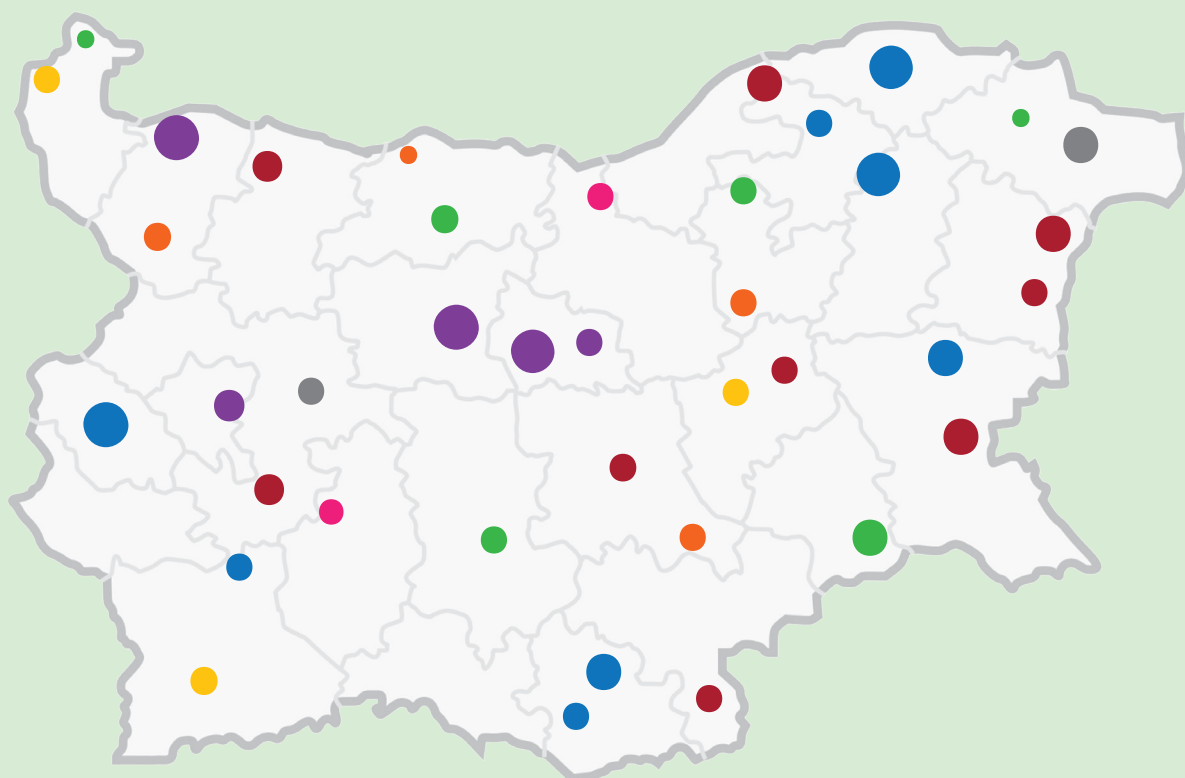


ELECTION FRAUD: PREVALENCE AND IMPACT IN BULGARIA



Parliamentary Election, July 2021



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Part I

Comparative analysis. What happened with the polling stations at risk?

In the end of March 2021, the Anti-corruption Fund published a list of polling stations that were at a relatively high risk of vote purchasing or manipulation. These polling stations were identified with reference to the results of the parliamentary elections in 2013, 2014, and 2017, and on the basis of the following three models:

- The multicomponent abnormal behavior model helps identify polling stations which are outliers in terms of at least two out of three indicators, i.e., they stand out either with unusually high voter turnout in comparison with the voter turnout within the relevant municipality and/or unusually high number of votes for the winner-party in comparison to the number of votes it received within the entire municipality, and/or with abnormally high numbers of invalid ballots or votes.
- The second model helps identify deviations in the voter turnout in a specific polling station between two consecutive elections.
- The third model helps record volatility in the political preferences of voters within a specific polling station between two consecutive elections – this can be a significant increase or drop in the votes given for a particular political party in that polling station.

On the basis of the results of the parliamentary election held in April 2021, the Anti-corruption Fund published an updated list of polling stations at a higher risk of vote purchasing or manipulation. ACF also provided an analysis of the dimensions of the votes at risk at national, regional, and municipal level. The methodology was updated by introducing a new variation with a higher outlier value threshold for deviations in voter turnout and for the results of particular parties. ACF identified between 1,491 (high outlier threshold) and 2,101 (low outlier threshold) polling stations at risk, which received between 9% and 13% of the total votes in the country.

The instant analysis consists of two parts. The first part focuses on the voting tendencies in polling stations that were considered at a higher risk of vote purchasing and manipulation during the April 2021 election. The second part presents the results of applying the methodology for identification of votes at risk of purchasing and manipulation to the data from the parliamentary election held in July 2021.

How did the polling stations considered at risk of vote purchasing and manipulation during the April 2021 parliamentary election vote in July 2021?

A total of 12,223 polling stations were set up for the July 2021 parliamentary election — 254 less than for the election in April. According to information from the Unified Classifier of Administrative-Territorial and Territorial Units (UCATTU), 176 of the polling stations did not correspond to polling stations set up in April 2021, including by their registered addresses. In addition, 326 mobile polling stations were included in the estimation of results at municipal level but were not taken into account in the risk analysis. 810 polling stations with under 50 registered voters were also excluded from the risk analysis. In 337 polling stations, matching by address and UCATTU details, the number of voters differed by more than 30% between the two elections, for which reason those polling stations were also excluded from the risk analysis. In view of the foregoing, between 1,486 and 2,091 polling stations in July 2021 were identified as corresponding to between 1,491 and 2,101 polling stations in April 2021 (amounting to between 12% and 17% of the total number of polling stations).

Total number of votes and number of votes for the winner in the polling stations

As noted in the analysis of the April 2021 parliamentary election, it is difficult to estimate what part of the votes cast in polling stations at risk are under threat of vote purchasing/manipulation. For this reason, the portion of purchased and manipulated votes was calculated on the basis of the total number of voters in all polling stations at risk, as well as on the basis of the votes for the winning parties in those polling stations.

The polling stations identified as being “at risk” during the April 2021 election received between **199,925** (high outlier threshold) and **298,190** (low outlier threshold) votes at the July 2021 parliamentary election — this amounts to **between 7,7% and 11,5% of all cast votes**.

If the more conservative estimate is adopted¹, then the total number of votes, cast at polling stations at risk, has decreased by **83,725** votes, which amounts to a 29,5% reduction in activity compared to April 2021. At the same time, the voter turnout in the entire country was 17,5% lower than in April. This means that the decrease in activity in polling stations at risk is 12% higher than the total decrease, which translates to **34,095** votes in absolute numbers. Among the reasons for this higher decline in polling stations at risk could be the increased labor mobility of persons, susceptible to vote purchasing and manipulation, in the summer months. Other explanations could be the more active efforts of the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the recently introduced machine voting. There has also been a noticeable decrease (27%) in the number of votes cast in polling stations at risk for the respective winners of those stations — between 103,140 and 148,249 (between 4% and 5,7% of all cast votes).

¹ I.e., the high outlier threshold for identifying discrepancies in the voter turnout and in the results for a particular party

Dimensions of vote purchasing and manipulation by electoral district

The results at regional level, however, demonstrate that not all regions recorded a decrease in activity in the polling stations at risk. In the Kardzhali Electoral District — which had the highest number of polling stations at risk in April 2021, as well as the highest proportion of votes cast in such stations out of the total number of votes cast in the entire electoral district — the share of votes cast in polling stations at risk decreased by only 1,2% relative to the April election, given that the voter turnout in the entire electoral district dropped by an average of 0,7%. The difference between the decrease in voter turnout in the polling stations at risk and the average overall decline in voter turnout compared to April was also not significant in the Targovishte Electoral District. At the same time, the Plovdiv-City Electoral District recorded a 67,8% decrease in activity in the polling stations at risk against the backdrop of a 15,3% average decline in the overall voter turnout in the district.

