

*INTUNE Elites Questionnaire*(\*) Questions common with the mass.

## 0. CONTACTS

E.C.1. Let us start with some simple questions about your experiences at the international level.  
*[the final formulation of this formulation is left to country experts]*

E.C.1.1. Have you ever lived in another European country?

[If necessary prompt: 'lived in' means lived there for three months or more]

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know/can't say (volunteered)

E.C.1.2. Which languages do you speak?

- *Do not read out (list of UE official languages from 1 January 2007) -*

1. Bulgarian
2. Czech
3. Danish
4. Dutch
5. English
6. Estonian
7. Finnish
8. French
9. German
10. Greek
11. Hungarian
12. Italian
13. Latvian
14. Lithuanian
15. Maltese
16. Polish
17. Portuguese
18. Romanian
19. Slovak
20. Slovene
21. Spanish
22. Swedish
23. Irish (Gaelic)
24. One or more 'regional' languages which are not official at the level of the EU (e.g. Catalan, Basque)
25. Another language
26. Don't know (volunteered)
27. Refuse (volunteered)

E.C.1.3. [Only if needed]

Which language do you speak at home?

Language:

[If necessary, prompt: 'generally speak']

[write in]

## E.C. 2. Contacts

## E.C.2.1.

*For political elites**For economic elites*

How frequently in your political activity were you in contact with actors and institutions of the EU in the last year?

How frequently in your professional activity were you in contact with actors and institutions of the EU in the last year?

*[The interviewer should be ready to clarify. See codebook].*

1. At least once a week
2. At least once a month
3. At least once every three months
4. At least once last year
5. No contacts last year
6. DK (V)
7. Refuse (V)

## E.C.2.2.

*For political elites**For economic elites*

How frequently in your political activity were you in contact with actors and institutions of other non EU countries or international organisations in the last year?

How frequently in your professional activity were you in contact with actors and institutions of other non EU countries or international organisations in the last year?

*[The interviewer should be ready to clarify. See codebook].*

1. At least once a week
2. At least once a month
3. At least once every three months
4. At least once last year
5. No contacts last year
6. DK (V)
7. Refuse (V)

## I. ELITES IDENTITY

### (\*) E.ID1. ATTACHMENT TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES:

People feel different degrees of attachment to their town or village, to their region, to their country and to Europe. What about you? Are you very attached, somewhat attached, not very attached or not at all attached to the following:

- a. your town/village,
- b. your 'region' [use the appropriate term according to the countries / code the same for sub-regional but non local] / mass: whatever you understand as your region.
- c. [Country] (e.g. 'Italy')
- d. Europe

1. very attached
2. somewhat attached
3. not very attached
4. not at all attached
5. (DK / can't say) (volunteered)
6. Refuse (volunteered)

(\*) E.ID9.

People differ in what they think it means to be (national). In your view, how important is each of the following to be (national)?

(randomly rotate them)

- a. To be a Christian
- b. To share (country) cultural traditions
- c. To be born in (country)
- d. To have (national) parents (e.g. 'Italian parents')
- e. To respect (national) laws and institutions
- f. To feel (national)
- g. To master (*language(s) of the country*) / [*in relevant cases*] one of the official languages of the country
- h. To be a country citizen [never put as first]

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
5. DK (V)
6. Refusal (V)

E.ID13. THREATS

Do you think that (ITEM) is a threat or not a threat for the cohesion of the EU?

1. a big threat
2. quite a big threat
3. not that big a threat
4. not a threat at all
5. DK/can't say (volunteered)
6. Refuse (V)

Items (rotate randomly, except for b1-b2)

- a. Immigration from non EU countries
- b1. Enlargement of the EU to include Turkey
- b2. The enlargement of the EU to include countries other than Turkey
- c. The growth of nationalist attitudes in European member states
- d. The close relationships between some EU countries and the United States
- e. The effects of globalization on welfare
- f. Economic and social differences among member states
- g. The interference of Russia in European affairs

Former (\*) E.SG4. I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which of them comes closest to your view:

1. The main aim of the EU should be to make the European economy more competitive in world markets"
2. The main aim of the EU should be to provide better social security for all its citizens"

- 1 More competitive
- 2 Better social security
- 3 Both (volunteered)
- 4 None / Can't say (volunteered)
- 5 Refused (volunteered)

## II. Elites REPRESENTATION

### (\* E.RP.7. Left-right location

**RP.7.1.** On a left-right scale where 0 means the left and 10 means the right, where would you place yourself?

left    0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    right

11. DK (V)

12. Refuse (V)

### RP 7.2.

*For political elites*

*For economic elites*

Do you think of yourself primarily as ...

