

combined with the registered persistent stereotypes is bad news as far as it implies the possibility of self-fulfillment of stereotypes. The large proportion of "personal contacts" with Turks, however, is good news in the context of the positive change of stereotypes about Turks.

Table 14. Relative proportions of respondents who indicated personal contacts as a source of opinion for the members of selected ethnic groups living in Bulgaria – generally for all respondents and responses of people who identify themselves as Bulgarians

| | Arabs | Armenians | Jews | Chinese | Roma | Turks |
|------------|-------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| Generally | 11.5% | 20.4% | 8.9% | 9.0% | 69.6% | 63.2% |
| Bulgarians | 13.3% | 26.40% | 12.7% | 10.0% | 60.5% | 54.7% |

Tolerance to Roma

The survey distinguishes a very negative picture when it comes to the question: "In what public activities or civic activities would you participate to support the promotion of tolerance towards Roma in Bulgaria?" 40.7% of the young people participating in the survey answered directly that they would not engage themselves in any activities in support of Roma. In this case an extremely strong difference is observed in the responses, depending on the sex of the respondents. About one third of women (33.7%) and approximately half of men (48.3%) refuse to participate in activities in support of Roma. The differences between various age subgroups are not statistically significant. Residence, however, is important. Urban residents (45.2%) to a greater extent would not support activities that promote tolerance towards Roma as compared to rural residents (30.7%). Extremely significant differences are observed in terms of the region of residence of the respondents. More than half of young people in Burgas and Plovdiv would not be involved in activities supporting Roma, while this proportion is only 12.5% in Veliko Tarnovo. Besides residence, a strong factor for lack of support is the ethnicity of young people. Of those who have identified themselves as Bulgarians 52.3% would not support Roma, of those who have identified themselves as Turks, 29.6% would not support Roma and of the other respondents 31.5% would not be involved. It is important to emphasize that even among young people with Roma identity 10.2 percent answered that they would not engage themselves in any activities to promote tolerance towards Roma.

Table 23. Relative proportions of young people who would not be involved in any activities promoting tolerance to Roma (proportions presented after region of residence)

| | Blagoevgrad | Burgas | Veliko Tarnovo | Vratsa | Plovdiv | Shumen |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|
| I would not be involved | 41.3% | 52.2% | 12.5% | 21.7% | 50.6% | 37.5% |

Following the logic of personal experiences of participation in civic activities, it is not surprising that the collection of donations in cash or possessions (58%) as well as the sporting challenge together with Roma children and young people (47%) are the main activities in which young people from the target regions would be involved; The good news is that 38% of young people who would be involved in activities in support of Roma (22.2% of all young people) are willing to participate in meetings with groups of Roma children in schools, community centers, their homes. In this respect, the proportion of women agreeing (27.1%) is significantly higher than men (19.4%). In different age subgroups, no clear correlation is observed. The highest levels of willingness are registered among the youngest (27.7%), the lowest in the age group 20-24 years (19.3%). In the group of people aged 25-29 years, the relative proportion of those who would participate in activities in support of Roma is 22.4%. The type of the residential area in this case does not matter but the administrative region is of main importance. Shumen and Blagoevgrad register very high levels of readiness to meet groups of Roma children in schools, community centers or their homes. In Veliko Tarnovo this is a rather undesirable activity.

Table 24. Relative proportions of activities in which young people would be involved to support Roma

| | Valid proportion |
|---|------------------|
| Collection of donations in cash or possessions | 58.1% |
| Signing a petition | 38.4% |
| Street procession in support of Roma culture and language | 22.5% |



| | |
|--|-------|
| Street procession against discrimination of Roma | 34.0% |
| Protest with illegal blockade | 9.3% |
| Meetings with Roma children in schools, community centers, their homes | 38.0% |
| Art festival together with Roma children and young people | 40.1% |
| Sporting challenge together with Roma children and young people | 46.7% |

National media

The national media are the third most important source of information about the lives of Turks and Roma in Bulgaria. At the same time they are the first important source of information about the lives of other ethnic minorities living in the country. By itself this fact demonstrates the need for national media to act responsibly in their news programs and to comply with the relevant requirements of the Bulgarian legislation against the language of hatred.

