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# 100-Cs

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**Ph. D. Petya Pachkova**  
University of Economics, Bulgaria  
pepun@abv.bg

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**Abstract**

There is increasing tension and insecurity in the lives of large masses of people. In spite of the management mechanisms used to reduction their dissatisfaction, more and more people are involved in such pessimistic way of thinking. It is important to be aware of the directions and forms of expression of this dissatisfaction as well as of how it helps the dissenters to solve their problems. Five are the main directions in which this discontent is expressed.

**Keywords**

Deviant behavior – Religiosity – Civic activity

**Resumen**

Existe una creciente tensión e inseguridad en la vida de las grandes masas de personas. A pesar de los mecanismos de gestión utilizados para reducir su insatisfacción, cada vez más personas están involucradas en una forma pesimista de pensar. Es importante conocer las direcciones y formas de expresión de esta insatisfacción, así como la forma en que ayuda a los disidentes a resolver sus problemas. Son cinco las vías principales en las que se expresa este descontento.

**Palabras Claves**

Comportamientos – Religiosidad – Actividad cívica

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## Introduction

Social inequality, growing poverty and unemployment are increasing in the process of globalization. The lack of balance in the rights of participants in the globalization process poses great challenges. The degradation of the welfare state leads to degradation in material well-being and the sense of success of more and more people.

Globalization undermines the competence and ability of the state to assess or solve the problems, changing the extent of its autonomy, its form, its legitimacy, especially when it comes to ecology, human rights, cooperation.

There is increasing tension and insecurity in the lives of large masses of people. In spite of the management mechanisms used to reduce their dissatisfaction, more and more people are involved in such a pessimistic way of thinking. It is important to be aware of the directions and forms of expression of this dissatisfaction as well as of how it helps the dissenters to solve their problems.

More and more layers of the population need to express their dissatisfaction.

### Five are the main directions in which this discontent is expressed

1.- A part of people with degradation status turns to crime. Together with the development of globalization all over the world, and in connection with the transition period in the former "socialist" countries, criminality has grown explosively in all its forms – both in the former "socialist" countries and in the developed capitalist countries.

In the former "socialist" countries, economic restructuring was linked to the illegitimate distribution of so-called "state property", with its theft from a small group of more proactive and flexible people. They gave their negative example to other people.

Along with rising poverty, the number of people, who steal to survive, increases.

The mental health of many citizens degrades and they are trying to solve their problems by killing parents, partners and children. Worldwide there is an increasing number of lonely men and women. A part of these people try to solve their sexual and psychological problems raping women, dealing with pedophilia, and so on.

Significantly, in England, one of the most developed countries, ruling elite have added to the name of the Ministry of Sports and Civil Society that it is also of the lonely people. According to the Red Cross data, over one-sixth of UK residents suffer from loneliness. This reminds that it is quite likely that part of these people at some point will come to some problems and get into perversions. Relationship with others is a fundamental human need that is important for both psychological well-being and survival. About 42 million of elderly Americans over 45 years suffer from chronic loneliness. More than a quarter of the citizens of United States lives lonely and more than half of citizens are not married in 2014.

Together with the degradation of the welfare state, the increased number of poor, unemployed, etc., the problems of the people in the family are increasing. And this leads to an increase of domestic violence.

In all countries, the criminal activity of the mafia is growing explosively. Open borders, new technologies and other factors contribute to its development. And the mafia for its part develops the sex industry, trafficking of human beings, drugs and other similar crimes.

With increasing discrimination, xenophobic and racist moods and practices, crimes on racial, ethnic and religious basis are increasing.

Bulgaria is among the countries with the lowest crime rate in the world until 1989, and during the transition period it is becoming one of the first places in the rate of increase in crime<sup>1</sup>.

2.- The weaker people with the less developed instinct for self-preservation are focused on excessive use of drugs and alcohol to diminish the sense of discomfort, unhappiness, loneliness. Explanations of the genetic predisposition to drug addiction and homosexuality are just a means of concealing the role of the worsened social environment that stimulates these phenomena.

And these activities are the best condition for development of all the crimes, mentioned above, for self-destruction of the person.

Both forms of response to worsening living conditions are variants of deviant behavior.

3.- The other part of disappointed people becomes more religious. When they don't see the necessary protection in the face of the state and their employers they turn to God for help. The facts speak of the rise in the level of religiosity in the former "socialist" countries as well as in the more developed capitalist countries.

