



«A quest  
for Citizenship  
in an  
ever closer  
Europe»



***Second wave of the***

***INTUNE ELITE SURVEY  
IN CZECH REPUBLIC***

***Final Report***

**Zdenka Mansfeldová  
Institute of Sociology  
Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic**

**Prague, December 2009**

## **Part I. Methodological and organizational issues**

### **1. Sampling and selection**

#### **1.1. Political elite**

From the very beginning, the Czech team opted for mixed strategy based on previous experience. To obtain interviews with political elites (MPs), the director of the Institute of Sociology, in accordance with the established practice of our parliamentary research, wrote a letter to the head of the Parliamentary office and asked him for permission to conduct the survey in the Parliament. Subsequently, letters together with IntUne leaflet were sent to all heads of parliamentary party groups in the Chamber of Deputies with the aim to inform them about the IntUne survey. As the third step, all MPs in the sample received a personal letter via e-mail (exceptionally via regular mail), accompanied with the information about IntUne project. Only after these three steps were finalized, the interviewers started to call MPs and their assistants in order to make an appointment for the interview. In the course of fieldwork, after each refusal a substitute was immediately found and contacted. Very often the contact was arranged with the help of MPs' assistant, also the help of PPG secretariats has to be mentioned.

The initial sample of the Czech political elite included 70 MPs, selected through the *quota sampling* procedure set up for IntUne. The first criterion for us was the party affiliation (coalition and opposition), then the political experience and gender. We refused to prefer one or another committee. We have overcharged a little bit the number of experienced MPs with two or more terms, because we have expected more refusals among them. This expectation can be explained by the fact that among the experienced MPs are also present ministers.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless in the final sample the proportion of the experienced deputies corresponds with their proportion in the population of MPs (54, 5%). A general overview of the sample gives the table 1.

---

<sup>1</sup> The interconnection of the two functions in the Czech Republic is a very common phenomenon.

**Table 1. General overview of the sample**

	Population (MPs (1 January 2009))		Initial sample (11 January 2009)		Final sample (1 July 2009)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Frontbencher</b>						
<b>Yes</b>	44	22,0	15	18,8	7	15,9
<b>No</b>	156	78,0	65	81,2	37	84,1
<b>Total</b>	200	100	80	100,0	44	100,0
<b>Terms</b>						
<b>1</b>	91	45,5	44	55,0	20	45,5
<b>&gt;1</b>	109	54,5	36	45,0	24	54,5
<b>Age</b>						
<b>≤ 50</b>	112	42,5	41	51,3	16	36,4
<b>≥ 51</b>	88	57,5	39	48,7	28	63,5
<b>Gender</b>						
<b>M</b>	169	85	64	80,0	35	79,5
<b>F</b>	31	15	16	20,0	9	20,5
<b>Party</b>						
<b>Government coalition</b>	96	48,0	37	46,3	17	38,6
<b>Civic Democratic Party</b>	79	39,5	30	37,5	15	34,1
<b>Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak Peoples Party</b>	13	6,5	6	7,5	2	4,5
<b>Greens</b>	4	2,0	1	1,3	-	-
<b>Opposition</b>	97	48,5	43	53,7	27	61,4
<b>Czech Social Democratic Party</b>	71	35,5	29	36,2	16	36,4
<b>Communist Party</b>	26	13,0	12	15,0	11	25,0
<b>Unaffiliated</b>	7	3,5	2	2,5	-	-

The proportion between coalition and opposition parties was not maintained, there was overrepresentation of opposition parties. It is important to mention that this is a result of different position the parties hold towards European integration. Another case where we can talk about slight overrepresentation is gender.

In the sample, there were included 7 (15.9%) frontbench politicians, e.g. former ministers, presidents/vice presidents of the House, chairmen of parliamentary party groups and standing committees. The field work was performed during the Czech EU Presidency; frontbench MPs were, therefore, involved in many actions organized by the Parliament in connection with the Presidency and not available for our survey.