Table 16. Relevant proportions of people who identified national media as a source of opinion about the members of selected ethnic groups living in Bulgaria – generally for all respondents and the responses of people identifying themselves as Bulgarians

| | Arabs | Armenians | Jews | Chinese | Roma | Turks |
|------------|-------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| Generally | 46.5% | 32.4% | 39.6% | 46.3% | 36.9% | 42.3% |
| Bulgarians | 52.6% | 34.0% | 42.5% | 51.0% | 40.5% | 44.7% |

ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЕ

Social sciences often talk about fallibility of stereotypes. The reason for this is that they may be the cause of discriminatory attitudes or be used as a basis for discriminatory behavior. Stereotypes in relation to Roma in Bulgaria lead to significant prejudices in terms of the integration of this ethnic group in society, which leads to significant social distances and maintaining a vicious circle that reinforces stereotypes.

The present survey conducted among young people aged 15-29 years living in the regions of Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Veliko Tarnovo, Vratsa, Plovdiv and Shumen shows that they widely share stereotypes about Roma and maintain large social distances to them. From this point of view, the field team of the project "Youth is tolerance" will have the difficult task to break the existing vicious circles.

In terms of the main channels of information, the leisure activities and past experience of the respondents, it can be recommended that the information campaign focus on the Internet and rely on personal social networks and contacts (i. e. meetings with friends) in an attempt to change the negative social stereotypes and reduce xenophobia among young people in the six target regions.

The team should propose project activities which are clearly targeted at different audiences, as far as the survey shows that there are significant differences in attitudes between men and women, between different youth subgroups by age and between different regions and types of residential areas.

The implementation of the project is facing a big risk. Approximately half of the young people in the target regions of the project would not be involved in any activity that aims to support Roma (understood as promoting tolerance and preventing school drop-out). The hope of success is hidden in the fact that nearly half of the young people who are willing to participate in any activities are ready to participate in meetings with groups of Roma children in school, to participate together with Roma children in sporting events or cultural festivals. As far as stereotypes in their huge part are due to the lack of experience and the lack of contact between different ethnic groups, direct activities such as "together in class, at the stadium or on the stage" have the potential of breaking some of the stereotypes. The change and reduction of some of the leading stereotypes have a chance to unbalance the system of self-fulfillment of prejudices and thus break the vicious circles of discrimination.

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Youth is tolerance

Results of a sociological survey representative for young people in 6 administrative regions in Bulgaria

The present report provides statistical analysis and comments on data from a sociological survey representative for young people in six administrative regions in Bulgaria, conducted in June 2013. The report presents a survey on stereotypes for seven ethnic groups living in the country and the social distance towards six ethnic minority groups. The results show maintaining of significant social distances and the existence of pronounced negative stereotypes towards Roma and the new emigrant communities (Arabs and Chinese). Where possible, the report offers a comparison with current data from national representative surveys in order to identify differences in the attitudes of the target group and target regions within the context of public opinion on a national level.

This report examines topics which are seemingly secondary to the subject such as leisure of youth, media consumption, civic involvement and attitudes for participation in public activities. The purpose of this type of data is to enable the project team to target properly their work concerning the specific characteristics of the target groups under the project.

The main conclusion from the survey is that there are three vicious circles of relationships between social distance and negative stereotypes about Roma. These relationships may be broken or at least weakened with appropriate activities that provide opportunities for personal contacts among young people from different ethnic groups in the country. The summary of the survey is presented here

Results of a sociological survey representative for young people in 6 administrative regions in Bulgaria

The present document is prepared within the project "Youth is tolerance - overcoming anti-Roma stereotypes among young people" funded by the European Commission under the Basic Human Rights and Civic Engagement Programme. The author of the report is solely responsible for the content of this document and under no circumstances can it be perceived as the official position of the European Commission, Amalipe Center, the project partners or the Expert Analyses General Directorate.

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1.1. Passport of the survey

- Fieldwork: 7-23 June 2013
- Target group: respondents aged 15-29 years.
- Territorial scope: Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Veliko Tarnovo, Vratsa, Plovdiv, Shumen
- Size of the sample: 484 persons
- Maximum stochastic error: 4.5%

Head of the survey: Chief Assistant Dr. A. Pamporov

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THE SURVEY

235 men (48.6 %) and 249 women (51.4 %) were interviewed within the survey. In terms of the definition of "youth", there is no unified age approach in the world practice. The World Health Organization determines persons aged 12 to 24 years as youth.

