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**THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE WEST AND CONTEMPORARY
RUSSIA: ATTITUDES IN CONTEMPORARY BULGARIAN SOCIETY
(VALUES AND IDEOLOGIES)**

ABSTRACT

of a dissertation for awarding the educational and scientific degree "Doctor"
in the scientific specialty "Sociology"

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The dissertation was discussed and approved for reference to a defense session of the section "Social control, deviations and conflicts" at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at BAS on March 5, 2020.

The dissertation consists of an introduction, an exposition in three chapters, a conclusion, a list of used literature and three applications. Its total volume is 259 pages, of which 222 pages is the main text. Cited bibliographic sources include 284 sources, of which 40 in Bulgarian, 228 in English and 16 Internet sources. The text includes 86 figures and 11 tables. The dissertation also includes three applications that contain tables and pie charts with statistical dependencies between the studied types of parties and political values, as well as between individual ones political values.

The publications on the topic of the dissertation are 4, of which 2 are in international editions.

The defense of the dissertation will be held on 30.06.2020 in the Conference Hall of The Institute of Philosophy and Sociology (4 Serdika Street) at a meeting elected by the Scientific Council of the IFS Jury.

The dissertation is available in the library of IFS and at the Scientific Secretary of the Institute.

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II. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION WORK

1. Relevance of the topic and justification of the study

The problem to which the dissertation is dedicated has become more and more relevant in recent years, and its importance is growing not only for Bulgaria but also globally. The ideological opposition between liberalism and conservatism, between globalism and nationalism, between the values of open and closed societies - the so-called "cultural wars" - increasingly goes beyond the realm of ideologies and settles in the field of real politics and international relationships. Such a global conflict, which directly affects Bulgarian society, is the opposition between Russia to Putin and the West (in particular the United States). For countries like Bulgaria, the significance of the problem is particularly high. Torn between its current Euro-Atlantic orientation and its traditional cultural, linguistic and religious ties with Russia, Bulgarian society and the Bulgarian political establishment find themselves not just at a geopolitical, but at a value and cultural crossroads. Today, the differences between the dominant ideologies of Russia and the West are not as clear as they were during the Cold War, but the ideology continues to be used by both sides as a major source of legitimacy and as a powerful tool for influencing public opinion.

The research is focused on the basic individual values and the degree of their impact on the political values and the ideological and political orientation of politically engaged Bulgarian citizens. Through the study and analysis of the value attitudes on the liberalism-conservatism axis and their comparison with the political orientation on the Russia-West axis, an answer is sought to the question of what the two opposing ideological models - Western liberalism, multiculturalism, globalism, universalism and others. and statism, conservatism, nationalism, traditionalism, defended or propagated by the modern Russian state - attract their supporters in Bulgarian society.

For the needs of the interdisciplinary research an author's three-level model of the ideological orientation of the individual as a function of the basic individual values through the mediation of the political values has been developed. In the proposed conceptualization, each of the four generalized ideological categories (Left, Right, Liberalism, Conservatism) includes a set of political values with opposite motivational content and socio-political goals in relation to its antagonist within the two bipolar dimensions Left / Right (in the economic sphere) and Liberalism / Conservatism (in the social sphere). Using the strict distinction between political values relating to each of the two spheres, this conceptualization not only

avoids stereotypical and therefore inaccurate ideological definitions, but also allows the visual situational positioning of the individual's ideological views within the coordinate system constructed of the mentioned bipolar dimensions.

2. Purpose, tasks and limitations of the research

The main goal of the dissertation is to objectively determine the ideological and political orientation of members of party structures and to analyze its dependence on their basic individual values. The following main tasks facing the present empirical research derive from the set goal:

1. To identify the values underlying different political beliefs;
2. To identify the factors and mechanisms through which values are objectified in support of specific policy platforms;
3. To contribute to the construction of methodological tools for studying the problem;
4. To establish the presence or absence of dependence between the orientation of individuals within the two-dimensional conceptualization of social liberalism against conservatism and left against right economic beliefs on the one hand and their orientation in relation to the ideological and political opposition between Russia and the West;
5. To check the extent to which participants tend to discriminate against individuals perceived as violators of their values; to study and systematize the arguments and motives for the attitude towards "violators of values".

The study also has its limitations, which stem from both the chosen method of registration, as well as the inability to ensure the participation of all significant political parties belonging to the four main ideological types - left, right, nationalist and liberal.

First of all, the study is not representative and the extrapolation of the results on the general population (all Bulgarian citizens) are not substantiated. On the other hand, the large number of interviews conducted with party members and activists allows the researcher to track dependencies, build hypotheses and make substantiated conclusions and conclusions about the ideological and political orientation and the positions not only the membership of the four types of political formations, but also for those of their voters.

The second limitation before the study is the non - participation of the structures of the current ruling political party Gerb. All attempts to contact the central leadership and its local

structures were left unanswered, which required it conducting the field work without the participation of members and activists of this political formation.

A third limitation is the inability to go to great depths within of a 30-minute interview given the wide range and diverse topics covered empirical verification. The connection of the values with the ideological and political orientation in this meaning is both a virtue and a limitation of what is offered dissertation work. However, I believe that any study of the determinants of ideological and political attitudes, which ignores values as motivational substructure of ideologies would lead to inaccurate and incomplete conclusions.

And lastly, as a result of a commitment made to the respondents calls, as well as emographics that could be used for identification of participants, not to be recorded, significant parameters such as gender, age and educational status were not taken into account in the data analysis.

3. Research thesis and hypotheses

The thesis of the dissertation is that the ideological and political orientation of the individual is situated within a coordinate system made up of two pairs bipolar dimensions (Left - Right and Liberalism - Conservatism) concerning respectively to the economic and social spheres, with beliefs in both spheres often are completely independent, hence the use of a single dimension for description the political beliefs of the individual is insufficient. On the political orientation influence the basic individual values, defined as a motivational substructure of ideologies, through the mediation of political values. Ideological and political attitudes are formed in the course of a process referred to as "electoral preferences": the individual chooses those leaders and political platforms for which there are grounds to believes that they will uphold his own innermost values and motivational goals. So people who value security and tradition are more likely to support conservative political leaders and models emphasizing the preservation of nation, law and order from external and internal threats, and citizens who profess universalist values and have high values of tolerance to uncertainty and openness to change, prefer liberal political leaders and models emphasizing tolerance, equality and individual freedom.

In the course of the study the following initial hypotheses were verified:

1. Certain value categories of the Hofstede and Schwartz models influence ideological and political orientation as follows:

1. 1. Citizens who prioritize values such as Avoidance of insecurity, Distance from power (Hofstede), Security and Tradition (Schwartz), are more inclined to support left-wing and

nationalist political platforms, express stronger preferences for statism and authoritarian rule and are oppose immigration;

1. 2. The bearers of values such as Universalism and Self-direction (Schwartz) prefer Western-style democratic governance, support Bulgarian self-identifying as right-wing parties and express support for rights and the freedoms of immigrants in Bulgaria;

2. Classical Western political science definitions that bind leftist ideas with social liberalism and the right with conservatism are not in force in the East Europe and in particular Bulgaria:

2. 1. In Bulgaria the supporters of left-wing political formations have rather conservative and traditionalist understandings regarding the social sphere, while those of the right-wing parties demonstrate liberal attitudes in social plan - support for the rights and freedoms of immigrants and minorities, advantage of individual rights over state interests, rejection of nationalism, etc.;

2. 2. Unlike Western Europe in Bulgaria the need for security is connects with left political orientation.

3. Supporters of all types of political parties except the right have rather leftist understandings of social policy and the regulatory role of the state in the country's economy;

4. Supporters of the left and patriotic political forces approve the management of Vl. Putin in Russia and believe that Western countries are going too far in protecting the rights of minorities (including immigrants) and individuals freedoms at the expense of traditional values;

5. Both conservatives and liberals perceive groups with radically different from their ideology as violators of their values and tend to support various forms of discrimination against them.

4. Theoretical approach, research setting and research methodology

For the purposes of the research, an original theoretical model based on leading theories in the field of the study of basic individual values and the determinants of the ideological and political orientation of the individual. Considering their relevance to the researched problem are considered and problematized the main theoretical constructs and concepts on which the conceptual framework is based of analysis: Five-dimensional model of national cultures (Hofstede); Theory of Schwartz on basic human values and the dynamic structure of relations between them; Discursive

superstructure and functional (motivational) substructure of ideologies; electoral preferences (Jost); policy personalization (Caprara); psychological systems that give rise to liberalism and conservatism (Hirsch); fundamental political values (Feldman, Schwartz); genetic predispositions to certain political preferences - "genopolitics" (Hibbing, Alford, Smith, Hatemi, etc.); Symbolic Policy Theory (Sears); The model of value pluralism in ideological argumentation (Tetlock), etc.

The research combines theoretical analysis with own empirical research in the field. To the extent that the study deals with emerging and unexplored phenomena, the study of which requires in-depth insight into both the motives and arguments of the participants for their attitude towards specific policy issues and platforms, as well as in their motivational setting, objectified in their basic individual values, the best choice is the use of quality methods - semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with representatives of party structures in different areas of the country. Aimed at enriching the notions of the researched object, focusing on nuances, details and enabling discussions to deepen understanding for the factors determining the differences in opinions, the qualitative methods are special suitable for the present study in that they allow much more in-depth penetration to the root causes of the studied phenomena and derivation of dependencies, which could not be observed in the summarized results of the quantitative methods.

The sample consists of part of the assets of the local structures of the consent its participation Bulgarian political parties, as well as individual party members who did not respond to the request to participate. Empirical sociological research is held in 8 districts of the country (Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas, Stara Zagora, Kardzhali, Pazardzhik, Haskovo, Smolyan) in the period February - November 2018. The study was conducted after contact and explicit consent to conduct it by side of the central leaderships of the participating parties and the assistance of the local structures in the indicated 8 districts of the country.

107 interviews were held as follows:

- 23 with members of right-wing Bulgarian parties;
- 37 with members of left-wing parties;
- 29 with members of patriotic parties;
- 18 with members of liberal parties;
- 3 focus group discussions with members of left, right and patriotic party formations.