This religiosity is deliberately stimulated by the ruling elites because it helps them to disconnect the electorate, to weaken the protest potential of the masses. This makes them more susceptible to manipulation, more disunited and less effective in defending their interests. The elite are interested in using the most of the potential of religion and church to manipulate public consciousness, to reorient the dissatisfaction and demands of the masses, and their expectations not towards the elite, but toward the God.

According to Bowman, ethnic and religious contradictions hamper the debate on material inequality as a source of social injustice. According to Spicard, religious and ethnic feuds are being used by the authorities to conceal deeper and painful contradictions and injustices in society - economic and political. But most people are tempted to participate in them. It is no accident that the rise of social inequality in the world is accompanied by an increase in ethnic and religious conflicts and wars.

Run-down of left-wing ideologies and practices in European countries, the helplessness of the left-wing parties partially is replaced by the role of radical Islamic and Christian ideology and practice. The recipients of these two movements are also similar - poorly secured, socially depressed and uneducated sections of the population. Not finding support from truly leftist political subjects, the ever-suffering large masses of people in European countries are beginning to seek comfort in religion.

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<sup>1</sup> Айдаров, Йордан, Криминология, Сиела. 1998.

Disappointed in some religions seek comfort in others - Christians become Muslims, Buddhists, sectarians. Disappointed atheists become religious. And some Christians turn into Christian fundamentalists as a counterpoint to Islamic fundamentalism.

New emerging nation states are looking for an identifying factor in a religion. Since 1989, new states have emerged in Europe - from the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. In the search for their national identity, the specificity, the unity peoples in these new countries have bettered a lot of the religious component.

A factor for returning some people to religion is emigration. Immigrants are in a new, sometimes quite hostile environment and need protection mechanisms. One is religion and the church. They create at least psychological and linguistic comfort, and sometimes social.

In this socio-economic context, religious pluralism plays a frankly disengaging role. The disintegration effect of economic and political development is complemented by the disintegration effect of religious pluralism. Muslims are increasingly closing in their Muslim world and Christians in their Christian world. More and more the world of the other seems to be alien, even hostile.

Religions further divide people around the world. They oppose them and cause them problems, justifying many types of violence. A typical example is contemporary religious-based terrorism. On Islamic fundamentalism, the Israelis respond with bloom to the extreme Jewish currents and their political fractions. The Bulgarian Turks build mosque, Christians build chapels and churches, crosses over cities and villages. And they are increasingly looking suspicious and hostile each other.

Christian fundamentalism blossoms as a reaction to the prosperity of Islamic fundamentalism in the Western world.

Of course, this religiosity does not have the same quantitative and qualitative characteristics as a century ago or more<sup>2</sup>.

There is an increasing distance, contradictions, mismatch between the elements of religiosity - religious knowledge, faith in religious dogma and use them as a guide for daily activities<sup>3</sup>.

More and more people declaring for religious do not know enough about religious norms, rituals, principles. Part of them has knowledge but find it hard to believe in more and more religious dogma. More believers did not really believe in religious explanations of natural and social reality, social relationships, political power, gender relations, etc. Along this line continues the decline of religious influence because enters into the enormous contradiction with the suggestions of modern education and social practice. As if the most massive and lasting faith to religious explanations for the afterlife and the future of man after death. This aspect of religious ideologies lot more people are willing to continue to

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<sup>2</sup> Аха Цуркан, Битката между радикалния и «европейския» ислям.- Геополитика, бр. 6. стр. 112. 2014.

<sup>3</sup> P. Pachkova, Religion and politics in the modern world - main trends. – In: Runway world, liquid modernity and reshaping of cultural identities, heritage, economy, tourism and media. Ohrid. 2017.

trust, seeking security for the future or an extension of their earthly time. This phenomenon exists even among those who do not share the religious explanations of natural and social phenomena.

Increasingly becomes the gap between knowledge and faith on the one hand and the pursuit of religious postulates in actual human behavior - on the other.

On the other hand, it's about respect to the capabilities of different religions to be subject to social activities. The more a religious system offers social services to people in need of such, the more it maintains the interest to itself. But the most active in this respect religions and churches are rivals to social activities of the modern state with much smaller resources than it.

It is hardly to talk about the approaching death of religions. On the contrary, the presence of thorny or unsolvable problems in human existence will nurture the desire of people to rely not on reason but of faith. Fear of death will probably continue to be a breeding ground for belief in a future afterlife, continuation for earthly journey of man.

