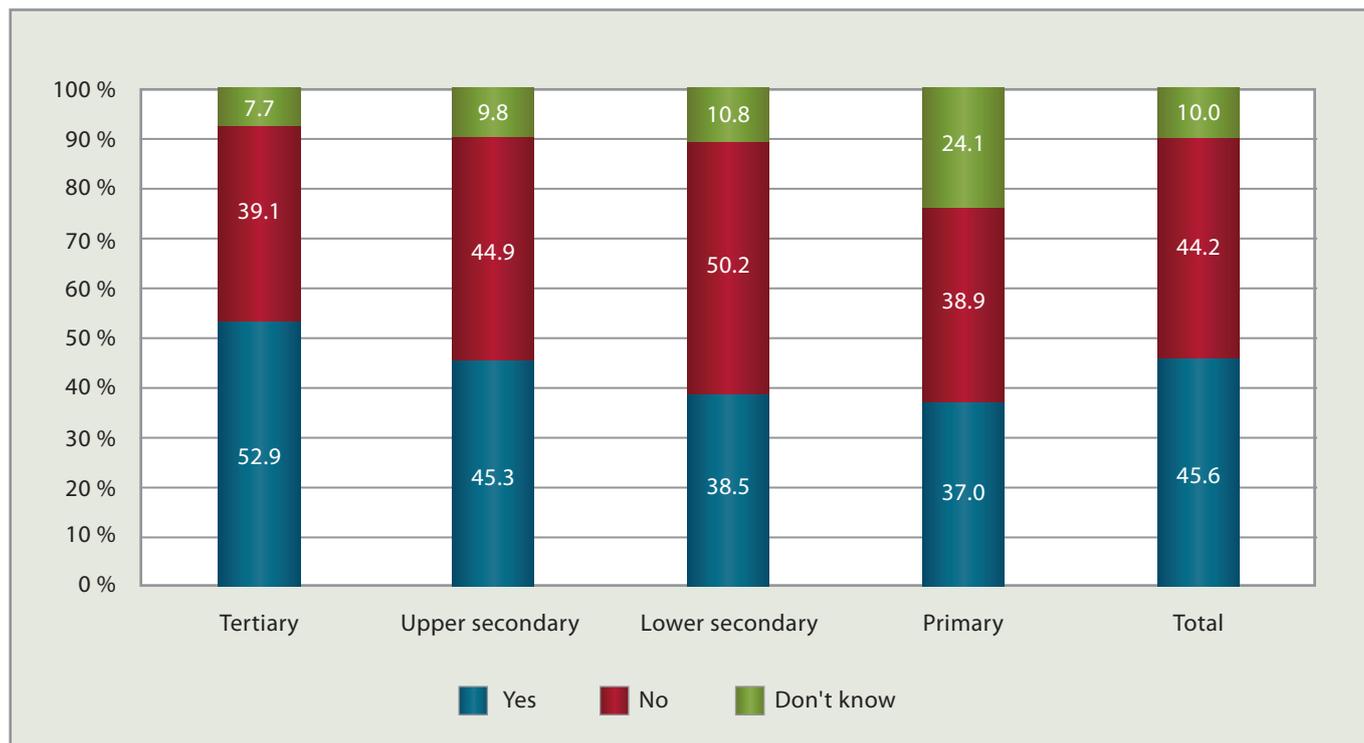
Hate speech incites discrimination and hatred but probably its most dangerous consequence is that it creates conditions, which facilitate and encourage hate crimes. The connection between hate speech and hate crimes has been established in a number of surveys. In the Bulgarian context this connection also seems beyond doubt, since the findings suggest that 1/6 of the respondents have been exposed to statements implying that minorities are inferior. In other words, 17% of the respondents have heard specific statements by journalists and politicians, which have left them with the impression that physical violence against minorities or destruction of property owned by minorities is normal, justifiable or at least less condemnable than if it was targeted to Bulgarians. The high share of those who are unable to judge (23%) if they have heard such statements is also quite indicative.

The respondents who identify themselves as Roma report that they have been exposed to statements implying that minorities are inferior more often than the average citizen (24.7% compared to 17%). In effect every fourth member of the Roma community has heard statements suggesting that they are inferior. These findings should be interpreted with caution insofar as the largest share of those who identify themselves as Roma, have replied that they did not know (38.4%).

¹⁰ A press release of the State Agency for Refugees, issued at the end of August 2013, revealed that 3017 asylum seekers have been registered in the period January – August 2013, compared to 614 for the same period of 2012.

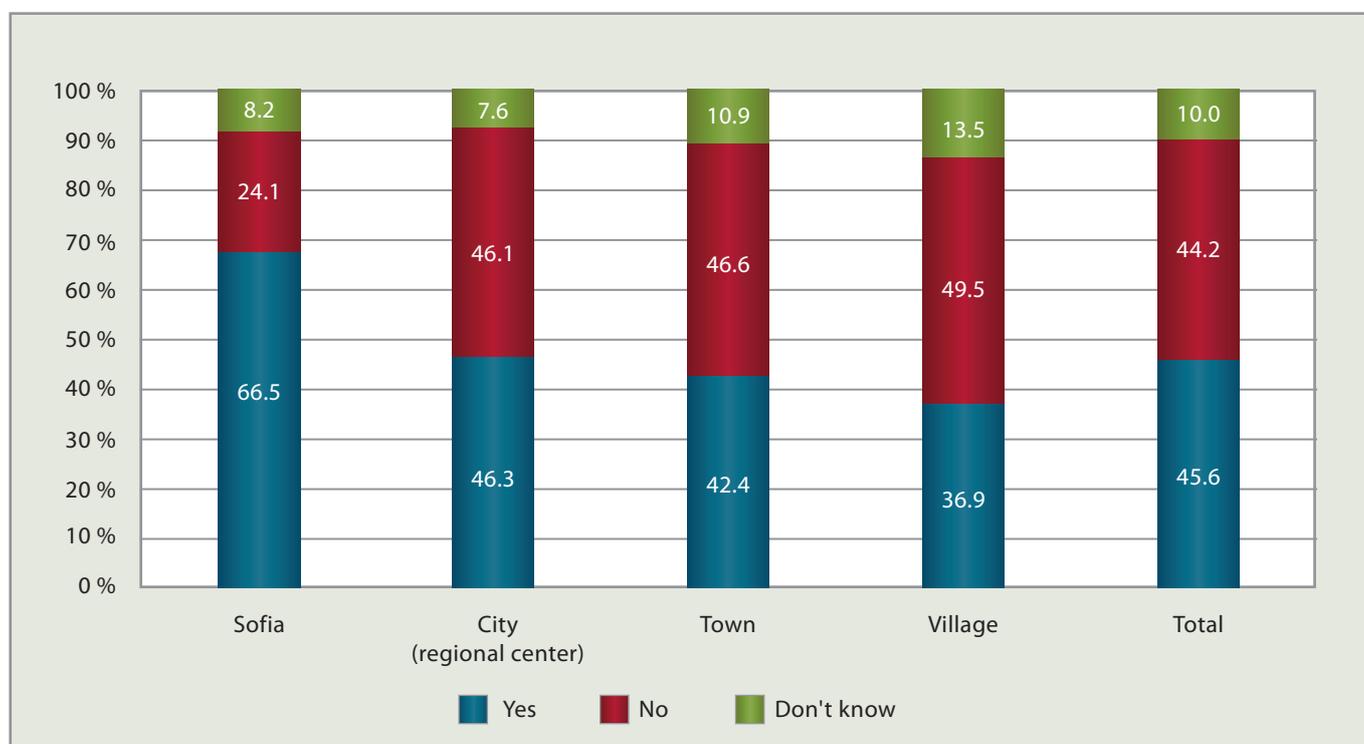
¹¹ Alpha Research. Public Opinion Trends. September 2013. <http://alpharesearch.bg/userfiles/file/1013-Public%20Opinion-Alpha%20Research.pdf>, p. 29-32 (in Bulgarian).

Figure 1. Responses by level of education



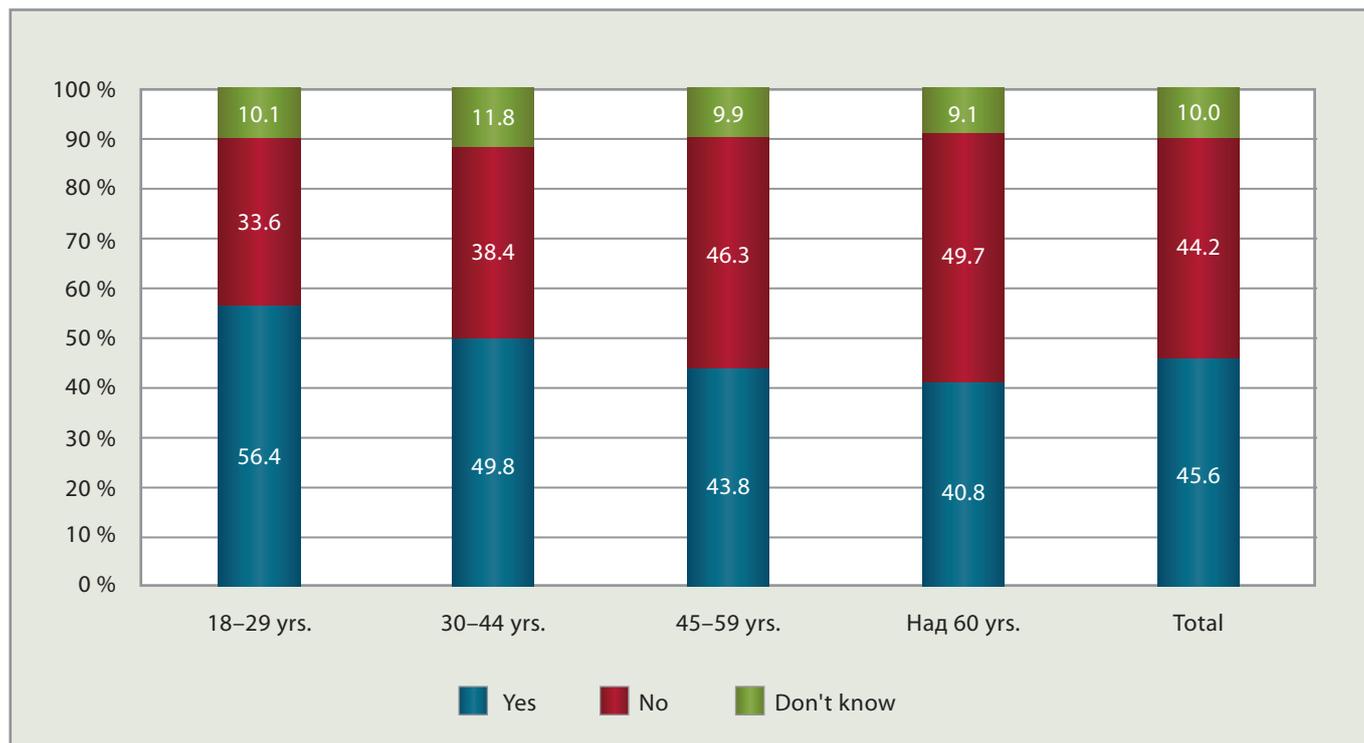
Question: *In the last 12 months, have you heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities?*

Figure 2. Responses by place of residence



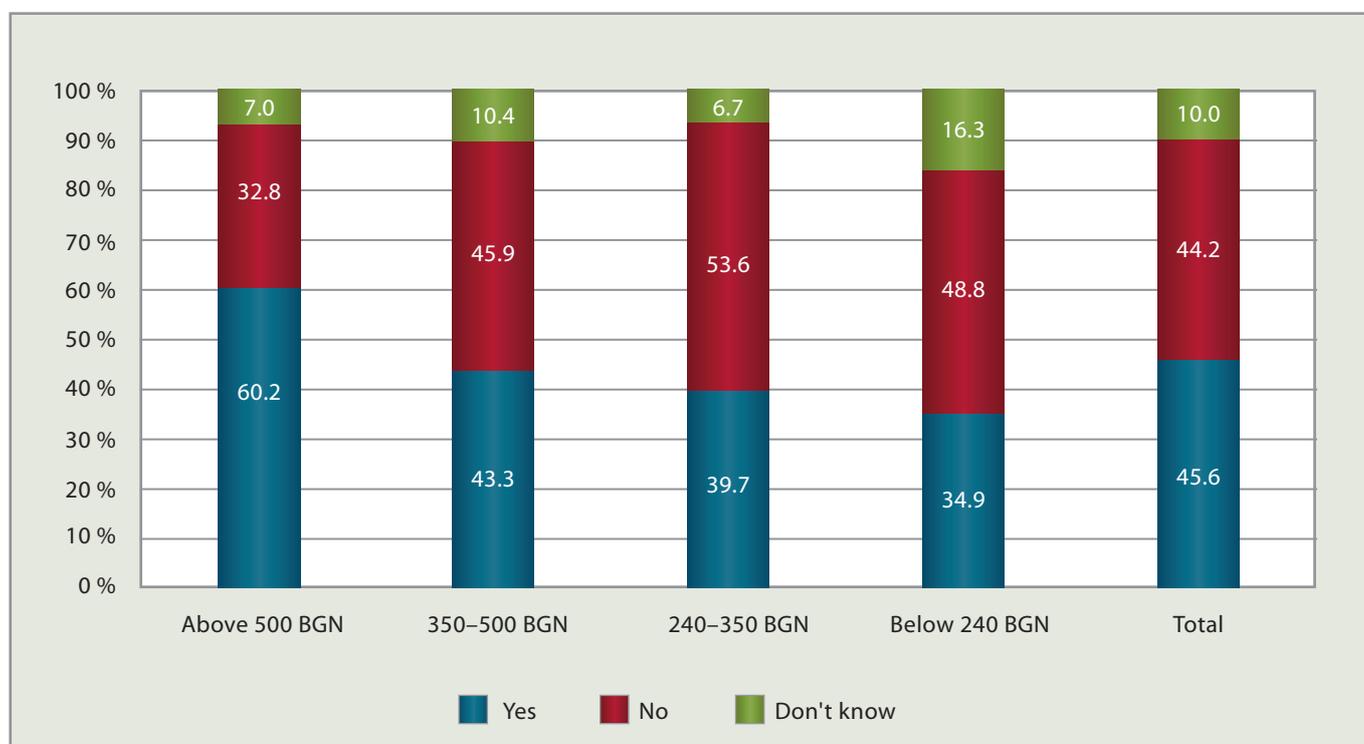
Question: *In the last 12 months, have you heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities?*