The field research passed with considerable interest from the members of political parties in the country. Participants said they found a similar study for extremely useful not

only for the development of scientific knowledge in Bulgaria, but also for raising awareness of politicians and the general population with ideological concepts, platforms and conflicts. Respondents as well recommended that a second phase of the study be carried out on a larger scale, such as provide the necessary coverage in the mass media in order to enhance the educational effect of researching and raising the level of political literacy of Bulgarian citizens.

For the needs of the field research a specially created author's was used an empirical tool for measuring the dependencies between values, political values and ideological and political orientation, integrating two separate questionnaires:

- the short modified version of the Portrait Value Questionnaire PVQ 21 of Schwartz together with questions about selected value categories from the theoretical model of Hofstede (Distance from Power, Avoiding Insecurity and Individualism) and

- original author 's semi - standardized questionnaire on political values and ideological orientation. The main blocks of questions correspond to the identified key problem fields:

- 1) Basic individual values: questions about the value categories from the theoretical models of Schwartz (Self-direction, Universalism, Benevolence, Tradition, Conformism, Security, Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation) and Hofstede (Avoiding Uncertainty, Distance from Power and Individualism).

- 2) Ideological-political orientation and fundamental political values including the following categories and subcategories: Conservatism (Security, Statism, Ethnic nationalism, Traditionalism); Liberalism (Civil Rights and Freedoms); Left and right (Equality, Free Entrepreneurship), Attitudes towards immigrants, sexual minorities, etc.

The interviews and focus groups were conducted as previously prepared scenarios aimed at provoking respondents to discuss freely and in depth the priority topics concerning the ideological and political orientation:

- Attitude towards the role of the state in the social sphere;
- Attitude to the role of the state in the economy;
- Attitude towards tradition and religion;
- Attitudes towards minorities (ethnic and sexual);
- Attitude towards immigrants;

5. Approbation of the research

The dissertation was discussed at an extended meeting of the section "Social control, deviations and conflicts" at the IFS, BAS. The results of the study on the dissertation were reported at two international scientific conferences - the 6th International Academic Conference on Social Sciences (Prague, Czech Republic, 07.2018) and the 12th International Conference "Language, Individual and Society" (Elenite resort, Bulgaria, 08.2018); a scientific conference in the country - "Forced migration: regional and national dimensions of a global problem (Sofia, 04.2018), as well as at a scientific seminar of the section "Social control, deviations and conflicts "at IFS.

Parts of the research on the topic have been published in 4 editions.

III. SYNTHESIZED PRESENTATION OF THE DISSERTATION

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to the dissertation the problem is presented and argued its significance. The purpose, tasks, thesis and hypotheses of the research are formulated, as well as restrictions. The content of the individual chapters of the dissertation is marked labor.

FIRST CHAPTER

VALUES AND IDEOLOGIES - ESSENCE, TYPOLOGY, RELATIONSHIPS

This chapter discusses the basic concepts and paradigms on which it is based the theoretical framework of the analysis. The chapter is composed of two parts, the first being dedicated of values and leading modern methods for their empirical study, and the second - of their ideologies and motivational determinants.

Values and their empirical study

In this part of the first chapter are presented the leading theories and concepts of the essence, nature and structure of values is made a short historicalreview of typologies and theoretical approaches in their study in the 20th century, as well as an analysis of the relationships between some of Hofstede 's and Schwartz' s value categories and particularly relevant in recent years aspect of political orientation - attitudes towards immigrants.

In the first paragraph of the chapter - Typologies and theoretical models in the study of values - an overview of theories dedicated to values is made - from the pioneers in their study in the 20th century Al. Shand and Ed. Spranger, through the founders of the empirical study of values Allport, Vernon and Lindsay, to modern, tested in large-scale empirical research, theoretical models of Rockeach, Inglehart and Hofstede.

In the second paragraph - Schwartz 's theory of universal content and structure of values - the leading modern concept of values and substantiated its choice as a methodological basis for conducting the research presented in the dissertation. In Schwartz's conceptual model values are perceived as values are desired, transitional situations that vary in importance and function as guiding principles in people's lives or the group. This definition is also accepted in the dissertation due to the fact that represents a synthesis of common to the theorizations of many researchers of the problem features:

- 1) Values are beliefs inextricably linked to affect and emotions;
- 2) They are desirable goals that motivate the action;
- 3) Unlike the norms and attitudes that usually refer to specific actions, objects and situations, values are transitional and have an abstract character;
- 4) Values function as standards or criteria. They guide the choice of either the evaluation of actions, policies, people and events. People decide what is good or bad, justified or incorrect, on the basis of the possible consequences for the values they consider important. The influence of values on everyday decisions is often unconscious, but they come into the focus of consciousness when actions or judgments that the individual considers have conflicting consequences for his or her innermost values. In such case it is necessary to make a compromise between two important values for the individual;
- 5) Arrange in order of importance to each other and build a hierarchical system of value priorities, which also distinguishes them from norms and attitudes;
- 6) The relative importance of the different values guides the action. Any attitude or behavior usually affects more than one value. The compromise between competing values guide actions or behaviors.

The above characteristics apply to all values. What distinguishes one value on the other, is the type of goal or motivation that each expresses.

One of the most significant contributions to Schwartz's theory is that it differentiates two levels of analysis of the organization of values - individually and culturally, but within unified empirical instrumentarium. The organization of values at the individual level is mainly the result of the psychological dynamics of conflict and compatibility, which the individual

experiences in the process of pursuing a variety of goals in everyday life. On the other hand, the structure of the value system at the cultural level reflects the different models used by societies to solve problems arising from the regulation of human activity.

The theoretical concretization of the idea of independence and the interrelation between socio-cultural and psychosocial values, as well as its empirical verification, offers a new, heuristic approach to the problem of values and makes the theoretical model of Schwartz's value system most complex in modern psychology.

The results of empirical research conducted by Schwartz show that the content and structure of the value system at the individual level include the following 10 main value categories, each of which combines values with same motivational goal:

1. Self-direction - the main motivational goal of the values of this category is independence of thought and action: freedom of choice, creativity, independence;
2. Stimulation - diverse and exciting life, challenges, fearlessness;
3. Hedonism - values associated with pleasure and enjoyment of life;
4. Achievement - personal success and public approval;
5. Power - striving for power, authority, wealth, public image;
6. Security - safety, harmony and stability of society and the individual;
7. Conformity - performance, self-discipline, courtesy, respect;
8. Tradition - respect for tradition, modesty, piety, moderation;
9. Benevolence - preserving and increasing the well-being of the people with whom we have frequent personal contacts (generosity, devotion, responsiveness, responsibility);
10. Universalism - understanding, tolerance and preserving the well-being of all people and nature (social justice, equality, unity with nature, wisdom, environmental protection, world peace, etc.) This motivational goal contrasts with the narrower focus of the values of well-being.

According to their purpose, these value categories are in a relationship of compatibility or conflict. The value categories are complementary / compatible when the realization of one does not hinder the realization of the other, ie. when they have similar goals. Otherwise, they are conflicting / mutually exclusive. Schwartz presents these structural relationships in a pie chart that reflects the idea for the integral character of the value system.

According to Schwartz, values at the cultural level can be covered by seven cultural value orientations: Domination, Hierarchy, Conservatism, Harmony, Egalitarianism and Autonomy (Affective and Intellectual). It is in the dissertation a critical analysis was made

and a number of conceptual overlaps were identified between Hofstede's value dimensions (X) and Schwartz's (W) typology:

- 1) The distance from power (X) and the hierarchy (W) overlap;
- 2) Individualism (X) overlaps conceptually with the affective and intellectual autonomy (W);
- 3) Masculinity (X) emphasizes the need for achievement and success at the expense of interpersonal relationships and advocates dominance (W);
- 4) Avoidance of uncertainty (X) is similar to conservatism (X), both show hostility to novelty and change;

Based on the analysis of the similarities between the categories of the two typologies are derived the following hypotheses about the relationship between value categories at the cultural level of Schwartz and Hofstede and the attitude towards immigrants as a significant element of the ideological and political orientation:

- On Schwartz 's cultural values: high values of hierarchy and mastery and low of egalitarianism and harmony are associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants and multiculturalism;

- On the typology of Hofstede's culture: a great distance from power, masculinity, avoidance of uncertainty and collectivism (low individualism) correlate with more negative attitudes towards immigrants and multiculturalism.

In the third paragraph - Values, ideological and political orientation and attitude to immigrants - is an in-depth analysis of the motivational determinants of attitude to immigration and are presented the leading symbolic theories that accept identities as the main source of negative attitudes towards immigrants. Unlike "rational" theories that explain perceptions of the threat of immigration as caused by objective socio-economic conditions, the symbolic ones accept the cultural and psychological predispositions as basic a source of the sense of threat that immigrants pose to indigenous peoples.

In most modern societies, the nation is subject to strong attachment due to which groups often considered to threaten her identity often provoke hostility. Immigrants are by definition outsiders in contexts when national identity is the basis of self-categorization and emotional attachment. According to the theory of social identity, the innate tendency to favoring of internal groups (in-group favoritism) is more intense when the group in question has great emotional significance.

Symbolic politics theory emphasizes power of values and identities in the formation of public opinion, arguing that the role of these "ideal interests" is often more significant than the influence of the material factor. In the case of immigration, the beliefs concerning the

nation and its culture are particularly significant. According to this theoretical paradigm, people develop latent political values in their early socialization. These values are activated in adulthood at certain times under the influence of political symbols. Political symbols elicit an emotional response from individuals to immigrants and immigration policy, instead of stimulating a rational response.

In this paragraph are also derived and defined for the first time in Bulgarian literature devoted to the problem, and a number of aspects and manifestations of the pursuit of ethnic exclusionism, which could serve as theoretical basis for studying the attitude of the majority towards immigrants and ethnic minorities in Bulgaria as well:

- Ethnic prejudice and ethnocentrism;
- Resistance against immigrants and the related debate on resistance against asylum seekers;
- Resistance against the multicultural society;
- Boundaries of the multicultural society;
- Ethnic distance;
- Resistance against granting civil rights to legal residents immigrants;
- Support for repatriation policies for legally resident immigrants;
- Requiring immigrants to comply with the cultural norms and laws of host societies.

Two theories about the role of prejudice in the negative attitudes to immigrants are also considered. The main argument of the theory of symbolic racism (symbolic racism) is that Caucasians have been socialized to have latent negative perceptions of racial minorities and when confronted with certain politically charged symbols, their negative feelings come to the surface and then make them oppose public policies that support immigrants.