The International Labour Organization determines young people aged 15-24 years as youth but some of its reports also provide data for cohorts aged 25-29 years, UNESCO also determines young people aged 15 to 24 years as youth but they recommend allowing an expansion of the age group up to 35 years depending on the local context. In order to enable the data from the survey "Youth is tolerance" to be comparable with the existing national statistics and Eurostat database, following a consultation with Amalipe Center for Interethnic Dialogue and Tolerance, it was agreed that the survey will cover persons of the age group 15-29 years. For the purposes of the analysis, the data of the respondents grouped by age presented further in the text are divided into three age groups. 184 persons (38 %) were interviewed in the age group of 15 to 19 years, 159 persons (32.8 %) in the age group of 20 to 24 years and 142 persons (29.3 %) in the age group of 25 to 29 years. In terms of their ethnic identity, the respondents identified themselves as follows: Bulgarians – 63 %, Turks – 16.9 %, Roma – 15.8 %, others – 3.9 %.



BASIC RESULTS

Ethnic stereotypes

Social stereotypes are widely shared perceptions of a social group in relation to another social group, which may have both positive and negative aspect. They are based on the assumption that there are common characteristics that all members of a social group possess. Usually individuals take social stereotypes "at face value" in the course of their socialization in a community - both in the course of everyday communication with friends and relatives and with existing institutions - kindergartens, schools, media, etc. In fact, one of the main reasons for the emergence and existence of stereotypes is the lack of direct relationships and personal awareness that representatives of a social group have in relation to another social group. The lack of information promotes the categorization of unknown individuals in a similar way.

Arabs

Stereotypes about Arabs show that the respondents cannot get away from the idea of "the Arab world" in the Middle East and the answers actually concern "Arabs" in general, not the Arabs living in Bulgaria. Three stereotyped images are revealed by the most frequently mentioned associations: 1) rich oil sheiks with their harems and women dressed with specific clothing (burqa, chador, niqab); 2) camel caravans crossing the desert, as if out of a fairy tale of Scheherazade; and 3) the militant Islamists who are religious and dangerous. These stereotypes about Arabs observed among young people in the six target regions largely overlap with stereotypes about Arabs, registered in previous national representative surveys in the country.

Table 2. Proportions of the most pronounced associations about Arabs

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| ΕΪΚ | RSNE |
| ΕΙ ΟΝΕ | QRPE |
| ΕΙ ΗΙ ΙΝΟΟ | QOKE |
| ΑΙ ΝΙ Ι ΟΝΟΟ | VWE |
| ΑΙ Ο | UNKE |
| ΕΝΙ Ι ΟΙ Ι ΕΝΟΚΙΝ | TWE |
| ΑΙ Ο Ο | SWE |
| ΑΙ Λ Ι Ο | RWE |
| ΣΙ ΝΙ Α ΝΚΙ ΕΝΙ ΟΝΝ | RSE |
| ΣΙ Ο Λ | RPE |
| ΑΙ Ο Ο | QWE |

Tajfel, H. 1969. Cognitive aspects of prejudice. Journal of Social Issues, 25(4/1969): 79-97
Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 95-96

Armenians

Stereotypes about Armenians also coincide with those emphasized in the national representative samples for the last few years. In distinction from Arabs, the leading stereotypes about Armenians are connected with famous public figures of Armenian origin, living in Bulgaria - artists (musicians, singers, producers) and bankers.

Table 3. Proportions of the most pronounced associations about Armenians

| | |
|--|-----|
| ΑΨΥ-hearted | ΑΑΟ |
| Α ^h δ ^v | ΑΑΟ |
| ΝΖΥΤ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Čž ^h ŷ ^h τ ^h α ^h λ | ΑΑΟ |
| Š ^h z ^h u ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| ΑΨ ^h ŷ ^h δ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Τυθ ^h γ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Οάο | ΑΑΟ |
| Ι δ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ι α ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Č ^h α ^h γ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h γ ^h ŷ ^h υ ^h | ΑΑΟ |

Bulgarians

Typical of the auto-stereotype about Bulgarians is the presence of dichotomous pairs in which one stereotype is the opposite of the other. This phenomenon is observed both in previous representative surveys and in the present survey. The characteristic dichotomous associations are "hardworking - lazy", "clever - stupid" and "good-natured - malicious."