Besides the search for a solution to this existential problem that is specific to the individual, it remains the other very substantial and lasting reason for the future life of religions. And this is the interest of the ruling classes in society from this life of religions, from targeting human suffering, grievances and expectations not to them, but to other convenient unattainable entity. It must be clear that the presentation of religious faith only as an autonomous decision of the individual is just one of the modern manipulation. Crucial for the formation of this "voluntary choice" is growing and constant propaganda of the government.

4. Fourth direction in the behavior of disappointed people is their turn to nationalist, xenophobic, racist moods and practices, to pour out their aggressiveness, not to those who cause their problems, but to other victims like them. Local people start looking at emigrants, people from different minority groups as competitors for their declining jobs and return to discriminatory thinking and practices. The role of racist ideology, the number and severity of crimes against immigrants, representatives of minority groups and so on grows up. Xenophobic, nationalistic, racist parties are gaining more and more voices in various kinds of elections, they are increasingly involved in the governance of European countries. The electorate of these parties increasingly becomes socially unstable, marginalized groups, as well as energetic young people who can't use their energy in publicly beneficial activities. And young people are the most comfortable and easy to manipulate layer. The aim is to inflate hatred against the different, Muslims, refugees, Jews.

The role of non-governmental organizations, civil movements and activities of this nature is growing. On this line, at a very fast rate, we are moving away from the principles of democracy, tolerance, humanity.

This direction of strategic behavior prevents the less-privileged groups from solving their problems, in fact, contributes to deepening inequality and discrimination in society as a whole. The struggles between the victims of globalization deepen and help those who increase their pressure on them, especially on some of them - migrants, ethnic, religious and others minorities which are generally more discriminating groups.

The ruling elites strive to downplay xenophobic, neo-Nazi crimes, but to exaggerate the threat of left-wing forces, Islamic organizations and groups.

In some countries, attempts are being made to rehabilitate fascist regimes, heroes, movements, parties.

More and more often, there are no obstacles to conducting events that are aimed at their rehabilitation - marches, processions, etc., although there are texts in the legislation of European countries as well as in international law that should prevent hate speech, propagation of racial ideologies and practices. The activity of neo-Nazis hasn't enough hampered in the field of digital technologies. For example, in Poland on such sites, Internet portals are published lists of people who are declared to be traitors of the race and there are stimulation some people to be punishing, including physical abuse.

In Germany, more and more people are not shamed of the crimes of the fascist regime, the shame is replaced by dissatisfaction with the fact that Hitler has failed to complete to solve the racial problem. In more and more countries there are attempts to falsify historical events in order to simplify the sins of these kinds of regimes, the genocide against Jews is being disputed. In Germany, especially in some of its provinces, where the neo-Nazi moods are strong, teachers in history are less able to talk critically about the fascist regime. At the concentration camps the legalizing violence swastikas are written. In the United States, in Kansas City is celebrated as a feast day the violence over the Jews during Crystal Night.

In Bulgaria, some people put into question the fact that before 9 of September 1944 there was a pro-fascist regime. More and more people are infected by the pro-fascist idea of racially-ethnic superiority of ethnic Bulgarians towards the Roma, and this becomes a nutritional environment for such moods, for growing hatred. Monuments associated with the struggle against fascism, as well as mosques, are regularly defiled.

There are political and civilian subjects who uproot the contradictions. Much of the population, especially the young people who are their electorate, is not aware of the serious causes of poverty, crime, and so on. They direct its hatred wherever it is convenient for the elite. They don't protest against employers who do not observe the Labor Code, do not reward fairly the work of their workers etc., and point the victims with their finger. They do not protest against traffickers, but against their victims, against refugees.

The media, publishing and popularizing activities, related to fascist literature, are legitimized and expanded. The skinhead groups that beat the Roma on the trams, after matches or before matches are developing. From the Roma, this attitude has also been transferred to migrants. These aggressive young people do not even realize or just do not want to be aware of the real causes of this migration. In Bulgaria they are key participants in xenophobic oriented protests. Countries with an important contribution to the victory over Hitler fascism like Great Britain, France and USA are changing their policy. They are willing to agree with legislative changes towards liberalizing the regime against the propaganda of neo-Nazi ideas. The policy of the European Court of Human Rights is becoming softer. Decisions by international actors, such as the UN and the Council of Europe, are increasingly being violated. More and more often, regulations, prohibiting such behavior, are not being respected.