The theory of subtle prejudice is based on the presence of combination of feelings: a strong desire to protect traditional values, a tendency to exaggerate the cultural differences between the majority and the minority groups, as well as a cool to absent emotional reaction towards minorities and immigrants. The concept of subtle prejudice is the opposite of that of overt prejudice (blatant prejudice), which is open and full of threat. Researchers find that implicit prejudice is an extremely good predictor of attitude of Europeans to immigrants.

The second part of the first chapter is entitled The Contemporary Ideological opposition - the return of ideology. It is elaborated in detail the conceptual model of the study and argued the need for the perception of the author's three-level explanatory model, including the basic ones individual values, political values and ideological and political

orientation of the individual, for analysis and interpretation of the attitudes in the Bulgarian society regarding of the ideological and cultural opposition between the West and Russia.

The first paragraph traces the history of understanding the concept "Ideology" from its creation by the French philosopher de Tracy to the present day. Both the ideologically derogatory definitions of "false" consciousness ", " collective blindness ", " the end of ideology ", etc., are problematized, as well as understandings of ideology as a kind of "orientation map" in the political and social world. The structure of ideology is considered as consisting of discursive (social constructed) superstructure and functional (motivational) substructure. The first represents the network of socially constructed attitudes, values and beliefs, tied to a particular ideological position at a given time and place, which directs political judgments from top to bottom and is "descended" by political elites to the tables. The second covers "the ensemble of social and psychological needs, goals and motives that drive the political interests of ordinary citizens from the bottom up and are served by the discursive content of ideology ". The nature of the relationship between the two processes is characterized by the so-called elective affinities, denoting a process in which certain ideas are attract each other with the interests of certain citizens and groups.

The need to use the two-dimensional model is argued in detail explanatory structural scheme for the ideological orientation of the individual, such as the latter is defined as the set of social and economic beliefs spheres. Thus the interrelationships between the generally accepted generalized ideological categories Left, Right, Liberalism and Conservatism can be represented schematically in coordinate system formed by two pairs of bipolar dimensions: social liberalism versus social conservatism and left versus right economic beliefs. This two-dimensional conceptualization allows the political orientation to explores in greater depth than the most commonly used one-dimensional left-right oppositions and liberalism-conservatism. It also gives the opportunity to Eastern European "deviations" from the classical political science ones are taken into account definitions of liberalism and conservatism linking social liberalism with the left economic beliefs, and conservatism - with right-wing ones.

An extended definition of the term ideology is derived, including structural, functional and typological aspects:

Ideologies are complex, integrated and coherent systems of values, ideas and beliefs relating to the social and economic spheres which:

- have both descriptive and normative, ethical and moral policy components;
- legitimize the exercise of power, the goals and means of the organized social and especially political action;

- serve as a moral guide in politics;
- explain and evaluate historical facts;
- structure and make the political and social worlds understandable to ordinary citizens;
- integrate the processes of social construction of "ideological packages" from political elites and the selective internalization of these packages by citizens on the basis of their individual psychological and motivational predispositions;
- are mobilized belief systems with high potential for mass mobilization, manipulation and control.

The second paragraph - **Ideologies, values and motivation**. Psychologically and hereditary determinants of ideological orientation - is dedicated to the study of political behavior from socio-cognitive and motivational perspectives. Key to this theoretical approach is the assumption that the adoption of certain political beliefs satisfy a variety of motivational needs, which suggests that the personality traits of individuals to some extent predetermine their choice of specific ideologies over others. Using as a starting point the assumption that different ideologies appeal to different degrees to different individuals depending on the needs of the individual and the extent to which they are satisfied or impaired by a given ideology, it is assumed to exist a wide range of dispositional (personal) and situational variables that are in able to influence psychological needs and hence political orientation. The view is argued that there are separate motivational systems, which underlie various moral values and political biases. So liberalism arises from psychological systems other than those that give rise to it conservatism. In particular, political conservatism is considered to be belief system based on resistance to change and acceptance of inequality - strategies to protect against feelings of threat and insecurity.

Through individual values, citizens organize and prioritize their own beliefs regarding political issues, communicate about politics, take and argue their political decisions. Linking core values to positions from the two political dimensions - the social and the economic, Schwartz and colleagues agree, that voters prefer political platforms and formations that are likely to assist in their pursuit of their innermost values and protect these values from threat. At the same time, citizens reject policies and parties for which are likely to jeopardize the values important to them.

Several studies prove the existence of a relationship between values categories of Schwartz's taxonomy and citizens' political choices. On parliamentary elections in Italy in 2001, for example, voters who give priority to the values of the Universalism category, more often vote for the left parties emphasizing solidarity and pluralism, and right-wing voters

show higher scores for the Security security category and lower scores for Universalism compared to the left. These differences correspond to the traditional for right-wing and conservative ideologies in Western democracies concern for social order and the left and liberal ideologies of equality, solidarity and social justice. It is important to note that the study of the elections in Italy found significant dependence between basic values and the choice of political party until sociodemographic characteristics such as age, gender, and education render insignificant influence on political choice.

The empirically confirmed dependence of the political orientation on Psychological traits refute the views of researchers such as Bell, Converse and Fukuyama that most people do not understand and have nothing to do with ideology and it is less and less relevant in modern life. These data give Jost reason suggested that **ideology could not lose its meaning because it represented the political reflection of basic human psychological characteristics.**

In addition to political beliefs, values are at the heart of perceptions of individuals and groups as deviant. Role violations play a role here - the idea to the subject that his values are underestimated, humiliated or neglected by another individual or group. Assessments of value violations play a key role in the evaluation of groups and individuals, due to their consequences in determining this what is fair and deserved. Those who strive to stand up and live according to shared values, are considered exemplary citizens deserving of support of society. Violators of values are most often seen as people with antisocial behavior who are not interested in the public interest (or even their own well-being). Perceptions of violations of public values have two important psychological consequences for the perceiver - lead to negative affective reactions such as reproach, anger or disgust directed at the offender and often associated with rejection, the pursuit of punishment or denial of assistance.

Despite the repeatedly established link between political conservatism and discrimination, in the dissertation this explanatory model has been adjusted in favor of a more nuanced understanding of the role of value violations in ideological dictated discrimination. **The thesis is that when the stake is the values, prejudice knows no ideological boundaries - both conservatives and liberals show condemnation and support discrimination against people who violate their values.**

The next paragraph presents the author's understanding of the ideological global polarization in the second decade of the 21st century. The disintegration of the traditional left-right cleavage into at least two distinct ideological ones conflict - those between left and right economic policies, on the one hand, and between liberal and

conservative beliefs in social terms, on the other, and for the growing importance of cultural and value issues in the escalating ideological polarization that focuses political rhetoric on cultural and ethical issues such as abortion, gender equality, homosexuality and attitudes towards immigrants often at the expense of economic problems. In addition to the changing content of the opposition between the left and the right, another emerging value and ideological rift that is largely related to cultural wars is the one between "closed" and "open" societies, resp. between their main supporters - "somewheres" and "people" from everywhere "- anywhere". This current theoretical scheme is proposed to explain large-scale social processes and the "populist wave" in the West that led to the decision to Brexit in the British referendum, the election of D. Trump as president of The United States, as well as the high election results of political forces in Europe professing far-right, far-left, anti-immigrant and other marginal ideas until recently through last years. Both Brexit and Trump's election were made by dissatisfied white working class voters (somewheres) - motivated more by the feeling of cultural loss associated with immigration and ethnic change in their societies - than for economic reasons. So the first two decades of the 21st century will go down in history as the time when the politics of culture and identities began to challenge the hegemony of the traditional politics of the left and on the right and occupies a leading position on a par with socio-economic policy.

This modern polarization does not escape the attention of Russian President Putin, who over the years has not simply developed a clearly discernible conservative of his own ideological platform, but also trying, not without some success, to accept the role of a global leader-fighter for the cause of traditionalism and the Christian way of life. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and that of statehood in Russia under Yeltsin, to Putin and his quest to restore Russia and its role in world politics the task is to fill the ideological vacuum left after the collapse of communism. His and those around him decided to return to classical Russian ideological triad from tsarist times: "Orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality". Translated into modern ideological language, the triad would sound like "Traditionalism, authoritarianism, nationalism" is an almost ideal antipode of the liberal idea. Adopted into service precisely in the modern conditions of cultural and ideological polarization, this symbolic formula manages to activate latent political values in people who are suspicious of the direction of development of modern liberalism, and motivates them to support politically platforms and ideas that oppose it.

In summary, three main ideological pillars of the carefully constructed public image of Putin's government make it successful in the eyes of not only the citizens of Russia, but also of some of the conservative Europeans and Bulgarians:

1. His social traditionalism and conservatism, directed against the moral relativism, which progressive liberal ideology upholds, adopted by conservatives such as the decline of values and morals;

2. Statism (defined by his opponents as authoritarianism) and centralization of the state under his rule in a single "power vertical";

3. His geopolitical ideology for the multipolar world opposed to "American hegemony" and "Western universalism."

These three symbolic vectors of his policy, along with nationalist rhetoric, turn Russia's rule under Putin's presidency into, if not real, then at least a rhetorical alternative and antipode to Western liberalism, as in an attractive ideological and political platform for people professing political values such as traditionalism, nationalism and statism. It is for this reason in the conceptual model of the present study, the attitude towards Putin is perceived as a manifestation of these three values and as a marker for conservative orientation in socio-political sphere.

Two clarifications have been made in this regard. The first is that under "opposition between the West and Russia" is precisely what is meant by the above conservative political values advocated by the current government in the Russian Federation and the values inherent in liberal democracy in Western countries. In this sense the focus is entirely on cultural and value opposition, not on the geopolitical between the United States and Russia, despite the intertwining of the two conflicts. The second clarification concerns the fact that the "West" is by no means a homogeneous whole and the needs of the dissertation work through this label denotes the complex of cultural and the political values underlying modern Western liberal democracy.

The next paragraph examines political values and summarizes ideological categories and presents in a synthesized form the conceptual model of the study. Fundamental political values (abbreviated below "Political values") are comprehensive normative principles and beliefs for the governance of the state, the rights and obligations of citizens. They make it easier taking a position on specific policy issues and serve as summaries starting points in the otherwise complex and confusing sphere of politics and ideology. Yes political values are a kind of bond that connects many concrete ones attitudes and beliefs and to some extent gives them structure, coherence and consistency.