Dimensions of vote purchasing and manipulation by municipality

The results at municipal level demonstrate that some municipalities exhibited a slight increase in the number of votes cast in polling stations at risk. In the Kirkovo Municipality, for instance, these votes increased by 64 (1%), while the average voter turnout in the municipality remained the same as in April 2021. There was also a minimal increase (7 votes) in the Godech Municipality, set against a 25% average decline in voter turnout in the municipality compared to April. The polling stations at risk in the Sliven Municipality received 3,478 less votes (48,2% decrease compared to April) against an average decline of 22% in the overall voter turnout. In the Plovdiv Municipality, where the Mol took active measures to prevent vote purchasing, the votes cast in polling stations at risk reduced by 5,223, which translates to a 67,8% decrease in activity. At the same time, in other municipalities where the share of potentially purchased and manipulated votes is significant — such as Septemvri, Tervel, Hitrino, and Sungurlare — the decline in voter turnout in polling stations at risk was similar to the average decline in voter turnout within the municipalities.

Votes at risk by political party

Figure 1 shows the distribution of votes in polling stations at risk by political party at the parliamentary elections in April and July 2021.

At the **April 2021** parliamentary election, **GERB** (Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria) and **MRF** (Movement for Rights and Freedoms) shared a considerable portion of the votes cast in polling stations at risk,² with **31%** of these votes going towards GERB, and **30%** going towards MRF.

In **July 2021**, **MRF** regained the leading position according to this indicator, as their share increased to **34,1%**. **GERB** recorded the most significant decline, receiving **23,5%** of the votes cast in polling stations at risk. **There Is Such a People** (Ima Takav Narod, ITN) increased its share from **7,3%** to **13,9%**, **BSP** (Bulgarian Socialist Party) - from **11,8%** to **13,1%**, and Democratic Bulgaria — from **2%** to **3,9%**.

The decline in the support for GERB coming from polling stations at risk was twice higher than the average for the country; the party lost 46% of its votes received in

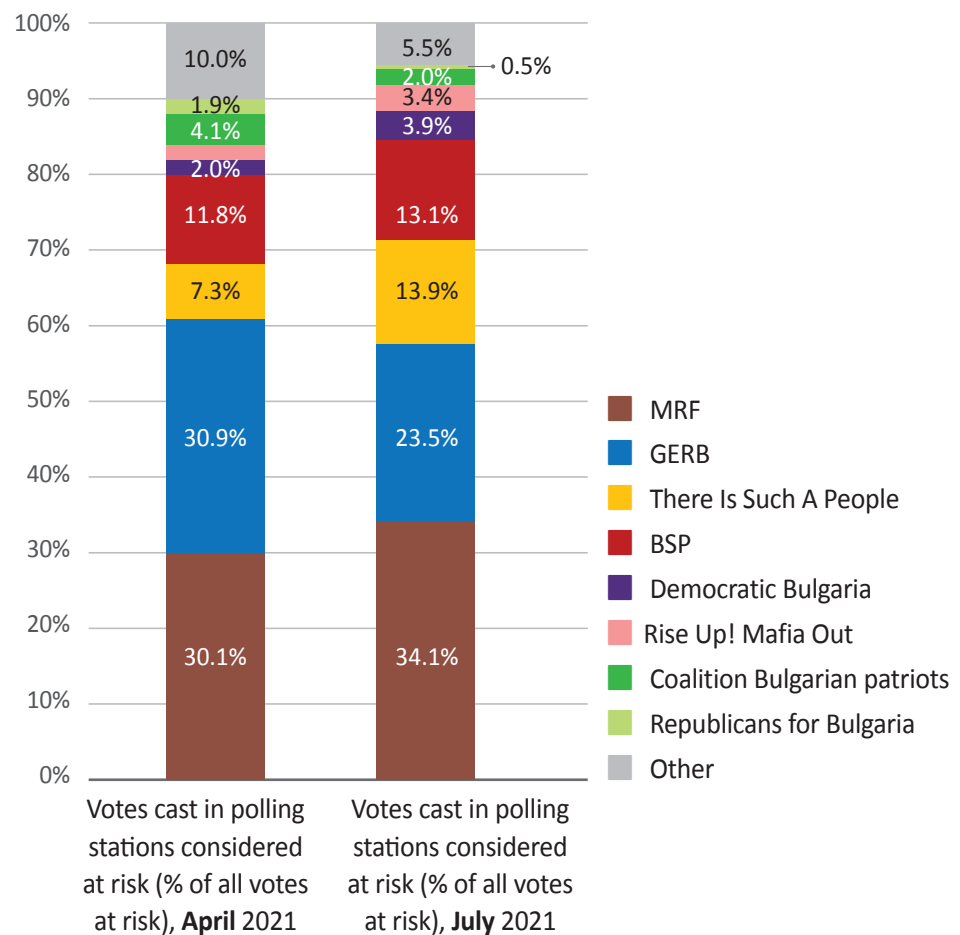
² Based on applying the high outlier threshold

polling stations at risk, or **41,000** of the total number of votes at risk. The next biggest loser in terms of absolute votes cast in polling stations at risk is MRF with **17,320 votes**. The party lost on average 16% of the votes it received in April from all polling stations in the country. The percentage is even higher if only the polling stations at risk are taken into account — 20%.

In April 2021, BSP gathered 12% of the votes at risk, amounting to 33,000 votes. In July, the share increased to 13% or **26,000 votes** in absolute terms. With reference to the April election, the party lost 22% of its votes from polling stations at risk, and experienced a decline of 23% in overall voter support.

In July 2021, the parties There Is Such a People (ITN), Democratic Bulgaria (DB), and Rise Up! Mafia Out! Coalition received more votes from polling stations at risk than they did in April: 6,979 more votes for ITN; 2,075 more votes for DB; and 1,451 more votes for Rise Up! Mafia Out!.

Figure 1 Distribution of votes in polling stations at risk by political party (high outlier threshold), PE2021 April and PE2021 July



Part II

Polling stations at risk identified during the July 2021 parliamentary election

Which polling stations exhibited deviations at the July 2021 parliamentary election

Number of polling stations at higher risk of vote purchasing and manipulation

At the July 2021 parliamentary election, the newly-introduced machine voting solved the problem with the high number of invalid ballots and votes, which was one of the indicators under the first model for identifying polling stations at higher risk of vote purchasing and manipulation. Only 52 polling stations were identified based on the other two indicators: unusually high voter turnout compared to the overall turnout within the municipality and unusually high number of votes for the party winning in the respective polling station compared to the total votes for that party within the municipality.

An unusually large discrepancy between the voter turnouts in April and in July 2021 was recorded in **109** polling stations (based on the high outlier threshold) — see Table 2.

The number rises to **163** polling stations if the low outlier threshold is applied — see Table 1.

Applying the third model for identification of polling stations at risk to the election results of April 2021, volatility in the political preferences of voters was only recorded with reference to the votes cast for GERB, MRF, and BSP, as only these political formations had comparable results from the parliamentary election in 2017. The July 2021 election provided for the opportunity to measure volatility in relation to the new political parties with more significant electoral support: There Is Such A People (ITN) and Democratic Bulgaria. At the same time, the decrease in voter turnout led to a new rise in the high outlier threshold for both voter turnout and deviations in the votes received by a particular party.

