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**Public Opinion in Bulgaria
November 1990**

CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE

Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Dear fellow-citizen,

The survey you are taking part in is designed to explore the public opinion on certain important problems of the country's latest development.

The survey involves a small group of randomly chosen (by birthday) Bulgarian citizens. Because of that, your personal answers are very important.

We invite you to answer the questions in this questionnaire by circling the number next to the answer which comes closest to your opinion.

When you have answered all questions, seal the questionnaire into the envelope and hand it to our representative. He is obliged to submit it unsealed for centralized processing of the data from the whole country.

The survey is anonymous. The confidentiality of your answers is guaranteed. Please answer all questions personally, independently and candidly.

For technical reasons the questions are written out in the masculine.

Sofia, 1990

The scientific team

Attention: The survey involves only persons aged 18 or more and born on the 3rd, 4th or 5th date of every month. You have been included by the date of birth contained in your administrative code.

To prevent any mistakes, please answer by circling the appropriate code:

When were you born?

- On the 3rd 1
- On the 4th 2
- On the 5th 3

In which month were you born?

- January 1
- February 2
- March 3
- April 4
- May 5
- June 6
- July 7
- August 8
- September 9
- October 10
- November 11
- December 12

If you were not born on the 3rd, 4th or 5th, you can return the sealed envelope with the questionnaire without filling it out.

Part 1. This part concerns the provisional executive committees of the municipal councils appointed by the Prime Minister.

Please circle the code of your answer

Q U E S T I O N S

A N S W E R S C O D E S

1. Do you know that a new provisional executive committee has been appointed in your municipality?

- Yes 1
- No 2

2. Are there any members of the new executive committee with whom you are personally acquainted?

- I know all of them . . 1
- I know some of them . . 2
- I know one of them . . 3
- I know none of them . . 4

3. Do you think that the members of the new executive committee are people of high professional and civil qualities and have a good reputation in the community?

- Yes, they are all like that 1
- Only some of them are like that 2
- No, they are not like that 3
- I don't know them . . . 4

4. Do you personally trust the new executive committee of the municipal council?

- Yes 1
- Partly 2
- No 3
- Don't know 4

5. Do you think the new executive committee will contribute to the democratic process in the municipality?

- Yes, entirely 1
- Yes, but not entirely . 2
- It would rather make obstacles 3
- Can't judge 4

6. Which political force do you think has a majority (prevails) in the new executive committee of the municipal council?

- None has a majority . . 1
- The Bulgarian Socialist party 2
- The Union of Democratic Forces 3
- The Bulgarian Agrarian Union 4
- The Movement for Rights and Liberties 5
- The Fatherland Union . 6
- The Fatherland Labour Party 7
- The Socialdemocratic Party (non-marxists) 8
- Other 9
- (write down if you please)
- Can't judge 10

PART 2. The questions in this part refer to last elections for a Grand National Assembly and the forthcoming elections for municipal councils.

1. Do you believe that the forthcoming elections for municipal councils will be quite free and democratic?
 - Yes 1
 - I am not sure 2
 - No 3
 - Can't judge 4

2. Which political force will contribute most to the development of your municipality if it wins the elections for municipal councils?
 - The Bulgarian Agrarian Union 1
 - The Bulgarian Socialist Party 2
 - The Union of Democratic Forces 3
 - The Movement for Rights and Liberties 4
 - The Fatherland Labour Party 5
 - The Fatherland Union 6
 - The Socialdemocratic Party (non-marxists) 7
 - Other party 8
(write down if you please)
 - Can't say 9

3. Which political force would you like to win a majority in the elections for municipal councils in the whole country?
 - The Bulgarian Agrarian Union 1
 - The Bulgarian Socialist Party 2
 - The Union of Democratic Forces 3
 - The Movement for Rights and Liberties 4
 - The Fatherland Labour Party 5
 - The Fatherland Union 6
 - The Socialdemocrartic Party (non-marxists) 7
 - Other party 8
(write down if you please)
 - Don't care 9

4. Have you decided for the candidates of which party you will vote in the elections for municipal councils?
 - Yes, I have 1
 - In doubt 2
 - Depends on the candidates3
 - I don't think I will vote at all 4

5. For which political force did you vote in last elections for a Grand National Assembly?

- For the Bulgarian Agrarian Union 1
 - For the Bulgarian Socialist Party 2
 - For the Union of Democratic Forces 3
 - For the Movement for Rights and Liberty 4
 - For other party 5
 - For an independent candidate 6
 - Didn't vote 7