Figure 3. Responses by age



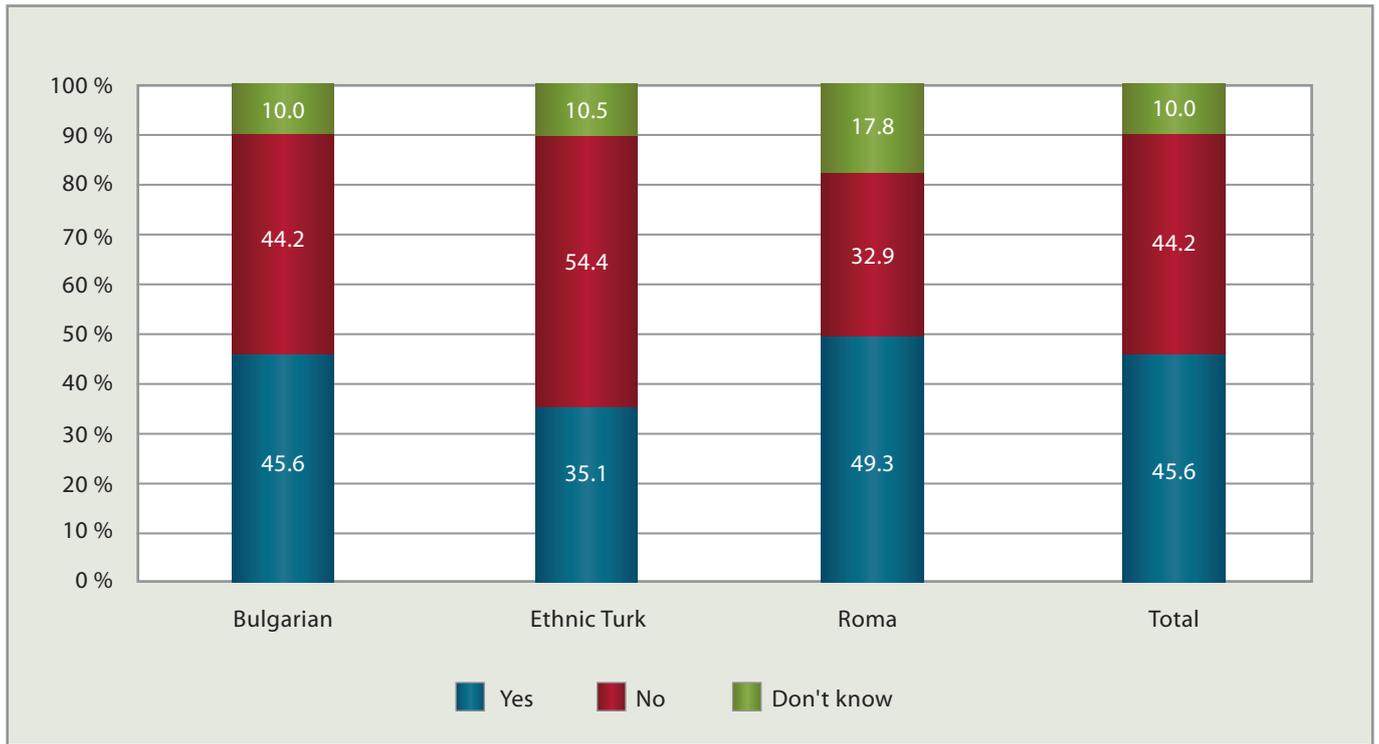
Question: *In the last 12 months, have you heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities?*

Figure 4. Responses by income level



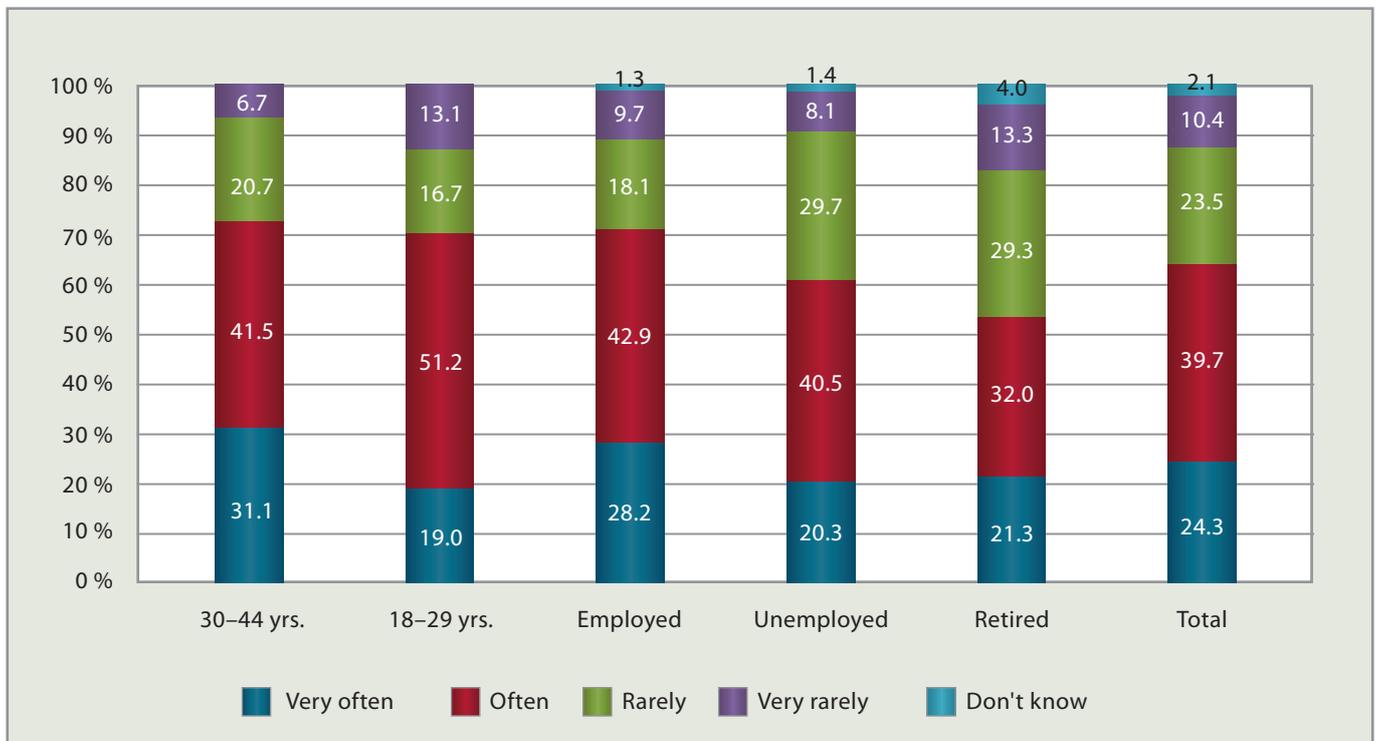
Question: *In the last 12 months, have you heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities?*

Figure 5. Responses by ethnicity



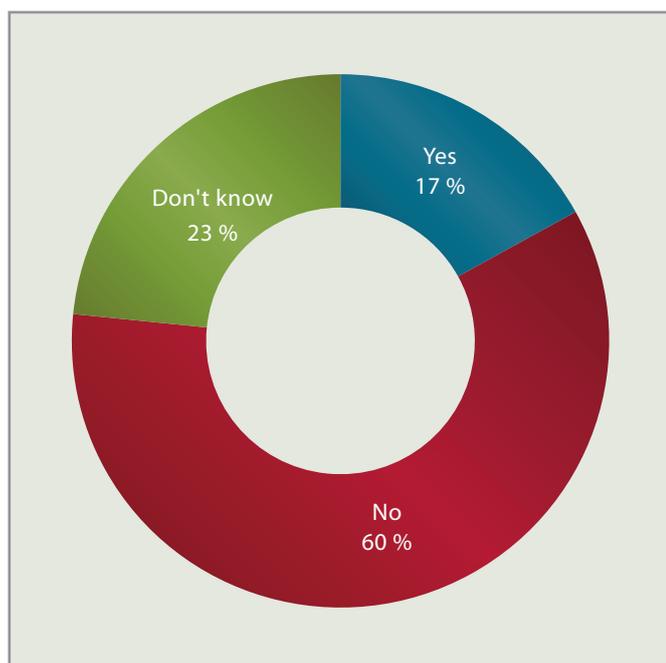
Question: *In the last 12 months, have you heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities?*

Figure 6. Frequency of exposure to hate speech



Question: *If you have responded "yes" to the previous question, how often have you heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities?*

Figure 7. Link between hate speech and hate crimes



Question: Have you happened to hear a specific statement by politician or journalist, which left you with the impression that physical violence against minorities or destruction of property owned by minorities is normal, justifiable or less condemnable than if it was targeted to Bulgarians?

The respondents who identify themselves as Turks have the most clear-cut opinion on the issue. Almost 72% of them have heard statements implying that minorities are inferior, while the share of those who report that they have not encountered such statements is 14%, as is the share of those who replied with “I don’t know”.

TARGETS OF HATE SPEECH

Three social groups emerge as major targets of hate speech in Bulgaria – Roma (91% of the respondents who have come across hate speech indicated that it was targeted to Roma), ethnic Turks (58%) and gay people (38%). All other groups that could potentially fall victim to hate speech, have been mentioned in less than 10% of the answers¹². The distance between the Roma minority and the second largest affected minority is considerable. In fact, Roma have been identified as the key target of hate speech in the vast majority of responses.

¹² Respondents were given the opportunity to choose up to three answers.

The recognition of gay people as a special minority that can be the target of hate speech varies among respondents. Residents of Sofia, people with tertiary education and especially young people (18-29 years) tend to see gay people as potential victims of hate speech much more often than the average respondent. Conversely, respondents with basic education are less likely to identify this group as affected by hate speech.

This holds true with regard to the Jewish minority, as well. Only people with tertiary education and residents of Sofia are more prone than the average respondent to identify Jews as potential targets of hate speech (figure 8 and 9).

POPULARITY OF SELECTED NEGATIVE PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS ABOUT MINORITIES

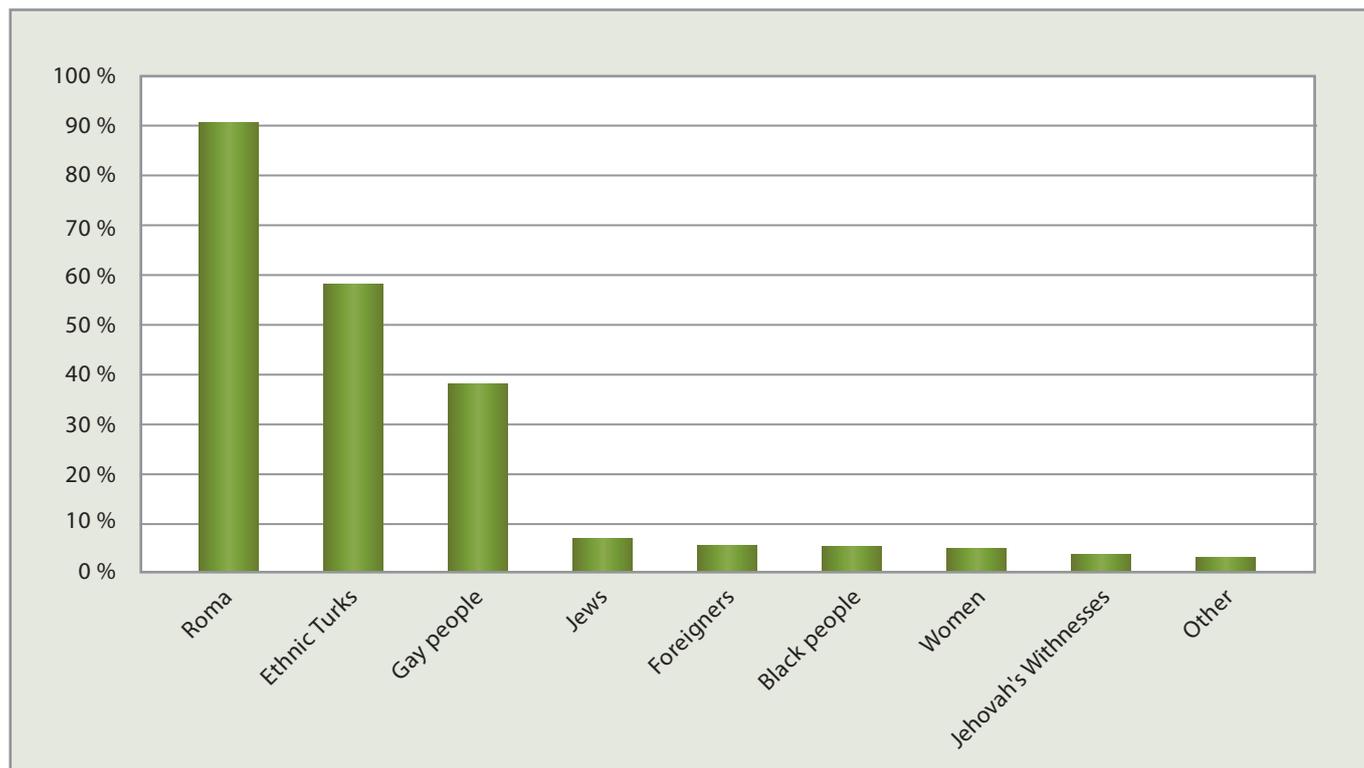
Hate speech creates negative public perceptions about minorities. The study tested two such perceptions: who is most often associated with the word “criminal” and who is most often perceived as “threat”. The predefined answers, which respondents were asked to choose between, included minorities that often fall victim to hate speech, as well as the members of some professions. The goal was to draw a comparison between the two in an attempt to gauge the severity of the hate speech problem.

Most respondents (37% and 40%) do not tend to associate either minorities, or members of individual professions with the words “criminal” or “threat”. These, however, are not the majority of respondents, which suggests that more than half of the people tend to have negative stereotypes of many different minorities and professional groups.

The most widespread association is that of “politician” with “criminal”; for almost 32% of the citizens, “politician” is the first that springs to mind when they hear the word “criminal”.