Taking into account the mentioned changes in methodology, the July 2021 parliamentary election demonstrated an abrupt shift in the political preferences of voters in **1,052** polling stations (based on the high outlier threshold) and up to **1,474** polling stations (based on the low outlier threshold) (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1 Applying the models for identifying polling stations at risk (low outlier threshold)

	Multi-component abnormal behavior	Deviations in voter turnout (low outlier threshold)	Volatility (low outlier threshold)	Total polling stations	Proportion of stations at risk %	Votes (low outlier threshold)	Proportion of votes %
PE 2021 April	265	126	1 931	2101	16.8	409 865	13.0
PE 2021 July	52	163	1 474	1780	14.6	250 314	9.6

Table 2 Applying the models for identifying polling stations at risk (high outlier threshold)

	Multicomponent abnormal behavior	Deviations in voter turnout (high outlier threshold)	Volatility (high outlier threshold)	Total polling stations	Proportion of stations at risk %	Votes (high outlier threshold)	Proportion of votes %
PE 2021 April	265	104	1 305	1491	11.9	283 650	9.0
PE 2021 July	52	109	1 052	1378	11.3	183 676	7.1

The proportion of polling stations at risk in 2021 varied between 11,3% (high outlier threshold) and 14,6% (low outlier threshold) of the total number of polling stations. In comparison with April 2021, the number of polling stations exhibiting deviations decreased by 113 (high outlier threshold), which translates to a 7,6% decline in the total number of polling stations considered at risk of vote purchasing and manipulation. However, taking into account the fact that less polling stations had been set up for the July election overall, the relative share of polling stations at risk has not changed significantly.

Nearly 80% (1,097 of 1,378) of the polling stations considered at risk in July 2021³, were also deemed at risk on the basis of the results of PE2013, PE2014, PE2017, and PE2021 April.

Total number of votes and number of votes for the winner in the polling stations

When the models that use a low outlier threshold are applied, the number of votes cast in polling stations at risk in July 2021 amounts to **250,314**. When the high outlier threshold models are applied, the number drops down to **183,676**. These figures correspond to **9,6%** and **7,1%** of all the votes cast in the country, respectively.

In comparison with April 2021, the votes cast in polling stations exhibiting deviations in July 2021 were **99,974 fewer**, which translates to an overall decline of 35%. As a share of the total number of votes cast in the country, the percentage has only reduced slightly — from 9% to 7,1% — owing to the low overall voter turnout.

If it is assumed that the majority of purchased votes were cast for the winner in each respective polling station, then the number of votes at risk ranges between **86,501** and **113,436**. This amounts to **3,3%** to **4,4%** of all the votes cast in the country.

Compared to the April 2021 election, the number of votes cast for the winners in polling stations at risk decreased by 55,767, which translates to a 39,2% decline in the total number of such votes. The share of votes for the winner out of all the cast votes⁴ reduced from **4,5%** to **3,3%**.

Dimensions of vote purchasing and manipulation by electoral district

The dimensions of vote purchasing and manipulation determined with reference to all applied indicators — number of polling stations at risk, number of votes cast in polling stations at risk, and number of votes cast for the winner in polling stations at risk — differ significantly across electoral districts (ED). In April 2021, the **Kardzhali Electoral District** was the leader in both the number of polling stations at risk and the number of votes cast in such stations taken as a share of all the votes cast within the district.

³ Low outlier threshold

⁴ High outlier threshold

In July 2021, the **Lovech Electoral District took the lead** in terms of the proportion of votes cast in polling stations exhibiting deviations, while the **Kardzhali Electoral District remained at the top** in terms of the number of votes cast for the winner in polling stations exhibiting deviations. The proportion of potentially purchased votes out of all the votes cast within the electoral district was also rather high in the districts of Montana (**13,5% to 19,2%**), Kardzhali (**12,5% to 17,8%**), Vratsa (**12,4% to 15,6%**), Sliven (**11,7% to 16,9%**), Targovishte (**11,1% to 14,5%**), Shumen (**10,9% to 12,3%**), and Haskovo (**10,6% to 13,5%**).

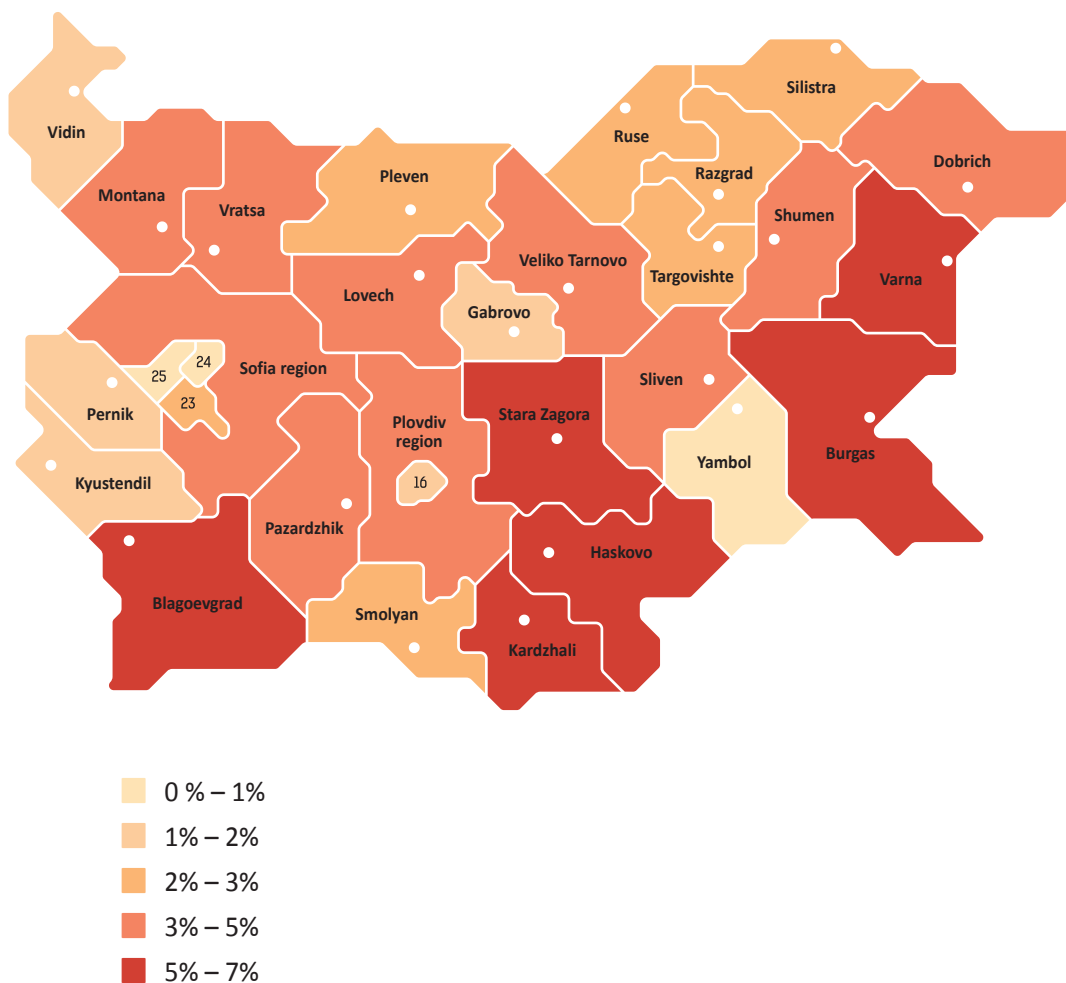
The lowest proportion of purchased and manipulated votes was identified in the 25th ED – Sofia (**0,7% to 1,7%**), followed by the 24th ED – Sofia (**1,1% to 1,6%**), the 23rd ED – Sofia (**2,1% to 3,8%**), and the 16th ED – Plovdiv-City (**2,3% to 3,3%**) – See Table 3.

The largest shares of the total number of votes at risk in April 2021 were attributed to the **Burgas Electoral District (8%)** and the **Kardzhali Electoral District (7%)**. In July 2021, the top position was assumed by the **Blagoevgrad Electoral District (7%)**, while the **Burgas** and **Kardzhali** districts fell to **5,5%** and **5%**, respectively.