In some countries like Denmark, Germany, Canada, the USA does not prohibit the existence of such parties, ideologies and activities. In others, where it is forbidden, they actually begin to exist and operate under the protection of Blind Themis. Where legal regulations are more restrictive, the possibilities of digital technologies are more fully exploited. The number of sites with similar messages increases.

Xenophobic, neo-fascist political entities divide people into local and foreign, race against another race. More and more political parties use immigration problems to warm up and multiply the fears of the local population.

5. The fifth possible direction for the development of negative sentiment among European peoples is the development of civil activities, of NGOs with different ideologies. The influence of non-government organizations in a society depends on a multitude of different factors.

First, these are processes in the production and the management of public life. An important factor is the complexity, differentiation of activities and interests in society that require multiple different organizations and forms of identification. In the era of Fordism and mass production or the "Second Industrial Revolution," the state is trying to assume a number of functions necessary for a stable functioning of society. In globalization period the ability of politicians and governments, of bureaucracy to respond to the increasing complexity and dynamics of societies, to satisfy the often contradictory claims of their voters, is increasingly beginning to weaken. In the process of denial of some functions by the state in the globalization there are niches, which are also filled by non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Everywhere trust in politics and politicians falls. The same is true with confidence in business people. Some surveys show that from all leaders of organizations those of non-governmental organizations enjoy the most trust.

The most common reason for the rise of global civil society is the process of globalization that leads to a situation where a whole range of problems can't be resolved within national state. A global network of production and exchange is unfolding, which leads to a weakening of the control of the citizens on the local conditions of their lives, to the breaking of the connection between economic decisions and one or another territory with the people and the interests on it. More and more people live in circumstances where institutions that do not rest on their local conditions, connect local social practices to globalized social relationships, organize the basic aspects of everyday life.

Trends in the field of labor are associated with increased leisure time. This is a prerequisite for more frequent and widespread inclusion of people in different side activities. In part of these activities it is about the left ideologies, organizations and practices that force the ruling class to self-restrain in its appetites in the name of greater social justice and less tensions. It is about orienting people towards civic activities to improve their personal status, but also to improve public relations as a whole.

Many of the processes in the society lead to the division of people and communities. Decreasing jobs, increased competition between the different layers of hired workers for these places, the development of the white collar layer, propaganda activity of the elite, etc., help to untie the masses. In the Third Sector, citizens have the chance to belong to a community, to enjoy the cooperative activity, to counteract this division.

Together with the degradation of the welfare state, with the tendency to increase the sense of lack perspective of more and more people, non-governmental organizations and activities provide an opportunity for pursuing an objective, enabling influence, taking part in governance - and as a result - an enhanced sense of self-dignity.

The development of civil society also depends on the political system and regime, political norms and real practices. The amount and type of the NGO depends on the possibilities of consuming the right of association. It also depends on the traditions of association and self-organization. In countries with a more paternalistic and authoritarian tradition, the development of civil society is more difficult. But it is a fact that civil society is also developing in these countries.

In the 1960s and 1970s there was a rapidly growing mass activity, the emergence of many new social movements - youth, anti-war, environmental, feminist, civil rights, ethnic, etc. This process continues to develop in the 21st century. There is growing number of non-governmental and non-profit organizations and the number of people involved with them. These organizations and movements are of different ideological orientations - right, left, nationalist, anarchist, etc.

There is an increase in the number of volunteers and paid employees in them. NGOs provide a significant number of jobs. The share of resources attracted from them increases, despite the fact that official government assistance is decreasing.

The division of labor and the specialization of NGOs into areas of activity and impact instruments is deepening.

### **The same process exists in the countries of the so-called 'socialist camp'**

In Hungary in 1989 NGOs were 800 and in 1992 they were 8000. The vast majority of them had insufficient funds. A small part of them play the role of donors to others. The largest organizations that give out funds to others receive their support from other sources, such as the Soros Open Society Foundation<sup>4</sup>. There is a huge influence of external non-governmental and governmental entities on the development of non-governmental organizations<sup>5</sup>. This also applies to other former "socialists" countries<sup>6</sup>.

The transnational networks of NGOs for the impact are multiplied.

The environmentalists' actions or the actions of civil and political rights defenders have long been internationally influent and organized at international level. However, they attack the behavior of the nation state or of the corporation on a local, national or regional level. Their international events helped in the 1980s and 1990s to strengthen civil society in the individual nation state, to solve problems of democratic development or ecology in national communities. Only the orientation of large number of NGOs to assess and convict the transnational corporations /Employers/ and the State /Defender of the Employer/ makes them international civil society.