[Not asked]

(rotate answers)

1. Representative of your constituency
2. Representative of your party
3. Representative of a particular social group
4. Representative of the citizens of your country as a whole
5. Refuse to chose only one answer (volunteered)
6. DK (V)
7. Refuse (V)

E.RP8. Objective representation: pro/anti European position taking

(\* M.RP8.1b. Some say European unification should be strengthened. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a 10-point-scale. On this scale, '0' means unification "has already gone too far" and '10' means it "should be strengthened". What number on this scale best describes your position?

0-10

11. DK (S)

12. Refusal (S)

E.RP8.1. How much do you agree with the following statements:

(rotate answers)

- a. The member states ought to remain the central actors of the European Union.
- b. The European Commission ought to become the true government of the European Union
- c. The powers of the European Parliament ought to be strengthened

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree somewhat
3. Disagree somewhat
4. Disagree strongly
5. Don't know (V)
6. Refuse (V)

(\* E.RP.8.2.

Some say that we should have a single European Union Army. Others say every country should keep its own national army. What is your opinion?

1. A national [country] army
2. A European Union army
3. Both a national (country) and a European Union army [NOT volunteered]
4. Neither (V)
5. DK (V)
6. Refuse (V)

(\*) E.RP9 « Subjective » Representation: Trust in Institutions

*For political elites*

Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the following EU institutions to usually take the right decisions. 0 means that you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust.

RP9.2 The European Parliament?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

RP9.4 The European Commission?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

RP9.5. The European Council of Ministers  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

*For economic elites*

Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the following institutions to usually take the right decisions. 0 means that you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust.

RP9.1 What about the [national] parliament ?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

RP9.2 The European Parliament?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

RP9.3 The [national] government?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

RP9.4 The European Commission?  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

RP9.5. The European Council of Ministers  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

RP9.6 The 'regional' government?  
[or 'local', depending on national system]  
no trust at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 complete trust

E.RP.10. Responsiveness/Efficacy.

I am going to read a few statements on politics in [nation] and in Europe. Could you please tell me whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree with each of them?

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 Disagree somewhat
- 4 Strongly disagree
5. Neither agree nor disagree (volunteered)
6. Don't know (volunteered)
7. Refused (volunteered)

RP10.1 Those who make decisions at the European Union level do not take enough account of the interests of [country] at stake.

RP10.2. The interests of some member states carry too much weight at the EU level?

RP10.3.

*For political elites*

There are different ways for national MPs to influence EU policy-decisions. How would you evaluate each of the following?

- a. via your national government
- b. via your national parliament, and for example its committees
- c. via a European party
- f. activating contacts with European institutions

*For economic elites*

There are different ways for national economic elites to influence EU policy-decisions. How would you evaluate each of the following?

- a. via your national government
- b. via your national parliament, and for example its committees
- d. via European business organisations
- e. via the representations in Economic and Social Committee
- f. Lobbying European institutions

- 1. not effective at all
- 2. rather ineffective
- 3. rather effective
- 4. very effective
- 5. DK (V)
- 6. Refuse (V)

### III. Elites SCOPE OF GOVERNANCE

SG1.0. [*Moved here*] - [*For Turkey, Serbia... if you were a member of the EU*]

Out of one hundred Euro [*/ national currency when relevant*] of tax money a citizen pays, how much should be allocated on the regional, national and European level?

- a. Regional (0-100)
- b. National (0-100)
- c. European (0-100)
- Don't know (V) – Code 444 in all three
- Refuse (V) – Code 555 in all three

*R. To the instruction booklet: "Here we are interested in your opinion, not in the actual distribution. We want to know where should be the decisions done in optimal case." The sum of a+b+c should be 100, check it and ask correction if necessary!*

#### E.SG1. POLICY COMPETENCE NOW

SG1.1. I am going to read out a list of policy areas. For each of them, as of today, could you please tell me, on the bases of your judgment, whether they are mainly dealt today at regional level, national level or European Union level?

