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Elite survey of the Bridging Project “The Political Sociology of Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism”

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Elite survey of the Bridging project
“The Political Sociology of Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism”
Technical Report

by Céline Teney, Oliver Strijbis, Sarah Carol, and Senem Tepe^{*}

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Abstract

This elite survey has been carried out as part of the data collection effort of the WZB bridging project “The Political Sociology of Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism”. Elites from five countries that were selected to represent five world regions (Germany, Poland, Turkey, Mexico and USA) compose the cross-national samples. Moreover, we included a sample of elites working at the EU and global levels. For each of these seven cases, we sampled positional elites working in the following 12 societal sectors: politics, administration, justice, military and police, labor union, lobbying, finance and economy, research, religious institutions, civil society, culture and media. We applied the same positional approach to identify elites at the national, European and global levels: elites are defined as the persons holding the highest positions in the most influential organizations within societal sectors. The sample design allows thus the comparison of elites at the same level across sectors and elites from the same sector across levels (i.e., national, European and global). The questionnaire focuses on denationalization issues that are most likely to be contested by actors on a cosmopolitan/communitarian ideological dimension: regional integration (border crossing of authority), immigration (border crossing of people), human rights (border crossing of norms), climate change (border crossing of pollutants) and international trade (border crossing of goods). One further objective of this elite survey was to enable elite-mass attitudinal comparison on the five denationalization issues across the five countries. Therefore, we included in the questionnaire items that were administered in cross-national mass surveys. All in all, the sampling and questionnaire designs of this elite survey enable three different types of analysis: (1) national and cross-national comparative analysis of the opinions of elites on the five denationalization issues across sectors of activity; (2) cross-level comparison of the attitudes of elites working at the national, EU and global levels across sectors of activity; and (3) analysis of the elite-mass gap in attitudes toward denationalization issues in the five countries. We used a mixed-mode approach for the data collection and contacted elites by combining personalized emails, personalized letters and telephone reminders. The data collection took place from spring 2014 until spring 2015. In total, 1604 completed questionnaires were collected. This paper discusses the sampling and questionnaire designs, response rates and data cleaning. It also presents the list of variables available from these survey data.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, Communitarianism, Elites

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1 Introduction

This elite survey has been carried out as part of the data collection effort of the WZB bridging project “The Political Sociology of Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism”. The purpose of the Bridging Project is to explore the way that globalization and denationalization have worked as a catalyst to socio-political restructuring of traditional cleavage structures at the national, supranational, and global levels as well as to explore how these foundational shifts vary within the nation-state context across multiple countries and for various types of actors including citizens, elites, parties, and the public sphere (De Wilde et al., forthcoming; Strijbis, Helmer, and De Wilde, 2018; Teney, Lacewell, and De Wilde, 2014; Zürn and De Wilde, 2016). The elite survey in particular has been used to analyze variance in preferences on a cosmopolitan vs. communitarian dimension between masses and elites (Strijbis, Teney, and Helbling, forthcoming) as well as within elites (Strijbis, forthcoming).

One of the key contributions of the project is to extend the analysis to cases outside the Western European nation states used by the Kriesi et al. (2012; 2008) project. Also important is the inclusion of two supranational cases: the European and the global levels. The case selection of the project is composed of democratic nation states that are dominant country in each of the following five regions: Western Europe (Germany), Central and Eastern Europe (Poland), Eurasia/Middle East (Turkey), Latin America (Mexico), and North America (USA). Therefore, the elite survey has been carried out in these five countries as well as at the European and global levels.

Moreover, the bridging project focuses on issues that are most likely to be contested by actors on a cosmopolitan/communitarian basis: regional integration (border crossing of authority), immigration (border crossing of people), human rights (border crossing of norms), climate change (border crossing of pollutants) and international trade (border crossing of goods). These issues are the primary focus of the empirical part of the bridging project and therefore of the elite survey questionnaire.

The aim of this survey that has been carried out among elites from 12 sectors of activity is to provide data that enables the analysis of the positions of elites at both the national (i.e., in Germany, Poland, Turkey, Mexico and the U.S.) and supranational (i.e., European and global) levels on the five aforementioned denationalization issues.