Table 3 Dimensions of the potentially purchased and manipulated votes by electoral district

Electoral District	Votes cast in polling stations at risk within the district (% , low outlier threshold)	Votes cast in polling stations at risk within the district (% , high outlier threshold)	Votes for the winner in polling stations at risk (% , low outlier threshold)	Votes for the winner in polling stations at risk (% , high outlier threshold)	Votes cast in polling stations at risk out of all votes at risk (% , low outlier threshold)	Votes cast in polling stations at risk out of all votes at risk (% , high outlier threshold)
01. BLAGOEVGRAD	14.0%	10.2%	7.4%	5.8%	7.0%	7.0%
02. BURGAS	9.9%	6.6%	4.5%	3.4%	6.0%	5.5%
03. VARNA	7.7%	5.9%	3.3%	2.5%	5.4%	5.6%
04. VELIKO TARNOVO	9.6%	8.6%	3.8%	3.4%	3.2%	3.9%
05. VIDIN	15.7%	10.1%	5.5%	3.7%	2.0%	1.8%
06. VRATSA	15.6%	12.4%	6.1%	4.9%	4.1%	4.4%
07. GABROVO	6.8%	5.7%	2.8%	2.4%	1.1%	1.3%
08. DOBRICH	13.9%	11.9%	6.7%	5.9%	3.3%	3.8%
09. KARDZHALI	17.8%	12.5%	11.9%	8.7%	5.2%	5.0%
10. KYUSTENDIL	6.6%	4.4%	2.3%	1.6%	1.2%	1.1%
11. LOVECH	22.2%	16.9%	8.5%	6.6%	4.1%	4.3%
12. MONTANA	19.2%	13.5%	8.6%	6.5%	3.9%	3.7%
13. PAZARDZHIK	11.5%	9.0%	5.0%	4.1%	3.8%	4.1%
14. PERNIK	8.1%	5.7%	3.0%	2.1%	1.5%	1.4%
15. PLEVEN	11.1%	6.1%	4.0%	2.2%	4.0%	2.9%
16. PLOVDIV city	3.3%	2.3%	1.2%	1.0%	1.6%	1.5%
17. PLOVDIV region	8.4%	5.1%	3.4%	2.2%	3.6%	3.0%
18. RAZGRAD	13.8%	10.1%	8.4%	6.5%	2.6%	2.6%
19. RUSE	6.9%	5.2%	2.9%	2.4%	2.1%	2.2%
20. SILISTRA	13.9%	9.7%	8.6%	5.6%	2.7%	2.5%
21. SLIVEN	16.9%	11.7%	7.6%	5.3%	3.8%	3.6%
22. SMOLYAN	9.9%	8.0%	4.4%	3.5%	1.8%	2.0%
23. SOFIA 23 MED	3.8%	2.1%	1.6%	0.9%	3.1%	2.3%
24. SOFIA 24 MED	1.6%	1.1%	0.6%	0.5%	0.9%	0.9%
25. SOFIA 25 MED	1.7%	0.7%	0.5%	0.2%	1.0%	0.6%
26. SOFIA region	10.0%	8.1%	4.4%	3.7%	3.4%	3.7%
27. STARA ZAGORA	12.4%	10.2%	4.4%	3.7%	5.9%	6.6%
28. TARGOVISHTE	14.5%	11.1%	8.2%	6.6%	2.5%	2.6%
29. HASKOVO	13.5%	10.6%	6.3%	5.2%	4.9%	5.2%
30. SHUMEN	12.3%	10.9%	6.8%	6.0%	3.2%	3.8%
31. YAMBOL	7.6%	4.5%	2.8%	1.7%	1.2%	1.0%

Figure 2 Dimensions of the potentially purchased and manipulated votes by electoral district

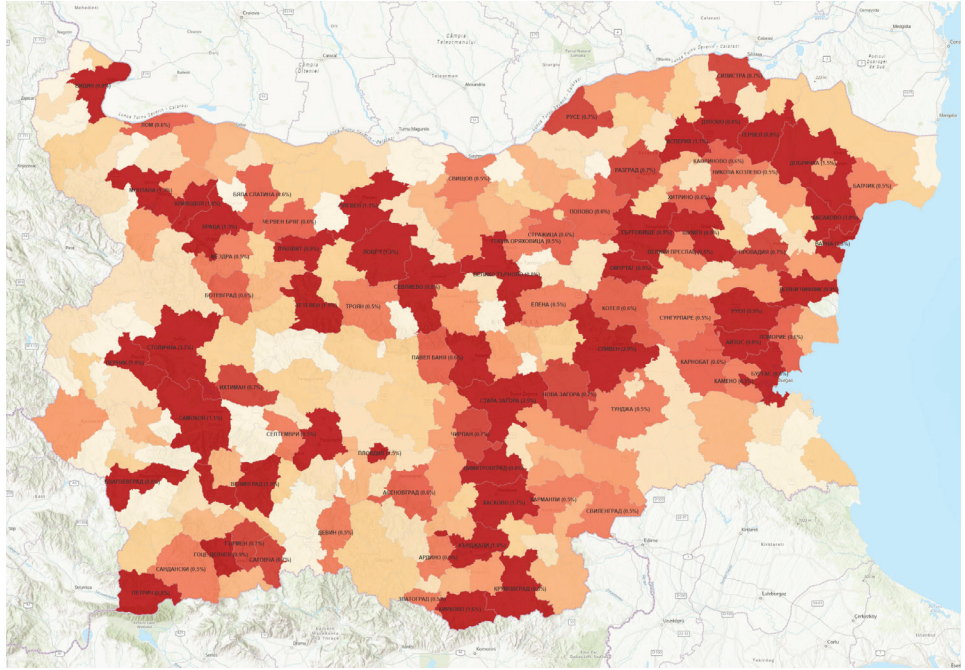


Dimensions of vote purchasing and manipulation by municipality

Both in April and in July 2021, in the majority of municipalities in the country, the proportion of purchased votes out of all the votes cast within the respective municipality varies between **0%** and **10%** (see Figure 4).⁵ In 36 municipalities (amounting to 13,6% of all municipalities in the country) the share of such votes is under 1%. In around 39,8% of the municipalities (105 municipalities) the percentage varies between 10% and 25%. The share of potentially purchased and manipulated votes is significant (over 25%) in 21 of the municipalities, compared to 40 municipalities in April 2021. The problems are ongoing in the municipalities of Hitrino, Dolni Chiflik, Krivodol, Dobrichka, and Tervel. In some problematic municipalities, such as Kaolinovo, Valchi dol, Vetrovo, and Valchedram, the proportion of potentially purchased and manipulated votes within the respective municipality has decreased.