Table 4. Proportions of the most pronounced associations about Bulgarians

| | |
|--|-----|
| Čž ^h ŷ ^h τ ^h α ^h λ | ΑΑΟ |
| ΑΨΥ-natured | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h γ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Čž ^h ŷ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ε ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h γ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ι z ^h α ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Č ^h γ ^h ŷ ^h τ ^h α ^h λ | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h γ ^h α ^h λ | ΑΑΟ |
| Ν ^h z ^h γ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h ŷ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h γ ^h ŷ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| UYK ^h O ^h γ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ν ^h z ^h γ ^h ŷ ^h | ΑΑΟ |

Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 90-91
Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 101-102

Jews

The image of the Jews in Bulgaria is traditionally highly stereotyped. Few associations are observed with high proportions of consensus about them. Besides the traditional image of smart and rich misers, the survey among young people in the six target regions distinguished the stereotype "religious" for which there is no direct explanation in the social reality of the country as far as the Jews living in Bulgaria today are highly integrated into society in terms of clothing and everyday practices. In the six target regions, there are no functioning synagogues or "Jewish" schools (which exist unofficially in Sofia, for example) and the root of the stereotype "religious" must be sought in the international news and movies distributed by Bulgarian media.

Table 5. Proportions of the most pronounced associations about Jews

| | |
|--|-----|
| Οάο | ΑΑΟ |
| Ι δ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Š ^h z ^h u ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h γ ^h ŷ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Ο ^h γ ^h | ΑΑΟ |
| Čž ^h ŷ ^h τ ^h α ^h λ | ΑΑΟ |

Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 90-91
Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 101-102

Chinese

The stereotyped image of Chinese contains two parallel aspects- one made up of the general knowledge about life in China (numerous martial arts) and another one built on the basis of everyday experience and direct contact with the Chinese in Bulgaria (specific food, products, friendly, traders). We can say that the Chinese remain largely "unknown" to the respondents. For this reason, instead of personal characteristics, racial characteristics prevail, increasing the stereotypes of racial differences (slanted eyes, short stature). Like stereotypes of Arabs, Jews and Bulgarians, the stereotypes of Chinese also coincide with stereotypes registered in previous representative surveys.

Table 6. Proportions of the most pronounced associations about Chinese

| | |
|---------------|-------|
| Hardworking | 22.2% |
| Products | 13.3% |
| Clever | 11.6% |
| Specific food | 7.8% |
| Martial arts | 5.6% |
| Slanted eyes | 5.1% |



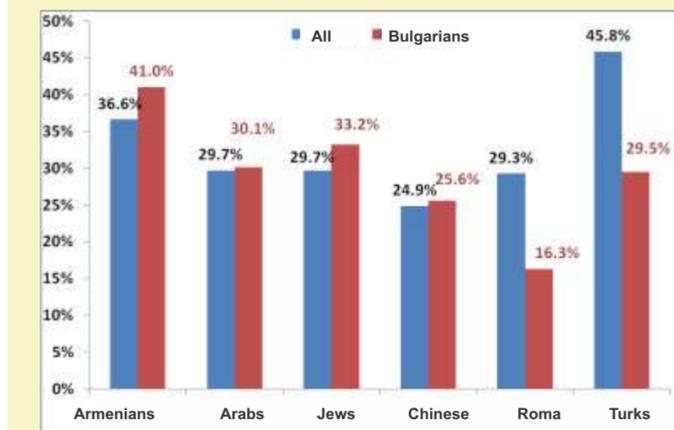
Social distances

As mentioned in the introduction of the present report, the existing social stereotypes are the main reason for the existence of ethnic-based prejudices and maintaining of social distance towards different ethnic groups in the country. Because of the fact that ethnic Bulgarians in the country are a clear majority - both in the population as a whole and among young people - it would not be proper to present the data concerning social distances towards Bulgarians; On the one hand, because they prevail in the sample, which leads to expressively higher results, on the other hand, due to the existence of the so-called social desirability of responses.

In other words, the situation of interviewing a person from an ethnic minority group is characterized by positive answers in relation to the majority, as a specific (in some cases conscious, in others - unconscious) defense mechanism of respondents. For this reason, further in the text, tables and graphs, data for Bulgarians will not be presented. However, as far as the sample of this survey includes 37% of respondents with Turkish, Roma or other minority identity, and this may significantly "distort" the overall results, the following report will explicitly indicate the differences in the answers of respondents who declared Bulgarian ethnic identity as compared to the respondents of the total sample.