[*If necessary, prompt: 'is mainly dealt with at regional level, national level or EU level?'*]

- 1 Regional level
- 2 National level
- 3 European Union level

- 4 None of them (volunteered)
5. Regional and national (volunteered)
6. National and European (volunteered)
7. Regional and European (volunteered)
8. All three (volunteered)
9. Don't know (volunteered)
- 10 Refused (volunteered)

[rotate policy areas]

- SG1.1 Fighting unemployment
- SG1.2 Immigration policy
- SG1.3 Environment policy
- SG1.4 Fight against crime
- SG1.5 Health care policy
- SG1.6. Taxation

(\*) E.SG2: POLICY COMPETENCE PREFERRED

How do you think it *would be* most appropriate to deal with each of the following policy areas?

ESG2.1 Do you think that fighting unemployment should be mainly dealt with at regional level, at national level, at European Union level?

[rotate questions]

1. Regional level
2. National level
3. European Union level
4. Not an area to be dealt with by any level of government (volunteered)
5. Regional and national (volunteered)
6. National and European (volunteered)
7. Regional and European (volunteered)
8. All three (volunteered)
9. Don't know (volunteered)
- 10 Refused (volunteered)

ESG2.2. What about immigration policy ?

ESG2.3 Environment policy ?

ESG2.4 Fight against crime?

ESG2.5 Health care policy?

ESG2.6 Taxation?

\* EID10 MOVED HERE. Former E.ID.10.

People differ in what they think it means to be a European. In your view, how important is each of the following to be a European?

- a. To be a Christian
- b. To share European cultural traditions
- c. To be born in Europe
- d. To have European parents
- e. To respect the European Union's laws and institutions
- f. To feel European
- g. To master a European language

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all
5. DKs (V)
6. Refusal (V)

(\*) E.SG3. Thinking about the European Union over the next 10 years, can you tell me whether you are in favour or against the following:  
[rotate questions]

- 1 Strongly in favour
- 2 Somewhat in favour
3. Somewhat against
4. Strongly against

- 5 Neither in favour or against (volunteered)
- 6 Don't know (volunteered)
- 7 Refused (volunteered)

- SG3.1. A unified tax system for the European Union  
 SG3.2. A common system of social security  
 SG3.3. A single EU foreign policy toward outside countries  
 SG3.4. More help for EU regions in economic or social difficulties

[ESG.4 was moved into ID section]

## IV. Elites EV

### 1. Study

a.1. *[To be asked only if this data is not already available].*

Which has been the highest education degree received?

(No items to be read out) – [Using the ISSP classification of education]

1. None
2. Incomplete primary
3. Primary completed
4. Incomplete secondary
5. Secondary completed
6. University incomplete
7. University degree completed
8. Master degree
9. PhD
10. DK (V)
11. Refuse (V)

a.2. [If answer to a.1 is 6-9] In which field ?

1. Law
2. Business
3. Engineering
4. Social sciences
5. Humanities
6. Else

7. DK (V)  
8. Refuse (V)

b. Have you had any study experience abroad?

1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Refuse (V)

If yes, stimulate level and duration:

2. Non political profession.

*For political elites*

a. What kind of occupation did you have when you were elected to the parliament [*in relevant cases: became a minister (if not a MP before)*] for the first time?

Previous occupation

- 1 - top civil servant (above head of department position in ministries)  
2 - lower civil servant  
3 - politician (MP, party leader, paid party employee)  
4 - top leader of firms, banks (above head of department)  
5 - leader, medium position (head of department)  
6 - leader, lower position (below head of department, controlling others' work)  
7 - professional (with higher education, in non-managerial position)  
8 - entrepreneur, self-employed, business proprietor  
9 - white collar, (at desk without higher education)  
10 - employed not at desk, but travelling (salesman, driver)  
11 - employed not at desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, etc.)  
12 - skilled manual  
13 - unskilled manual  
14 - non-active  
99 - NA

Sector of occupation

- 1 - public  
2 - nationalized industry  
3 - private industry  
4 - private services  
5 - NA

b. How long did you have that job?