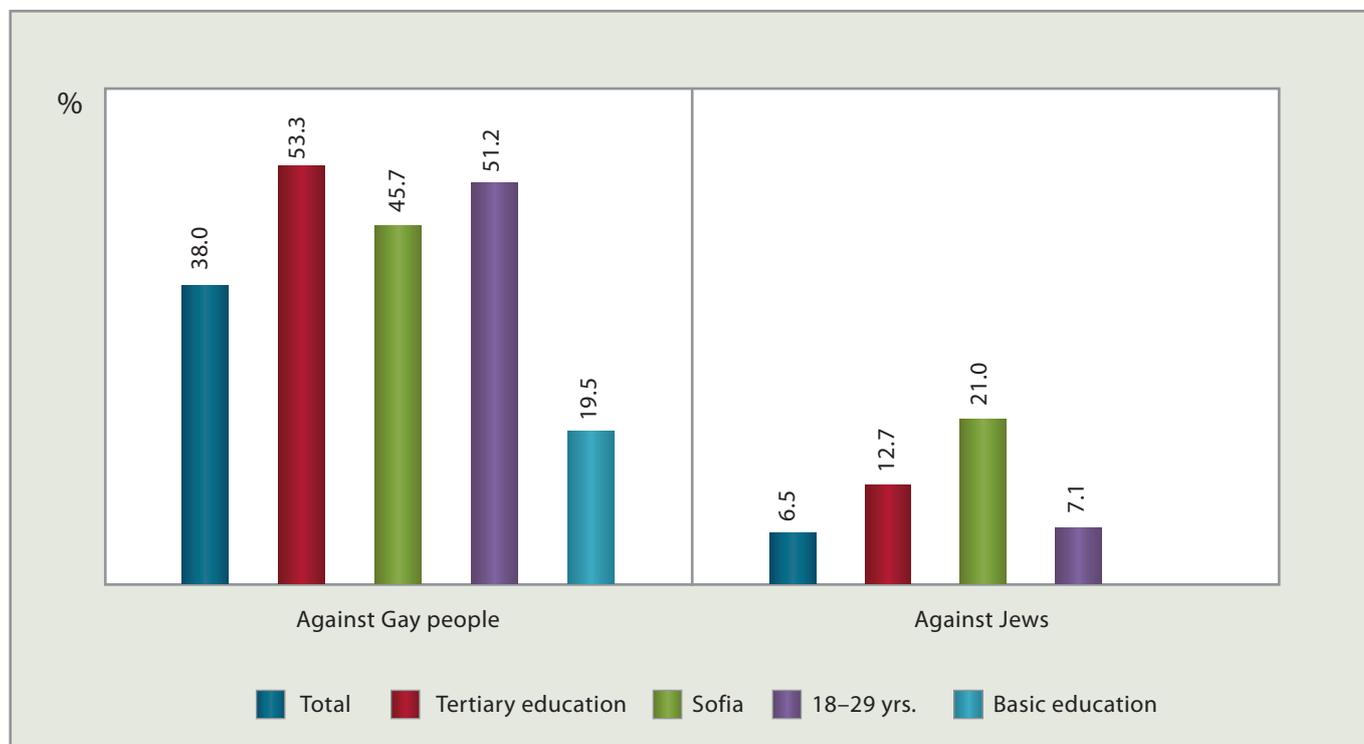
20% of the respondents associate the word “criminal” with “Roma”. This is 1/5 of the country’s population and indicates how deeply rooted are the negative stereotypes of Roma. The third most common association of “criminal” is with “skinhead”, mentioned by 15% of the respondents. If this is a genuine, conscious choice (rather than a subconscious reaction to a foreign word), it sug-

Figure 8. Targets of hate speech



Question: *If you have answered "yes" to the first question, against whom you have most often heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression?*

Figure 9. Targets of hate speech: responses by age, education and residence



Question: *If you have answered "yes" to the first question, against whom you have most often heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression?*

gests that opinions are quite polarized and a significant share of the population in fact realizes the criminal nature of racism and xenophobia.

The members of ethnic minorities are less likely to harbor negative stereotypes of the other than the average Bulgarian citizen. Almost 58% of the respondents who identify themselves as Roma, claim that they would not associate any of the listed categories of persons with the words “criminal” or “threat”; this is the opinion of 48.2% of the ethnic Turks but only of 37.6% of Bulgarians. Roma are also less likely to associate “politician” with “criminal” (22% compared to 32% of Bulgarians) or “skinhead” with “criminal” (9.6% compared 16.7% of Bulgarians). None of the members of the Roma community associate “criminal” with “Roma”.

Ethnic Turks are also less likely to have negative stereotypes of Roma than the average Bulgarian citizen. Only 12.3% of them associate “Roma” with “criminal” (against a nationwide average of 20%) and only 8.8% perceive Roma as “threat” (against a nationwide average of 21%).

Some minorities traditionally seen as potential targets of hate speech, such as ethnic Turks and Jews, are not as-

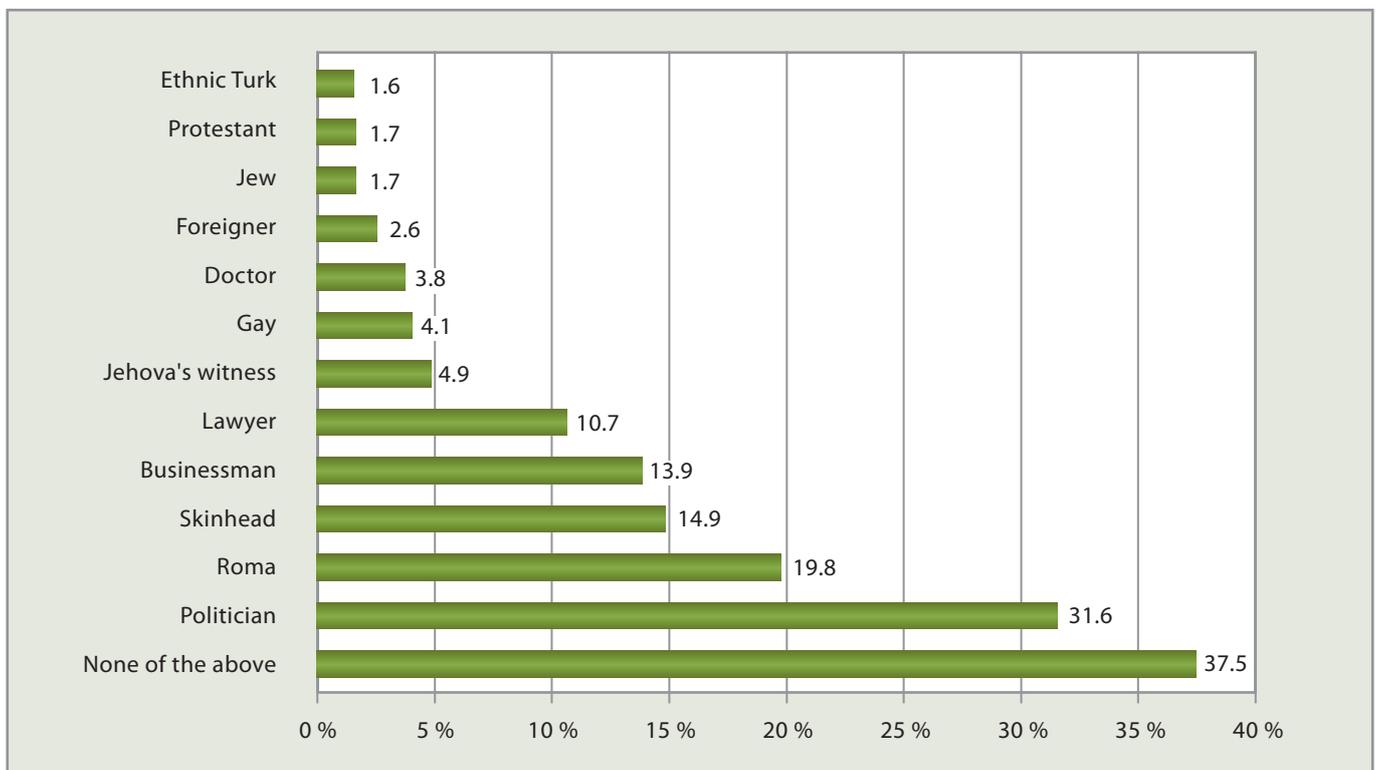
sociated at all with the two negative stereotypes tested here. Less than 2% of the people tend to associate the word “criminal” with “ethnic Turk” or “Jew”, which is less than those who associate it with “doctor”, for instance. The word “threat” produced quite similar associations.

The share of those who associate gay people with “criminals”, is also very small – approximately 4%; very low is also the percentage of those who perceive them as “threat”.

These findings show that the most popular targets of hate speech in Bulgaria – Roma, ethnic Turks and gay people, fall victim to different negative stereotypes. This should be taken into consideration in the implementation of hate speech prevention policies, as it suggests that public awareness raising campaigns designed to limit hate speech against these three groups simultaneously, are less likely to succeed. The winning strategy would be to develop parallel, yet different campaigns that would take into consideration and address the different negative stereotypes of each minority.

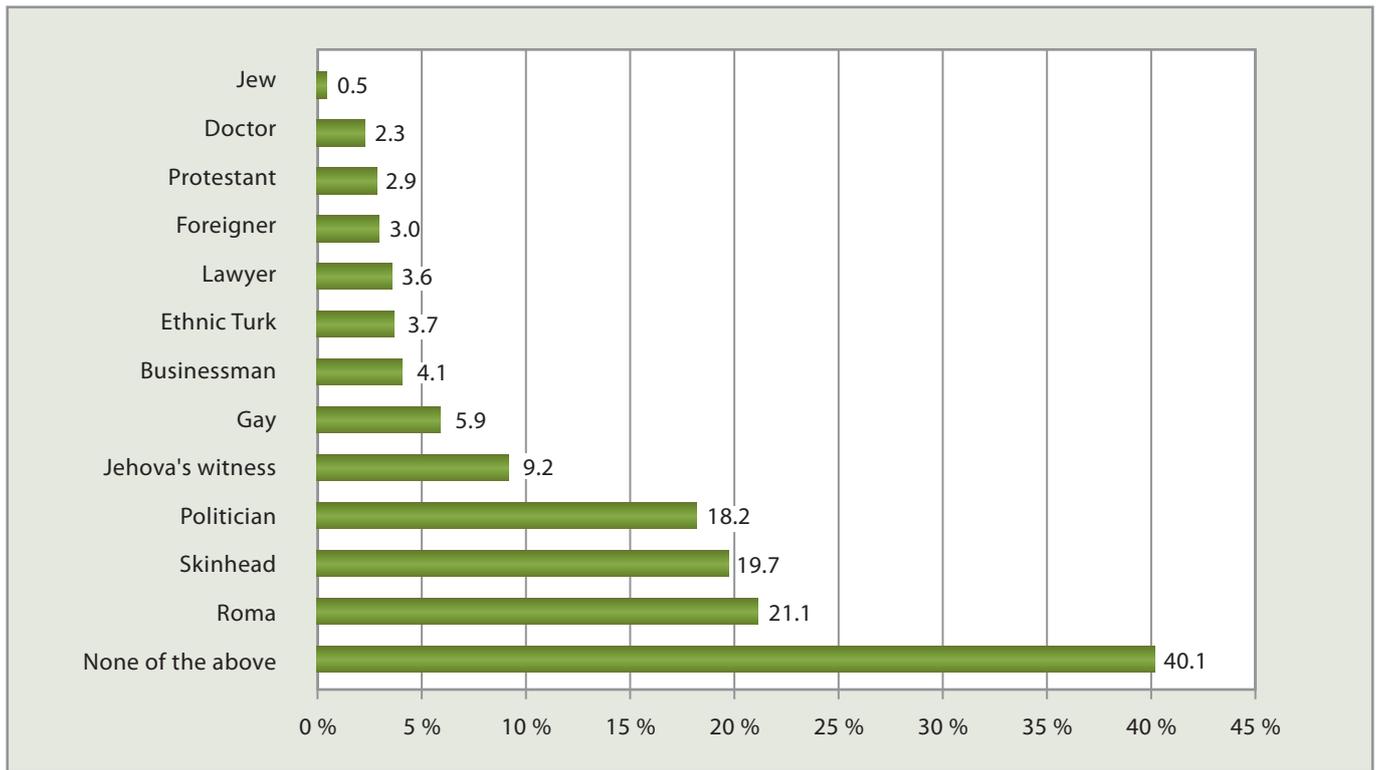
One of the peculiarities of hate speech in Bulgaria (compared to other EU Member States) is that foreign-

Figure 10 . Most widespread associations with “criminal”



Question: Which of the mentioned groups you would associate with the word “criminal”?

Figure 11. Most widespread associations with “threat”



Question: Which of the mentioned groups you would associate with the word “threat”?

ers and immigrants are far less perceived as threat than “local” minorities, such as Roma, for instance. However, greater tolerance towards foreigners is a highly unlikely reason for this. More probable reasons should be rather sought elsewhere. On one hand, the survey was conducted in July 2013 when the problem with the refugees of the military conflict in Syria had not yet loomed high on the public agenda; since then public perceptions about foreigners have most probably changed into a negative direction. On the other hand, insofar as foreigners and immigrants do choose to live in Bulgaria, the majority of the population has no immediate experience with them, as they are mainly concentrated in big cities.

MEDIA OF HATE SPEECH

Television emerges as the most important factor for the proliferation of hate speech. Nearly 75% of the respondents, who have come across hate speech, have heard it on television.

For the country in general, internet is less important a medium for the propagation of hate speech than television. More people have come across hate speech while in vehicles of public transportation, than on the internet.

Internet is available in 51% of the households in Bulgaria¹³; therefore the public is rather limited compared to television audiences. Internet has virtually no impact on the proliferation of hate speech among retired people, in particular, and the older population, in general.

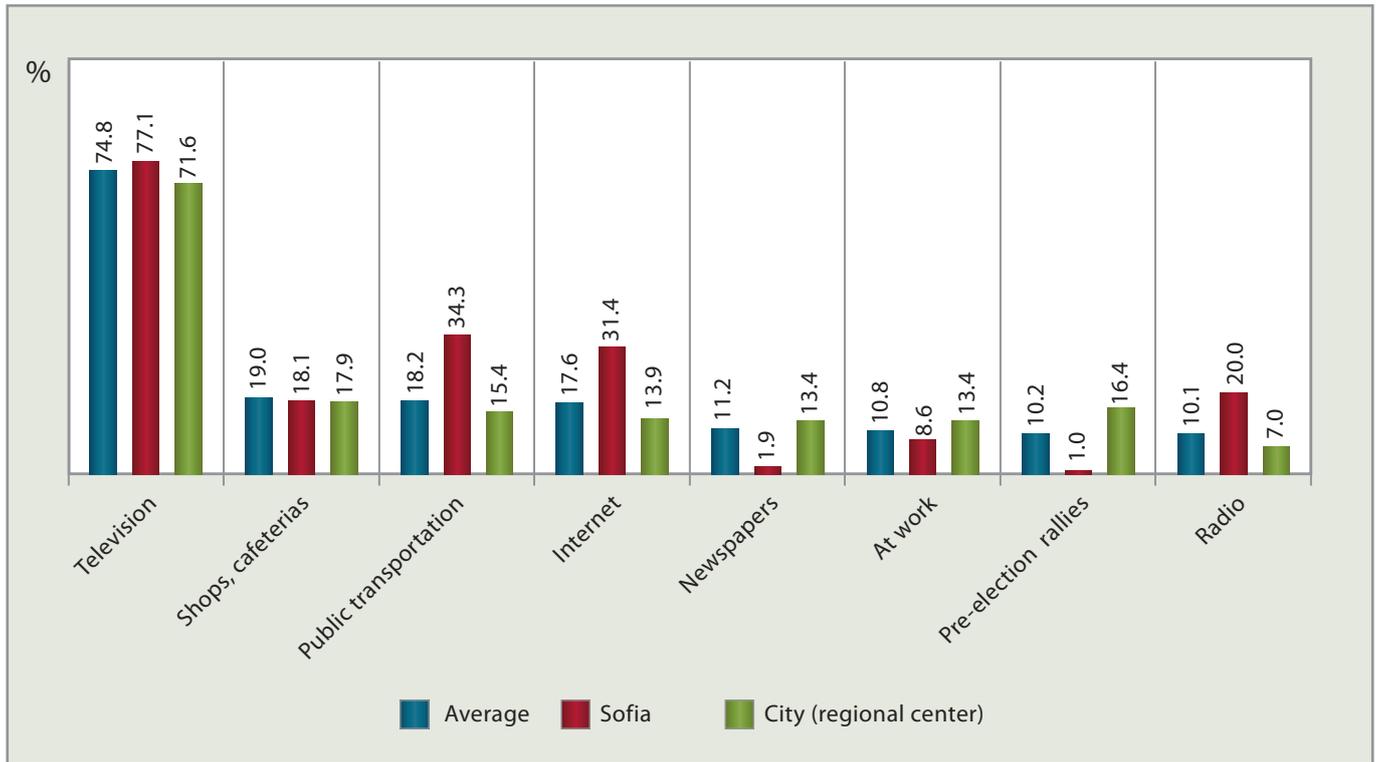
However, it is the second most important media for the propagation of hate speech (after television) among people in the age groups 18-29 years and 29-44 years, as well as among well-educated, employed and more well-to-do people (with income above 500 BGN per member of the household per month).

Among the unemployed, the second most important factor for the proliferation of hate speech (after television), are social meeting places such as cafeterias, restaurants and shops. Internet ranks third for this social group.

The importance, which residents of Sofia attach to the different mediums of hate speech, is rather interesting. Television is by far the most significant medium, but public transportation ranks second, followed by internet ranking third, and radio, ranking fourth. Newspapers have virtually no impact on the proliferation of hate speech in Sofia (being mentioned by only 1% of the respondents) and among

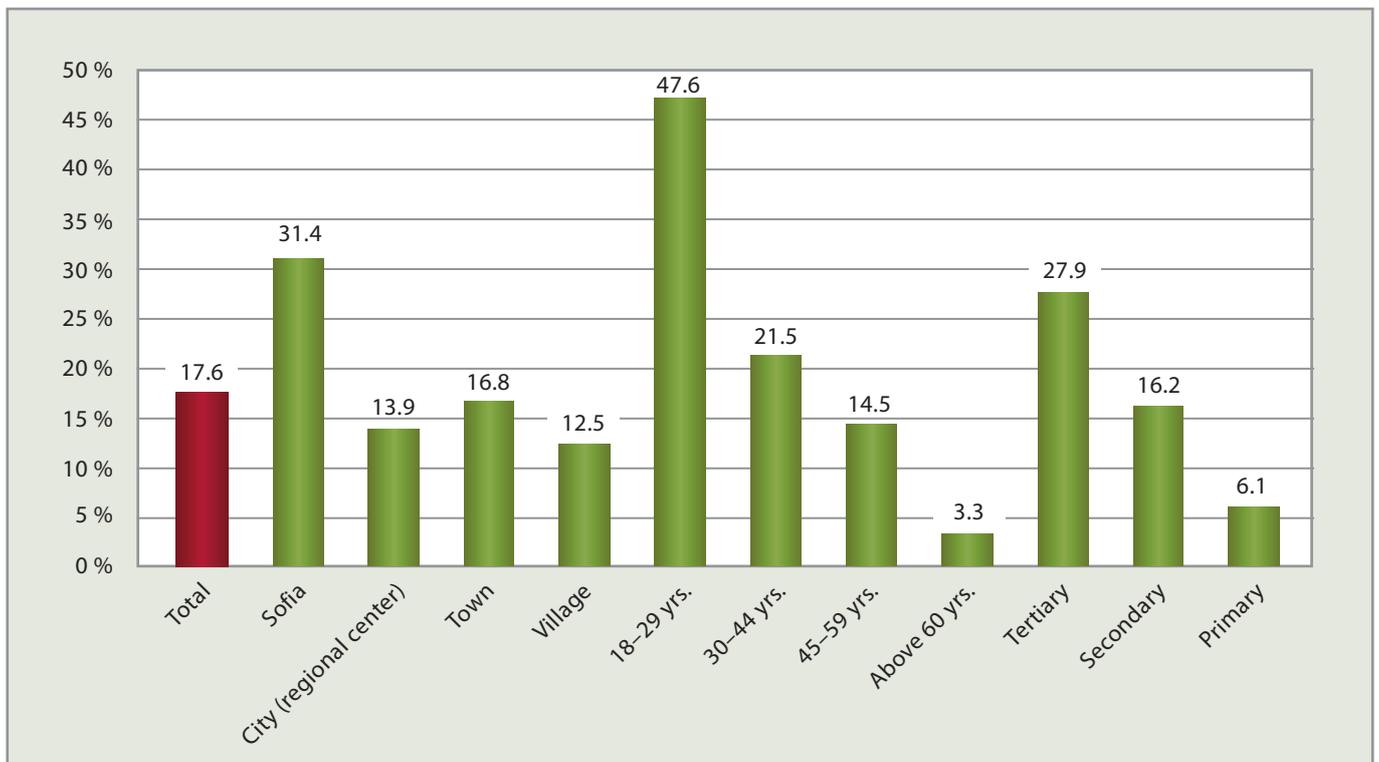
¹³ According to NSI data for 2012.

Figure 12. Media of hate speech



Question: *Where you would most often hear public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities?*

Figure 13. Internet as a medium of hate speech



Question: *Where you would most often hear public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities? (Share of the respondents who answered "In internet")*

young people aged 18-29 years (only 2.4% of them mentioned newspapers as a medium of hate speech).

Out of all mass media, radio is least associated with hate speech propagation in the perception of the average respondent (with the exception of respondents from Sofia who rank it fourth).

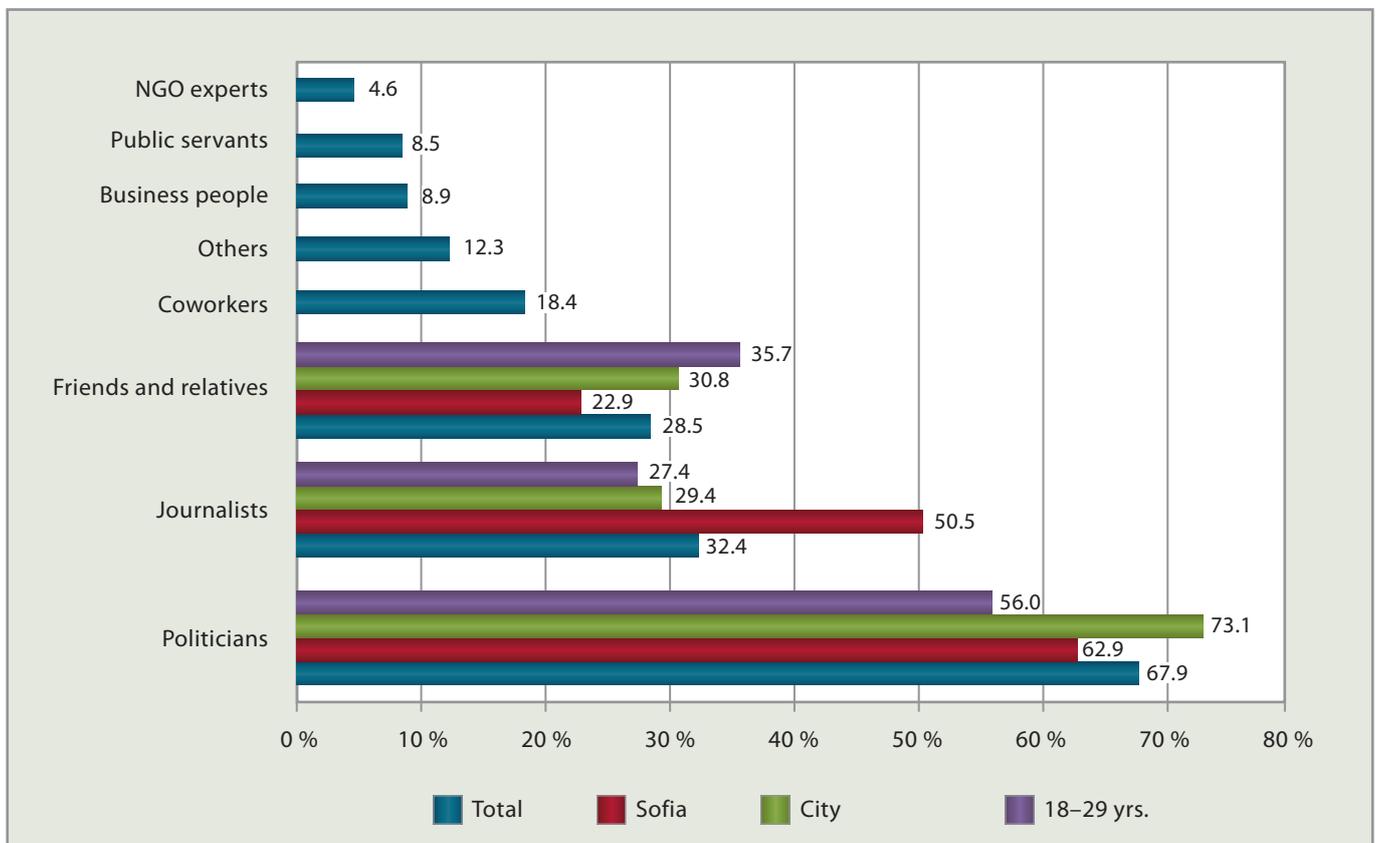
The importance of pre-election rallies and sports events as a vehicle for the proliferation of hate speech should not be underestimated. At the national level they have been mentioned by a relatively small number of respondents (10.2% for pre-election rallies and 4.2 % for sports events). In 2011, however, there were two incidents provoked by hate speech, which escalated into hate crimes: the attack against the Jehovah’s Witnesses house of worship in Burgas and the riot in the town of Katunitsa, both of which involved fanatical football fans. As for pre-election rallies, it is interesting to note that their importance as vehicles for hate speech is much higher in regional centers (16.2%) than elsewhere, with a nationwide average of 10.2%. Perhaps speakers at political rallies outside the capital tend to be much more uninhibited and aggressive than they allow themselves to be when they address the public in Sofia.

USERS OF HATE SPEECH

According to the majority of respondents (nearly 68%), politicians tend to use hate speech more often than any other group or profession. Journalists rank second with 32.4%. Several politicians and one journalist have been mentioned by name in the answers provided by the respondents. Politicians have a greater relative impact on the propagation of hate speech in regional centers (73%), while journalists – in Sofia (50%).

The immediate social environment plays a significant role in the proliferation of hate speech only for young people (aged 18-29 years). The importance, which they tend to attach to politicians’ statements and speeches (56%), is much lower than the nationwide average (68%), while the combined weight of friends and relatives (35.7%), and coworkers (27.4) is much higher than the average for the country and for other social groups. In fact, social environment influences the exposure of young people to hate speech more strongly or at least as strongly as political discourse.

Figure 14. Users of hate speech



Question: From whom you have most often heard statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities?

USE OF HATE SPEECH IN THE PRIVATE SPHERE

Most respondents (45%) claim that they never make statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities. This share is much higher among ethnic Turks (nearly 67% of them claim that they never use hate speech) and among Roma (with 53% claiming that they never use hate speech). Those who admit that they themselves tend to use hate speech often or very often are less than 10%.

The context of hate speech use is mostly informal – statements or opinions constituting hate speech are most often made or expressed among friends (62%) and in the immediate family (60%). The fact that hate speech use is limited to the private sphere poses specific challenges to any campaign targeted to raising public awareness and sensitivity on this issue. In order for such campaigns to access the private sphere, they should rely on specific strategies to reach different social groups (poor, unemployed, living in remote areas or small towns and villages) and should be based on face-to-face encounters and personal example.