<sup>4</sup> Гражданското общество и правата на личността, София. 1997.

<sup>5</sup> В. Проданов, Гражданското общество и глобалният капитализъм, София. 2003.

<sup>6</sup> В. Проданов, Българските протести в контекста на глобалната протестна вълна, породена от неолибералния капитализъм. - в: Гражданско общество и граждански протести, София, 2014.

The term "international civil society" is used in literature, documents and declarations. However, it is too early to expect it to play a serious role in international relations, equivalent to the state and transnational corporations.

The resistance of NGOs to the process of globalization is a phenomenon with many aspects. It includes different social groups that, from different positions but with a general direction of influence, respond to the short- or long-term effect of globalization. Interesting in the structure of this broad resistance is that NGOs with different missions are in touch with each other. Some are fully opposed to globalization and are fueling radical events. Others see the positive results of the process, but believe that it should become controllable in the public interest. It brings together, above all, the desire to be heard.

NGOs have managed to become important players in the process of globalization because they first raise the issue of its complexity<sup>7</sup>. In a sense, they take away traditional civil society players - political parties and organized unions, the leading role in tripartite global dialogue. In many developed countries, critical questions to governments are asked by NGOs, not by opposition parties. Although there are many and in different areas, they are able to achieve coordination. Among them, it evolves appropriate to the world's labor division: radical groups create a sense of urgency to take action, while others do research and provide the arguments for inclusion in the official discussion.

It is important that institutionalization of a partner in a tripartite social global dialogue is in progress.

The means that civil society can use in this dialogue are changing. The communications revolution, related to direct telephone dialing, fax machines, speed transport, provides rapid international contacts and the search for responses of global interdependence. This not only facilitates almost immediate interconnections on the world stage, but enables relatively few people and resources to create active global organizations. More than half of the transnational human rights organizations are composed of several people. Their effectiveness is largely due to the Internet and their ability to attract the attention of the media<sup>8</sup>. The structure of organizations with cross-border contacts is effective: flexible, decentralized groups, combined with unformalized and non-institutionalized communication in decision-making. The most successful are transnational NGOs, operating in scope and management similar to TNCs - Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Human Rights Watch and others.

Their power and influence are not due very much to their material resources. Their impact is due more toward ideal resources and, in particular, to moral authority combined with professional knowledge in the field in which they work. A major tool for the influence of NGOs is media campaigns. Publications in the media and the Internet are part of the "naming-ashamed" system.

Other means of fighting are street protests, boycotts, smart and flash mobs. What NGOs have achieved so far is not without cooperation with countries. NGOs have consultative status in a number of UN bodies and specialized organizations. An instrument

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<sup>7</sup> Л. Саламън, и Х. К. Анхайър, Нестопанският сектор: нова глобална сила, сп. Социологически преглед, кн. 1/2, 1994.

<sup>8</sup> Beth Simone Noveck, Wiki Government: How Technology Can Make Government Better, Democracy Stronger, and Citizens More Powerful (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009).

to achieve the goals of an NGO is to join important countries or UN system actors. NGOs are only part of the transnational pressure network. Churches, trade unions, international organizations, or national governments are working with them. Countries are a partner or opponent of non-governmental organizations. Poor countries are an obstacle to the effectiveness of civil society.

Some non-governmental organizations are left-handed. Left civic activities and organizations are related to the strengthening of the left orientation of the masses. This strengthening is connected with finding solutions to a fairer distribution of public goods, humanizing the public system.

The strengthening of the left orientation of the masses is a legitimate consequence of the deterioration of their social situation at certain times. Their striving for struggle, expression of dissatisfaction in the streets through civil protests or leftist political organizations at such times has been growing. Conversely, when their social situation improves, they tend to reduce the pressure on the governing classes, to vote more and to rely more on right-wing political subjects.

The more reasonable and strategically correct behavior of the masses would be the development of a left-wing political orientation in the direction of their unification. Fight not against the victims of globalization, but against those who are over-exploited them. In the name of social justice, the reassurance of peoples, migrant processes, terrorism and fundamentalism.

Under the influence of a number of factors, however, a number of processes and phenomena are emerging which are indicative of a certain strengthening of the left orientation.