The research team was not able to fulfil the quota of 70 Deputies. Due to the failure of the government to obtain the vote of confidence in March 2009, in the middle of the Czech EU Presidency, it was extremely difficult to predict the course of future events. The new interim government was formed and early elections were later declared, in this situation it was impossible to reach the MPs. Even some of the already arranged appointments with the MPs were cancelled by the MPs.

## **1.2. Trade unions**

The task was to cover about 15 national trade union leaders. At the end, 16 interviews were realized. Only one of the addressed trade union leaders refused the interview for work reasons. Our sample was constructed according to following criteria:

- Leaders of the Trade Unions and leaders of big sub-groups of Trade-Unions (for example, Railways organizations)
- Members of the Council of the Economic and Social Accord (national Economic and Social Council)
- Organisations selected as a whole (as Confederations) had to cover at least 75% of the overall number of people associated with trade unions in that given country
- Due to some strong regional organisations in industrial areas (and special position of Bohemia and Moravia in the Czech Republic), we have also included three heads of regional chambers in Brno, see table 2.

In the sample, there are 10 male trade unionists and 6 female trade unionists. All interviews were done in form of face-to-face interviews.

**Table 2. National trade union leaders – Czech Republic**

Organisation	Position	F/M
CMKOS - Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions (umbrella org.)	Head of the economic dept.	F
Czech Metalworkers' Federation KOVO	Chairman	M
TU in chemical industry	Vice-chairman	M
TU of Workers in Mines, Geology and Oil Industry	Chairman	M
TU of Building Workers	Chairman	M
TU Trade Union of Workers in Textile, Clothing and Leather Industry	Chairman	F
TU of Workers in Woodworking Industry, Forestry and Management of Water	Vice-chairman	M
TU of Workers in Science and Research	Vice-chairman	F
TU of Catering, Hotels and Tourism	Chairman	F
Czech - Moravian Trade Union of Workers in Education	Vice-chairman	F
ASO – Association of independent TU – umbrella org. – TU Workers in agriculture	Chairman	M
Association of retired trade unionists by CMKOS	Chairman	M
ASO Regional chamber Brno	Chairman	M
CMKOS Regional Council Brno	Chairman	F
Czech Metalworkers' Federation KOVO – regional chamber Brno	Chairman	M
ASO-TU of Workers in railway	Vice-chairman	M

CMKOS - Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions is a voluntary, open, independent, democratic confederation of 31 affiliated trade unions with countrywide activity. CMKOS is the largest confederation which works in the regions of the Czech Republic through Regional Councils of Trade Unions (RROS) and Regional Offices for Legal Assistance (RPP). It is a member of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and of the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC).

ASO – Association of Independent Trade Unions is a second largest confederation which associates 13 trade unions with countrywide activity.

### **1.3. Media elite**

According to the assignment, a sample of top media was created with the aim to obtain interviews with 35 top opinion makers/journalists.

First, we made a list of print media ranked according to their territorial coverage, number of copies, size of audience, influence and political/cultural orientation. Our sample consists of opinion makers in newspapers, journals, TV stations, Radio stations and influential electronic media. Finally, we contacted 63 persons and got 28 refusals. Among the 35 opinion makers

there were 80% male and 20% female, 28 media directors/vice directors, three editors and 14 top journalists. For details see table 3.