6. Do you intend to vote for the same political force in the elections for municipal councils?

- Yes 1
 - In doubt 2
 - No 3
 - Didn't vote in the last elections 4

7. For which of the following political forces you would definitely not vote?

- Will not vote for the Bulgarian Agrarian Union 1
 - Will not vote for the Bulgarian Socialist Party 2
 - Will not vote for the Union of Democratic Forces 3
 - Will not vote for the Movement for Rights and Liberties 4
 - Undecided 5

8. In your opinion, were last elections for a Grand National Assembly quite free and democratic?

- Yes 1
 - Not sure 2
 - No 3
 - No opinion 4

9. What kind of government do you think could lead us out of the crisis?

- A program government (implementing a program generally accepted by the political forces) 1
 - A government formed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party 2
 - A government formed by the Union of Democratic Forces 3
 - A coalition government with a Prime minister from the Bulgarian Socialist Party 4
 - A coalition government with a Prime minister from the Union of Democratic Forces 5
 - A government of experts independent of the political forces 6
 - No opinion 7

10. Do you believe that the present critical situation will be overcome?

- I don't think we are in a critical situation 1
 - Yes, this could happen soon 2
 - The crisis will not be overcome soon 3
 - No, I expect the crisis to worsen 4

11. Do you believe in the good future of Bulgaria?

- Yes 1
 - No 2

PART III. In this part we ask you to express some personal estimates and opinions.

1. WHAT IS YOUR ESTIMATE FOR THE ACTION OF:

a. The Grand National Assembly (Parliament)

- Good 1
 - Medium 2
 - Bad 3
 - No opinion 4

b. President Dr. Zhelev

- Good 1
 - Medium 2
 - Bad 3
 - No opinion 4

c. The Government (The Council of Ministers)

- Good 1
 - Medium 2
 - Bad 3
 - No opinion 4

d. The MP's from the Bulgarian Socialist Party

- Good 1
 - Medium 2
 - Bad 3
 - No opinion 4

e. The MP's from the Union of Democratic Forces

- Good 1
 - Medium 2
 - Bad 3
 - No opinion 4

f. The MP's from the Bulgarian Agrarian Union

- Good 1
 - Medium 2
 - Bad 3
 - No opinion 4

g. The MP's from the Movement for Rights and Liberties

- Good 1
 - Medium 2
 - Bad 3
 - No opinion 4

h. The party-state

- Good 1

leadership of the BCP before	- Medium	2
November 10, 1989 (headed by	- Bad	3
Todor Zhivkov)?	- No opinion	4

2. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THE CURRENT STATE AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF:

	CURRENT STATE		FUTURE DEVELOPMENT
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a. The country's economy	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
b. Agriculture	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
c. The supply of goods and services	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
d. The stability of the currency, inflation	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
e. The prices of goods and services	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
f. Employment	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
g. Health care	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
h. Social justice	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
i. Old age pensions	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4

j. Dwellings and construction of dwellings	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
k. Measures against the black market	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
l. The care for children and the young	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
m. Education	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
n. The preservation of civil peace in the country	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
o. The struggle against crime (violence, theft, murder)	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
p. The relations among ethnic groups (Bulgarians, Turks, Gypsies)	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
q. Culture (cinemas, shows, concerts etc.)	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
r. Pollution control	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4
s. Human relations, morals	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium . . .	2	- Medium . . .	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4

t. Bulgarian television	- Good	1	- Good	1
	- Medium	2	- Medium	2
	- Bad	3	- Bad	3
	- No opinion	4	- No opinion	4

3. Do you think that the multi-party system is good for Bulgaria's future?	- Yes	1
	- Not sure	2
	- No	3
	- No opinion	4

4. In your opinion, what should the Bulgarian people strive for:	- Communist society	1
	- Democratic socialism	2
	- Modern democratic society	3

5. It is assumed that some of the central and local leaders (former and present) have broken the Law and human morality. What do you think should be done about them?	- I don't think there are such leaders	1
	- They should be prosecuted with the whole severity of Law	2
	- They should only be prosecuted for large crimes committed	3
	- They should be fired from any leading positions	4
	- Experts should be preserved, if they sincerely repent for what they have done	5
	- No opinion	6

6. Do you think that the personal pensions and other privileges of the 'Warriors against fascism and capitalism' should be withdrawn?	- Both pensions and other privileges should be withdrawn	1
	- The pensions should be withdrawn, but other privileges may be kept	2
	- No, they deserve their pensions and privileges	3
	- No opinion	

7. Do you believe that Todor Zhivkov has committed serious crimes against the state and the people?	- Yes	1
	- No	2
	- No opinion	3

8. In your opinion, should there be any schools in Bulgaria teaching in Turkish?	- Yes, there must be some	1
	- Teaching must be done in Bulgarian, but the Turkish language may be taught	2
	- No, there shouldn't be	3
	- No opinion	4

PART IV. In this part we would like to learn about your opinion

on some important questions about production, private property and land.