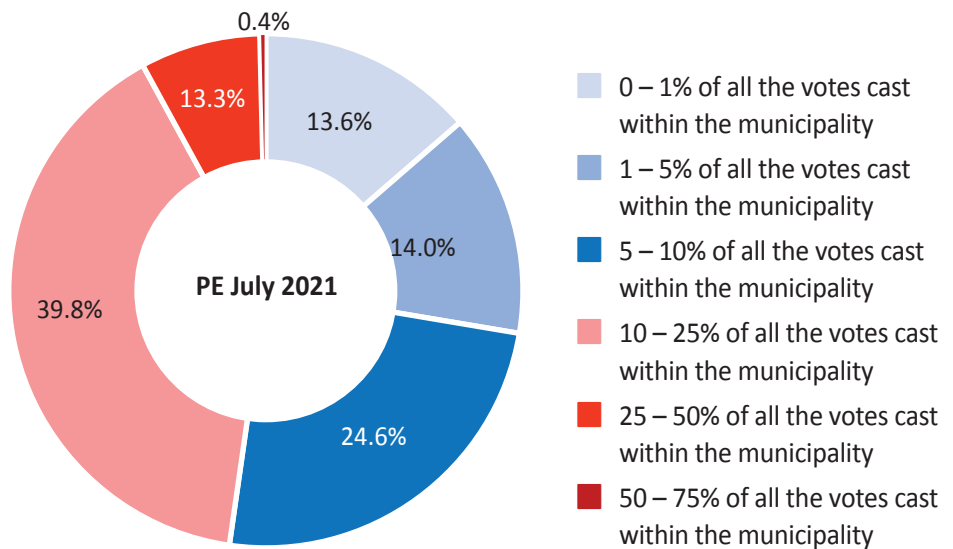
⁵ Based on applying the high outlier threshold

Figure 3 Dimensions of vote purchasing and manipulation by municipality



Despite their low relative share of polling stations at risk (see the Table in Appendix 1), the **Sofia and Stara Zagora municipalities have the highest number** of potentially purchased and manipulated votes as a proportion of all the votes at risk in the country — 3,7% and 2,5%, respectively. This is explained by the large population of these municipalities.

Figure 4 Proportion of potentially purchased votes out of all the votes cast within the municipality, PE July 2021

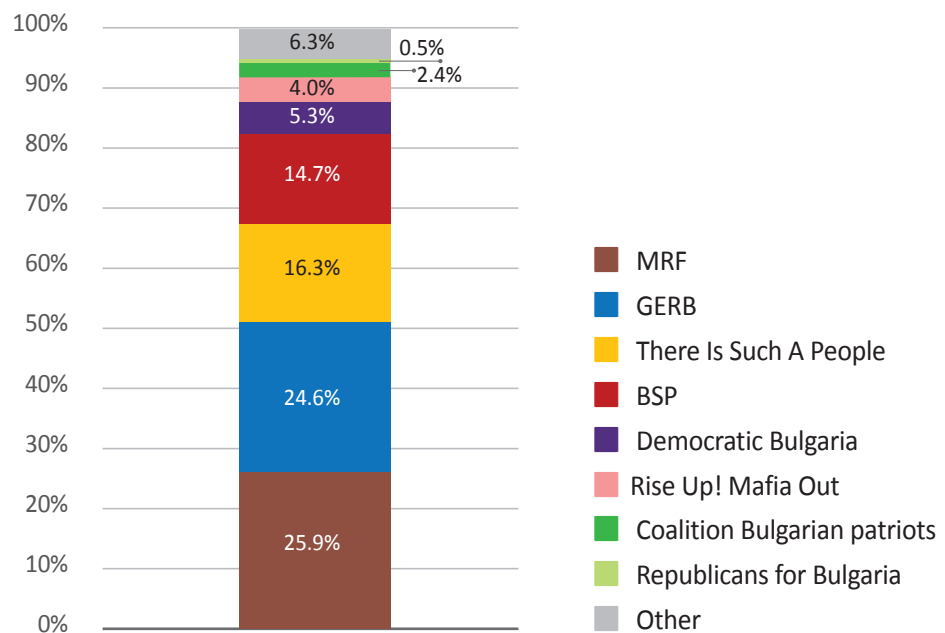


Votes at risk by political party

At the parliamentary elections held in July 2021, GERB and MRF again shared a considerable portion of the votes cast in polling stations exhibiting deviations from the results of the April 2021 election (see Figure 5).⁶ **MRF** received **25,9%** of those votes, and **GERB** — **24,6%**. In the polling stations considered at risk of vote purchasing and manipulation in July 2021, **There Is Such a People (ITN)** received **16,3%** of the votes, and **BSP** gathered **14,7%**. **Democratic Bulgaria** received **5,3%**, and **4%** of the votes were given for **Rise Up! Mafia Out! Coalition**.

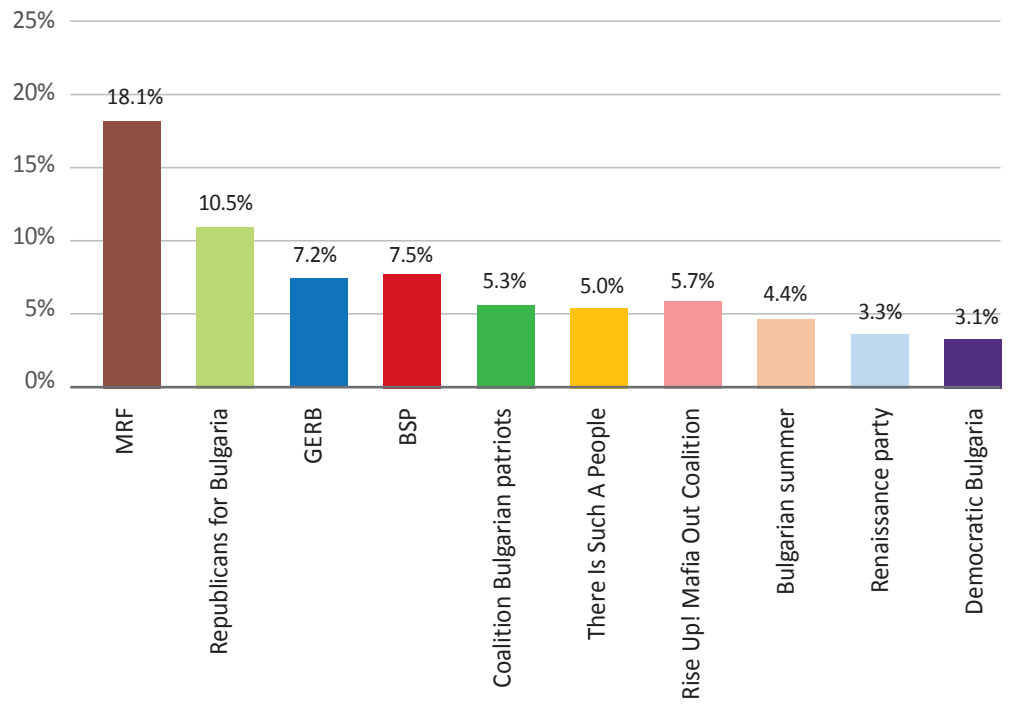
In July 2021, **MRF** continues to lead in terms of the share of potentially purchased and manipulated votes out of all the votes cast for the party with **18,1%** (see Figure 6). The party **Republicans for Bulgaria** also ranks high based on this indicator, with **10,5%** of its votes coming from polling stations at risk, notwithstanding the considerable decline in support for the party at national level compared to the April 2021 election. The percentage for **BSP** in this regard is **7,5%**, and for **GERB** — **7,2%**. In July 2021, **Democratic Bulgaria** continues to have the lowest share of votes coming from polling stations at risk (**3,1%**).