Unlike individual values, political ones have no application outside the sphere of politics. They are usually measured by the consent or disagreement of the individual with certain policies. Although people have preferences among their own political values, these preferences do not necessarily form a hierarchy. The authors conclude that there is a causal hierarchy of basic personality traits and values through the political values to the ideology objectified in the vote for a certain political force.

The literature at this stage lacks a unified theoretical framework for the political values, as well as consensus on the number and content. Different authors indicate a different number of political values with overlapping to some extent scope and content. For the purposes of empirical research, I use the following set of political values, consistent with the socio-political conditions in our country: Security, law and order, statism, nationalism, traditionalism, civic rights and freedoms, Social Progressivism, Equality and Free Entrepreneurship.

The proposed conceptualization is based on a three - step model of the ideological orientation of the individual as a function of the basic individual values through political values. In this model, conservatism and liberalism are taken as generalized ideological categories representing the ideological orientation of the individual in the social sphere, and the left and the right – the economic sphere. Each of the generalized ideological categories is made up of political values, which in turn represent a political expression of the basic ones individual values (Table 1).

Sphere	SOCIAL						ECONOMIC	
Ideological category	Conservatism				Liberalism		Left	Right
Political value	Security, law and order	Statism	Nationalism	Traditionalism	Civil rights and freedoms	Social progressivism	Equality	Free enterprise
BASIC INDIVIDUAL VALUES								

Table 1. A values-based model of ideological orientation in Eastern Europe (Konstantinov 2020)

In the next paragraph the first generalized ideological category **Left-Right** is considered. In the theoretical model of the study, the left and the right are perceived only as an opposition between the ideas of equality and economic inequality, represented by the two

types of fundamental political values - equality against free enterprise, also called socialist versus laissez-faire.

In short, the content of the political value Equality is made up of the following main components in terms of state control over the economy:

- Socio-economic security (responsibility of the state for the elderly and sick; for the unemployed, as well as for job security);
- Socio-economic equality (reduction of income disparities);
- Welfare (responsibility of the state for prices and economic growth);
- Providing affordable healthcare and education for all citizens.
- At the same time, the following elements can be identified as determining the political value of Free Entrepreneurship:
 - Economic opportunities for private initiative;
 - Right to unlimited profit from economic activity;
 - Free competition;
 - Significant reduction of state intervention in the economy (laissez-faire);
 - Market determination of production and distribution;
 - Differentiated economic rewards, reflecting the deficit or importance of different economic skills and individual achievements;
 - Significant independence of economic agents from external regulation.

The next paragraph sets out the author's understanding of the content and scope of the second generalized ideological category Liberalism - Conservatism. The need for terminological clarity, impose in the theoretical model prepared for the needs of the present study in the Bulgarian conditions, liberalism and conservatism to be considered as generalized ideological categories, referring only to the social, and the left and right - exclusively to the economic sphere. Separating the social from the economic aspects of liberalism and conservatism avoids the terminological inconveniences that the evolution of these ideologies poses, namely the fact that in certain periods they reflected different combinations of ideals relating to the economic and social spheres and over time. the differences between classical liberal and conservative ideas and those professed today have grown significantly.

Social change is the main problem that draws the dividing line between liberal and conservative citizens in social terms. According to Oakshot's classical definition, for example, conservatism reflects the natural tendency of human beings to prefer the known to the unknown, the experienced to the new. In summary, the social aspects of conservatism express concern about maintaining public order, rejecting quantitative social change, and believing in

the importance of religion, traditional family relationships, and conventional gender roles. These conservative beliefs are objectified in the following more significant political values, forming conservative attitudes on current contemporary political topics:

- **Traditionalism:** support of traditional folk, religious and family values, customs and culture; greater role of religion and tradition in public life; protection of the traditional family between a man and a woman (categorical rejection of same-sex marriages); resistance to free and affordable abortion, support for legislation restricting abortion;
- **Order, legality and security:** emphasis on national security and internal order in the country - support for strong military and police authorities; free possession of weapons and inviolability of personal property; support for policies to limit immigration - immigrants are perceived as a threat to security, jobs and social order;
- **Nationalism:** in the current theoretical model of Bulgarian conditions, the political value of nationalism is considered mainly in the sense of ethnic nationalism, which is also a manifestation of conservative ideologies (Todorov 2012).
- **Statism:** towards the set of conservative political values in Bulgaria, according to one of the initial hypotheses, statism, understood as support for enhanced state control over social and / or economic spheres. Despite the identification by authors such as Arendt and Rand between statism and authoritarianism, in the conceptual model of the present study both concepts are distinguished due to the perception of statism as political value or doctrine as opposed to authoritarianism, which refers to a specific form of management.

The listed categories are operationalized and subjected to empirical verification in the field, along with the following political values adopted in the conceptual model of research as constructing liberal ideology:

- **Civil rights and freedoms** (Schwartz, Caprara & Vecchione 2010): protection minority rights; supremacy of individual rights over collective ones interests; unconditional support for freedom of expression and all other rights and freedoms related to the democratic form of government;
- **Social progressivism** with content approximately opposite to that of the value Traditionalism: an emphasis on individual freedom from the binding norms of religion and tradition; egalitarianism; support for non-traditional family forms; unconditional right to abortion; protect the rights of immigrants - they enrich the culture of the host country and are not perceived as a threat; striving to redefine established social norms and rejection of a perceived as unjust non-egalitarian status quo.

It is necessary to clarify here that Schwartz and colleagues are operationalizing liberalism through a single political value Civil rights and freedoms. Accepting its operationalization, I propose the devaluation Social progressivism, referring to the cultural aspects of liberalism. Yes the fundamental value of Civil Rights and Freedoms from Schwartz's typology remains comprehensive the institutional, political and normative aspects of the democratic form of management.

CHAPTER TWO

VALUES AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF BULGARIANS IN THE YEARS OF TRANSITION - EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The results are presented in two parts in the second chapter of the dissertation from empirical research conducted in the years of transition concerning the topics covered by the dissertation. The first part concerns the research of the value priorities of the Bulgarians in the last 30 years. Due to the limited volume in order to ensure comparability are presented only the results of studies using the methodologies of Hofstede and Schwartz, laid down in the design for the present study methodological tools.

Bulgaria was included in the cross-cultural study of Schwartz in 1993 and 1995 head Baichinska. Data from the first study of student and teacher Excerpts indicate that in our country there is a very low level of value consensus, interpreted as a result of the various socio-professional groups, involved in the social transition to democracy. This requires a second study in 1995, again under the direction of Baichinska, with an expanded base for comparison. In addition to students of humanities and natural sciences and teachers from secondary education, three additional social groups are included – businessmen unemployed and theological students.

In 2005, Garvanova conducted a study that allows for comparison with the data of Baichinska from 1995 in order to trace the long-term tendencies of change and stability in the value system of the Bulgarians and the modern one Bulgarian culture within a 10-year period.

The generalized conclusions of the author of the study are to preserve the peculiarities of the categorical hierarchy in the different socio-professional groups and in the aggregate sample for the period 1995-2005. Despite the observations for the transformation of the value system in a more differentiated (with increasing vertical levels), the conclusion is that the value hierarchy is relatively resistant to the influence of the socio-historical time variable.

Another important study using Schwartz's theoretical model and methodology, is that of Paunov, who analyzes the data from the third wave of ESS, conducted in end of 2008. ESS is a source of large in volume and value information for researchers of the value system, because it gives the opportunity to do cross cultural comparisons and analyzes of the individual value categories of the model of Schwartz, as well as to put the data on the values in Bulgaria in pan-European context.

Paunov's main conclusions are close to the average for the studied population position of the Bulgarians in relation to two of the four value dimensions of higher order - Self-affirmation and Self-overcoming - as well as for almost extreme values in relation to the other two - very high for Preservation and very low for Openness to change. Unlike other Europeans who show mixed results for the last two categories, Bulgarians are extreme in terms of both indices, which provides them with the leading position in this bipolar dimension.

The Bulgarians show both diametrically opposed and extreme (record for the studied population) values for the values Power and Achievement, as a result of the average results of the general index Self-affirmation, in which these extremes are neutralized. It turns out that compared to all other Europeans for Bulgarians power is the least attractive. Also a record among all 21 nations, but in a positive direction, is the Bulgarian result in terms of value Achievement (the importance of people appreciating your achievements; "succeeding in life"). Bulgarians are the only group that has registered an average value with a positive sign (+.21) for this value category.

ESS 2008 data show that independence of thought and action, freedom of choice and creativity (Self-direction) are of the least importance for Bulgarians compared to other Europeans. The choice of everyone else, though quite weak, is positive, while the Bulgarians are the only ones whose average value on this indicator is negative. The weak interest of Bulgarians in postmaterial values such as independence, freedom and creativity is worrying finding given the empirically confirmed positive correlation between values of self-expression (to which belong the values grouped by Schwartz in the value category Self-direction) and the formation of sustainable democracies institutions. ESS data allow the ranking of value categories at representatives of different nations and the creation of theoretical and empirical substantiated portraits of the "typical" representative of a nation according to which of the set of values are accepted to the highest degree and which are the least attractive. Leading in the value system for people in most European countries (all without Cyprus, Slovenia and Bulgaria) are universalism and goodwill, ie. the main elements

of Self-Overcoming. For Bulgarians, these two values are also at the forefront positions, but for them security is still more important. As the least significant, citizens of almost all European countries put in the last places the values of power and stimulation. Here Bulgarians are no exception, unlike top of the rankings with high positions for security and tradition, as well as the lack of propensity for change, which largely distinguish the "typical Bulgarian" from The "typical European". Also characteristic of the Bulgarians is the low significance of self-direction. The unenviable position for this category in the value priorities of Bulgarian means that for him the freedom of choice, the independence of decisions and actions are not particularly important against the background of other values. This fact could be interpreted as an indicator of the attitude of one or the other to bear the responsibility of power and to bring about a change in the undesirable status quo.

In the years of transition in Bulgaria a number of studies of the values of the village of Hofstede's methodology. The main results of them are the following:

- Bulgarian culture is characterized by a great distance from power;
- individualistic values dominate;
- Feminine attitudes and patterns of behavior predominate. The feminine orientation is most clearly expressed in the value attitude towards achievements and success: in Bulgaria people envy the successful and express their sympathy for the less successful, and the ambitious spirit and individual distinctiveness
- attributes low value;
- strong avoidance of uncertainty is preferred;
- short-term traditionalist orientation towards the past.