The interest of young people toward the "socialist" regime is growing. Against the backdrop of their current troubles and lack of perspective, that time begins to seem more and more not so dark and only repressive, but increasingly interesting and worthwhile. In science and in the public sphere, elements of a more objective and impartial attitude to this period are more and more common, regardless of the domination of a far from scientific truth of that time. But there is still progress.

Part of the adults who, at the beginning of the transition under the influence of beautiful fairy tales about the bright private-property future, succumbed to the ideological manipulation of the new elites and believed that under socialism everything was bad, rethought their past and the past of Bulgaria before 10 November 1989. Recently, by comparing the objective indicators for their past and present lives, they are increasingly admitting and acknowledging that they have lived better in many ways in the past. And they are increasingly allowing themselves to share their reevaluation before themselves, in public, with their children and grandchildren.

In spite of the frantic and rather masterful efforts during the entire transition to present "socialism" in the darkest terms, grows up the nostalgia towards the previous period, towards greater social justice and economic efficiency. This nostalgia has come to the point that, in sociological studies, the assessments of the "socialist" past are becoming predominantly positive, and of the transition period, negative. Alfa Research compares the assessment given by Bulgarian citizens for the period 1944-1989 and the last Secretary General of the Bulgarian communist party Todor Zhivkov in the 1990s and today. Two

years after the fall of Communism, while still alive and remembered for life in that period, 76% of the respondents were negatively assessed Todor Zhivkov, whereas today there is a sharp reversal and idealization (55% positive assessment)<sup>9</sup>

In fact, it is not about nostalgia, in the sense of a desire to return that time. For many people, it's not about it, but about a more correct and objective assessment of that period, about allowing the good memories of that time.

The strengthening the left orientation of the people is also evident in the fact that the civic activity, the protest readiness and the activity of growing groups of people are growing<sup>10</sup>. There is increasing of distrust of representative democracy and sympathy for direct<sup>11</sup>. And this is also the fruit of the awareness that if the elite don't solve the problems, the masses should be actively involved in solving them<sup>12</sup>. This is a characteristic of left-thinking, which has greater confidence in the activity of peoples and in their civic activity. But that does not mean that all protests have left-wing ideas.

An indirect sign of strengthening of left orientation in Bulgaria and other former "socialist" countries is the increasing electoral passivity. The disappointment in managing the right-wing or disguised right-wing political subjects during the transition leads to declining electoral activity. This is a common trend in other Western countries as well.

But declining voter turnout is in fact an example of despair and hopelessness, not of effective struggle, of pragmatic and conscious strengthening the left orientation. True left orientation should develop in other, active forms, not in the form of passive resistance, in the form of selective passivity. Passivity is a lower and non-prospective form of civic activity. It is not automatically transformed into more correct civic behavior - in search of new leftist candidates and parties, for example.

Another sign of strengthening the left orientation of the people is the development of the "green idea". The green movement and the "green" political subjects are developing. Their true left character is often problematic. But the green idea itself has a left-hand character. Preserving the natural environment is an idea that is engaged in an antagonistic conflict with the basic essence of capitalist mode of production that is related to the destruction of nature in the name of profit. So, although "green" political subjects are sometimes tied to right-wing political subjects, although "green" protests and parties are sometimes related to business interests, their main idea is left and stimulates the development of left political consciousness. In general, all these directions of response of masses to public tendencies are met by different attitudes on the part of the elites. The most open and supportive is the attitude to the development of religiosity, covertly are stimulated fascism, xenophobia, racism. Against strengthening the left orientation there is a fight. There is no effective fight against crime, alcoholism and drug abuse.

<sup>9</sup> Изследване „25 години демократични промени в България“, осъществено от „Алфа Рисърч“, [http://www.standartnews.com/bulgariya-obshtestvo/alfa\\_risarch\\_spomenite\\_za\\_sotsializma\\_izblednyavat\\_dominira\\_nostalgiyata-261547.html](http://www.standartnews.com/bulgariya-obshtestvo/alfa_risarch_spomenite_za_sotsializma_izblednyavat_dominira_nostalgiyata-261547.html)

<sup>10</sup> П. Пачкова, Борбите на българите по време на прехода, Изд. на ЮЗУ „Неофит Рилски“, Благоевград. 2015.

<sup>11</sup> М. Мизов, Гражданските протести – 2013. ФЕВРУАРИ срещу ЮНИ, София, Изд. „Авангард Прима“, 2014.

<sup>12</sup> М. Мизов, Гражданските протести...

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