Intimate relationship

Sociology and social psychology accept that the willingness to enter into a marriage or as the case is, to maintain an intimate relationship is a sign of lack of prejudices in relation to a certain ethnic group or a race. The survey found that there are significant racial prejudices among young people in the six target regions. The reason for such a conclusion is the fact that only a quarter of the young people would accept to have an intimate relationship with Chinese, and in this respect there was no statistically significant difference between the responses of Bulgarians and those of other ethnic groups. It should be emphasized, however, that in respect of persons who identify themselves as Bulgarians, the Chinese are not the most unwanted group in terms of intimate relationships. The biggest social distance exists towards Roma, whereas only 16.3% of young people in the six target regions that identified themselves as Bulgarians would have an intimate relationship with Roma. A similar discrepancy between Bulgarians and the rest of the respondents is observed with regard to Turks. It should be emphasized, however, that xenophobia is not unique to the Bulgarian ethnic group only. The data presented in Figure 1 show that as Bulgarians do not want to have intimate relationships with Turks and Roma, in the same way the members of the minorities included in the sample (mainly Turks and Roma) do not want to have intimate relationships with the other two traditional ethnic minorities in the country- Armenians and Jews.



Graphic 1. Relative proportions of the willingness of all respondents and of those who identified themselves as Bulgarians for intimate relationships with persons from selected ethnic minority groups in Bulgaria
Source: Youth is Tolerance

| | |
|---------------|------|
| Slanted eyes | 5.1% |
| Numerous | 4.7% |
| Good-natured | 3.9% |
| Short stature | 3.7% |
| Traders | 1.7% |

Roma

Sociological surveys of stereotypes about Roma in Bulgaria, conducted with national representative samples usually distinguish a huge series of mostly negative stereotypes, among which the leading are: thieving, lazy and dirty. This trend was registered for the first time at the beginning of the transitional period but extremely strong persistence thereof was observed in the next twenty years. Therefore it is not surprising that the survey among young people in the six target regions distinguished many negative stereotypes. The only difference between this survey and the previous national representative data is that the leading stereotypes include the one for "happy Gypsies" - i. e. happy is the second significant stereotype.

Table 7. Proportions of the most pronounced associations about Roma

| | |
|--------------------|-------|
| Thieving | 16.6% |
| Happy | 14.3% |
| Poor | 11.3% |
| Lazy | 11.2% |
| Dirty | 10.1% |
| Uneducated | 8.0% |
| Musical | 6.9% |
| Liars | 5.9% |
| Ill-mannered | 4.6% |
| United | 4.1% |
| With many children | 3.8% |

Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 102-103

Turks

In distinction from Roma, an extremely intense change in stereotypes is observed in relation to Turks. While at the beginning of the transition, they were regarded as "vindictive" and "cruel" "religious fanatics", twenty years later these stereotypes disappeared and were replaced by the stereotypes of "hardworking" and "good-natured" "traders". The present survey among young people in the six target regions of the project confirmed the specific "cleaning" of the image of the Turks from the negative stereotypes and the data are very similar to national representative surveys conducted in recent years. The new stereotype that was formed as a result of the media environment is "soap operas" because of the fact that the Turkish family dramas shifted from prime time the Latin American series, widely distributed in the 90's of the twentieth century in Bulgaria.

Table 8. Proportions of the most pronounced associations about Turks

| | |
|--|------|
| ΣΙ Ο ΟΝΟΛΙΝ | QTNE |
| Č ^h ŷ ^h τ ^h α ^h λ -natured | XNE |
| ΕΝΙ Ι ΟΙ Ι ΙΝΝΙ | VKE |
| Č ^h ŷ ^h α ^h λ -l ^h α ^h k ^h o | VWE |
| ΕΙ ΗΙ ΙΝΟΟ | VNE |
| Č ^h ŷ ^h τ ^h α ^h λ ΕΝΟΚΙΝ | TWE |
| Ε ^h Ι Ι Ο | TWE |
| ΕΝΙ Ν ΝΝΙ Ο Ο | SWE |
| ΕΝΙ Ι Ι | SKE |
| ΕΝΟ Ι Ο-hungry | RWE |

Tomova, I. 1992. "Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in Bulgarians", in: Aspects of the ethnic cultural situation in Bulgaria. Sofia: Center for Democracy Surveying, page 77-96
Tomova, I. 2000. "Attitudes to Roma in Bulgaria". In: Aspects of the ethnic cultural situation. Eight years later. Sofia: ACCESS/Open Society, page 281-318; Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 110-111
Tomova 1992, op.cit.
Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 112-113

¹¹Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 10-13; Ethington, Ph. 1997. The Intellectual Construction of "Social Distance": Toward a Recovery of Georg Simmel's Social Geometry, Cybergeo, Epistemology, History, Teaching, Article 30