The second part of the second chapter presents data from the different waves of large-scale international research such as EVS and WVS on the political values of Bulgarian citizens. They are grouped into the following categories, corresponding in general lines of the political values studied in the dissertation and generalized ideologically categories:

1. Attitudes towards inequality, free enterprise and the role of the state in the economy;

1. 2. Liberalism - conservatism;
2. Statism and expectations of the state; 30
3. National pride and nationalism;
4. Traditionalism and attitude towards religion;
5. Tolerance and attitude towards ethnic, religious and sexual minorities;

6. Geopolitical orientation - attitude to the western liberal-democratic and
7. Russian conservative-statist models of government;
8. Attitude towards immigrants.

The above topics are covered in a number of current representatives of the country research that complements data from large-scale international research projects and also find a place in this review of empirical information on the political values and orientation of the Bulgarians in the first two decades of the 21st century.

1. The results of the research of the attitudes of the Bulgarians in the economic sphere emphasize the high priority of statist attitudes about the role of the state for ensuring social justice and equality, as well as its intervention in the economy. At the same time, however, Bulgarian citizens are reluctant to bear the tax burden of such an active redistributive policy. This fact is proof of their unrealistic expectations and insufficient awareness of basic management and economic principles. In general, the trend that EVS and others Studies report is that the desire to reduce inequality comes down before all the way to striving for more active regulatory and law enforcement activity of the state, a not to strengthen its redistributive role at the individual level.

2. The attitudes of Bulgarians in social terms on the axis of liberalism – conservatism are also the subject of a significant amount of research in the context of increased relevance of social issues, opposing the supporters of traditional values from on the one hand, and liberal-progressive ideas on the other. The confrontation between the political values of social liberalism and those of social conservatism are carried out within individual countries, but also manifests itself globally under the form of intercultural differences. For example, the conservative-liberal divide between the countries of Central and Eastern and those of Western Europe is particularly pronounced, for which testifies to the analysis of the results of international comparative studies. Empirical evidence outlines the value opposition between nationalist, traditionalist, relatively intolerant of minority and immigrant groups Eastern and liberal-progressive, tolerant Western Europe.

One of the key markers for liberal / conservative orientation is the attitude towards abortion also separates Eastern from Western Europe. The vast majority of citizens in all western countries believe that abortions should be legal, while opinions in most Eastern European countries are divided, and in 7 of them opponents of abortion are more than supporters. A notable exception on this topic are the residents of Bulgaria (80% for legal right to abortion; 15% for prohibition), the Czech Republic and Estonia, who are much more tolerant of abortion. The values of these three countries are even above the average for

Western European countries, which shows that the Eastern European conservative bloc is not so monolithic and separate countries violate it on various topics. It can be concluded that Bulgarian society is generally liberal on the subject of abortion and reluctant to consider the subject as a moral issue for society, but rather as a private, personal problem.

Attitudes towards immigrants and minority ethnic communities are another significant one aspect of the ideological orientation in social terms. Survey of attitudes towards of the modern migration processes in our country, carried out by a team with a leader Prof. A. Mantarova found that the Bulgarian citizens who attach great importance of the values of security and tradition are much more likely to resist against immigrants and ethnic distance. The more important are its security tradition as value priorities, so respondents are more inclined to support a restrictive immigration policy of closed borders to prevent no immigrants in the country. The values of universalism and self-direction, on the other side, show a significant correlation with the smaller ethnic distance. So the results from the study correspond to the data obtained from a number of international studies, and fit into a general model of relations between values and attitudes towards immigrants, at which conservative values of preservation (security, conformity and tradition) correlate negatively with immigrant acceptance and immigration, and the values of self-overcoming (universalism and benevolence) show a positive correlation in different countries and contexts.

In addition to data on attitudes towards immigrants, EVS data for the emphasized refusal to accept citizens of Gypsy origin by the ethnic ones give Garnizov reason to speak of a "soft anti-Gypsy consensus." 67% of Bulgarians would not like to have gypsies as neighbors, which is a higher percentage even those who say they do not want immigrants as neighbors (56%)

Traditionalism is another significant political value represented by data from research on traditional values, religion and tolerance non-traditional sexual relationships. The general increase of the intolerant sentiments in the Bulgarian society for the period 2008-2018 do not exceed the attitude to homosexuals and same-sex couples. The percentage of those who indicated the statement "You don't want to be gay neighbors" has been growing for the last ten years 54.9% indicated 63.4% in 2018. The attitude towards homosexuality is not surprise given the markedly patriarchal family attitudes even among the young in Bulgarian society - according to EVS data 75% of young Bulgarians believe that the birth of children is a duty to society, nearly 80% believe that grown children should to provide long-term care for their parents. It is obvious that the young Bulgarians continue to prefer traditional family values at the expense of individual freedom and the right to choose.

With regard to nationalism, it is noteworthy that for the majority of Bulgarian citizens perceive national identity as ethnic, not as citizenship. Thus, Bulgarian citizenship is understood as a set of two ethnic characteristics - "Bulgarian origin", assessed as very important by 53.6% in 2008 and from 57.7% in 2018 and "proficiency in the Bulgarian language, estimated as very important by 64.2% in 2008 and by 69.1% in 2018. The definite conclusion is that the national identity of the Bulgarian citizens fits into the understanding of ethnocultural identity and for the time being it is not possible to speak of a political-civic one.

The results for Bulgaria from a representative sociological survey conducted in 7 Central and Eastern European countries Globsec Trends 2017 of the Globsec Policy Institute show that among the leaders of major world powers, Russian President Putin is enjoys the greatest approval among Bulgarians. It is also impressive that Bulgarian citizens are the biggest "fans" of Putin in the EU with over 20% higher result on this indicator from the next European country. These data correspond to the outstanding low values of approval of democracy as a form of government in Bulgaria (37% for autocratic government against only 42% for democratically). The authors of the study express their concern about the authoritarian ones trends evidenced by the Bulgarian results. Undoubtedly the disappointment of political and economic aspects of the transition to liberal democracy in Bulgaria, associated with the feeling of anomie and reduced social horizons in adults groups of "losers" in our society, leads to increased attractiveness of autocratic political models. Thus, a large part of Bulgarian citizens are inclined to seek an alternative to democracy in a "firm hand" government embodied from leaders like Putin. These results are also supported to some extent by research of trust in world leaders "At the end of the year" of the world association "Gallup International ", according to which at the end of 2018 54% of Bulgarians give a favorable assessment for Putin against 26%, who unfavorably assess the personality and / or politics mu. Support for an autocratic model of governance in which responsibility lies with a strong leader who "should not deal with parliament and elections" is also confirmed by the above-mentioned data from EVS, according to which as many as 60% of Bulgarian citizens consider this a good idea. All this testifies to the predominance of the subject political culture (according to Almond and Verba) among the Bulgarians. Unlike civil political culture in which the citizen actively participates both in the formation of power, and in its exercise, in the subject he does not consider power depends in some way on his own participation or choice. In this case the subject 's attention is focused only on the final results of management process because of his belief that both the way of making decisions, and who governs does not depend on him.

CHAPTER THREE

VALUES AND IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF MEMBERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN BULGARIA - EMPIRICAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The third chapter of the dissertation consists of two parts, which present the results of the conducted empirical research of the values and the political orientation of members of Bulgarian political parties. The study is implemented within the project "**Values and ideological and political orientation: connections and dependencies**" with funding from the Program for Support of Young Scientists and PhD students at BAS after winning a competition by the PhD student in 2017. In the first part - **Individual values, measured according to the theoretical models of Hofstede and Schwartz** - are detailed the results of the study of the basic individual values of the participants. Although only for some of Schwartz's categories have an empirically confirmed connection with the political orientation of individual, the complete questionnaire for all categories was used, allowing to compile a summary picture of the value priorities and the structure of the value system of Bulgarian party activists. Given Schwartz's discovery that the individual value categories are preferably ranked in a dynamic value system, the present study makes it possible both to construct the value image of members of different types of parties, and for comparison between values priorities identified in the present and those of previous studies covering various socio-professional groups from the Bulgarian society.

An important clarification was made before the presentation of the results and their analysis - **the conducted research is not representative and it is not lawful to extract it definite conclusions from comparisons with the results of representative studies, dedicated to the same issue.** What can be compared between the present and similar research, however, are the relative ranks of the individual value categories within the generalized value system of the Bulgarian political activists and of previous samples.

The results of the study with the method of Schwartz demonstrate that in the value system of the members of Bulgarian political parties are leading the values of self-overcoming - benevolence and universalism. For most studies of different groups with this methodology value categories benevolence and universalism occupy leading positions in the value hierarchy, both in Bulgaria and in world Wide. This testifies to the universal importance of virtues as care for the other, goodwill, generosity, devotion, responsiveness, loyalty, etc. for different cultures around the world. High value priority among political activists in Bulgaria

also has self-direction and tradition. The other two categories of the value type Preservation - security and conformity - give way significantly and together with the categories of stimulation and hedonism, as well as those of the value type of self-affirmation (achievement and power) occupy lower places in the ranking of value priorities.

From the results it can be concluded that in the value system of the modern Bulgarian political activist there is a relative balance between individualism and collectivism. Collectivist values such as benevolence, universalism and tradition occupy the leading places in the value hierarchy of the participants, but this one value orientation is somewhat balanced by the extremely high value priority for self-direction, which is a typical individualistic category. And if the low scores for individualistic values hedonism and Stimulation are easily explained, especially when it comes to people of medium and higher age, is somewhat puzzled by the low priority for political achievement activists who are usually seen in society as ambitious and groundbreaking personality. It is possible that the wording of the PVQ 21 questions itself is somewhat predetermines low results or respondents consciously or not to belittle your pursuit of personal success and realization. Regardless of the possible reasons, resp basis of the data obtained it is legitimate to conclude that the members of the Bulgarian political parties have a moderately collectivist orientation, a fact that is confirms also from the answers to the questions about the value category Individualism / Collectivism from Hofstede's methodology.