The design of the elite survey enables three different types of analysis. First, it enables the analysis of the positions taken by elites on the five denationalization issues and the extent to which these issues polarize elites across countries and sectors of activity. Second, the

questionnaire design of the elite survey allows the comparison of the elite survey data with mass survey data. This questionnaire design enables the assessment of the role of elites in this cosmopolitan-communitarian divide: do elites represent mass opinion in their position on denationalization issues or do we observe a gap between elite opinions and mass beliefs on the five contested issues? It has been indeed argued that cosmopolitanism is a construct of the elite western frequent travelers who benefit the most from the opening of national borders (Calhoun, 2002). The comparison of the data from the elite survey with the data from several existing mass surveys will assess the relevance of this claim for the five countries. Lastly, the data enable the assessment of a potential polarization of the elites along their level of activity: do global and European elites hold more cosmopolitan stances than their counterparts working within the nation state borders? In other words, does social transnationalization exert a polarizing function on denationalization issues among the elites? These three ambitious aims imply four main challenges for the questionnaire and elite sample designs:

- For the comparison of elites across countries, the samples for the five countries need to be similar
- For the comparison of the European and international elites with the respective national elites, the samples at the European and international levels need to correspond as far as possible to the sample for the five countries
- For the comparison of national elite positions with the ones of the general population on the five denationalization issues, the questionnaire has to contain as far as possible items that are identical to the ones of the mass surveys used in the analysis of citizens' attitudes
- For the comparison of the positions of the national elites with the ones of the European and international elites, the questionnaire for the European and international elites needs to be as similar as possible to the questionnaire for the national elites

In the following sections, we will first summarize the sample design of the survey for the seven cases. Next, we will present the questionnaire design. Third, we will describe the administration of the survey. Fourth, the response rates across sectors and cases will be presented.

2 Sample design: Including national, European and global elites within a single probability sampling framework

As a result of denationalization, labor markets and career perspectives are no longer contained within the state borders. Some scholars even claim that globalization is leading to the emergence of a global elite with its own class consciousness (Calhoun, 2002; Robinson & Harris, 2000; Sklair, 2001). Similarly, a European elite class is assumed to be on the rise with the deepening of the European Union integration (Fligstein, 2008). So far, representative studies on the emergence of a global and European elite class have focused on a limited type of elites, such as the European administrative and political elites or global business elites. Empirical evidence of a European and global elite class has thus remained sparse (Hoffmann-Lange, 2012). Further empirical studies that assess the existence of social cohesion and consensual positions among supranational elites are therefore strongly needed to push forward the debate on the emergence of a European and global elite with a supranational outlook.

In our elite survey, we developed a probability sampling methodology that expands previous sample designs of European and global elites to a broad range of sectors of activity. Moreover, our methodology enabled the application of the same probability sampling design at the global, European and national levels. In doing so, we applied the same positional approach to identify elites at the national, European and global levels: elites are defined as the persons holding the highest positions in the most influential organizations within societal sectors. The level attributed to an elite corresponds to the level in which his/her organization is active. We use thus an organizational perspective to distinguish between national, European and global elites. For instance, persons holding leading positions within the United Nations, within the European Parliament and within the national parliament are considered respectively as global, European and national elites for the political sector. In developing these representative samples, we strived to maximize the comparability of the sector-based samples across levels and to avoid overlaps between samples across levels. Our sample design allows both the comparison of elites at the same level across sectors and elites from the same sector across levels.

This section is structured as follows. First, we discuss the positional approach we applied for sampling elites quantitatively. Second, we present the strategy we used to transpose the sampling design at the European and global level. Lastly, we describe for each sector of activity the criteria used to define elites across countries and across levels.

2.1 Positional elite approach

The first challenge of an elite sample deals with the definition of the target population (Ecker, 1998). This definition choice is essential: depending on our understanding of elites, different sample methods can be used. We followed the positional approach that has been applied by nearly all major comprehensive studies of national elites to identify the target population (Hoffmann-Lange, 2007). Accordingly, elites are persons who possess the resources to influence important societal decisions (Hoffmann-Lange, 1992, p. 19). Such power resources are segmented across societal sectors because of the relative independence of functional subsystems (or sectors) in differentiated modern societies (Machatzke, 1997). Moreover, these power resources are institutionally organized in developed democratic industrial societies: they are available to the holders of the highest positions in the most important organizations¹ within societal sectors (Machatzke, 1997). This conceptualization of positional elites does not consider power as an individual attribute. Rather, it implies that these resources are only available to the persons as long as they hold the corresponding positions (Machatzke, 1997). Accordingly, elites are defined as “incumbents of leadership positions in powerful political institutions and private organizations who, by virtue of their control of intra-organizational power resources, are able to influence important (political) decisions” (Hoffmann-Lange, 2008, p. 53). The positional approach is thus based on an institutional definition of elites and of their power resources. This institutional conceptualization of elites provides a straightforward method to draw representative elite samples. Indeed, defining elites by the type of positions they hold enables to draw clear-cut, reliable and replicable criteria for identifying the target population to be sampled².