It would be wrong, however, to condemn young people in these six regions for their xenophobia as far as it is result of strong negative prejudices, traditionally observed in Bulgaria. Although national representative surveys of the Open Society Institute - Sofia, conducted over the past six years have shown a trend of slight decrease in social distance in the intimate sphere (i. e. increasing the proportion of those willing to enter into a marriage), the levels of adoption of minorities as spouses in the country are still very low. When comparing the responses of young people identifying themselves as Bulgarians within this survey with the responses of people in national representative samples of the adult population who identify themselves as Bulgarians, it is clearly distinguished that young people with Bulgarian identity in these six regions are more tolerant than those aged over 18 years. Of course, important is the understanding that young people respond for the willingness to "intimate relationship", which is not as engaging as a "marriage" and probably this was also a cause for the differences.

¹²The proportion of Roma and Turks in the national representative surveys for persons aged over 18 years is approximately twice as smaller as the proportion of Roma and Turks in the age group 15-29 years. Therefore, it would not be proper to compare data in terms of average percentage of all respondents of the present survey with the standard national representative surveys of the adult population.

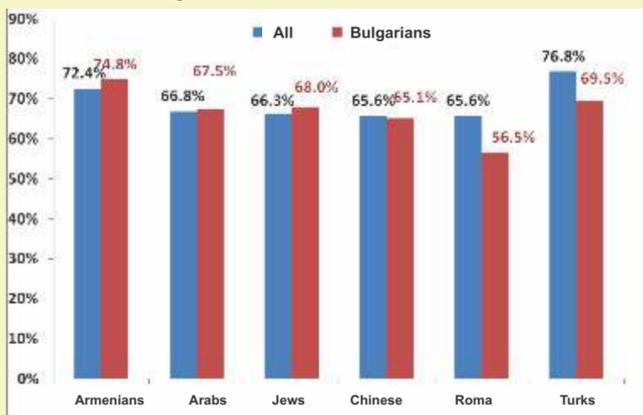
BULGARIANS –would you accept that you and your children enter into a MARRIAGE with: (answer YES)



Graphic 2. Relative proportions of willingness of people identifying themselves as Bulgarians to enter into a marriage with persons of selected ethnic minority groups in Bulgaria for the period 2008-2013
Source: opendata.bg

Cohabitation in a residential neighborhood

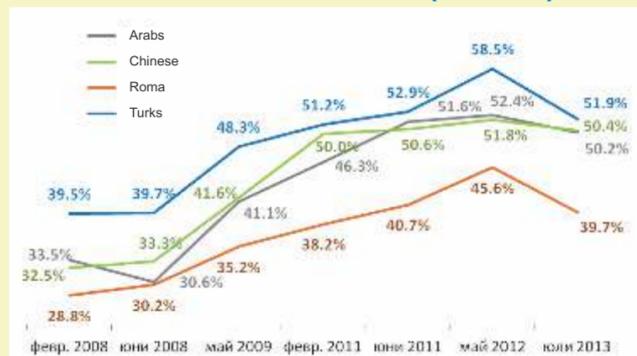
With regard to the consent of cohabitation in the same residential neighborhood, significantly smaller social distances are observed. The proportion of respondents who agree to live in the same residential neighborhood with the given ethnic minorities is several times higher than the proportion of respondents who agree to have an intimate relationship with members of these minorities. Moreover, virtually there is no statistically significant difference between the responses of young people who identify themselves as Bulgarians and the rest of the sample in terms of cohabitation with Armenians, Arabs, Jews, and Chinese. Cohabitation in the same residential neighborhood with Turks is not desirable for approximately one third of young people with Bulgarian ethnic identity, and about half of them would not agree to live in the same residential neighborhood with Roma.



Graphic 3. Relative proportions of consent of all respondents and of those identifying themselves as Bulgarians to cohabit in the same residential neighborhood with persons of selected ethnic minority groups in Bulgaria
Source: Youth is Tolerance

With this type of social distance, too, the tolerance level of young people emerged significantly higher in comparison with data from comparable national representative surveys. In this respect we should note another significant social phenomenon that affects the formation of prejudice and sets the context of the present survey. In times of social crises and social tension in the country, the number of negative articles and broadcasts about Roma in the Bulgarian press sharply increases and reinforces prejudice and negative stereotyping. The national crisis in Bulgaria in the first half of 2013 probably had a strong negative impact. In practice, there is now an interruption of the long-term trend of decreasing the social distances to ethnic minorities in terms of cohabitating in the same residential neighborhood with them and returning of prejudices to previous levels (see Fig. 4).