1. What is your attitude toward the development of business activity based on private property in our country?

- Should be widely developed 1
- Should have a limited development 2
- Is not necessary 3
- Should be banned 4
- No opinion 5

2. If you got the chance, would you become a private entrepreneur?

- I don't want to be . . . 1
- Yes, of a cattle farm . 2
- Yes, of an agricultural farm 3
- Yes, of a craftsman's shop 4
- Yes, of a factory . . . 5
- Yes, in services (repairman, tailor, barber, shoemaker etc.) 6
- Yes, of a hotel, dwellings etc. 7
- Yes, in culture (cinema, bookshop) 8
- Yes, in trade 9
- Yes, of a restaurant, pub, café 10
- Yes, of other 11
(write down if you please)
- I am one now 12
- Never thought about it 13

3. To develop a private business, one needs money. From where would you get it, mainly?
(Just one answer please)

- I don't want to get into private business 1
- I already have a private business 2
- From savings 1
- Loans from friends and relatives 4
- Credits from a Bulgarian bank 5
- Credits from a foreign bank 6
- I will form a limited company 7
- When I get back the land from the collective farm or the state 8
- When I get a compensation for the land taken over by the collective farm or the state 9

4. Do you (and your family) do any agricultural work?
(Check each correct answer please)

- No 1
- I have some land, but I don't use it for production 2
- I have a piece of land for personal use 3
- I have a yard around the house (summer house) . . 4
- I work as a cooperator 5
- I work by contract (Akkord) 6
- I work as a tenant (Pacht) 7
- I work as a private producer (farmer) 8
- I help with agricultural labour for money 9

5. Do you wish to do (personally or with your family) agricultural work?
(Just one answer please)

- No, I don't wish to . . 1
- Yes, as a cooperator . 2
- Yes, by contract (Akkord) 3
- Yes, as a tenant (Pachte) 4
- Yes, as a private producer (farmer) 5
- Yes, on a piece of land for personal use 6
- Yes, in a yard around the house (summerhouse) . . . 7
- I'd like to help others for money 8

6. Have you got any personal or inherited land, which has been submitted to a collective farm or taken over by the state?

- Yes, I know the exact size and boundaries 1
- Yes, but I don't know the exact size and boundaries 2
- No, I haven't 3
- I don't know 4

7. Have you got a document proving your property on the land?

- Yes, I have 1
- No, I haven't 2
- I don't know 3
- I have no such land . . 4

8. Is the land usable for agricultural production now?

- Yes, and is being used for production 1
- Yes, but it is not in use 2
- No, but it can become usable 3
- No, it is under a building, road etc. . . . 4
- I have no such land . . 5
- I don't know if I have such land 6

9. If you have got such land, do you wish to become its owner or would you prefer a compensation for it?

- I wish to own it 1
- I wish to be paid for it 2
- I wish to obtain comparable land 3
- I have such land, but have no claims over it 4
- I have no such land . . . 5
- I don't know if I have such land 6

10. If in some way you became a private owner of land, what would you do with it?

(Just one answer please)

- I don't wish to own any land 1
- I will plant it alone and with my family 2
- I will hire workers to plant it 3
- I will have my relatives plant it 4
- I will let it on lease (Pachte) 5
- I will have it planted by contract (Akkord) 6
- I will submit it to a collective farm 7
- I will sell it 8
- I will build it over . . . 9
- Never thought about that 10

PART V. This part contains questions about your home, your life until now and other important matters.

1. Does the dwelling (flat, house) where you live satisfy your needs?

- Yes, it does 1
- It satisfies them now, but in the future I shall need a larger dwelling 2
- In the future I shall need a smaller dwelling 3
- It does not satisfy me . . 4

2. How would you assess the relations among the members of your family with whom you inhabit the dwelling?

- There are no members of my family in the dwelling . . 1
- Excellent 2
- Very good 3
- Good 4
- Bad 5
- Very bad 6