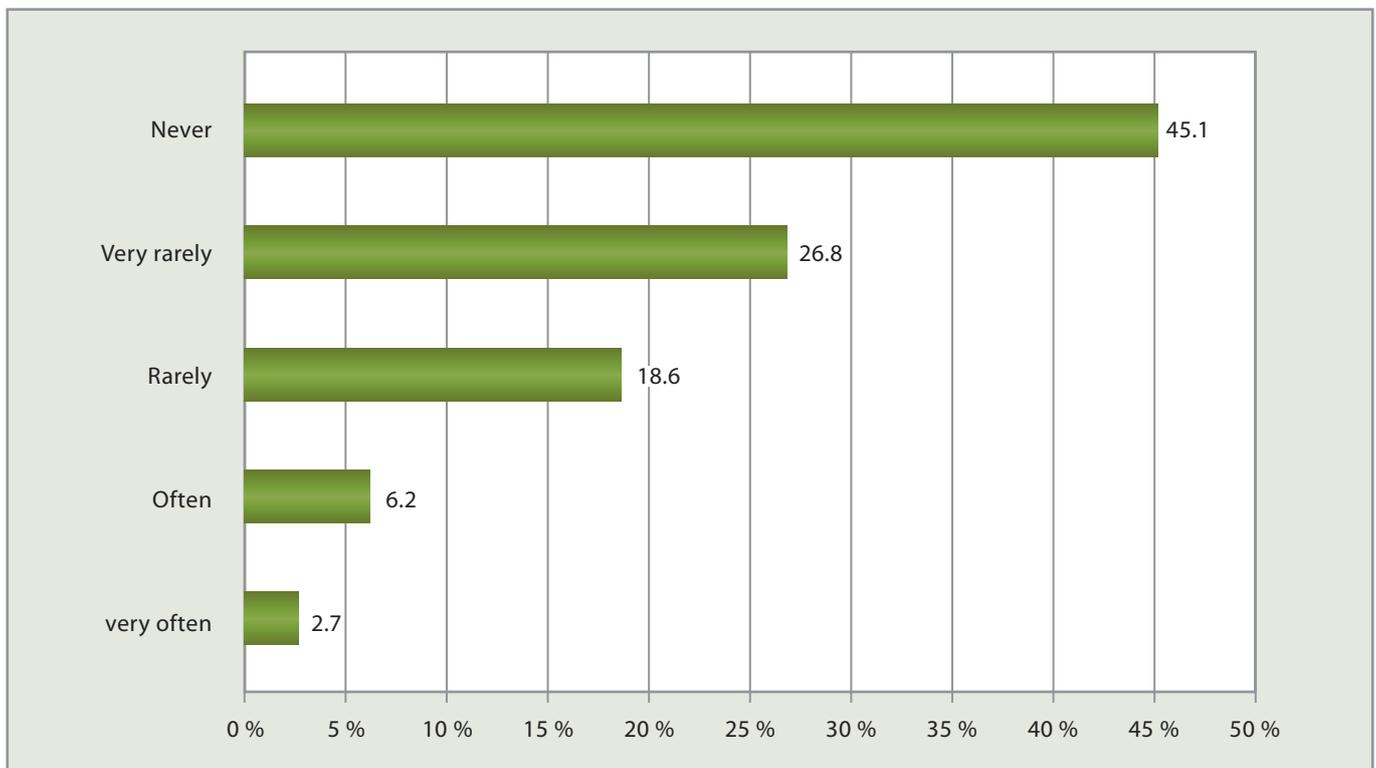
The survey shows that 4.6% of the respondents who report using hate speech, do so on the internet. This accounts for 2.5% of all the respondents. The survey is representative for the adult population of the country; therefore, it is safe to assume that between 1.9% and 3.1% of the adult population make statements constituting hate speech on the internet. In absolute figures this amounts to 113,000 to 185,000 people.

Of course, the interpretation of these findings should take into account that the majority of respondents realize that using hate speech is illegal and socially objectionable. It is quite possible that this awareness may have influenced the honesty of the answers.

USE OF HATE SPEECH PROMOTING VIOLENCE

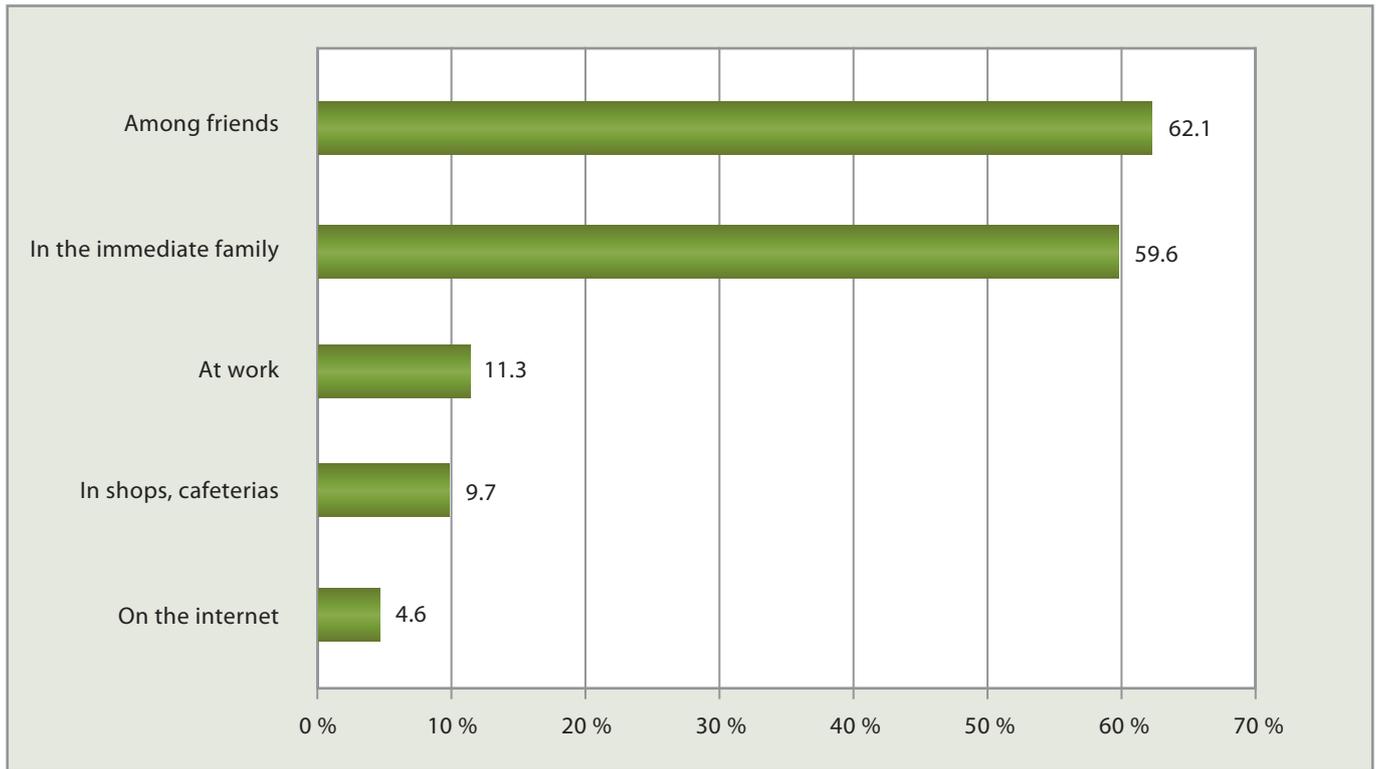
One third of the respondents claim that in the last 12 months they have heard public statements, which in their opinion could incite violence against minorities. This suggests that hate speech is not only widespread but sends a clearly recognizable criminal message, which reaches a significant share of the population.

Figure 15. Frequency of hate speech use (self-assessment)



Question: How often do you use hate speech?

Figure 16. Context of hate speech use (self-assessment)

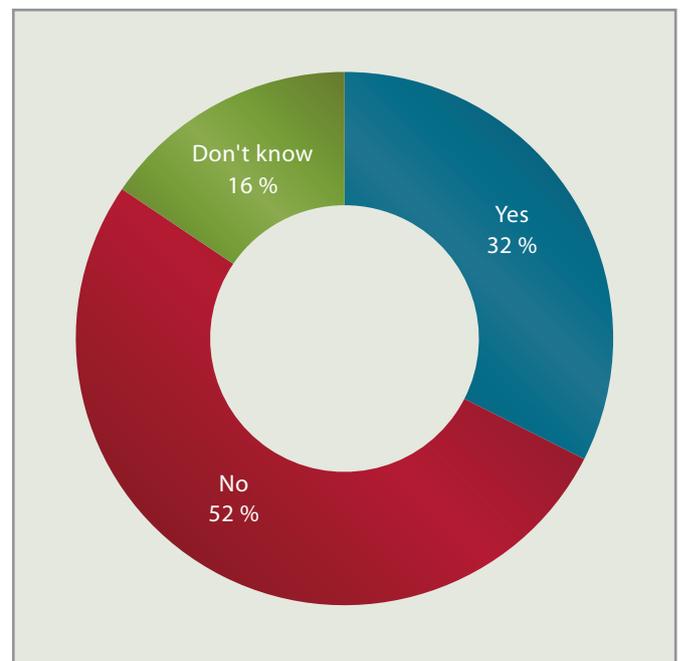


Question: *In what context you would most often use hate speech?*

4% of the respondents report that in the last 12 months they have felt personally and physically threatened by certain statements; they have indeed thought that they could become the target of aggression or violence. This share is much higher among those who identify themselves as Roma (11% of them have felt physically threatened) and among ethnic Turks (with 7% reporting feeling physically threatened). Asked to mention specific statements that made them feel physically threatened, the respondents provided the following examples: “All Turks out of Bulgaria”, “Roma are thieves”, “the proposal to perform citizen’s arrests of protesters”, “statements inciting ethnic tension”. One of the respondents noted: “Most of the statements made by the governing coalition seem to imply that we either keep silent and obey, or something bad is going to happen”. These findings put the level of possible hate speech victimization at 4% of the adult population; this is the share of the people that feel personally affected. For the sake of comparison, it is worth mentioning the findings of the regular National Crime Survey, conducted by the Center for the Study of Democracy,¹⁴ which monitors the share of the population

¹⁴ Center for the Study of Democracy, National Crime Survey 2012.

Figure 17. Use of hate speech promoting violence



Question: *In the last 12 months have you heard public statements, which in your opinion could incite violence against minorities?*

that have fallen victim of one of 8 crimes: in the period 2007–2011 this share ranges between 10% and 11% annually (which marks a decrease compared to 2001 when victimization exceeded 17%). For example, the share of home burglary victims for the period varies between 1.7 and 2.3% of the population.

It should be noted that in Bulgaria hate speech against minorities exists and proliferates in the context of a general political discourse that has grown increasingly aggressive and hostile over the last few years. Aggression and hostility dominate the dialog between representatives of different political parties, as well as the attitude of certain political parties towards the members of particular professions, which traditionally have not been considered potential targets of hate speech (doctors and judges, for instance). Reading the abovementioned examples of statements, which have made the respondents feel physically threatened, one can clearly see that at least two of them are not specifically targeted to minorities but to a more general public.

Therefore, one of the greatest challenges to hate speech prevention policies in Bulgaria is to distinguish the subject of such policies from the general aggressive and hostile exchange between political parties and the periodic outbursts of aggression against certain professional communities.

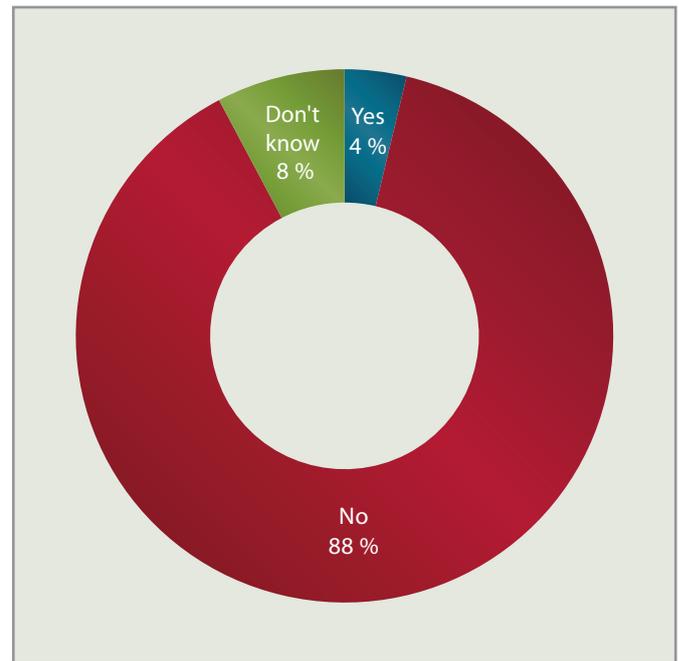
USE OF HATE SPEECH PERCEIVED AS INSULTING

Almost 14% of the respondents report that they have felt personally and grossly insulted by statements made by politicians or journalists in the last 12 months. This share is almost twice as high among Roma. 26% of them, or every fourth Roma, have felt personally insulted by statements made by politicians or journalists in the last 12 months. Among ethnic Turks this share is slightly lower than the nationwide average (11.4%).

Asked to mention specific statements, which they found particularly insulting, the respondents provided the following examples (ranked in descending order by frequency of unprompted responses):

- Labeling protesting citizens as “lumpens”;
- Stigmatizing Roma as “slackers” and “thieves”;
- Calling Bulgarian citizens in general “stupid because they had not emigrated”, “scum”, “defective material”, “electorate”;

Figure 18. Use of hate speech creating a sense of threat



Question: In the last 12 months, have you happened to hear specific statements by politicians or journalists, which left you with the feeling that you may be physically threatened, that you may become the victim of aggression or violence?

- Referring to retired persons as “defective material” and accusing them that they “have eaten up all the fiscal reserves”;
- Using insulting epithets towards ethnic Turks;
- Lying in general, including about the number of protesting citizens;
- Calling BSP supporters “red trash”;
- Using insulting epithets towards GERB supporters;
- Stigmatizing the poor because “not all of us are rich”.

Insult is not part of the definition of hate speech commonly used in Bulgaria. However, it was deemed appropriate to include it in the survey to highlight the importance of this aspect of hate speech. In fact, in the last 12 months every seventh Bulgarian and every fourth Roma has felt personally and grossly insulted by statements made by politicians or journalists.

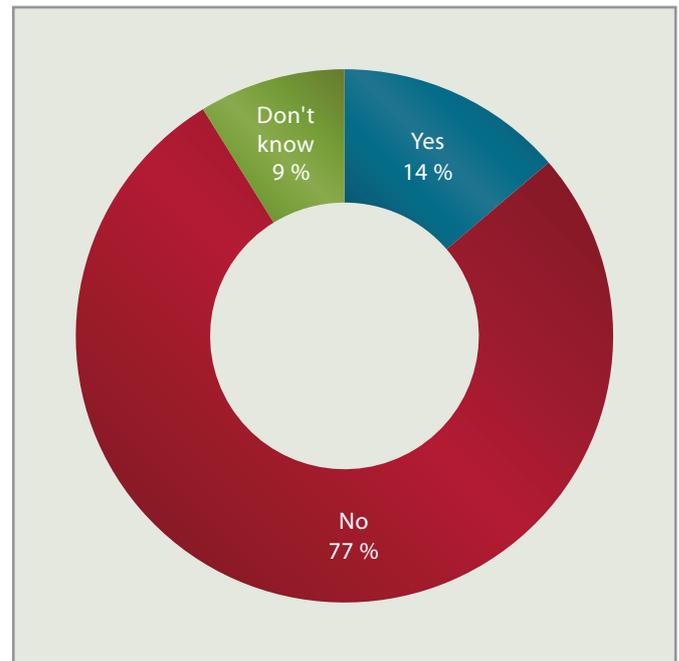
One of the peculiarities of hate speech in Bulgaria is that it proliferates in the context of a political discourse, which is indiscriminately aggressive. Verbal aggression is not directed only to minorities but affects with equal vehemence political opponents, individual professional communities, and the public at large.

Moreover, political discourse in Bulgaria is highly personal – it addresses individuals, rather than policies. This is probably part of the general problem with the weakness of institutions. In Bulgaria social problems are effortlessly imputed to individual social groups, while the strategies to solve them are often limited to replacing one individual appointed to a decision-making position with another. Social phenomena tend to be explained with the characteristics of one social group or another, rather than with the failure of institutions to properly address them. Crime, for instance, is attributed to a particular ethnic group, rather than to the failure of a specific penal policy followed by the Ministry of the Interior and the Prosecution Service, or the failure of education or social assistance policies.

One might formulate the hypothesis that the proliferation of hate speech is inversely proportional to the ability of institutions to produce and propagate rational discourses on social issues. When institutions are unable to clearly identify the social problems they face, and do not encourage scientific explanations for these problems to occur, the ensuing rationalization vacuum is filled by hate speech. In the case of crime being attributed to a particular ethnic group, the possibilities for imposing such perceptions in society would have been significantly limited, if independent criminology existed in Bulgaria, if scientific research on crime were conducted, and if the Ministry of the Interior and the Prosecution Service were subject to real civic control. The scope of the present survey is too limited to support these contentions with specific evidence, but future research on hate speech should certainly formulate and test such hypotheses.

The respondents’ perception of hate speech as personally insulting raises yet another important issue. Of course, how people would rank the statements they perceive as “grossly insulting”, depends to a great extent on circumstantial considerations. In this particular situation insulting references about protesting citizens figure high in the ranking; in other circumstances the order could be different. The problem however is elsewhere. Traditionally, the poor and the elderly are not perceived as minorities that could be the target of hate speech. The history of legal restrictions in this area suggests that in different periods hate speech tends to target different minorities and the dynamics underlying this shift is rather unclear. Correspondingly, the criteria, which legislation uses to define minorities that could potentially be the target of hate speech, are constantly broadened and supplemented. Further research is needed to establish how widespread is discrimination against the elderly and the poor

Figure 19. Use of hate speech perceived as insulting



Question: In the last 12 months, have you happened to hear specific statements by politicians or journalists, which you found grossly insulting?

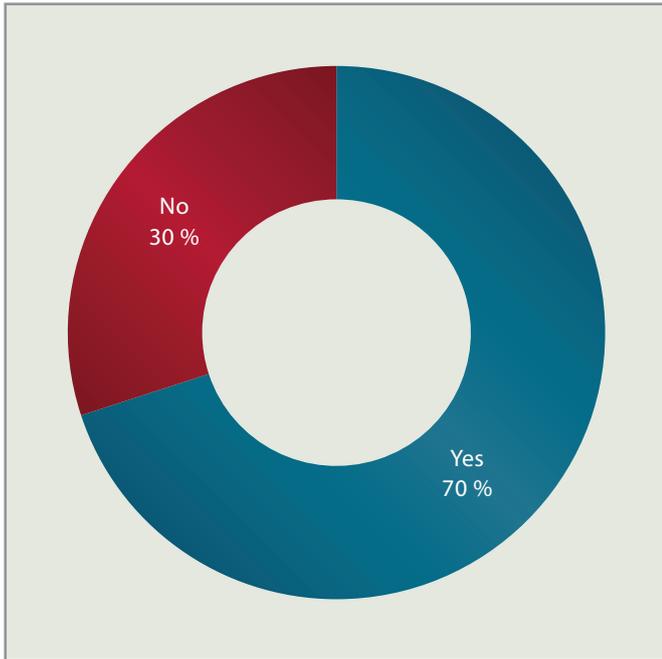
in Bulgaria and whether and to what extent it is being incited by statements in the public domain. The present study however provided clear evidence that some public statements about poor people and retired people are perceived as “grossly insulting” by quite a large share of respondents. Such statements should be further monitored to establish whether and when, if ever, they evolve into hate speech.

ATTITUDES TO HATE SPEECH CRIMINALIZATION AND THE INTRODUCTION OF HATE CRIME PROVISIONS IN CRIMINAL LAW

In 2011 the Bulgarian Penal Code was amended to include specific provisions criminalizing hate speech, as well as provisions aimed specifically against hate crime. Thus, at least nominally the Bulgarian criminal law was brought in line with the EU standards in this area.

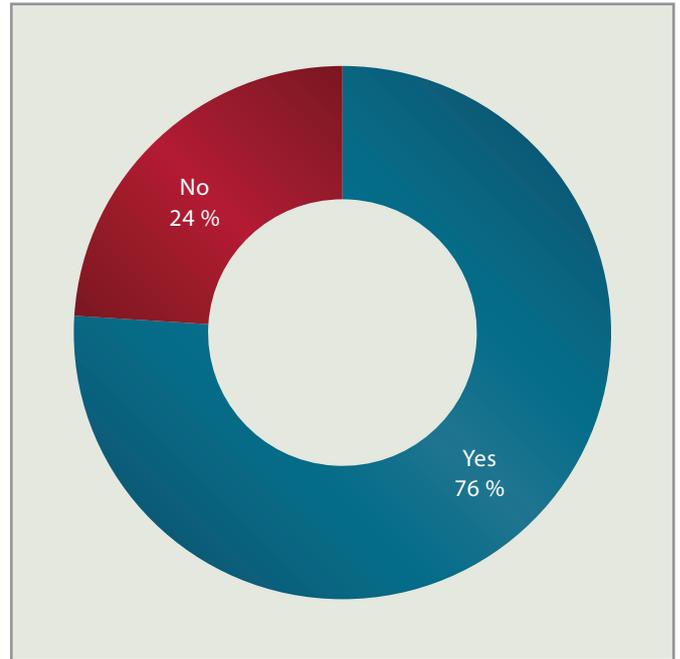
However, between 24% and 30% of Bulgarian citizens are not aware that hate speech and bias-motivated offences constitute crime under the Penal Code. Nearly one

Figure 20. Incitement to hatred is a crime



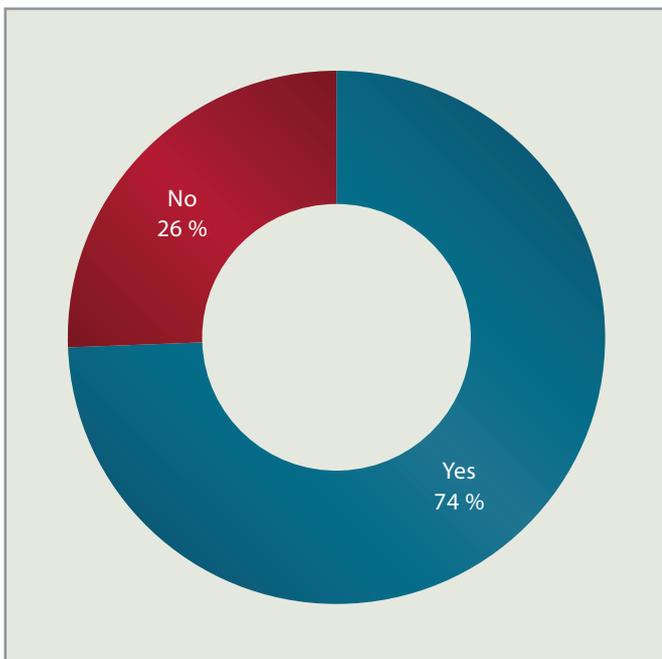
Question: *Do you know that it is a crime in Bulgaria to propagate and incite hostility or hatred based on race and ethnicity, or to instigate racial discrimination (Art.162 of the Penal Code)?*

Figure 21. Hate crime – art. 162 (2) of the Penal code



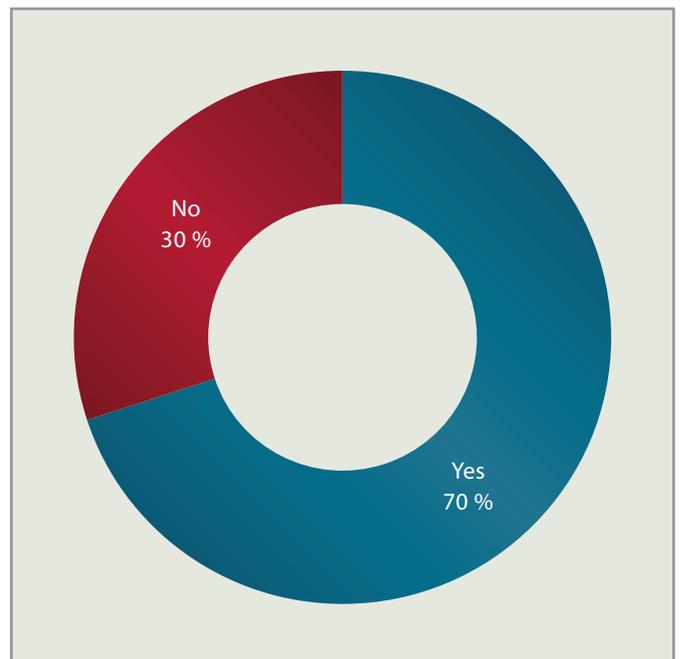
Question: *Do you know that it is a crime in Bulgaria to commit violence against someone or to destroy someone’s property on the grounds of their ethnicity, race, religion or political convictions (Art. 162, section 2 of the Penal Code)?*

Figure 22. Hate crime – art. 162 (3) of the Penal code



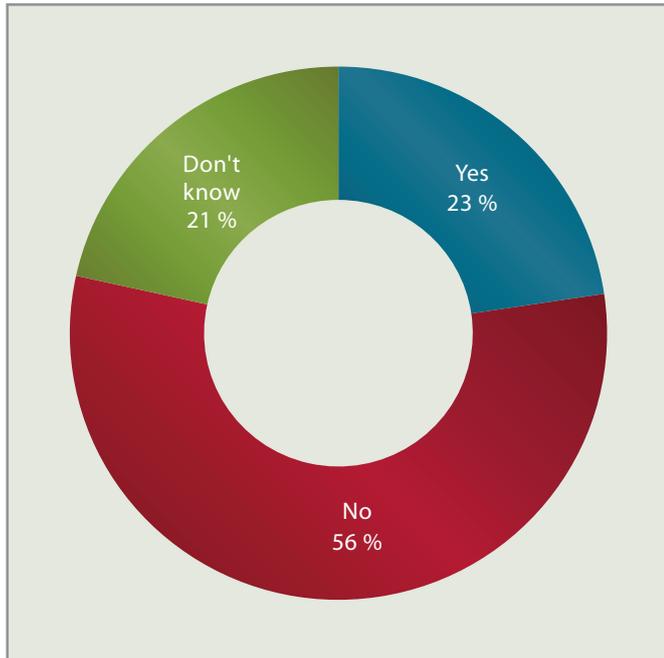
Question: *Do you know that it is a crime in Bulgaria to form an organization or group with the purpose of committing violence against someone or destroying someone’s property on the grounds of their ethnicity, race, religion or political convictions (Art. 162, section 3 of the Penal Code)?*

Figure 23. Crimes against the Republic



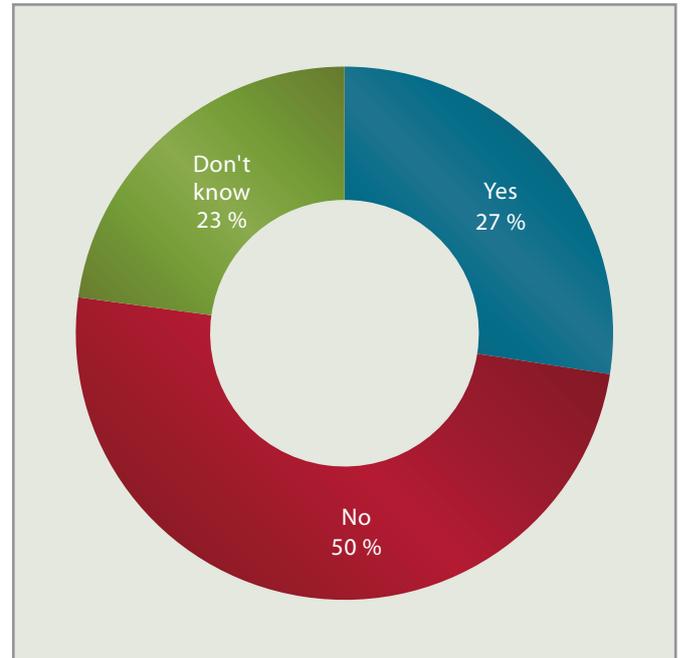
Question: *Do you know that propagating fascist or other non-democratic ideology is a crime in Bulgaria (Art. 108 of the Penal Code)?*

Figure 24. Likelihood of reporting hate crimes



Question: *Would you notify the police, if you hear public statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities?*

Figure 25. Likelihood of reporting aggressive nationalism



Question: *Would you notify the police, if you hear public statements propagating aggressive nationalism?*

third (30%) do not know that hate speech is a crime, while almost as many (24%) do not realize that hate crimes are prosecuted as a distinct category of crime.