The relatively low significance of a value category is somewhat surprising Security compared to previous studies, but taking into account the high priority for tradition, as well as relatively high (compared to the achievement and hedonism) results of conformity, the Bulgarian political activist takes shape to a person who is open to change but not yet ready to give up security of tradition and following generally accepted rules. This conclusion is unequivocal confirms from the completely equal results for the two antagonistic value types of a higher order Save against Openness to change.

The second part presents the results of **the study of political values and the ideological orientation** of the members of Bulgarian political party. The presentation follows the adopted structure of the ideological and political orientation and presents the results for each of the political values that make up both bipolar ideological dimensions Left-Right and Liberalism-Conservatism.

The first paragraph examines **the political values of Equality and Free enterprise** related to the field of economics. The results of the subjects politicians show that only members of the right are right-wing among them right-wing parties. All other members of

political forces profess to a greater extent or to a lesser extent left economic beliefs, declaring themselves more active redistributive role of the state for the benefit of the working poor, pensioners and disabled and imposing on the state the responsibility to provide free of charge education and health. However, when placed in the conditions of hypothetical value conflict between equality on the one hand and incentives for individual business initiative on the other, the majority of left-wing members, liberal and patriotic parties tend to make moderate concessions to the left its positions in favor of improving the opportunities to start a private business.

The results for the political value **Civil rights and freedoms** outline clearly the contours between **two main competing stories about democracy in our country according to the extent to which participants "resist" their democratic beliefs despite his great disappointment with the application of the ideal in our country**. The first is defined as the **"Will to Democracy"**. It is characteristic of the right and the liberals who declare high support for democratic principles and are willing to seek the reasons for their failures in the country mainly in the low democratic culture of Bulgarian society. The competitive story is that of the left and the patriots whose results are close again. It is entitled **"Distrust of Democracy."** Respondents in this group are largely discouraged by her condition prospects for the Bulgarian state and society and, blaming democracy, they suspect both its applicability in our country and the sincerity of its apologists - the western countries. Although the representatives of all participating parties in the research expresses to a greater or lesser extent support for the values adopted for leaders in Western democracies, as the most outspoken supporters of the principles of the liberal democratic state stand out the representatives of right-wing parties, followed by liberals. The left and the patriots to a much greater extent express doubts and reservations rather to the application of these principles in our country, than to the values themselves. It is concluded that such low values of approval of democracy among large sections of the population is an indicator of systemic unaddressed problems in society that have the potential to lead to support for alternative management models, if any such models emerge.

The following paragraph presents the results of the study of political value **Order, legality and security** (hereinafter abbreviated as Security). Due to the fact that the section of the empirical instrument devoted to security is designed to provoke a value conflict illustrating the "security against human rights" dilemma, low support has been registered respondents to the various policy measures aimed at ensuring security in the country. The obtained results are in full compliance with the expectations from the initial hypothesis,

namely that the pursuit of security in Eastern European countries as Bulgaria is associated with a left-wing political orientation. Thus the values of representatives of the left and patriotic forces for the Security category, although relatively low, are positive, which indicates the propensity of these citizens to compromise with certain civil rights and freedoms, if they will receive guarantees for greater security and order in the country. The right, in turn, resolve the value dilemma in favor of human and civil rights. It should be noted that despite these results, the desired provocation achieved its goal and many of the right-wing respondents, for whom security is also a key value priority, are not categorical in their answers. Evidence of this are their much lower absolute values for the Security category compared to the Civil Rights category and freedom. Impressive is the mass support among the left for broader powers police authorities and among the patriots for the introduction of the death penalty in severe crimes.

The results of statistical data processing show that the political value Security correlates with traditionalism, equality, attitude to immigrants and to Putin, on the basis of which it was concluded the existence of a conservative ensemble of political values that are in a relationship with each other. The only correlation in which a certain direction is established is this between security and attitudes toward Putin. The direction of the connection in this case is from the political value of the attitude towards Putin, which clearly illustrates the idea that people for whom security is a significant political value tend to approve politicians with a "firm hand".

The next political value subject to empirical verification is statism. In the theoretical model used for the needs of the research left attitudes overlap with statist beliefs in the field of economics. So the view that the state needs to provide free health care and education for all its citizens can be viewed as economically left and statist at the same time. According to the results of the present study of the attitudes of Bulgarian politicians in the field of economy are a reliable indicator that predicts the more general political attitudes towards the axis of liberal individualism - statism. The low support of the members of the right parties for left economic policies correspond to their low scores for category Statism. In this area, as well, research shows the opposition "The right-wing against everyone else." Only the right have a negative result while members of other political forces strongly support the enhanced role of the state in the socio-economic life of the country. It is concluded that there is a significant overlap between the positions of the left and the patriots and with regard to statism, the latter declaring the strongest statist positions. Although members of liberal parties have moderate centrist views on some of the topics falling into the category of Statism, their summary results

are not significantly inferior to those of their colleagues on the left and patriotic political forces.

In the statistical data processing, statism shows significant dependence on the value category Tradition. A strong connection is also established with the positive attitude towards Putin and traditionalism, as well as a linear correlation with negative attitudes towards immigrants and equality. It is clearly expressed the conservative ideological complex in which people who respect traditions are declare a strong centralized state and accordingly approve the model of government introduced by President Putin in Russia. Statistically minded citizens they are also more likely to see immigrants as a threat and to have left-wing economics beliefs.

The next paragraph covers the extensive statement on the opposition between the values of traditionalism and social progressivism. Its scope the focus of the present study does not allow the problem of attitude to tradition to be considered in its entirety, which is why the approach adopted is carried out in two main directions - a study of the attitude to traditions in general plan on the one hand and to the new, non-traditional socio-cultural phenomena and forms of manifestation of human individuality with potential for radical change and redefining the established norms, on the other hand. The first direction is presented in the empirical tool of research with topics such as attitudes towards traditional ones family ties, Bulgarian customs and traditions and the role of religion in public life of the country. The second examines social progressivism, objectified in relation to abortion, emerging phenomena such as homosexual marriages and parades and the adoption and / or raising of children by homosexual couples. Within this direction, the attitudes of members of Bulgarian political parties to the widely known public such as the "Istanbul" Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against women and domestic violence.

As with other political values under study, the results reveal significant differences between the traditionalism of the members right-wing parties and that of everyone else. The right ones are the only ones for which in general tradition is not a significant political value. They are on the opposite pole representatives of the patriots, whose results for this political value are close to the maximum. To a lesser extent, but still significant and widespread is the support for traditionalism by both the left and the liberals.

After analyzing the results of the study of traditionalism / progressivism several main conclusions have been drawn from politically active Bulgarian citizens. First of all, **the paradoxically low support for the existing in Bulgaria liberal regime in terms of abortion among the liberals themselves, as well as among the patriots.** Second, despite the

influence of factors such as globalization and acceleration development of information technology, **the importance of traditional social institutions such as the family and marriage, Bulgarian folk traditions and to some extent degree the Orthodox faith does not diminish.** Even the most progressive among respondents (usually members of right-wing parties) declare support of traditional values, Bulgarian customs and culture. On the other hand, **the results show that support for social progressivism in its most revolutionary manifestations (same-sex marriage and adoption of children by homosexuals) encounters extremely low support.** And among the right-wing participants, who most often expressed a positive attitude towards homosexual rights couples of marriage and adoption of children, this position was dictated rather by liberal tolerance and respect for the right of different people to be equal citizens in every respect than out of a desire to radically redefine established social norms and a resolute rejection of the status quo perceived as unjust. at the same time the active position of a significant number of respondents against perceived as a threat to the "traditional Bulgarian values" ideology of social progressivism, testifies to the existence of social mobilization in support for the traditional order, regardless of whether the alleged threats against it are real or the result of conspiracy thinking.

Traditionalism shows a significant dependence on the political values of security, statism and equality. Thus, the initial one is statistically confirmed hypothesis about the **connection between the traditionalist and the left political orientations in Bulgaria,** with an emphasis on both security and the leading role of the state in the economy and public life.

Apart from these political values, traditionalism is significantly correlated with criticism of the West, attitudes towards Putin and negative attitudes towards immigrants. This confirms the thesis that many of the traditionalists in Bulgaria tends to see the West as a threat to its innermost values, and Putin as a threat - a statesman who defends them. Statistical data processing also shows **a clear linear relationship between the values of traditionalism and negativism towards immigrants.** All these findings confirm the view of the presence of **conservative-traditionalist value complex, tied in political aspect with declarative distrust of the West and its inherent values, negative attitude towards immigrants and approval of Putin's policy in Russia,** significant an element of which is the assertion (real or rhetorical) of traditional Russian and orthodox values.

The next paragraph discusses the results of the political study value Nationalism. The data confirm those mentioned in the second chapter of dissertation conclusions from other studies suggesting that **civic nationalism has not taken root in Bulgaria.** It's done the conclusion that demonstrated not only by members of the patriotic, but also by left and right

parties high levels of ethnic distance from Bulgarian citizens of Gypsy origin, testify to the fact that **Bulgarian nationalism can be defined as ethnic.**

The next paragraph presents the results of a survey of attitudes towards the governing model and Putin's personality among the members of the Bulgarian political parties, as well as the reasons for approval or disapproval of this model. In carrying out this task, the study discusses the following main topics during field work:

- The attitude to the government of Russian President Putin - domestic and geopolitical, cultural and symbolic elements (category Attitude towards Putin in the research model);
- Attitude towards the philosophy and policy of the western countries with respect individual rights and freedoms (including minority rights), collective and national interests and traditional Christian values (category Attitude towards the West in the research model).

The logic of these questions is rooted in the basic symbolic vector of the opposition between Russia and the West, namely the ideological clash between the statist, conservative political values he advocates the Putin model and the universalist Western liberal model.

Assessments of Putin's personality and rule have provoked polar views among respondents from different political forces. **With the left and the liberals the approval is unanimous.** The Patriots point out both the advantages and the the shortcomings of this model, although overall their assessment is positive. The right ones express complete disapproval of this type of governance.

The public image of Russian President Putin is perceived emphatically positively from the members of left and liberal parties in our country. For most of them namely the symbolic elements are leading in their positive evaluation. So these political activists are impressed by "the dignity that Putin exudes", that he "does not is a person you can joke with. The Patriots, for their part, approve of it because "Inspires respect", "radiates dignity, dignity and strength", leads "patriotic policy ", " defends Orthodox values "and" embodies the dignity of the nation ”.