Figure 5 Distribution of the votes cast in polling stations at risk, by political party (high outlier threshold), PE2021 July



⁶ Based on applying the high outlier threshold

Figure 6 Distribution of the votes for political parties cast in polling stations considered at risk as of July 2021 (high outlier threshold), PE2021 July



APPENDIX

Dimensions of vote purchasing and manipulation by municipality

Municipality	Votes cast in polling stations at risk within the municipality (% low outlier threshold)	Votes cast in polling stations at risk within the municipality (% high outlier threshold)	Votes cast in polling stations at risk out of all votes at risk (% low outlier threshold)	Votes cast in polling stations at risk out of all votes at risk (% high outlier threshold)	Votes for the winner in polling stations at risk within the municipality (% low outlier threshold)	Votes for the winner in polling stations at risk within the municipality (% high outlier threshold)
AKSAKOVO	33,50%	24,40%	1,10%	1,00%	12,50%	9,00%
ALFATAR	18,00%	18,00%	0,10%	0,10%	12,60%	12,60%
ANTON	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
ANTONOVO	16,20%	6,70%	0,20%	0,10%	9,50%	4,60%
APRILTSI	3,60%	3,60%	0,00%	0,00%	1,50%	1,50%
ARDINO	15,30%	13,30%	0,40%	0,50%	10,30%	8,80%
ASENOVGRAD	9,40%	5,10%	0,80%	0,60%	4,90%	3,10%
AVREN	25,00%	23,60%	0,30%	0,40%	11,50%	10,80%
AYTOS	14,80%	14,80%	0,60%	0,80%	7,40%	7,40%
BALCHIK	19,20%	16,80%	0,50%	0,50%	7,80%	7,00%
BANITE	6,60%	6,60%	0,10%	0,10%	2,10%	2,10%
BANSKO	19,90%	9,60%	0,50%	0,30%	7,10%	3,10%
BATAK	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
BELENE	14,30%	0,00%	0,20%	0,00%	4,70%	0,00%
BELTSIA	42,90%	36,80%	0,80%	1,00%	36,50%	31,00%
BELOGRADCHIK	14,70%	14,70%	0,10%	0,20%	5,60%	5,60%
BELOSLAV	4,60%	4,60%	0,10%	0,10%	2,00%	2,00%
BELOVO	5,00%	0,00%	0,10%	0,00%	1,30%	0,00%
BERKOVITSA	13,70%	12,30%	0,30%	0,40%	8,50%	8,20%
BLAGOEVGRAD	6,90%	5,20%	0,80%	0,80%	2,30%	1,70%
BOBOSHEVO	21,70%	21,70%	0,10%	0,10%	7,10%	7,10%
BOBOV DOL	13,60%	5,30%	0,10%	0,10%	4,00%	1,70%
BOLYAROVO	26,20%	12,30%	0,20%	0,10%	12,50%	5,70%
BORINO	12,00%	0,00%	0,10%	0,00%	7,00%	0,00%
BOROVAN	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
BOROVO	30,20%	27,60%	0,20%	0,30%	11,30%	10,60%
BOTEVGRAD	11,60%	9,60%	0,50%	0,60%	3,50%	2,70%
BOYNITSA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
BOYTCHINOVTSI	30,10%	24,00%	0,40%	0,40%	14,50%	9,20%
BOZHURISHTA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
BRATSIGOVO	8,30%	8,30%	0,10%	0,10%	3,70%	3,70%
BRATYA DASKALOVI	34,10%	34,10%	0,30%	0,40%	12,00%	12,00%
BREGOVO	7,90%	0,00%	0,10%	0,00%	3,50%	0,00%
BREZNIK	6,50%	3,20%	0,10%	0,00%	2,50%	1,40%
BREZOVO	23,90%	19,00%	0,20%	0,20%	8,20%	6,10%
BRUSARTSI	22,20%	3,90%	0,20%	0,00%	7,90%	2,40%
BURGAS	2,50%	1,90%	0,80%	0,80%	0,90%	0,70%
BYALA	10,60%	7,50%	0,20%	0,20%	3,60%	2,80%
BYALA SLATINA	18,80%	10,40%	0,80%	0,60%	10,20%	6,20%
CHAVDAR	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
CHELOPECH	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
CHEPELARE	12,60%	12,60%	0,10%	0,20%	3,90%	3,90%
CHERNOOCHENE	20,80%	13,30%	0,40%	0,30%	16,50%	10,30%
CHERVEN BRYAG	20,80%	12,80%	0,70%	0,60%	7,50%	4,70%

CHIPROVTSI	18,60%	12,10%	0,10%	0,10%	7,00%	4,80%
CHIRPAN	26,80%	20,90%	0,70%	0,70%	8,90%	7,00%
CHUPRENE	30,10%	19,90%	0,10%	0,10%	8,40%	5,60%
DALGOPOL	20,50%	12,00%	0,50%	0,40%	14,80%	9,00%
DEVIN	22,60%	21,60%	0,40%	0,50%	11,80%	11,50%
DEVNYA	14,90%	6,50%	0,20%	0,10%	7,80%	4,70%
DIMITROVGRAD	11,00%	8,10%	0,80%	0,80%	3,80%	2,60%
DIMOVO	37,20%	20,40%	0,30%	0,20%	13,10%	9,50%
DOBRICH	2,90%	2,40%	0,30%	0,40%	0,90%	0,80%
DOBRICHKA	46,50%	39,60%	1,30%	1,50%	25,30%	21,90%
DOLNA BANYA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
DOLNA MITROPOLIYA	15,50%	7,50%	0,30%	0,20%	6,00%	2,50%
DOLNI CHIFLIK	37,20%	34,40%	0,70%	0,90%	16,20%	15,20%
DOLNI DABNIK	12,30%	0,00%	0,20%	0,00%	4,30%	0,00%
DOSPAT	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
DRAGOMAN	13,20%	8,00%	0,10%	0,10%	5,40%	3,80%
DRYANOVO	7,10%	5,20%	0,10%	0,10%	2,40%	1,80%
DULOVO	16,40%	13,20%	0,80%	0,80%	10,70%	8,10%
DUPNITSA	6,30%	3,40%	0,40%	0,30%	2,00%	1,20%
DVE MOGILI	24,10%	24,10%	0,30%	0,30%	10,50%	10,50%
DZHEBEL	12,50%	10,40%	0,30%	0,30%	9,50%	7,90%
ELENA	28,40%	28,40%	0,40%	0,50%	10,80%	10,80%
ELHOVO	11,90%	3,40%	0,20%	0,10%	3,80%	1,20%
ELIN PELIN	4,20%	4,20%	0,10%	0,20%	1,50%	1,50%
ETROPOLE	9,50%	9,50%	0,20%	0,20%	2,90%	2,90%
GABROVO	3,50%	3,20%	0,30%	0,40%	1,50%	1,40%
GALABOVO	12,80%	10,70%	0,20%	0,30%	3,70%	3,00%
GARMEN	21,40%	21,40%	0,50%	0,70%	11,20%	11,20%
GENERAL TOSHEVO	13,10%	9,40%	0,20%	0,20%	4,80%	3,70%
GEORGI DAMYANOVO	11,10%	2,80%	0,10%	0,00%	4,70%	1,40%
GLAVINITSA	24,40%	7,60%	0,50%	0,20%	17,00%	4,80%
GODECH	8,30%	8,30%	0,10%	0,10%	3,70%	3,70%
GORNA MALINA	13,60%	13,60%	0,10%	0,20%	3,60%	3,60%
GORNA ORYAHOVITSA	7,50%	6,20%	0,50%	0,50%	2,60%	2,20%
GOTSE DELCHEV	19,20%	14,70%	0,90%	0,90%	13,90%	10,30%
GRAMADA	9,60%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	2,70%	0,00%
GULYANTSI	14,30%	7,80%	0,20%	0,10%	4,60%	2,20%
GURKOVO	26,70%	26,70%	0,20%	0,30%	7,50%	7,50%
HADZHIDIMOVO	16,30%	16,30%	0,20%	0,30%	7,50%	7,50%
HARMANLI	12,80%	11,60%	0,40%	0,50%	5,70%	5,30%
HASKOVO	13,00%	9,30%	1,80%	1,70%	6,70%	5,30%
HAYREDIN	33,90%	33,90%	0,20%	0,30%	13,00%	13,00%
HISARYA	11,60%	5,40%	0,20%	0,10%	3,80%	1,20%
HITRINO	39,60%	39,60%	0,40%	0,60%	25,30%	25,30%
IHTIMAN	30,00%	24,40%	0,70%	0,70%	15,80%	14,40%
ISKAR	41,60%	22,00%	0,30%	0,20%	15,00%	7,70%
ISPERIH	25,30%	19,50%	1,00%	1,10%	15,70%	12,80%
IVANOVO	11,60%	6,50%	0,20%	0,10%	4,30%	2,80%
IVAYLOVGRAD	20,30%	17,80%	0,20%	0,30%	10,80%	9,90%
KALOYANOVO	21,80%	10,90%	0,30%	0,20%	7,20%	3,60%
KAMENO	45,50%	30,60%	0,60%	0,50%	16,60%	10,80%
KAOLINOVO	19,70%	19,70%	0,50%	0,60%	14,20%	14,20%
KARDZHALI	13,80%	7,00%	1,50%	1,00%	9,20%	4,90%
KARLOVO	3,10%	2,00%	0,20%	0,20%	1,10%	0,50%
KARNOBAT	21,00%	15,20%	0,60%	0,60%	10,30%	8,40%
KASPICHAN	23,30%	18,70%	0,20%	0,20%	11,20%	9,10%