BULGARIANS- would you agree to cohabitate in the same RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOOD with (answer YES)



Graphic 4. Relative proportions of consent of respondents identifying themselves as Bulgarians to cohabit in the same residential neighborhood with persons of selected ethnic minority groups in Bulgaria for the period 2008-2013
Source: opendata.bg

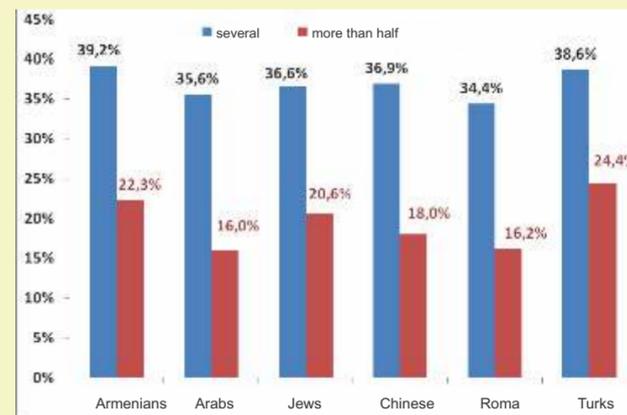
From this point of view, the smaller social distances that young people in these six regions have towards the main ethnic minorities in the country, allow to estimate that in resolving the political crisis and reducing the social tension in the country, this more tolerant generation may have a key role in reducing xenophobia and weakening prejudices against Roma, Turks and other ethnic minority groups in Bulgaria. In the case of cohabitation in the same residential neighborhood, this may be the key to overcoming the actual spatial segregation in residential areas.

¹³ Pamporov, A. (2012) The Drunken Swarthy Offenders: The Image of the Roma in the Bulgarian Press in a Pre-election Context. Polupation, book. 3-4/2012, page. 141-158

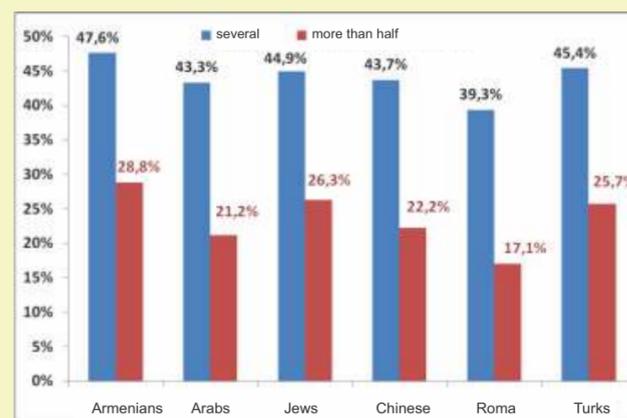
Together at school

Although young people demonstrate smaller social distances in terms of intimate relationships and cohabitation, they show significantly higher levels of segregation attitudes in relation to the presence of "a few" schoolmates of the given ethnic groups in class, as compared with national representative surveys. In a national representative survey of Open Society - Sofia, conducted in 2008, the consent of persons with Bulgarian identity for their children to be at school with "several" children from certain ethnic groups was as follows: Armenians - 74.2 %, Arabs - 61.4 %, Jews - 69.1 %, Chinese - 62 %, Roma - 64.9 % and Turks - 67 %. The responses of young people in the six target regions, both of the total sample and only of those identifying themselves as Bulgarians, show significantly lower levels of consent to be at school with a few children of the given ethnic minorities.

It must be clearly stated that the desire for studying in ethnically homogeneous classes seems stronger among Turks and Roma than among Bulgarians. These data by themselves demonstrate that extremely serious fieldwork and classwork by specialized teachers is necessary not only among young people from the majority, but among young people from ethnic minorities, too. The attitude to study in ethnically homogeneous classes leads to actual self-isolation of young people from different ethnic groups. As mentioned earlier in the text, it is the ignorance of "the other" and the lack of everyday social intercultural experience that lead to negative stereotyping and increase ethnic prejudices.