3. How would you assess the relations between you (your family) and the other people with whom you share the dwelling?
- There are no other people in the dwelling except me (and my family) 1
 - Excellent 2
 - Very good 3
 - Good 4
 - Bad 5
 - Very bad 6
4. Have you any good friends in the neighbourhood?
- We hardly know each other 1
 - Yes, but not very good 2
 - I have some good friends 3
 - I have many good friends 4
5. And are there any people in the neighbourhood with whom you are on bad terms?
- We hardly know each other 1
 - There are no such people 2
 - Yes, but not many . . . 3
 - There are many such people 4
6. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH:
- a. the education you have
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3
- b. your professional skills
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3
- c. your work (students: with your study)
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3
- d. your marital status
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3
- e. your participation in political life
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3
- f. your leisure time
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3
- g. the way you live at your home
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3
- h. your material welfare
- Yes 1
 - Partly 2
 - No 3

i. your health	- Yes	1
	- Partly	2
	- No	3
7. What is your estimate for your life up to now?	- Quite positive	1
	- Positive	2
	- Medium	3
	- Sooner negative	4
	- Quite negative	5
8. What changes do you expect in your life in future?	- Quite positive	1
	- Positive	2
	- I don't expect any significant changes	3
	- My life might get worse	4
	- There may be a considerable worsening	5
9. What do you wish for the future of our children?	- Material welfare	1
	- That they become fulfilled communist personalities	2
	- To have a broad spiritual culture	3
	- To become highly moral persons	4
	- To be highly educated	5
	- To be creative persons	6
10. Do you wish to move out of the settlement where you live now?	- Yes	1
	- In doubt	2
	- No	3
11. If you wish to leave the settlement, where do you intend to go?	- I don't want to move out	1
	- To Sofia	2
	- To a large town	3
	- To a small town	4
	- To a village	5
	- Abroad	6
12. Do you intend to stay there temporarily or for good?	- I don't want to move	1
	- Temporarily	2
	- Permanently	3
	- Depends on the conditions there	4

13. If you were to lose your job, do you think you could easily get a new job?

- I am unemployed now and looking for a job 1
- I am unemployed but not looking for a job 2
- I am confident that I shall not lose my job . . 3
- I shall easily find a suitable job 4
- It will be difficult for me to find a suitable job 5
- I shall find a job, but it will hardly be suitable . 6
- I shall hardly be able to find any job at all . . . 7

14. If you were to lose your job, how long will you be able to survive without your present pay?

- Not applicable 1
- Less than a month . . . 2
- 2 to 3 months 3
- About an year 4
- More than a year 5

15. Do you intend to leave your current job?

- Not employed 1
- No, I don't 2
- In doubt 3
- Yes, I will 4

16. If you leave your job, where would you like your new job to be?

- Not applicable 1
- In the settlement where I live 2
- In another settlement . 3
- I intend to look for a job abroad 4

17. Do you wish to emigrate?

- Yes 1
- In doubt 2
- No 3

18. Will you do everything possible to emigrate?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- I don't wish to emigrate at all 3

Three additional questions

1. Do you attend religious ceremonies?

- Yes, regularly 1
- Comparatively rarely . 2
- Only on special occasions 3
- No, because I can't . . 4
- No, because I don't wish to 5

2. What is your opinion on the return of Simeon II as king of Bulgaria?

- Approve 1
- Don't care 2
- Disapprove 3
- No opinion 4

3. Must there be capital punishment in Bulgaria?	- Yes	1
	- No	2
	- Don't know	3

PART VI. We would like to have some personal data on you. This is necessary for the more elaborate analysis of the data from the whole country.

1. Your sex?	- Male	1
	- Female	2
2. Your age?	- Less than 29 years . .	1
	- 30 to 39 years	2
	- 40 to 49 years	3
	- 50 to 59 years	4
	- 60 or more	5
3. Your education?	- 4 classes	1
	- 8 classes	2
	- Secondary general . . .	3
	- Secondary special . . .	4
	- College, university . .	5
4. What social group do you belong to?	- Worker (except agriculture)	1
	- Agricultural worker . .	2
	- Private producer, entrepreneur	3
	- Employee	4
	- Inteligentsia	5
	- Student	6
	- Retired, housewife . .	7
	- Unemployed	8
5. Were you born in the same settlement where you live?	- Yes	1
	No, I moved in from:	
	- A composite village . .	2
	- A village - municipality centre	3
	- A town	4
6. What is the nature of your work?	- Not employed	1
	- Blue-collar unmechanized	2
	- Blue-collar mechanized	3
	- Blue-collar automated .	4
	- White-collar routine .	5
	- White-collar managerial	6
	- White-collar creative .	7

7. Are you a;

- Bulgarian 1
- Bulgarian Muslim 2
- Turk 3
- Gypsy 4
- Other 5

Please write down your opinions, critical notes and suggestions
f o r l i f e i n p r e s e n t B u l g a r i a

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THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART!