

**Comparative Study of Electoral Systems**  
**Module 4: Macro Report**

September 10, 2012

Country: Bulgaria

Date of Election: 05.10.2014

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Date of Preparation:

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

**Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered**

1a. Type of Election

- Parliamentary/Legislative
- Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
- Presidential
- Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
- Lower House
- Both
- Other; please specify: \_\_\_NOT APPLICABLE (there is only one chamber)\_\_\_\_\_

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

GERB

\*The most recent elections before the Parliamentary elections of 05.10.2014 were the European Parliament elections of 25.05.2014

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

BSP

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
(interim government - 6.08.2014-7.11.2014)	
independent	187
("3-party coalition" - 29.05.2013-6.08.2014)	
Bulgarian Socialist Party	143
Movement for Rights and Freedoms	3
independent	1

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

GERB

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

BSP

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
<del>(interim government - 6.08.2014-7.11.2014)</del>	<del>_____</del>
<u>21 in total</u>	
<del>independent-GERB</del>	<del>_____</del> 4713

RB	7
ABV	1

~~("3-party coalition" – 29.05.2013–6.08.2014)~~

<del>Bulgarian Socialist Party</del>	<del>13</del>
<del>Movement for Rights and Freedoms</del>	<del>3</del>
<del>independent</del>	<del>1</del>

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party. Please provide separate information for elections held contemporaneously (e.g., legislative and presidential voting), when voters cast separate ballots. 31 (25 voting options, ~~3~~2 of them coalitions)

4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

<https://results.cik.bg/pi2014/rezultati/>

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Source: <https://results.cik.bg/pi2014/rezultati/>

Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Movement 21 (Движение 21)	39 221	1.19	0	0
Reformers Block - ВАРУ, МВС, MSB, PPFД, UDF (РЕФОРМАТОРСКИ БЛОК - БЗНС, ДБГ, ДСБ, НПСД, СДС)	291 806	8.89	23	10
Political Party GERB (ПП ГЕРБ)	1 072 491	32.67	84	35
АТАКА (АТАКА)	148 262	4.52	11	5
Bulgaria without censorship (КП БЪЛГАРИЯ БЕЗ ЦЕНЗУРА)	186 938	5.69	15	6
Coalition Alternative for Bulgarian renaissance (Коалиция АБВ - (Алтернатива за българско възраждане) )	136 223	4.15	11	5

Movement for rights and freedoms (ДПС - Движение за права и свободи)	487 134	14.84	38	16
Political party People's voice (ПП Глас Народен)	37 335	1.14	0	0
BSP left Bulgaria (БСП лява България)	505 527	15.40	39	16
Patriotic front - NFSB and VMRO (ПАТРИОТИЧЕН ФРОНТ - НФСБ И ВМРО)	239 101	7.28	19	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>3 144 038</b>	<b>95.77</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>100</b>

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election? Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

48.66% (<https://results.cik.bg/pi2014/aktivnost/> )

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA. Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

▪ Total Population:

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

7 245 677 people ([31.12.2013](#))

▪ Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

6 912 475 voters - There is no active voters' registration – all eligible citizens are automatically included in the [voting registers](#). The voting registers include all citizens according to their permanent address, which is the address that one maintains as a citizen even if he/she lives abroad.

▪ Total Vote:

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

3 500 585 votes

▪ Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes:

218 125 invalid votes

▪ Voting Age Population:

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

See above

▪ Number of Registered Voters:

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

There is no active voters' registration – all eligible citizens are automatically included in the voting registers.