The positional elite approach implies two decisions for sampling elites at the national level: the horizontal and vertical delimitations (Hoffmann-Lange, 2007). First, positional elite samples need to be delimited vertically: since power is available to the highest positions in the most important organizations of societal sectors, the highest positions of the most important organizations are sampled, while positions lower in the organizations’ hierarchy as well as less

¹ For the sake of coherence, we use the generic term of “organizations” across all sectors, even if the term of “institutions” is more common for some sectors, such as the political sector.

² The positional approach is not the only available methodology to sample elites. For instance, the reputational approach is a two-steps sampling method. First, a sample of experts is asked to name the most influential and powerful persons within their sector of activity. In a second step, the mentioned persons are considered as reputational elites and included in the sample. In contrast to the positional method, this approach is highly time-consuming for a large range of sectors of activity and not replicable. Another approach is to consider major societal decision making and sample the most influential persons directly linked to the process of these decision-making. This decisional approach defines elites only in term of active and direct influence and does not consider indirect or informal influence on the process of decision making. By contrast, the positional approach includes both direct and indirect societal influences (Hoffmann-Lange, 1992).

influential organizations are excluded from the sample. This requires a two-steps procedure: first, one selects the highest organizations for each sector, and then one selects the highest positions within these organizations (Hoffmann-Lange, 1992, pp. 86-90). The selection of the most important organizations within a sector is based on a consistent criterion, such as sale volumes of companies or market share of newspapers (Machatzke, 1997). Once the most influential organizations have been selected, one samples elites by following a top-down strategy: first sampling the highest positions of the highest organizations within a sector, then going down in the positional hierarchical steps until the sample size is sufficient. Second, one needs to delimit the sample horizontally by sampling a range of societal sectors. Which sectors provide resources to the positional elites that allow them to influence important societal decision making? While positional elites in the political sector possess the direct resources to make important societal decisions, positional elites from other sectors of activity, such as economy, civil society or media hold resources to influence indirectly these decision makings (see Machatzke, 1997 for further details). In order to broaden the scope of previous European and global elite surveys, we opted for a broad understanding of influence and took into account societal sectors that provide not only direct, but also indirect influence on important decision-making. We therefore used as a starting point the sector-based sampling design of the Potsdam elite survey (Bürklin & Rebenstorf, 1997) which is the latest comprehensive elite survey with conventional survey research methods carried out in the tradition of the well-established German elite research field (Hoffmann-Lange, 2001). The Potsdam elite survey is composed of leaders working in 12 sectors of activity (i.e., administration, politics, economy and finance, professional associations, religion, media, civil society, research, labor union, justice, culture, military). The Potsdam elite survey constitutes the German elite sample with the broadest range of sectors of activity (see Bunselmeyer, Holland Cunz, & Dribbisch, 2013; Helbling & Teney, 2015; Teney & Helbling 2014, 2016 for a recent replication of the Potsdam elite survey focussing on core elites; see Ecker, 1998 for a comparison of sector-based elite surveys in Germany).

The strategy we adopted for sampling European and global elites is to transpose the sampling frame of the Potsdam elite survey to the European and global levels: we drew a representative sample of leaders working in these 12 sectors of activity (i.e., administration, politics, economy and finance, trade and professional associations, religion, media, civil society, research, labor union, justice, culture, police and military) at the European and global levels that matches the national sector-based sampling design as closely as possible. This sampling strategy enabled us to broaden the scope of previous European and global elite surveys by maximizing the range of sectors of activity. Moreover, we strived to sample national, European and global elites within

each sector based on similar selection criteria. This enables the comparison of positional elites within sectors across the three levels.

2.1.1 Combining the vertical, horizontal and cross-level delimitations

The theoretical idea of transposing the sector-based sampling design of the Potsdam elite survey to the European and global levels is straightforward. However, this cross-level sampling strategy raised various challenges from a practical perspective. Indeed, while defining the vertical and horizontal delimitations for sampling elites at the national level is intuitive, it becomes much less clear-cut once we consider elites at the European and global levels. Furthermore, the inclusion of global, European and national elites within the same sampling frame required us to consider a cross-level delimitation that is as consistent as possible across sectors.