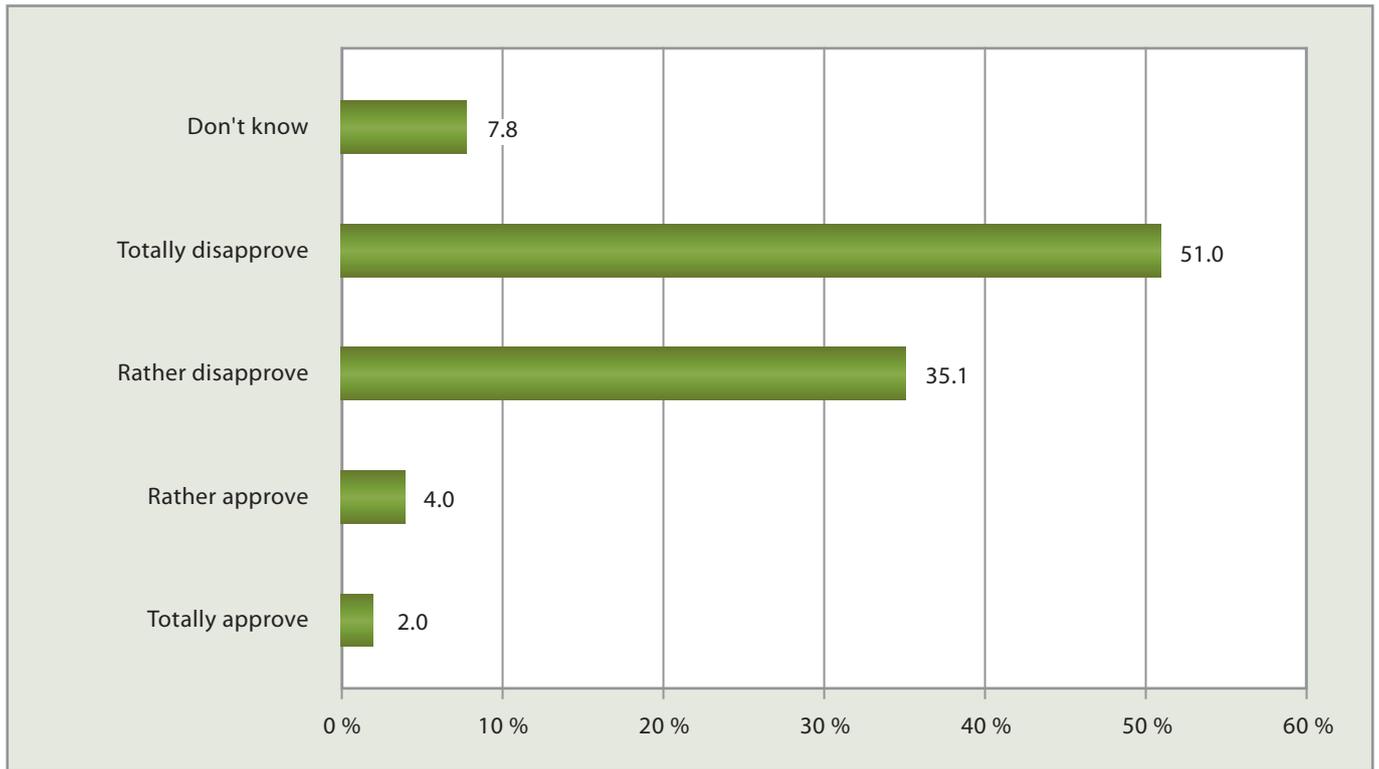
This suggests that there is a pressing need for awareness raising campaigns to explicate the criminal nature and the dire consequences of hate speech and bias-motivated crimes. Moreover, it suggests that even if authorities have investigated cases involving hate speech and hate crime, information about them has not reached the public.

The share of those who would not report hate speech as a crime to competent authorities is very high. 56% of the respondents would not notify the police, if they heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities. 50% of the respondents would not report statements propagating aggressive nationalism. The members of minorities are more likely to report hate speech as a crime. Almost 31% of the ethnic Turks and nearly 43% of the respondents who identify themselves as Roma would notify the police, if they witnessed instances of hate speech (compared to a nationwide average of 20%).

Citizens' reluctance to notify competent authorities is an obstacle to the criminal prosecution of hate speech and hate crimes, albeit hardly the most important one. This reluctance may be due to lack of trust in law enforcement institutions and their willingness to respond, but also to lack of awareness among the general public that hate speech and bias-motivated offences are indeed serious crimes. Both explanations are probably valid in the Bulgarian context. It should be noted, however, that acquiescence to crimes in Bulgaria is quite high in general. According to a recent survey of the Center for the Study of Democracy,¹⁵ in 2012 the average acquiescence to 11 types of crimes was 50%. This suggest that even people who have not only witnessed a crime but have fallen victim to crime, are reluctant to report it to the police in 50% of the cases. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the acquiescence to hate speech and hate crimes would be similar to the general acquiescence to crimes in the country.

¹⁵ Center for the Study of Democracy, National Crime Survey 2012.

Figure 26. (Dis)approval of hate speech



Question: *To what extent you would approve of public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities?*

PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS HATE SPEECH PREVENTION POLICIES

The majority of respondents (51%) totally disapprove of the public use of words or expressions conveying disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities. 35% are more hesitant and claim that they rather disapprove. The respondents who have openly stated that they approve of the use of hate speech account for 6% of the total.

These findings are essential for the elaboration and adoption of adequate public policies against the proliferation of hate speech. Currently, law enforcement institutions seem reluctant to prosecute hate speech as a crime, feeling that there is not enough public support for such measures. Those who proliferate hate speech against minorities in the public domain, also propagate the assumption that hate speech is “normal”. They claim that there is nothing wrong with using such language, that everybody uses it at different times and in different contexts, while they themselves are simply more sincere than “other” politicians or journalists and voice out some-

thing that everyone thinks anyway but is afraid to say publicly. The findings of the survey show such claims to be false. The majority of adult Bulgarian citizens totally disapprove of the use of hate speech, while those who rather disapprove of it exceed 35%, which brings the disapproval rate to a total of 86%.

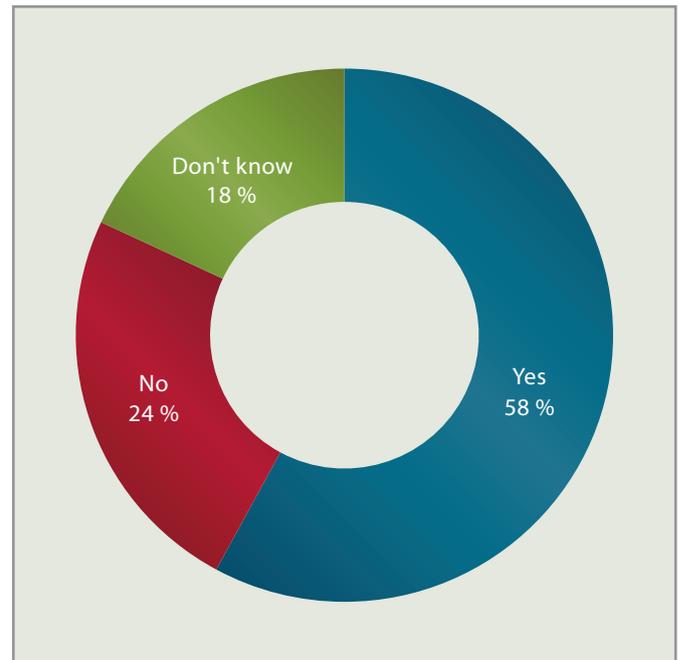
Although nearly one fourth of the respondents are not aware that hate speech and bias-motivated offenses are a crime, policies targeted to limiting hate speech enjoy considerable public support. 58% of the respondents believe that authorities should protect Roma, gay people and foreigners against public statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against them. The support for hate speech prevention policies is stronger among Roma and among ethnic Turks than among the general population. However, residents of Sofia, young people (18–29 years of age) and people with primary education also show strong support for such policies.

With 58% public support, hate speech prevention policies rank high compared to other public policies implemented in Bulgaria. As mentioned earlier, public trust towards Bulgarian institutions is very low at present. Few policies, such as the European integration of Bulgaria, enjoy unequivocal public support. In July 2013, 70% of

Bulgarians supported the country’s accession to the EU. The overall support for hate speech prevention policies is comparable and even slightly higher than the support for maintaining the currency board in Bulgaria (56%). For the sake of comparison, it is worthwhile mentioning that the widely discussed introduction of obligatory pre-school education for children at the age of 4 years rallies only 26% public support.

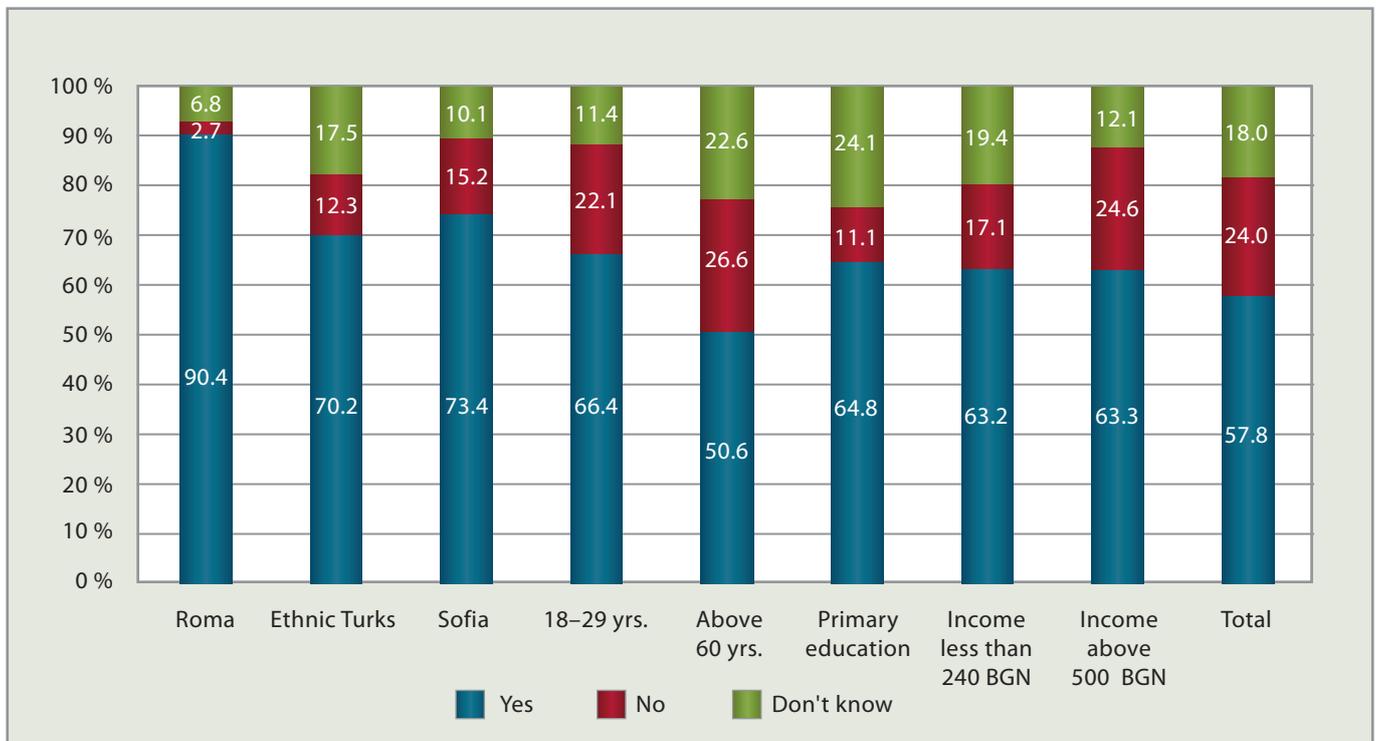
The relation between the support for hate speech prevention policies and the average income of the respondents is interesting to note. The poorest (with income less than 240 BGN per member of the household per month) and the most wealthy (with income above 500 BGN per member of the household per month) are equally prone to support measures against hate speech; the support among these groups is 5% to 6% higher than the nationwide average. Among the respondents with average income (240-500 BGN per member of the household per month), however, the support for hate speech prevention policies is lower than the average for the country. This suggests that social stratification by income and interests is far from absolute, therefore it is quite possible to rally public solidarity and support for a cause like the fight against hate speech.

Figure 27. Public support for hate speech prevention policies



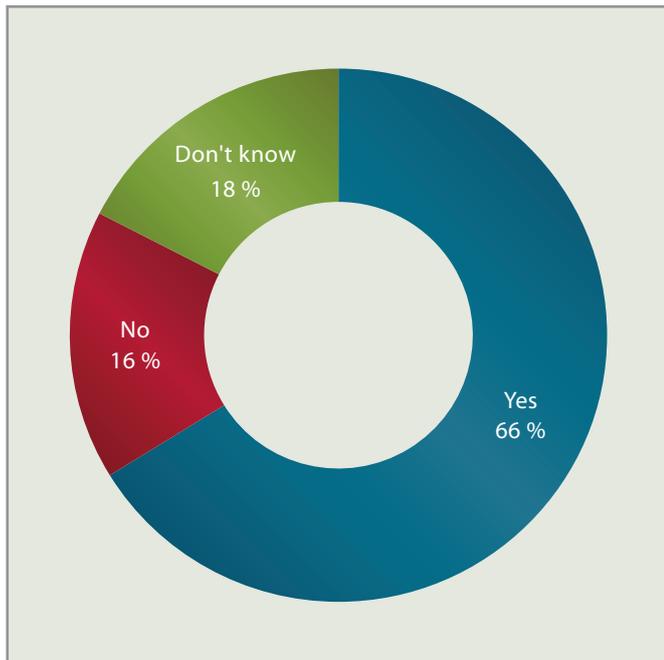
Question: *Do you believe that authorities should protect Roma, gay people and foreigners against public statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against them?*

Figure 28. Public support for hate speech prevention policies – by groups



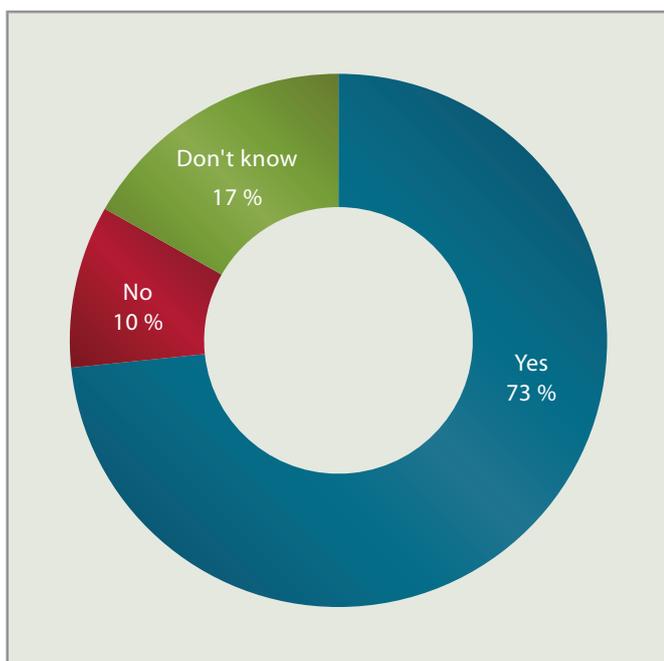
Question: *Do you believe that authorities should protect Roma, gay people and foreigners against public statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against them?*

Figure 29. Public support for criminal policy against hate speech



Question: *Do you believe that authorities should prosecute politicians and journalists who openly express disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities?*

Figure 30. Public support for criminal prosecution of aggressive nationalism



Question: *Do you believe that authorities should prosecute politicians and journalists who propagate aggressive nationalism?*

People are prone to support not only hate speech prevention policies in general but also the most coercive instrument of such policies: criminal prosecution. 66% of the people believe that authorities should prosecute politicians and journalists who openly express disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities, while only 16% of the respondents have the opposite opinion.