KAVARNA	7,20%	6,30%	0,10%	0,20%	2,50%	2,20%
KAYNARDZHA	28,40%	25,30%	0,20%	0,20%	15,10%	13,10%
KAZANLAK	9,00%	6,40%	0,90%	0,90%	3,40%	2,70%
KIRKOVO	36,10%	27,50%	1,60%	1,60%	20,20%	16,60%
KNEZHA	16,30%	10,00%	0,30%	0,20%	6,90%	4,30%
KOCHERINOVO	34,30%	23,20%	0,20%	0,20%	14,20%	9,70%
KOPRIVSHTITSA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
KOSTENETS	1,10%	1,10%	0,00%	0,00%	0,50%	0,50%
KOSTINBROD	7,00%	4,00%	0,20%	0,10%	2,50%	1,60%
KOTEL	24,40%	19,70%	0,50%	0,60%	11,90%	9,10%
KOVATCHEVTSI	26,00%	0,00%	0,10%	0,00%	11,10%	0,00%
KOZLODUY	12,30%	9,40%	0,30%	0,30%	3,70%	2,90%
KRESNA	32,00%	16,40%	0,30%	0,20%	16,50%	8,80%
KRICHIM	3,90%	3,90%	0,00%	0,00%	1,10%	1,10%
KRIVODOL	61,10%	61,10%	0,70%	1,00%	19,80%	19,80%
KRUMOVGRAD	15,80%	13,90%	0,60%	0,80%	11,70%	10,30%
KRUSHARI	25,50%	17,60%	0,20%	0,20%	15,30%	9,60%
KUBRAT	9,70%	6,50%	0,30%	0,20%	6,80%	4,50%
KUKLEN	7,10%	7,10%	0,10%	0,10%	3,00%	3,00%
KULA	24,40%	15,20%	0,20%	0,10%	8,90%	6,80%
KYUSTENDIL	4,20%	3,50%	0,40%	0,40%	1,50%	1,30%
LAKI	11,00%	11,00%	0,00%	0,10%	4,50%	4,50%
LESICHOVO	8,20%	8,20%	0,10%	0,10%	5,40%	5,40%
LETNITSA	23,40%	23,40%	0,10%	0,10%	8,50%	8,50%
LEVSKI	15,80%	8,30%	0,40%	0,30%	5,50%	3,10%
LOM	23,70%	15,20%	0,70%	0,60%	9,20%	6,10%
LOVECH	19,40%	12,40%	1,40%	1,20%	7,00%	4,80%
LOZNITSA	11,50%	7,70%	0,20%	0,20%	7,80%	4,60%
LUKOVIT	42,40%	35,20%	0,80%	0,90%	16,10%	13,20%
LYASKOVETS	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
LYUBIMETS	14,00%	12,20%	0,20%	0,30%	6,40%	5,60%
MADAN	5,90%	5,20%	0,10%	0,20%	4,30%	3,90%
MADZHAROVO	12,10%	12,10%	0,10%	0,10%	7,70%	7,70%
MAGLIZH	25,80%	25,80%	0,30%	0,40%	11,40%	11,40%
MAKRESH	10,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	4,50%	0,00%
MALKO TARNOVO	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
MARITSA	3,70%	2,60%	0,10%	0,10%	1,10%	0,70%
MEDKOVETS	17,40%	17,40%	0,10%	0,10%	6,90%	6,90%
MEZDRA	13,50%	10,90%	0,40%	0,50%	4,60%	3,70%
MINERALNI BANI	11,90%	9,80%	0,20%	0,20%	9,30%	8,10%
MIRKOVO	5,40%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	1,60%	0,00%
MIZIYA	9,10%	9,10%	0,10%	0,10%	5,50%	5,50%
MOMCHILGRAD	13,00%	9,40%	0,40%	0,40%	10,40%	7,70%
MONTANA	16,20%	12,30%	1,30%	1,30%	7,00%	5,60%
NEDELINO	11,50%	8,50%	0,10%	0,10%	3,90%	2,70%
NESEBAR	19,10%	5,60%	0,70%	0,30%	5,80%	1,70%
NEVESTINO	10,00%	6,20%	0,00%	0,00%	3,30%	1,90%
NIKOLA KOZLEVO	30,50%	30,50%	0,40%	0,50%	19,30%	19,30%
NIKOLAEVO	20,90%	0,00%	0,10%	0,00%	6,00%	0,00%
NIKOPOL	6,70%	1,30%	0,10%	0,00%	2,50%	0,70%
NOVA ZAGORA	16,10%	12,40%	0,70%	0,70%	8,10%	7,00%
NOVI PAZAR	7,60%	3,90%	0,20%	0,10%	2,90%	1,10%
NOVO SELO	34,30%	34,30%	0,10%	0,20%	9,90%	9,90%
OMURTAG	18,60%	16,00%	0,70%	0,80%	14,70%	12,80%
OPAKA	15,80%	15,80%	0,20%	0,20%	13,90%	13,90%
OPAN	20,40%	20,40%	0,10%	0,10%	6,50%	6,50%