**Table 3. Top opinion leaders – media, Czech Republic**

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Director</b>	<b>Vice-director</b>	<b>Editor</b>	<b>Top-journalist</b>	<b>M/F</b>	
Právo				x	M	1
Právo, regional office Brno	x				M	2
Rovnost, regional daily Brno				x	M	3
Blesk	x				M	4
Blesk, regional office Brno				x	M	5
Lidové noviny	x				M	6
Lidové noviny, regional office Brno	x				M	7
MF Dnes	x				M	8
MF Dnes				x	M	9
MF Dnes, regional office Brno				x	F	10
Metro	x				M	11
Metropolitan Brno	x				F	12
Hospodářské noviny		x			M	13
Hospodářské noviny				x	M	14
<b>Journals</b>						
Respekt	x				M	15
Respekt				x	M	16
Týden.cz	x				M	17
Týden.cz		x			M	18
<b>TV</b>						
ČT 1/ ČT 24 (the main public TV)	x				M	19
ČT 1/ ČT 24 (the main public TV)			x		M	20
ČT 1/ ČT 24 (the main public TV)			x		M	21
ČT 1/ ČT 24 (the main public TV)				x	M	22
TV Z1	x				M	23
NOVA – the main private TV, regional office Brno				x	F	24
ČT – regional office Brno				x	M	25
ČT – regional office Brno				x	M	26
ČT – regional office Brno			x		M	27
ČT – regional office Jihlava				x	M	28
<b>Radio</b>						
Český rozhlas, regional office Brno		x			M	29
Radio Impuls	x				M	30
ČRo I. - Radiožurnál		x			F	31
ČRo II Praha	x				F	32
ČRo, Rádio Česko				x	F	33
<b>Electronic media</b>						
Aktuálně.cz.	x				M	34
Information service Brno city				x	M	35
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>29/6</b>	<b>35</b>

## **2. Field work**

The Czech team was composed of the head of the project group and seven interviewers<sup>2</sup>. There were three experienced interviewers from the first wave. One of the experienced interviewers, Barbora Spicarova Staskova, took part in the 2007 IntUne Winter School in Louvain, and another one, Tomas Lacina, participated in the 2009 IntUne Winter School in Barcelona.

The basic preparatory work for fieldwork was done in the time period from December 2008 till February 15, 2009. In this period following activities were carried out:

- Translation of the questionnaires (Barbora Š. Staskova), checked by Vlastimil Nečas.
- Interview Training Workshop by Institute of Sociology in Prague and several working meetings were organized in order to focus on: (a) discussion about the translation of the questionnaire (the whole group); (b) selection of the respondents; (c) form of the introductory letter; (d) letters to the respondents; (e) organizational matters.
- Arrangement of the accession to the Parliament - written communication with the Head of the Office of the Chamber of Deputies and the Office itself, with the PPG chairmen.
- Research on trade unions and media/journalists to be interviewed: (a) collecting information about activities of the organizations, the organizations' contact details, responsible individuals in each organization; (b) preparation of the national excel table of organizations and respondents to be interviewed.
- Selection of deputies; preparation of the national excel table of MPs to be interviewed.
- Selection of trade unionists; preparation of the national excel table of TU representatives to be interviewed.
- Interviewers training meeting, including providing instructions and discussion of the questionnaire.
- Contacting the selected respondents from all three groups; scheduling interviews with selected interviewees.

### **Equipment of the interviewers:**

- Each interviewer obtained a letter of credence of the interviewer in its name, in both print and electronic form.
- Each interviewer obtained a sample letter addressing the MPs/media/TU elite. Interviewers were informed that they should have been solicitous about personal

---

<sup>2</sup> Barbora Špicarová Stašková, Alžběta Bernardyová, Tomáš Lacina, Věra Dvořáková, Karel Vališ, Magda Juránková, and Vlastimil Nečas. Many thanks to all of them for the excellent job and cooperation.

formulation, i.e. to address men as “Mr. Deputy” (“pane poslanče”) and women as “Mrs Deputy” (“paní poslankyně”). When addressing media/TU elites, titles and/or work position were recommended to be used.

- Each interviewer obtained IntUne leaflets that he/she gave to the respondent as part of the presentation of the project.
- Each interviewer obtained explanatory comments to some of the questions, which, based on our previous experiences from the first wave, needed additional explanation or were not clearly understood (e.g. what is meant by the expression “last year”).
- The interviewers themselves searched the internet to obtain basic available information about the respondent and eventually about his/her organization.

The research team held regular working meetings to discuss the obstacles and the progress reached in the fieldwork and to develop alternative strategies. Apart from these meetings, there was continuous e-mail and phone communication among the group. The overall overview of the fieldwork can be seen in Table 4.