Graphic 7. Relative proportions of consent of all respondents to be in the same class with several children of selected ethnic minority groups and to be in a class where the representatives of given ethnic minority groups are more than half
Source: Youth is Tolerance



Graphic 8. Relative proportions of consent of young people who identify themselves as Bulgarians to be in the same class with several children of selected ethnic minority groups and to be in a class where the representatives of given ethnic minority groups are more than half.
Source: Youth is Tolerance

Specific profiles of social distances towards Roma

The main objective of the project "Youth is tolerance" is the fight against racism, xenophobia and anti-Roma attitudes. For this reason, this report will make a separate analysis of social distances towards Roma in terms of socio-demographic profiles of the respondents. When it comes to consent to an intimate relationship with Roma, men appear to be significantly more tolerant than women. It must be emphasized that such a phenomenon is commonly observed in all representative samples and it is directly related to the fact that men perceive marriage and intimate relationship with another ethnicity as "exotic", while women hold in mind the context of xenophobia and possible negative consequences for their reputation or for any children from such a relationship.

When it comes to cohabitation in the same residential neighborhood or the same town/village, however, young women are much more tolerant. Such a correlation exists in the data of previous representative surveys but it is usually less pronounced, whereas in some cases there are even no statistically significant differences. In other words, women aged 15-29 years living in the six target regions demonstrate markedly smaller social distances towards Roma in terms of cohabitation, which is not always observed in national representative surveys among the adult

population in Bulgaria.

Table 9. Relative proportions of consent to intimate relationships, to cohabitation with Roma in the same residential neighborhood and cohabitation in a town/village (proportions presented after gender)

| Intimate relationship | Men | Women |
|--|-------|-------|
| Cohabitation in a residential neighborhood | 60.8% | 70.3% |
| Cohabitation in a town/village | 73.8% | 79.2% |

The analysis in terms of age groups also distinguishes the difference between the social distance defined as "intimate relationship" and social distances of cohabitation in a residential neighborhood and a town/village. The consent to an intimate relationship is in a clear inverse relation to age. The younger the respondents are, the greater the number of agreeing among them. The probable reason for this is that intimate relationships of the youngest are more of a temporary nature and relations with other ethnic groups also have a fleeting exotic flavor. The top youth group incorporates the average age of marriage and they have grounds for more serious attitudes towards intimate relationships with the thought of any possible lasting effects. It is interesting to note that there is no clear relationship between age and consent to cohabitation with Roma in a residential neighborhood and in a town/village. The most tolerant is the subgroup of respondents aged 20-24 years and the least tolerant is the group of the youngest respondents.

Table 10. Relative proportions of consent to intimate relationships, to cohabitation with Roma in a residential neighborhood and in a town/village (proportions presented after age)

| Intimate relationship | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| Cohabitation in a residential neighborhood | 60.6% | 71.6% | 65.6% |
| Cohabitation in a town/village | 68.8% | 85.4% | 76.8% |

¹⁴ Pamporov 2009, op.cit., page 43-44

Contrary to common assumptions about permissiveness of cities resulting of anonymity and larger distances, the present survey registers the fact that young people living in rural areas are more tolerant to Roma. On the one hand this is probably due to the fact that the relative proportion of Roma and Turks in rural areas is significantly higher i. e. ethnic groups are in more intensive intercultural interactions and they are not unknown and "alien" to one other.

On the other hand it must be recognized that some features of Roma identity - leading to the declaration of another ethnic identity in situations of sociological surveys - might have in a hidden way influenced and distorted part of the data, i. e. the proportion of Roma in villages might be larger than that recorded in the survey, on account of the proportions of Bulgarians and Turks.

Table 11. Relative proportions of consent to intimate relationships, to cohabitation with Roma in a residential neighborhood and in a town/village (proportions presented after type of residential area)

| Intimate relationship | Town | Village |
|--|-------|---------|
| Cohabitation in a residential neighborhood | 64.9% | 67.6% |
| Cohabitation in a town/village | 76.2% | 77.5% |

¹⁵ Pamporov, A. (2004) Structure and boundaries of Roma identity. Magazine of BAS, № 6/2004, page 65-69

The most significant differences in social distance from a statistical point of view are observed in dependence on the area of residence. In the three spatial categories the greatest rate of consent is in Veliko Tarnovo. Plovdiv and Burgas register the lowest number of people agreeing to have intimate relationships with Roma. Vratsa registers the lowest rate of consent to live in the same residential neighborhood with Roma. And Vratsa and Shumen register the lowest number of Roma agreeing to live in the same residential area with Roma.

Personal contacts

Young people in the six target regions of the project have contacts of different intensity with different ethnic groups. As might be expected, the number of the relevant ethnic groups seems to determine the proportion of personal contacts. The lack of personal social contacts with Jews, Arabs and Chinese explains the major social distances to them, especially among young people who identify themselves as Turks or Roma. The large proportion of "personal contacts" with Roma,