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Ideological Family</b>
A. Reformers Block - ВАРУ, МВС, MSB, PPFД, UDF (РЕФОРМАТОРСКИ БЛОК - БЗНС, ДБГ, ДСБ, НПСД, СДС)	Coalition of E, G, H, I
B.	
C. Political Party GERB (ПП ГЕРБ)	I
D. АТАКА (АТАКА)	J (if that means nationalist, extreme-right)
E. Bulgaria without censorship (КП БЪЛГАРИЯ БЕЗ ЦЕНЗУРА)	Populist party without clear orientation, later started leaning towards the right-wing spectrum (currently, its Member of the European Parliament belongs to the Conservatives, but at the moment of the elections this was not so clear; the politician in question was hesitating if he should join the Liberals or the Conservatives)
F. Coalition Alternative for Bulgarian renaissance (Коалиция АБВ - (Алтернатива за българско възраждане) )	D
G. Movement for rights and freedoms (ДПС - Движение за права и свободи)	M (officially it is declared G liberal party, but analysts classify it as M ethnic party due to its leadership, membership and most of its policies and campaigning)
H. BSP left Bulgaria (БСП лява България)	C
I. The Greens	A
J. Patriotic front - NFSB and VMRO (ПАТРИОТИЧЕН ФРОНТ - НФСБ И ВМРО)	J (if that means nationalist, extreme-right)

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

(A) Ecology Parties  
(B) Communist Parties  
(C) Socialist Parties  
(D) Social Democratic Parties  
(E) Conservative Parties

(F) Left Liberal Parties  
(G) Liberal Parties  
(H) Right Liberal Parties  
(I) Christian Democratic Parties  
(J) National Parties

(K) Independents  
(L) Agrarian Parties  
(M) Ethnic Parties  
(N) Regional Parties  
(O) Other Parties

6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. Reformers Block - ВАРУ, МВС, MSB, РРFD, UDF (РЕФОРМАТОРСКИ БЛОК - БЗНС, ДБГ, ДСБ, НПСД, СДС)								X				
B.												
C. Political Party GERB (ПП ГЕРБ)							X					
D. АТАКА (АТАКА)												X
E. Bulgaria without censorship (КП БЪЛГАРИЯ БЕЗ ЦЕНЗУРА)							X					
F. Coalition Alternative for Bulgarian renaissance (Коалиция АБВ - (Алтернатива за българско възраждане) )					X							
G. Movement for rights and freedoms (ДПС - Движение за права и свободи)						X						
H. BSP left Bulgaria (БСП лява България)				X								
I. The Greens							X					
J. Patriotic front - NFSB and VMRO (ПАТРИОТИЧЕН ФРОНТ - НФСБ И ВМРО)										X		





7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Disappointment with the corrupt governments during the previous years (not just the last one)
2. Lack of media freedom and therefore very biased media coverage
3. Economic crisis creating fears and looking for simple solutions (including populist and nationalistic ideas)
4. Purchasing votes (a wide-spread practice over many years now, which is practiced by many parties)
5. Street protests against the previous government that lasted for more than a year (protesters were not organized in a party running for seats in the Parliament and therefore, they provoked the elections, but did not have crucial impact on the actual results, but just on the political background of the elections)

8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Name of Party Leader</b>	<b>Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate</b>
A. Reformers Block - ВАРУ, МВС, MSB, PPFД, UDF (РЕФОРМАТОРСКИ БЛОК - БЗНС, ДБГ, ДСБ, НПСД, СДС)	Radan Kunev	
B. Reformers Block - ВАРУ, МВС, MSB, PPFД, UDF (РЕФОРМАТОРСКИ БЛОК - БЗНС, ДБГ, ДСБ, НПСД, СДС)	Meglana Kuneva	
C. Political Party GERB (ПП ГЕРБ)	Boyko Borisov	
D. АТАКА (АТАКА)	Volen Siderov	
E. Bulgaria without censorship (КП БЪЛГАРИЯ БЕЗ ЦЕНЗУРА)	Nikolay Barekov	
F. Coalition Alternative for Bulgarian renaissance (Коалиция АБВ - (Алтернатива за българско възраждане) )	Georgi Purvanov	
G. Movement for rights and freedoms (ДПС - Движение за права и свободи)	Lyutvi Mestan	
H. BSP left Bulgaria (БСП лява България)	Mihail Mikov	
I. The Greens	Borislav Sandov	
J. Patriotic front - NFSB and VMRO (ПАТРИОТИЧЕН ФРОНТ - НФСБ И ВМРО)	Valeri Simeonov	

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

05.10.2014

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 9d, please explain why.

05.10.2014

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides\*
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

\*It needs to be outlined that this depends on the definition of violence and intimidation. There are number of reports of employers or local leaders putting pressure on people to vote for particular party (government and opposition both apply this method) in order to keep their job. Although this is intimidation, it does not involve violence.