**Table 4. Contacts and completed interviews**

	<b>Contacts total</b>	<b>Contacts started</b>	<b>Refusals / no replies</b>	<b>Interviews</b>	<b>First and last interview</b>	<b>Face to face</b>	<b>Telephone</b>
Political Elite	85	8.1.2009	41	44	24.3.- 9.6.2009	44	-
Trade unionists	17	8.1.2009	1	16	14.1.- 8.2.2009	16	-
Media elite	63	15.1.2009	28	35	28.1.- 2.6.2009	30	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>165</b>	-	<b>70</b>	<b>95</b>	-	<b>90</b>	<b>5</b>

### **3. Coding**

There was one person responsible for coding and one responsible for the control of the data. Both of them are members of the research team, have experience with the quantitative research and the work with data and both of them have received the required experience during the IntUne pretest. The data were double checked.

### **4. Quality control and data protection**

The interviewers were obliged to regularly fill in their personal excel file with the data on political/trade union/media elites and information about the procedure of contacting

respondents, the progress achieved and the results. These tables were distributed regularly among the research group every second week.

All delivered completed questionnaires were checked by the person who was in charge of creating the dataset and randomly by the head of the research group. After the SPSS file was produced, another member of the group made a control of the dataset comparing it with the excel tables.

The protection of data and data archiving is in accord with the Act No. 101/2000 Coll., on the personal data protection, and is regulated by Director's directive No. 2/ 2005 "Obligatory rules for manipulation with personal data in the Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic". Data and questionnaires are stored according to principles of personal data protection valid in the Czech Republic.

## ***II. Basic characteristics of the political, trade union and media elite***

### ***1. Social background and position***

The Czech political elite - MPs interviewed could be profiled as follows:

Average age of members of political elite is 53 years, of Trade unionists 55 years, and in case of media elite it is 35 years.

**Table 5. Social background and position**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Political elite</b>	<b>Trade union</b>	<b>Media</b>	<b>Together</b>	<b>N</b>
Gender (% of male)	79,5	10,0	80,0	78,0	95
Age (% of ≥ 51)	68,2	81,3	5,7	47,4	45
Geographic origin1 (% of foreign-born)	4,5	6,3	2,6	4,2	4
Education1 (% of those with higher education degree) [EV01A_1: 7-9]	86,4	37,5	77,1	74,7	71
Education2 (% of those with foreign studies) [EV01B_1: 1]	13,6	43,8	28,6	24,2	23
Previous position: % of top leaders [EV02A1: 1 3 4 8]	68,2	0,0	20,0	38,9	37
Political elite: highest previous party position on national level (%) [EV04APOL: 4]	15,9	-	-	15,9	7

## 2. Attachment to Czech Republic / the European Union (%)

The trade union elite feel to be more attached to the EU than media and political elite. The strongest attachment to the own country (Czech Republic) demonstrate the political elite.

**Table 6. Attachment to the own country and to the EU (in %)**

	Political Elite		Media		TU		Together	
	Czech Republic	EU	Czech Republic	EU	Czech Republic	EU	Czech Republic	EU
Very attached	77,3	25,0	30,3	20,6	71,4	42,9	59,3	26,1
Somewhat attached	20,5	56,8	54,5	61,8	21,4	50,0	33,3	57,6
Not very attached	2,3	18,2	12,1	11,8	0,0	7,1	5,5	14,1
Not at all attached	0,0	0,0	3,0	5,9	7,1	0,0	2,2	2,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

## 3. Self-perception from the national/European perspective

The Czech elite in general see themselves as first Czech and then Europeans, only one quarter see themselves as solely Czech. Bigger accent on being European can be found among the media elite.

**Table 7. Self-perception from the national/European perspective (in %)**

Do you see yourself as...	Political Elite	Media	TU	Together
Czech	34,1	18,2	20,2	26,1
Czech and European	63,6	60,6	73,3	64,1
European and Czech	2,3	18,2	6,7	8,7
European only	0,0	3,0	0,0	1,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

#### 4. *EU and national interests*

The Czech elites are in generally rather sceptical concerning decisions made on the EU level; 54,2% strongly or somewhat agree with the opinion that the Czech interests are not enough taken into account when decision is made on the EU level. The most sceptical from the three investigated groups are MPs (63,6%). The media elite are more optimistic, only 44,1% of them share the view that Czech interests are not enough taken into account by decision making on the European level.