Some domestic and geopolitical aspects of his rule are also subject to approval and criticism by respondents. Members of patriotic parties emphasize its positive role in creating a geopolitical alternative to American domination, thus, in their view, "balancing the world." Liberals are impressed by his diplomatic qualities, while for the left he is by significance and the social policy he pursues: "... Thanks to Putin social rights in Russia are guaranteed, teachers receive higher salaries, gas and The public transport ticket is very cheap. ”The Patriots point out his role in protectionism and the protection of state-owned industries in the

economy - a policy they would like to be held in Bulgaria as well. The members of the patriotic parties, however, did not they also save the negative, in their opinion, aspects of Putin's government, which "... Restricts democratic freedoms", "... supports the oligarchs" and "... changes" the constitution in order to stay in power longer. "

These and other negative characteristics are among the main arguments of the right for their unanimous disapproval of Putin. According to them, he is an "autocrat" who built "Oppressive" system in Russia, trampling on freedom of speech and violating democratic rights of citizens. In his foreign policy, Putin follows the same violent policies, such as "crushing Georgia and stealing Crimea from Ukraine." The right ones They believe that "ugly capitalism" reigns in Russia today, but for which the Bulgarian Russophiles hey are not aware, otherwise they could "hesitate" in their approval. But the domestic political aspects of Putin 's rule are just some of the concerns of right. Much more troubling to them is the fact that the Putin model is also popular desired in different parts of the world, including some European countries, making it becomes "dangerous to the world." As one of the most affected by Russia's "export of authoritarianism" right-wing countries see Bulgaria precisely because of the strong Russian political and most of all economic influence in the country, as well as the "Russian fifth columns in our country".

The question of the supposed focus of Western countries on the individual rights, incl. the rights of minorities at the expense of traditional values also give rise opposing views. Liberals most strongly disapprove of such a statement, for which the protection of minority rights must be a top priority in each country. The right generally does not approve of this statement either, but to a greater extent There is a degree of criticism of the West's "excessive" focus on human rights minorities. The left largely shares a similar assessment, while the Patriots are unanimous that the West has taken the "wrong path", moving away from "normal human values" in favor of "fraudulent" ideologies such as "excessive liberalism. According to them, the West has "privatized" for its benefit universal values, and The "speakers of these values" in Bulgaria "break them through their limitations worldview", while" the population does not know what it is about ". Some leftists go a long way, saying that "gay parades and same-sex marriages are not values." "Their imposition" by Western countries is in fact "contrary to democracy."

The right, for its part, downplays the topic of gay parades and homosexuals marriage, which they say is "overexposed" by the media, but is not really important and she should not be given so much attention. They also do not see globalization and Western cultural models as a threat to Bulgarian values. According to them, our tendency to "show and brag about our

traditions" is an expression of "... Complexes, because we have nothing else to show" - it is necessary "to watch forward" and instead "... we have stopped " in the past.

It is concluded that **the cultural and value aspects of politics are extremely important for the respondents and they connect them with their choice of political orientation.** Both supporters and critics of Putin base their positions of values important to them, which he defends or violates. The same goes for the western one liberalism, which appeals to the right and liberals in our country due to the protection of values, which they prioritize, and is rejected to a greater or lesser extent by the left and patriots because of their perception of violating their innermost values.

Liberal and conservative beliefs in the social sphere - a summary

The following paragraph summarizes the data obtained on the Liberals and conservative attitudes of study participants. Four points are presented diagrams for each of the studied types of political parties, visualizing the ideological and political orientation of each of the respondents. The advantages of the conceptual model used, based on the distinction between social and economic spheres, allowing the objective and visual representation of the ideological and political orientation of the individual of the coordinate system, built by both pairs of bipolar dimensions Left - Right and Liberalism - Conservatism.

In the scatter plot, the vast majority of the leftists are located at the top right quadrant of the figure, corresponding to left conservatism. From 37 left participants, only 7 are not situated in the mentioned sector, and only two of them have no left economic beliefs. **This testifies to the homogeneity in the understandings of members of left - wing parties, as well as for a certain ideological sequence (the stipulation that social conservatism is not traditionally characteristic of the left parties).** It should be noted, however, that social liberalism is not alien to the left, as evidenced by both the six participants with liberal views and the fact that the left participants are not too far to the right from the center to the end conservatism. **The conclusion is that among the assets of the left parties two are formed opposite ideological currents - the liberal-social and the conservative-nationalist, the latter at this stage taking precedence.**

The right in Bulgaria is almost completely opposite to the left ideological and political orientation. They are massively located in the lower left quadrant – right economic and socio-liberal orientation. The views of the right are different with a lower degree of homogeneity than those of the left, eight of which are rather left-wing in economic understandings, and four

- rather conservative. Still for the majority of them are characterized by right-wing liberalism, one also to a large extent an ideological "cocktail" unconventional for established democracies. For the right democratic individual rights and freedoms are a supreme value that is not it must be violated even in the name of the interests of the majority. It follows that they are much more likely to show understanding and tolerance for non-traditional families forms and social phenomena, arguing mainly with the primacy of the individual rights over the public interest.

The Patriots are ideologically the most homogeneous group participating in the study. **Without except for each of the participating members of these formations conservative beliefs, as their average result for the Conservatism category is the highest of all types of parties.**

Although they share the same sector of the coordinate system, **the Patriots are more traditionalist than the left and expected to have a much higher score for Nationalism.** For them, the Bulgarian ethnic group is the main taxpayer and builder of the country and accordingly it is completely justified for him to receive preferential treatment from the country. Patriots explicitly reject "distortions" in liberal doctrine, which give "undeserved" rights to certain minority groups "undercover" of the postulates of equality between all ethnic groups in the state. The members of these formations are also much more likely to justify mortality punishment for very serious crimes, as well as the use of weapons for illegal invasion of the home. In these opinions, they differ significantly from the left, for which "Human" treatment of even criminals is a sign of "civilization" and in unison with the "humanism inherent in the socialist idea."

The economic orientation of the patriots is markedly left-wing, but still they are give way to the left in this respect and occupy positions closer to the center. this is due to their weak (compared to the left) support for state intervention in business, as well as for the active redistributive policy of the state. For everyone else topics from the categories of Equality and Free Entrepreneurship have the left and the patriots similar positions.

Of all the party types involved in the study, **the only ones that can be defined as centrists are the liberals.** Ideological heterogeneity, particularly characteristic of the opinions of the participants from these parties in the social sphere, no allows the use for them of any of the labels social liberalism and social conservatism. Emphasized the conservative positions of these participants in regarding abortions, same-sex marriages and the adoption of children of the same sex couples are offset by strong support for liberal ideas

such as the rights of minorities, the primacy of individual rights over the group interest and non-perception of immigrants as a threat. This leads to the grouping of the liberals participants symmetrically on both sides near the axis separating liberalism from conservatism.

The clearly stated approval of the liberals for the activities of the Russian president is different a significant finding from the study of their ideological and political orientation. Representatives of the liberal parties choose to ignore the controversy Putin 's reputation for protecting human rights and freedom of speech; and emphasize the dignity, strength, and authority they believe he gives to the presidential institution. This is their position (which they share with an identical result with patriots) is a logical consequence of their relatively high category score Statism, as well as their unanimous opinion (along with the Patriots) in favor of claims that the protection of national sovereignty is the most important task of the state and that it is the duty of every citizen to honor and support his country.

The statist image of the liberals is also supported by their strongly left attitudes in the field of economics (again with a result identical to that of the Patriots). Thus, the ideological image of the members of liberal parties is formed as left centrists - economic leftist beliefs, combined with close to the center positions on relation to the social sphere and in particular the dichotomy liberalism-conservatism.

Perceptions of value violations are the subject of the next paragraph of the dissertation. It presents the data obtained through the group of questions from the empirical instrument devoted to value violations. From the respondents requires them to indicate for which political forces, public organizations or individuals consider that they violate their values and beliefs as to what specific values they are violated, as well as who according to them are the main political and ideological opponents of their party. A total of 72 participants (67%) gave a free written answer to the question. Despite the presence of significant individual differences in responses, such as in general, the representatives of the different types of parties directed their negative affective ones reactions in similar and largely predictable in view of their party affiliation directions. The main value violators are indicated according to the members of each of the four types of parties that took part in the survey:

- In general, the right perceives almost all other parties in the country as violators of their innermost political values - freedom, justice, democracy, rule of law. They make the sharpest criticism of the ruling party GERB party, describing it as "unprincipled" and "pseudo-right", "woven by corruption and clientelism ". The right also sharply criticizes the BSP. For them this political force is the main ideological

opponent, which, together with GERB and ATAKA "She sees Russia as a role model." The right cannot accept the attitude of the BSP to the past until 1989 and refused this party to condemn the People's court and "... the crimes of the communist regime". Due to this violation values of justice, individual members of the right support discrimination against the BSP, stating that it should be banned from participating in elections, "until he officially apologizes for his crimes."

- The perceptions of the left about value violations are also related mainly with the ruling party. With them, the focus is both on non-compliance with democratic principles on the part of the government and on corruption, the unpreparedness of the staff for managerial positions, the disrespect of institutions such as the National Assembly, "Borissov's authoritarian government" and others. The main violated values according to the left are "social justice", "Equality", "freedom", "solidarity", "sovereignty". The left believes that "GERB was established to allocate resources and dividends from the government" and it is precisely this party that "introduced and consolidated corruption at all levels in the state. " According to most left-wing members of the ruling party characterized by "unprincipledness and lack of values such as morality, ethics, legality '. The socialist convictions of the left are particularly acute criticism of violations of a core value such as social justice. According to left-wing party members, the ruling "... exist in their own world, in which only those close to them are important, and the others are not exist. " Individual left members point to violators of values and "Neo-Nazi parties and ideas" as well as "... neoliberal models that delete national values. "
- The accusations of patriots of violating values, just like the right, is aimed at all other types of parties. Particularly decisive are some of them oppose "the neoliberal ideology introduced by the United States into Europe." According to them, the idea of a free market undermines the national market sovereignty and the state weakens. "Some nationalists believe that the right Liberal parties such as Yes, Bulgaria is ruled by the United States embassy "and are" conductors of globalist multinational ideals".
- Same-sex marriage, "gender ideology" and "cultural Marxism" they are also strongly rejected by traditionalist nationalists, such as some strongly and openly support discrimination against deviants according to them, groups such as the "grantors" and the "Sorosoids", representing according to them a huge threat to the traditional family, which must be "expelled from the country ". Calls for discrimination against

deviant groups are also targeted at "Ethnic parties MRF and DOST", which "should be banned" because "work against Bulgarian interests and traditions. "

- Another expected focus of the nationalists' negative affective reactions is "Gypsy crime" and social assistance to members of minority communities that do not participate in the labor market. Large part of the respondents oppose policies that favor such deviant in their opinion groups in society and declare strong support for policies that sanction such groups and their deviant behavior.
- Liberal party members unanimously point to violators of values of the "far right", "fascist", "Nazi" and "nationalist" organizations that "use" hate speech at all times do not respect it the rights of minorities and people in general. "Liberals do not point out their own political opponents, but they consider the nationalists to be ideological, because the fact that they "deny our ethnic identity, deprive us of the right to we feel equal with the other citizens of our country ", " ... threaten ethnic peace, sowing division and hatred among all Bulgarians citizens. " Like the members of the other political forces, the Liberals support discrimination against deviant groups, declaring unanimously, that "nationalists should not be allowed to rule."