ORYAHOVO	10,60%	10,60%	0,10%	0,20%	3,30%	3,30%
PANAGYURISHTE	11,50%	5,70%	0,40%	0,20%	3,70%	1,80%
PARVOMAY	11,60%	8,50%	0,40%	0,40%	3,90%	3,00%
PAVEL BANYA	26,50%	20,90%	0,50%	0,60%	10,90%	7,50%
PAVLIKENI	11,50%	11,50%	0,30%	0,40%	4,80%	4,80%
PAZARDZHIK	11,10%	8,50%	1,50%	1,50%	4,40%	3,40%
PERNIK	6,80%	5,40%	0,90%	1,00%	2,40%	2,00%
PERUSHTITSA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
PESHTERA	4,90%	4,00%	0,10%	0,10%	2,30%	1,70%
PETRICH	10,30%	7,60%	0,80%	0,80%	4,50%	3,50%
PIRDOP	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
PLEVEN	6,40%	4,40%	1,20%	1,10%	2,30%	1,50%
PLOVDIV	3,30%	2,30%	1,60%	1,50%	1,20%	1,00%
POLSKI TRAMBESH	14,20%	14,20%	0,20%	0,30%	7,90%	7,90%
POMORIE	13,50%	10,80%	0,50%	0,60%	6,80%	5,50%
POPOVO	16,00%	13,30%	0,50%	0,60%	6,10%	5,40%
PORDIM	10,60%	10,60%	0,10%	0,10%	3,60%	3,60%
PRAVETS	20,60%	17,90%	0,20%	0,30%	7,40%	5,90%
PRIMORSKO	31,20%	0,00%	0,40%	0,00%	9,10%	0,00%
PROVADIYA	19,00%	16,40%	0,60%	0,70%	7,20%	6,00%
RADNEVO	16,00%	11,90%	0,40%	0,40%	4,80%	3,60%
RADOMIR	7,20%	4,10%	0,20%	0,10%	3,40%	2,20%
RAKITOVO	20,60%	12,50%	0,30%	0,20%	8,20%	5,60%
RAKOVSKI	13,60%	5,30%	0,40%	0,20%	5,80%	2,60%
RAZGRAD	12,00%	7,90%	0,80%	0,70%	6,10%	4,80%
RAZLOG	12,40%	2,60%	0,40%	0,10%	3,60%	0,90%
RILA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
RODOPI	8,80%	5,50%	0,40%	0,30%	3,30%	2,30%
ROMAN	38,50%	15,80%	0,40%	0,20%	12,00%	4,80%
RUDOZEM	8,60%	8,60%	0,20%	0,20%	5,60%	5,60%
RUEN	11,90%	11,90%	0,70%	0,90%	10,60%	10,60%
RUSE	3,30%	2,50%	0,70%	0,70%	1,40%	1,10%
RUZHINTSI	21,70%	16,00%	0,10%	0,10%	6,70%	4,60%
SADOVO	9,40%	4,60%	0,10%	0,10%	5,70%	4,10%
SAEDINIE	4,30%	4,30%	0,10%	0,10%	2,00%	2,00%
SAMOKOV	16,90%	14,80%	0,90%	1,10%	10,10%	8,60%
SAMUIL	18,30%	14,80%	0,30%	0,30%	12,90%	10,00%
SANDANSKI	11,60%	6,40%	0,70%	0,50%	4,50%	2,90%
SAPAREVA BANYA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
SARNITSA	12,90%	12,90%	0,10%	0,20%	8,10%	8,10%
SATOVCHA	23,70%	21,30%	0,60%	0,70%	15,10%	13,70%
SEPTEMVRI	12,80%	12,80%	0,30%	0,50%	5,10%	5,10%
SEVLIEVO	15,00%	12,00%	0,70%	0,80%	6,10%	5,30%
SHABLA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
SHUMEN	5,20%	5,20%	0,70%	0,90%	2,50%	2,50%
SILISTRA	8,10%	6,20%	0,60%	0,70%	3,90%	3,00%
SIMEONOVGRAD	23,00%	23,00%	0,30%	0,40%	11,50%	11,50%
SIMITLI	1,00%	1,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,70%	0,70%
SITOVO	8,30%	8,30%	0,10%	0,10%	3,30%	3,30%
SLIVEN	15,40%	10,30%	2,20%	2,00%	6,50%	4,30%
SLIVNITSA	4,00%	2,70%	0,00%	0,00%	1,30%	0,70%
SLIVO POLE	22,70%	22,70%	0,30%	0,40%	12,70%	12,70%
SMOLYAN	4,40%	2,80%	0,30%	0,20%	1,50%	1,00%
SMYADOVO	19,90%	13,00%	0,20%	0,10%	9,10%	6,00%
SOFIA	2,50%	1,40%	4,90%	3,70%	1,00%	0,60%
SOPOT	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%

SOZOPOL	15,70%	3,10%	0,30%	0,10%	5,10%	1,80%
SREDETS	15,80%	12,30%	0,30%	0,30%	5,50%	4,60%
STAMBOLIYSKI	10,80%	7,40%	0,30%	0,30%	3,60%	2,70%
STAMBOLOVO	8,20%	8,20%	0,10%	0,20%	4,40%	4,40%
STARA ZAGORA	8,40%	7,40%	2,00%	2,50%	3,00%	2,70%
STRALDZHA	13,30%	7,00%	0,20%	0,10%	5,40%	3,10%
STRAZHITSA	34,00%	28,80%	0,60%	0,60%	13,10%	11,80%
STRELCHA	18,50%	18,50%	0,10%	0,20%	5,80%	5,80%
STRUMYANI	28,20%	20,70%	0,20%	0,20%	11,10%	7,90%
SUHINDOL	22,00%	22,00%	0,10%	0,10%	11,00%	11,00%
SUNGURLARE	24,30%	24,30%	0,40%	0,50%	12,30%	12,30%
SUVOROVO	11,60%	11,60%	0,10%	0,20%	6,10%	6,10%
SVILENGRAD	12,30%	10,40%	0,40%	0,50%	4,80%	4,30%
SVISHTOV	9,00%	7,60%	0,40%	0,50%	3,30%	2,70%
SVOGE	7,20%	2,80%	0,20%	0,10%	2,60%	1,00%
TARGOVISHTE	11,60%	8,20%	0,90%	0,90%	5,20%	3,80%
TERVEL	29,30%	28,40%	0,70%	0,90%	15,90%	15,30%
TETEVEN	33,90%	27,60%	1,00%	1,10%	15,20%	12,30%
TOPOLOVGRAD	31,00%	18,50%	0,50%	0,40%	9,90%	5,60%
TRAN	12,20%	10,90%	0,10%	0,10%	3,40%	3,00%
TREKLYANO	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
TROYAN	10,50%	8,00%	0,50%	0,50%	3,90%	3,10%
TRYAVNA	0,90%	0,90%	0,00%	0,00%	0,40%	0,40%
TSAR KALOYAN	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
TSAREVO	15,90%	8,20%	0,30%	0,20%	4,90%	2,40%
TSENOVO	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
TUNDZHA	12,10%	12,10%	0,40%	0,50%	4,50%	4,50%
TUTRAKAN	16,30%	10,80%	0,40%	0,40%	12,30%	7,70%
TVARDITSA	21,80%	12,00%	0,30%	0,20%	11,30%	4,30%
UGARCHIN	17,40%	17,40%	0,10%	0,20%	5,80%	5,80%
VALCHEDRAM	28,20%	21,30%	0,40%	0,40%	16,40%	14,20%
VALCHI DOL	20,10%	20,10%	0,30%	0,40%	8,30%	8,30%
VARBITSA	15,80%	8,00%	0,30%	0,20%	12,60%	5,50%
VARNA	2,90%	1,90%	1,50%	1,30%	1,10%	0,70%
VARSHETS	21,70%	8,20%	0,30%	0,10%	8,90%	5,30%
VELIKI PRES LAV	23,70%	21,40%	0,40%	0,50%	7,00%	6,30%
VELIKO TARNOVO	5,30%	4,50%	0,70%	0,80%	2,10%	1,70%
VELINGRAD	16,50%	14,60%	0,80%	1,00%	9,40%	8,20%
VENETS	4,50%	4,50%	0,10%	0,10%	3,00%	3,00%
VETOVO	14,70%	4,80%	0,30%	0,10%	5,90%	2,80%
VETRINO	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
VIDIN	12,30%	8,00%	0,90%	0,80%	4,40%	3,00%
VRATSA	10,00%	9,00%	1,00%	1,30%	4,10%	3,70%
YABLANITSA	42,20%	33,30%	0,30%	0,30%	12,60%	10,10%
YAKIMOVO	17,00%	17,00%	0,10%	0,10%	5,70%	5,70%
YAKORUDA	15,70%	15,70%	0,30%	0,30%	12,00%	12,00%
YAMBOL	3,00%	1,10%	0,30%	0,10%	0,90%	0,4
ZAVET	5,50%	5,50%	0,10%	0,10%	3,90%	3,90%
ZEMEN	38,10%	24,00%	0,20%	0,20%	11,00%	7,00%
ZLATARITSA	18,60%	14,20%	0,10%	0,10%	5,40%	4,20%
ZLATITSA	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%
ZLATOGRAD	28,10%	22,00%	0,50%	0,50%	9,20%	6,80%



The Anti-Corruption Fund is an independent, expert-led non-governmental organization, which investigates cases of alleged corruption, misuse of public funds, and conflict of interest among public officials in Bulgaria. Our research adheres to the highest legal, professional, and ethical standards. We aim to assist public authorities and journalists in investigating and prosecuting corruption-related violations. The goal of our work is to help address systemic factors leading to high corruption levels, and to raise public awareness about the existing mechanisms to counteract corruption.

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