**Table 8. EU and national interests (%)**

	<b>Those who make decisions at the EU level do not take enough account of the interests of Czech Republic at stake</b>			
	<b>Political elites</b>	<b>Media</b>	<b>TU</b>	<b>Together</b>
Strongly agree	13,6	5,9	12,5	10,6
Agree somewhat	50,0	38,2	37,5	43,6
Disagree somewhat	36,4	44,1	37,5	39,4
Strongly disagree	0,0	5,9	12,5	4,3
Neither agree nor disagree	0,0	5,9	0,0	2,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

#### 5. *The main aim of the EU*

**Table 9. The view on the main aim of the EU (in %)**

<b>The main aim of the EU should be....</b>	<b>Political Elite</b>	<b>Media</b>	<b>TU</b>	<b>Together</b>
... to make the European economy more competitive in world markets	59,1	67,6	0,0	52,7
... to provide better social security for all its citizens	27,3	23,5	66,7	32,3
... both	13,6	8,8	33,3	15,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

#### 6. *EU-membership: benefited or not?*

The Czech Republic has only short experience with the EU membership yet, but still in general the evaluation of this period is generally positive; 93,% of political elite, 94,5% of

media elite and 100,0% of trade unionists hold the opinion that CR has benefited from EU membership.

**Table 10. Benefit from the EU-membership (%)**

	Political Elite	Media	TU	Together
Has benefited	93,0	94,3	100,0	94,6
Has not benefited	7,0	5,7	0,0	5,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

However, this opinion does not correspond at all with the view on how far should or may the unification go (see Table 11).

### **7. Support to unification (mean)**

Czech elites are not too much in favour of strengthening the unification and there is no big difference between political, media and trade union elites. The current situation seems to be satisfactory for them; however, the trade unionists demonstrate slightly more support for strengthening the EU unification.

**Table 11. Support to further unification**

	Political Elite	Media	TU	Together
Support of unification (from '0' has gone too far to '10' should be strengthened)	5,2	5,5	5,9	5,4
<b>N</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>94</b>

### **8. Trust in EU institutions (from '0' no trust at all to '10' complete trust)**

Czech elites are in general characterized by lower level of trust towards European institutions. At the scale where "0" means no trust at all and "10" stands for complete trust the evaluation oscillates around the middle value. A little higher level of trust is shown by the political elite. A possible explanation is that out of the three monitored groups, the MPs have the greatest experience with European politics and European institutions. The lowest level of trust was expressed by the trade unionists (Table 12).

**Table 12. Trust in EU institutions (from '0' no trust at all to '10' complete trust)**

	Political Elites	Media	TU	Together
Trust in the European Parliament (mean)	5,6	4,3	4,2	4,9
Trust in the European Commission (mean)	5,1	4,7	4,1	4,8
Trust in the European Council of Ministers (mean)	5,8	4,7	3,8	5,1
<b>N</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>94</b>

### 9. Distribution of taxation

**Table 13. Distribution of taxation on different levels**

Out of a hundred Euro of tax money a citizen pays, how much should be allocated on the regional, national and European level?	Political Elites	Media	TU	Together
Regional level (mean)	44,5	46,7	37,7	44,1
National level (mean)	41,1	37,3	45,0	40,4
European level (mean)	14,4	16,0	17,3	15,4

Concerning taxation, it seems to be clear that bigger pouch of tax money should stay “at home”. In the average, there is not such a big difference between the proportions of tax money, which will stay on regional or national level, but the proportion of tax money designated for the European level is significantly lower. It corresponds with the support for the idea that the member states ought to remain the central actors of the EU.

### 10. Action in time of financial and economic crisis

New topic in the second wave of data collection was the perception of how to reduce the impact of financial crises. In view of the current financial crisis and of the need to reduce its impact upon the economy of Czech Republic the respondents were asked to place the following alternatives in decreasing order of preference. The respondents were asked to rank following options from the most (1) to the least (4) preferred. Table 14 demonstrates, according to the average preference of options, how or with the help of whom to best deal with the impacts of the financial crisis on national economy.