*For economic elites*

a. a. What kind of occupation did you have before you got into the present position?

Previous occupation

- 1 - top civil servant (above head of department position in ministries)  
2 - lower civil servant  
3 - politician (MP, party leader, paid party employee)  
4 - top leader of firms, banks (above head of department)  
5 - leader, medium position (head of department)  
6 - leader, lower position (below head of department, controlling others' work)  
7 - professional (with higher education, in non-managerial position)  
8 - entrepreneur, self-employed, business proprietor  
9 - white collar, (at desk without higher education)  
10 - employed not at desk, but travelling (salesman, driver)  
11 - employed not at desk, but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, etc.)  
12 - skilled manual  
13 - unskilled manual  
14 - non-active  
99 - NA

Sector of occupation

- 1 - public  
2 - nationalized industry  
3 - private industry  
4 - private services  
5 - NA

b. How long did you have the present job?

Duration (years):

[Note: if less than one year, code one year]

[not asked]

Duration (years):

[Note: if less than one year, code one year]

c. Did you work abroad? If yes, for how long?

1. Yes

2. No

3. DK (V)

4. Refuse (V)

Duration:

3.

*For political elites*

a. Now we would like to ask you if you already had any political positions before your first parliamentary election [*in relevant cases*: before you became a minister for the first time (*if not a MP before*)]

a. Have you ever been a city or town councillor?

1. Yes

2. No

3. DK (V)

4. Refuse (V)

b. A mayor or city executive?

1. Yes

2. No

3. DK (V)

4. Refuse (V)

c. A provincial or regional member of assembly?

1. Yes

2. No

3. DK (V)

4. Refuse (V)

d. A provincial or regional executive?

1. Yes

2. No

3. DK (V)

4. Refuse (V)

e. Have you already been in a top governmental position ? [*above head of department*]

1. Yes

2. No

3. DK (V)

4. Refuse (V)

4.

*For political elites*

a. What is the highest party positions you achieved before your first parliamentary election [see relevant cases]?

1. Nothing

2. Local

3. Regional

4. National

5. DK (V)

*For economic elites*

a.1 Are you member of a party?

1. yes

2. no

3. refuse (V)

a2. Had you ever been member of a party:

1. yes

2. no

3. refusal (V)

6. Refuse (V)

b. Have you or have you had a position (*incarico*) in EU party federations?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Refuse (V)

Have you or have you had a position in a multinational firm or association?

6.

*For political elites*

Are you considering pursuing a political career on a European level? [*Specify the notion of political career: give examples. If needed, prompt: 'For instance, becoming a MEP?'*]

1. Yes
2. No
3. DK (V)
4. Refuse (V)

*For economic elites*

Are you considering pursuing a professional career on an European level?

1. Yes
2. No
3. DK (V)
4. Refuse (V)

7. Do you have close relatives or close friends living in or coming from another European country?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Refuse (V)

8. How often do you use media from other than your nation to inform yourself?

1. Every day
2. Once in the week
3. From time to time
4. Never
5. DK (V)
6. Refuse (V)

9. Have you had contacts in the last year with... (yes/no)

- a. European interest groups
- b. European social movements and NGOs out of your country?
- c. Parties of other EU countries

1. Yes
2. No
3. DK (V)
4. Refuse (V)

(\*) EV2.

Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (YOUR COUNTRY) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union ?

1. Has benefited
2. Has not benefited
3. Don't know (volunteered)

## 4. Refused (volunteered)

## EV9 Standard Demographics

[Only asked if these data are not available] -

## a. Gender

1. M
2. F

## b. Birthplace:

## b.1.

1. In (country) (e.g. Hungary, Spain...) [*within current borders*]
2. Abroad

## b.2. If answer to b1 is 1

1. Rural area or village
2. Small or medium size town
3. Large town
4. Capital
5. Refuse (V)

## c. Year of birth:

## d. Religious confession

From a religious point of view, how would you consider yourself?

[Do not read out]

1. Catholic
2. Orthodox
3. Protestant
4. Other Christian
5. Jewish
6. Muslim
7. Sikh
8. Buddhist
9. Hindu
10. Atheist
11. Non believer or agnostic
12. Other
13. Don't know (V)
14. Refuse (V)