In general, the main lines of confrontation between political forces are between left and right on the one hand and patriots and liberals on the other. **The members of all types of parties support various forms of discrimination against violators of the values important to them**, but still conservative among the patriots and the left is calling for tougher penalties against groups they perceive as deviant. These conclusions from the study of perceptions of value violations testify to convincing empirical support for the theoretical formulations and the initial ones hypotheses.

The last paragraph examines the participants' attitudes towards immigration. The hypothesis of a connection between the individual values of party members and their attitude towards immigrants receives little empirical support due to the fact that the political orientation and party affiliation of the respondents appear a lot a more significant factor determining their attitudes towards immigration compared to values. The only value category that shows a significant relationship with attitude towards immigrants is the distance from power (p-value = .011; Cramer's V = .629).

Analysis of the data shows that **members of right-wing and liberal parties express a rather neutral attitude towards immigrants, such as the feeling of threat to them is weaker. The most negative are the attitudes towards immigrants the nationalists, followed by the left.** Immigrants are mostly considered security threat (with the exception of

the right, which rather does not consider them for such). Particularly clear are the fears of the patriots, which are almost complete unanimously support this statement. Many of them are strongly in favor of drastic measures such as closing the borders and consider the right policy on on the immigration of Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán. Left to large degree share the fears of the patriots, as the two groups once again unite in a general conservative ideological block with some differences only in the intensity of opinions. The liberal bloc again consists of the right and the liberals, where they meet both concerns about both immigrants and opinions in favor of the thesis that they do not pose a particular threat. To the least extent, immigrants are perceived as a threat for jobs.

Interviews with members of Bulgarian political parties demonstrate the importance of the ideological and political orientation and the party affiliation for the formation of attitudes towards immigration. In accordance with the theory of symbolic politics, the image of the immigrant as a political symbol activates latent political values and generates opposing emotional attitudes among the representatives on the one hand and her right liberal parties that emphasize the need for welfare immigrants and downplay the threat to security, culture and jobs in the country. On the other hand, among leftist and patriotic organizations, this image engenders a sense of threat and a desire for ethnic exclusion.

The obtained results confirm the position of the values as useful theoretical construction both in the scientific analysis and in the development of value-based crisis management policies caused by enhanced migration processes. The formed multidisciplinary theoretical framework for complex analysis of attitudes towards immigration will serve as a platform for the future in-depth research in this research area.

CONCLUSION

In the final part of the dissertation a review and evaluation of the implementation of the goals and tasks, as well as the conclusions and results of the research and hypothesis verification.

The results of the study of the basic individual values and the ideological and political orientation of the members of Bulgarian political parties testify for party affiliation being a much stronger predictor of political affiliation attitudes of the participants in comparison with their values. Partial empirical support after processing the results receives Hypothesis 1.1 for the relationship between values such as Avoiding Uncertainty, Distance from Power, Security and Tradition on the one hand and support for left, statist and nationalist political platforms, as well as for anti-immigration policies, on the other. A correlation between the value

category Tradition and the political Statism and Equality (left economic attitudes) and between Security and Equality.

With respect to Hypothesis № 1.2, the results confirm **that universalism can be considered a direct value correlate of liberalism in Bulgarian conditions**, and that bearers of values such as Universalism prefer democratic governance of the Western type and support the Bulgarian self-determined as right-wing parties.

The second hypothesis assumes that the classical Western political science definitions, which link left ideas with social liberalism and right ideas with conservatism, no are in force in Eastern Europe and in particular Bulgaria and have two main consequences:

2. 1. In Bulgaria, **supporters of left-wing political formations have more conservative, traditionalist and even nationalist understandings of attitude to the social sphere, while those of the right-wing parties demonstrate liberal attitudes in social terms** - support for the rights and freedoms of immigrants and minorities, precedence of individual rights over state interests, negation of nationalism, etc. This hypothesis was strongly confirmed in the course of the field operation and processing and analysis of information. It can be supplemented with the significant finding from the study of the extremely close positions of the left and patriots, which can be summarized as left conservatism.

2. 2. Unlike Western Europe in Bulgaria the need for security is connected with a left political orientation. This hypothesis when it comes to the value category Security, meets partial confirmation in statistical data processing, which shows a significant link between security values and the economically left orientation. I consider the confirmation to be partly due to the fact that they are not observed significant differences between the results for the category Security of the Left and the Patriots from on one side and on the right on the other.

3. Supporters of all types of political parties except the right has a rather leftist understanding of social and regulatory policy role of the state in the country's economy. This hypothesis gets complete empirical support from the present study. Only the right have economic right beliefs. All other members of political forces profess to a greater extent or to a lesser extent left economic beliefs. However, among the representatives there are significant differences between the different political forces. Only in the left high values for category Equality are combined with low values for category as well Free enterprise. For the Patriots and the Left, on the other hand, the values for Equality is equally high and those for Free Entrepreneurship are close to zero, yet liberals are "more right-wing" than patriots.

4. The hypothesis that supporters of the left and patriots approve of the government of Putin in Russia and believe that Western countries go too far in defense of minority rights and

individual freedoms at the expense of traditional values was also confirmed. The results are clear that **the members of these two parties accept Putin and his policies as a kind of antipode to the West liberalism, respectively support for it in almost all cases is related to rejection of Western liberal tolerance.**

5. Both conservatives and liberals perceive groups with radically different views from their ideology as violators of their values and tend to support various forms of discrimination against them. Confirmation of this hypothesis is obtained at the answers to the basic and clarifying questions related to value violations. The conclusion is that **members of all types of parties perceive their basic ideas opponents as violators of intimate values and support various forms of discrimination against them.**

IV. REPORT ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DISSERTATION WORK

IV. 1. Theoretical

1. Based on an in-depth and critical reading of a wide range of theories, is made an original, relevant to the Bulgarian conditions, interpretation of the connection between the basic individual values and the ideological-political one orientation. The proposed analysis is complex, provides new guidelines for in-depth study of this issue and makes significant contributions with theoretical and methodological nature in the construction of new knowledge and the enrichment of the existing ones;

2. An original concept is presented and theoretical models are formulated, which are operationalized to theoretical and empirical indicators, for establishing the components of the ideological and political orientation and research the mechanisms of its internalization by the citizens. On this basis they are formulated new knowledge about the motivational ones based on rational arguments determinants of individual political attitudes;

3. Original models, approaches and techniques based on the theoretical have been developed substantiation of the generalized ideological and political orientation of the individual in the social and economic spheres, enabling it to be more precise measuring and facilitating the process of ideological identification and correct use of ideological labels;

4. The constructed three-level model of the ideological orientation of the individual as function of basic individual values through the mediation of political values offers reliable theoretical guidelines for navigation among the many, often contradictory concepts and concepts describing different ideological and political attitudes and beliefs;

5. The use of attitudes towards the opposition between Russia and The West as an

indicator of the ideological and political orientation of the individual is an original theoretical approach whose heuristic potential can be applied to other socio-political conflicts, containing an ideological component;

6. The developed conceptual model argues for more precise and strict use of ideological concepts and thus contributes to the "arrangement" of often the chaotic public and academic discourse concerning ideological issues;

7. The problem with the relationship between values and political orientation is insufficiently studied in the Bulgarian social science. The proposed study is the first empirical study of its kind to address these dependencies. That sets the beginning of the research activity in this field in our country and highlights the details specific to the Bulgarian context;

8. For the first time in Bulgaria the subject of research are the perceptions of values violations. They play a key role in evaluating groups and individuals such as deviant and the methodological tools developed for their study, could be used in future applied research as well in the development of value-based policies for the prevention of deviant behavior;

IV. 2. Methodological

9. Developed and tested is relevant for Bulgaria methodologically tools that allow objective identification and quantitative measuring the ideological and political orientation of the individual through research his attitudes on a wide range of topics, without relying on self-identification, which in most cases suffers from insufficient information of citizens in terms of ideologies;

10. The original empirical research tool can be used both to establish common ideological orientations, political and value attitudes of individuals and to study their attitudes towards diverse socio-political conflicts, containing ideological component;

11. Identified on the basis of empirical data from the study elements of the motivational mechanism of building the ideological and political orientation could be used as indicators in future research with applied orientation;

IV. 3. Empirical

12. Of the more than 100 conducted. interviews has accumulated an extensive database that will served in subsequent research in this scientific field.

V. PUBLICATIONS ON THE TOPIC OF THE DISSERTATION

- Konstantinov, M. 2018. Value bases of attitudes towards immigration. Political Horizons, no. 1/2018;
- Konstantinov, M. 2018. Values and attitudes towards immigrants. In: Mantarova, A., 2018. Forced migration: regional and national dimensions of global issue. Sofia: Avangard Prima;
- Konstantinov, M. 2018. Values, political orientation and attitudes towards immigrants. 6th International Academic Conference on Social Sciences proceedings, The International Institute for Academic Development, 27-28.07.2018 <http://socscienceconf.com/wpcontent/uploads/IACSS-2018-IACLPM-2018-Proceedings.pdf>
- Konstantinov, M. Host societies' values and attitudes towards immigration: evidence from two sociological surveys in Bulgaria. Journal of International Scientific Publications, Language, Individual & Society 12/2018 <https://www.scientificpublications.net/en/article/1001763/>