**Table 14. The most appropriate alternative how to reduce the impact of financial crisis.**

<b>Options...</b>	<b>Political Elites</b>	<b>Media</b>	<b>TU</b>	<b>Together</b>
An intervention of International financial institutions	2,6	3,0	2,7	2,8
An intervention of the European Union	2,5	3,0	2,1	2,6
A coordinated action of national governments	1,7	2,0	2,1	1,9
An autonomous action of your national (Czech) government	3,1	2,6	3,0	2,9

Overall, the individual response of national government, i.e. the Czech government is preferred the most. Intervention of international monetary institutions was placed as the second best alternative. On the whole, the lowest expectations were expressed towards the coordinated action of national governments; it can, therefore, be identified as the least effective option.

### ***11. Intergovernmental and supranational government***

The Czech elites support the idea that the member states ought to remain the central actors of the EU (Table 15). This statement is more strongly expressed by the political elite, 88.7% of them strongly agree or somewhat agree, that the member states ought to remain the central actors of the EU. This corresponds with the opinion on the future role of the European Commission. The idea that the European Commission ought to be the true government of the EU is supported by only 31.5% of the respondents.

There is more moderate position towards the strengthening of powers of the European Parliament. Also, the elites did not express strong need to strengthen the powers of the European Parliament; only 54,5% of the respondents support this idea (strongly agree or somewhat agree). This opinion is much more strongly expressed by trade unionists.

**Table 15. Intergovernmental and supranational government (%)**

	The member states ought to remain the central actors of the EU			The European Commission ought to be the true government of the EU			The powers of the European Parliament ought to be strengthened		
	Political Elite	Media	TU	Political Elite	Media	TU	Political Elite	Media	TU
Strongly agree	70,5	55,9	37,5	7,0	9,1	7,6	14,6	9,1	12,5
Agree somewhat	18,2	32,4	43,8	20,9	30,3	23,9	41,5	39,4	50,0
Disagree somewhat	11,4	11,8	12,5	41,9	45,5	45,7	29,3	36,4	37,5
Strongly disagree	0,0	0,0	6,3	30,2	15,2	22,8	14,4	15,1	0,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

### **Conclusion**

The second wave of the IntUne empirical survey in the Czech Republic took place in time of long and complicated political struggle over the Lisbon Treaty ratification. The concurrent Czech European Presidency (1<sup>st</sup> half-year of 2009) enabled different elite groups to familiarize themselves with the procedures of European governance, decision making processes on the European level, and to engage in them as well. Also in the first half of 2009, the elections to the European Parliament were held and questions concerning broadening and deepening the EU integration and its impacts on the Czech Republic played important part in the election campaign debate. This leads us to a question, whether the reserved position of Czech elites towards the EU changed, and if yes, then in what direction. Let's look at only two issues – deepening the European integration and transfer of governance and decision making to the European level.

In the case of deepening of the European integration, there were no significant changes, as is shown in Table 16. Czech elites remain at the middle of the scale, in other words, the current level of unification is sufficient for them.

**Table 16. Support to further unification**

	I. wave	II. wave
Support of unification (from '0' has gone too far to '10' should be strength	5,6	5,4

There were no significant changes even in the opinion about who should be the main actor in the EU. As Table 17 shows, it is obvious that according to the surveyed elites, member states should remain as the central actors in the EU. On the contrary, support for the idea that European Commission should act as the true government of the EU has declined. There was a positive shift in opinions on the competences of the European Parliament; support for strengthening its competences was 54.5 % compared to 48.2 % two years ago.

**Table 17. Intergovernmental and supranational government over time (in %)**

	The member states ought to remain the central actors of the EU		The European Commission ought to be the true government of the EU		The powers of the European Parliament ought to be strengthened	
	I. wave	II. wave	I. wave	II. wave	I. wave	II. wave
Strongly agree/ Agree somewhat	89,4	87,2	35,1	31,5	48,2	54,5
Disagree somewhat/ Strongly disagree	10,6	12,8	63,2	68,8	50,0	45,5

Note: Number of missing percent to 100 stands for missing data.