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

No protests against the election results per se or the way elections were conducted.

**Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance**

**Definitions:** A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

- Yes
- No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

- Yes
- No

If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

<b>Alliance Name</b>	<b>Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)</b>
Alliance 1: Reformers Block - BAPU, MBC, MSB, PPF, UDF (РЕФОРМАТОРСКИ БЛОК - БЗНС, ДБГ, ДСБ, НПСД, СДС)	BAPU (Bulgarian Agrarian People’s Union) MBC* (Movement Bulgaria of the Citizens) MSB* (Movement Strong Bulgaria) PPF (People’s Party Freedom and Dignity) UDF (Union of the Democratic Forces)
Alliance 2: Patriotic front - NFSB and VMRO (ПАТРИОТИЧЕН ФРОНТ - НФСБ И ВМРО)	NFSB (National Front for Salvation of Bulgaria) VMRO* (VMRO – Bulgarian National Movement)
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify:
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties

A coalition registered to run on the elections is treated the same way as a party registered on the elections. However, by treating a coalition according to the same rule as a party, there are 2 differences in the treatment of a joint party and an independent party. The first one - the law allows XYZ amount of money funding the campaign of a party; if a coalition consists of 2 parties, then the allowed amount is still XYZ and not two times XYZ. The second one – the threshold for a party and a coalition is the same, therefore, small parties are motivated to join forces.

- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

This is possible on local elections – every constituency can have different coalitions of parties supporting a local candidate; but this is not possible on national parliamentary elections.

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Data on Electoral Institutions**

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

**Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.**

### **Electoral Tier (Segment) and House**

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

### **Questions about Voting**

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

This is impossible to answer on national level, because the length of the lists in different constituencies varies from 4 to 16 (it is adjusted according to the population of the constituency)

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: The voter first selects the party/coalition of his/her choice and then he/she can choose a preference to a particular candidate in the relevant list. The preference contributes to the ranking of the candidate. If no candidate preference is chosen, the vote is counted according to the arranged order within the list.

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)

- Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)  
 Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

- Yes  
 No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

- Yes  
 No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Without Sanction for Violation  
 No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

A highly debated voting feature is voting of Bulgarian citizens abroad and here are the most important relevant issues:

- Electoral tourism – during all elections in the last over 10 years, there have been documented cases of organized groups (funded by the MRF) transporting voters from Turkey directly to voting offices in Bulgaria (Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin living in Turkey). These voters can vote in Turkey as well, but paying for their transport is considered a breach in several ways – bribing the voters, controlling their vote, transporting them to several places and voting several times
- Disproportionate distribution of voting offices outside Bulgaria – the voting offices are not open according to the number of Bulgarians residing in particular country. There is a clear bias towards opening more offices in Turkey (Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin living there) and less in North America or Western Europe despite the larger number of Bulgarian nationals living there (a diversity of students, expats and gastarbeiters living there). In 2014, there was a vivid debate to open more offices in countries other than Turkey, but the huge disproportion is still present.



### Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Yes

No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

4%

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

Percent of total votes

Percent of valid votes

Percent of the total electorate

Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

**Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**

## **References**

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

The most important source of information is the website of the Central Electoral Committee

<http://results.cik.bg/pi2014/rezultati/index.html>

<http://results.cik.bg/pi2014/mandati/index.html>

<http://results.cik.bg/pi2014/aktivnost/>

<http://results.cik.bg/pi2014/csv.html> (the hyperlink at the end of the page is the cvs file with the electoral results)

<http://dv.parliament.bg/DVWeb/showMaterialDV.jsp?idMat=82965> – electoral code

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

<https://www.fairelections.eu/> - a website devoted to collecting signals of any wrongdoings during the electoral campaign and the electoral process. The EN button doesn't work, therefore, I'll translate the categories of electoral problems, which is an indication of the character of the electoral process. The list includes –

Purchasing votes,

Controlled vote,

Intimidation of voters (the last two usually mean local leader or employer intimidating voters threatening job loss or loss of contracts),

Electoral tourism,

Breach of the electoral campaigning rules

Organizational problems of the electoral process

Hate speech

Others