Aggressive nationalism is also identified as a dangerous phenomenon. 73% of the respondents believe that authorities should prosecute politicians and journalists who propagate aggressive nationalism.

The strong support for hate speech prevention policies and criminal prosecution of hate speech and hate crimes, in particular, is rather latent at the current stage, and it is probably a matter of time and proper leadership to transform this support into public pressure on institutions.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS WITH REGARD TO HATE SPEECH PREVENTION POLICIES

Several important conclusions with regard to the national hate speech prevention policies emerged as a result of the survey.

With regard to the general policy of institutions

The large share of respondents (above 85%) who disapprove of the use of hate speech in the public domain stresses the urgent need to develop and implement public policies for limiting this phenomenon. The proliferation of hate speech, its frequent manifestation in the most extreme form and the fact that it is deeply rooted in the private sphere, however, require the adoption of policies that are long-term, consistent, multi-sectoral and knowledge-based.

Such policies should not only be targeted to limiting the use of hate speech but should be accompanied by parallel measures to improve the capacity of institutions for initiating alternative/rational discourse on the social issues they are supposed to address. The consequences of hate speech would be more limited, if

institutions are in the position to explain to the public what is the genesis of a given social problem and to report publicly on the effect of the measures they have adopted to solve it.

With regard to the criminalization of hate speech

In order for hate speech prevention policies to succeed, the criminalization of hate speech should be complemented with specific measures to guarantee that this crime would be effectively prosecuted, that hatred-based motivation would be investigated in every seemingly common crime, and that the result of such investigations would be made public.

In this sense it is worth stressing once again the need to develop and implement measures that would encourage people to report hate crimes and hate speech to the police and the prosecution service. This recommendation has been made on numerous occasions by different international institutions.

At the same time, the efficiency of the police and the prosecution service in prosecuting hate speech and hate crimes cannot be considered independently of the overall accountability and efficiency of these institutions. Measures to improve the overall efficiency and accountability of law enforcement institutions would also have a positive effect on the criminal prosecution of hate speech and hate crimes.

With regard to public awareness raising campaigns

Campaigns to raise public awareness would be more likely to succeed, if they are targeted to the manifestations of hate speech against each minority separately, because in each case hate speech is motivated by different negative stereotypes.

Special measures should be adopted to raise the awareness of young people with low education and low income who live in the cities, as well as young people from small communities. It should be taken into consideration that apart from television, the most important media for the proliferation of hate speech among unemployed and less educated people is not the internet but meeting places such as cafeterias, restaurants and shops. Special

attention should be paid to the connection between hate speech, hate crimes and fanatical football fans.

The high incidence of hate speech in the private sphere (among friends and close relatives) poses a particular challenge to the implementation of targeted hate speech prevention campaigns. Ongoing and future awareness raising campaigns should not be targeted to the population in general but should be adapted to each environment and group where hate speech is tolerated. Such campaigns should not be formal and targeted merely to increasing awareness, but should approach people at a more personal level, through personal example that is upheld not only publicly but in the everyday communication within the private sphere.

Possible measures to involve the civic sector

- Register and document incidents of hate speech and hate crimes;
- Exercise civic control over institutions: hold the Ministry of Interior, the Prosecution Service, the Council on Electronic Media and the courts accountable in exercising their powers to limit hate speech;
- Provide assistance and encourage victims and affected persons to lodge complaints before competent institutions; organize the provision of support for victims of hate speech and hate crimes;
- Conducted targeted campaigns to raise public awareness of the issue;
- Adopt measures to change negative stereotypes against minorities; promote good examples of affected minorities.

Recommendations for future research

- Monitor and register the overall/shared attitude towards hate speech in society;
- Establish the actual victimization of different minorities with respect to hate speech and in relation to hate crimes;
- Analyze the share of hate speech in media content;
- Monitor the risk for different marginalized social groups (the poor and the elderly in particular) to become the target of hate speech and/or hate crimes.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE: A SET OF TOPIC-SPECIFIC QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN AN OMNIBUS PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE – SOFIA, JULY 2013

7. TOLERANCE

7.1. Would you agree that a member of the following nationalities or ethnic groups living in Bulgaria:

(Mark all YES answers that apply)

| | Marries you or one of your children | Lives in your neighborhood | Lives in your town or village |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Armenian | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Arab | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3. Bulgarian | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4. Jewish | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Chinese | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. Roma | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 7. Turkish | 1 | 2 | 3 |

7.2. Would you agree that a member of the following nationalities or ethnic groups living in Bulgaria works in your workplace as:

(Mark all YES answers that apply)

| | Your peer | Your immediate superior | Member of the senior management |
|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Armenian | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Arab | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3. Bulgarian | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4. Jewish | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Chinese | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. Roma | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 7. Turkish | 1 | 2 | 3 |

7.3. Would you agree that your child studies in a class where children from the following nationalities or ethnic groups are:

(Mark all YES answers that apply)

| | Few | Half of the students | More than half of the students |
|--------------|-----|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Armenian | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Arab | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3. Bulgarian | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4. Jewish | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Chinese | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. Roma | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 7. Turkish | 1 | 2 | 3 |

7.4. In the last 12 months, have you heard public statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against ethnic, religious or sexual minorities?

(Choose ONE answer)

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1. Yes | 1 |
| 2. No >>> 7.9. | 2 |
| 98. I don't know >>> 7.9. | 98 |

7.5. If yes, how often?

(Choose ONE answer)

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Very often | 1 |
| 2. Often | 2 |
| 3. Rarely | 3 |
| 4. Very rarely | 4 |
| 5. Never (DO NOT READ OUT) | 5 |
| 98. I don't know (DO NOT READ OUT) | 98 |

7.6. Against whom you have most often heard such statements?

(Choose up to THREE answers)

| | |
|--------------------------------|----|
| 1. Roma | 1 |
| 2. Turkish | 2 |
| 3. Black | 3 |
| 4. Chinese | 4 |
| 5. Gay | 5 |
| 6. Women | 6 |
| 7. Jewish | 7 |
| 8. Foreigners | 8 |
| 9. Evangelist (Protestant) | 9 |
| 10. Catholic | 10 |
| 11. Jehovah's witness | 11 |
| 12. Other (Please, specify)... | 12 |

7.7. If YES, where you would most often hear or read such statements?

(Choose up to THREE answers)

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. On TV | 1 |
| 2. On the radio | 2 |
| 3. In newspapers | 3 |
| 4. On the internet | 4 |
| 5. At the workplace | 5 |
| 6. In the vehicles of public transportation | 6 |
| 7. In shops, cafeterias, restaurants | 7 |
| 8. During sports events (at the stadium or in the arena) | 8 |
| 9. During pre-election rallies | 9 |
| 10. During protests against the government | 10 |
| 11. Elsewhere (Please, specify)... | 11 |

7.8. Who have you heard making such statements?*(Mark ALL that apply)*

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. Businessmen | 1 |
| 2. Public servants | 2 |
| 3. Experts at non-governmental organizations | 3 |
| 4. Journalists | 4 |
| 5. Co-workers | 5 |
| 6. Friends and relatives | 6 |
| 7. Politicians | 7 |
| 8. Other <i>(Please, specify)</i> ... | 8 |

7.9. How often you personally say things that express disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities?*(Choose ONE answer)*

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Very often | 1 |
| 2. Often | 2 |
| 3. Rarely | 3 |
| 4. Very rarely | 4 |
| 5. Never (DO NOT READ OUT) >>> 7.11. | 5 |

7.10. Where you would most often use such expressions?*(Choose up to THREE answers)*

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. In a close family circle | 1 |
| 2. Among friends | 2 |
| 3. On the internet | 3 |
| 4. At the workplace | 4 |
| 5. In the vehicles of public transportation | 5 |
| 6. In shops, cafeterias, restaurants | 6 |
| 7. During sports events (at the stadium or in the arena) | 7 |
| 8. During pre-election rallies | 8 |
| 9. During protests against the government | 9 |
| 10. Other <i>(Please, specify)</i> ... | 10 |

7.11. Do you approve the public use of statements expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities (e.g. Roma, gay people, foreigners)?*(Choose ONE answer)*

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Totally approve | 1 |
| 2. Rather approve | 2 |
| 3. Rather disapprove | 3 |
| 4. Totally disapprove | 4 |
| 98. I don't know (DO NOT READ OUT) | 98 |

7.12. In the last 12 months have you heard public statements, which in your opinion could incite violence against minorities (e.g. Roma, gay people, foreigners)?*(Choose ONE answer)*

| | |
|------------------|----|
| 1. Yes | 1 |
| 2. No | 2 |
| 98. I don't know | 98 |

7.13. In the last 12 months, have you happened to hear specific statements by politicians or journalists, which left you with the feeling that you may be physically threatened, that you may become the victim of aggression or violence?

(Choose ONE answer)

| | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1. Yes | 1 |
| 2. No >>> 7.15 | 2 |
| 98. I don't know >>> 7.15 | 98 |

7.14. If yes, what was the statement that left you with this feeling?

.....

7.15. In the last 12 months, have you happened to hear specific statements by politicians or journalists, which you found grossly insulting?

(Choose ONE answer)

| | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1. Yes | 1 |
| 2. No >>> 7.17 | 2 |
| 98. I don't know >>> 7.17 | 98 |

7.16. If yes, what was the statement that made you feel grossly insulted?

.....

7.17. Which of the mentioned groups you would associate with the word “criminal”?

(Please, present SHOW CARD 3 and code the answers)

(Choose up to THREE answers)

| |
|----------------|
| 1. Group 1 ... |
| 2. Group 2 ... |
| 3. Group 3 ... |

7.18. Which of the mentioned groups you would associate with the word “threat”?

(Please, present SHOW CARD 3 and code the answers)

(Choose up to THREE answers)

| |
|----------------|
| 1. Group 1 ... |
| 2. Group 2 ... |
| 3. Group 3 ... |

7.19. Do you know that any of following actions is a crime in Bulgaria?

(Choose ONE answer for EACH line)

| | Yes | No |
|---|-----|----|
| 1. To propagate and incite hostility or hatred based on race or ethnicity, or to instigate racial discrimination | 1 | 2 |
| 2. To commit violence against someone or to destroy someone's property on the grounds of their ethnicity, race, religion or political convictions | 1 | 2 |
| 3. To form an organization or group with the purpose of committing violence against someone or destroying someone's property on the grounds of their ethnicity, race, religion or political convictions | 1 | 2 |
| 4. To propagate fascist or other non-democratic ideology | 1 | 2 |

7.20. Do you believe that:*(Choose ONE answer for EACH line)*

| | Yes | No | I don't know |
|---|-----|----|--------------|
| 1. Authorities should protect minorities (Roma, gay people, foreigners, etc.) against public statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against them? | 1 | 2 | 98 |
| 2. Authorities should prosecute politicians and journalists who openly express disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities? | 1 | 2 | 98 |
| 3. Authorities should prosecute politicians and journalists who propagate aggressive nationalism? | 1 | 2 | 98 |

7.21. Would you notify the police, if you hear public statements, expressing disapproval, hatred or aggression against minorities?*(Choose ONE answer)*

| | |
|------------------|----|
| 1. Yes | 1 |
| 2. No | 2 |
| 98. I don't know | 98 |

7.22. Would you notify the police, if you hear public statements propagating aggressive nationalism?*(Choose ONE answer)*

| | |
|------------------|----|
| 1. Yes | 1 |
| 2. No | 2 |
| 98. I don't know | 98 |

7.23. Have you happened to hear a specific statement by politician or journalist, which left you with the impression that physical violence against minorities or destruction of property owned by minorities is normal, justifiable or less condemnable than if it was targeted to someone else?*(Choose ONE answer)*

| | |
|------------------|----|
| 1. Yes | 1 |
| 2. No | 2 |
| 98. I don't know | 98 |

| SHOW CARD 3 | |
|-----------------------|----|
| 1. Lawyer | 1 |
| 2. Businessman | 2 |
| 3. Jew | 3 |
| 4. Woman | 4 |
| 5. Immigrant | 5 |
| 6. Catholic | 6 |
| 7. Chinese | 7 |
| 8. Doctor | 8 |
| 9. Black | 9 |
| 10. Politician | 10 |
| 11. Protestant | 11 |
| 12. Roma | 12 |
| 13. Jehovah's witness | 13 |
| 14. Skinhead | 14 |
| 15. Turk | 15 |
| 16. Gay | 16 |
| 17. Foreigner | 17 |
| 99. None of the above | 99 |

Open Society Institute – Sofia
56, Solunska str., Sofia 1000

tel.: (+359 2) 930 66 19, fax: (+359 2) 951 63 48

www.osi.bg