We defined general rules for the vertical (i.e., number of highest organizations and highest positions to be sampled), horizontal (i.e., delimitation between sectors) and cross-level delimitations that can be applied for sampling each sector at each level. The first challenge concerns the cross-level delimitation: the global, European and national levels had to be defined in such a way as to avoid any overlap of sectors across the three levels. Moreover, while the national level has clear-cut boundaries defined by the borders of nation-states, the global and to a lesser extent the European levels have blurred boundaries. For instance, organizations that might be considered as being part of the global level (e.g., Anheuser-Busch InBev) are not necessarily present in every country around the world. Moreover, while some sectors –such as the political or administrative- have clearly defined borders at the European level (the European Union borders), other sectors such as the cultural or religious sectors at the European level go beyond the European Union borders. In order to determine the levels consistently across sectors, we drew general guidelines regarding the levels that apply to each sector. First, we applied an organizational approach to attribute a level to elites: the scope of organizations in which a person hold a leading position defines whether this person is considered as part of the national, European or global elite. Second, at the national level, we sampled the highest organizations with a national scope, leaving aside organizations with a subnational scope, even though such subnational organizations can be influential in federal nation-states. Sampling solely national organizations allows us to clearly define the upper and lower limits of the national level. Third, we expanded the institutional perspective of the positional approach to determine the limits of the European level. Indeed, the European Union is composed of legislative, executive and judiciary institutions that are similar to the ones of a nation state. We can thus consider the

borders of the European Union to determine the European level whenever possible. In other words, we sampled the most influential organizations with a European Union scope. However, this strategy is not applicable for every sector. If the scope of the most influential European organizations within a sector goes beyond the European Union borders, we relaxed our EU borders criterion for the entire sector and sampled the most influential European organizations within the sector, even if they did not meet our EU borders criterion. For the sake of clarity, we will use the term of “European Union” to define organizations that meet the EU borders criterion, while the term of “European” will be applied for European organizations that do not meet this criterion. Lastly, we sampled the most influential organizations with the largest scope at the global level. The scope of the most influential organizations varies across sectors at the global level: while some sectors –such as the administrative or political- have an effective global scope (e.g., UN bodies), the scope of other sectors is less global, because the scope of the most influential organizations of these sectors does not encompass all world countries. Our guidelines for the global level enabled us to strive to sample organizations as global as possible, depending on the characteristics of the sectors.

The second challenge of our sampling frame concerns the horizontal delimitation (i.e., delimitation between sectors). Some sectors have already clear-cut horizontal limits at the European and global levels, such as the political and administration European sectors with the European Parliament and the Commission or with the UN bodies. By contrast, defining other sectors at the European and global levels is less straightforward. Indeed, a European society is still on the making (Favell & Guiraudon, 2011) and several societal sectors are still at early stages of their European development (see for instance Hartmann, 2011 for the European business class; or Koopmans & Statham, 2010 for the European public sphere). Furthermore, while we can already find some evidence of a European society on the rise, the institutionalization of sectors at the global level is even less developed. Hence, the development of these sectors at the European and global levels is an on-going process. Even if challenging, mapping the horizontal borders of these sectors at the European and global levels is nevertheless highly relevant: it can indeed shed light on the existing and missing components for the rise of European and global societies. Moreover, the extent to which elites working at the European and global levels in these sectors perceive themselves as being part of a European or global elite is a question that can only be assessed empirically by the means of survey data. Sampling and surveying less institutionalized sectors at the European and global levels can therefore contribute to the academic debate on the emergence of European and global societies. The specific sampling strategy for every sector across the three levels will be detailed in the next section. Nevertheless, we describe in this section the general guidelines we followed. For the

horizontal delimitation, we strived to maximize the comparability of the sectors across levels. This means that we prioritized the comparability of the sectors across levels even if it implies some deviations from the sampling frame of the Potsdam elite survey. Moreover, we applied an institutional approach for the definition of the sectors across levels whenever it was possible: we favored sampling highly influential institutionalized organizations over highly influential organizations that lack an institutional structure. For instance, for the labor union sectors we sampled European and global labor union federations that have been officially recognized by respectively the European Commission and UN bodies as social partners. By contrast, we left out other supranational labor union federations that lack this institutional recognition. Lastly, for the vertical delimitation (i.e., number of highest organizations and highest positions to be sampled) we decided against weighting the sample size of sectors. Indeed, weighting the sample size of sectors at the European and global level would have been hazardous given the little knowledge available on specific European and global sectors such as the cultural or religious ones. Rather, we used a similar sample size optimum for each sector ($n=300$). Only when it was not possible to sample 300 top elites for one sector (because of a too restricted number of influential organizations or because the required information was not available), did we reduce the sample size of the specific sector in order to avoid sampling persons holding lower positions than the sampled position of the other sectors. This strategy enabled us to maximize the comparability of positions across sectors.

2.1.2 Definition of the sectors across levels and countries

In this section, we present the criteria we used to delimit the sectors horizontally (i.e., between sectors) and across levels³. Moreover, in the tables summarizing the sample design per sector, we describe briefly the most influential organizations and positions within these organizations across the two supranational levels and the five countries and present the sample size for each case.

2.1.3 The political sector

We delimited the political sector horizontally by sampling positions with a decision-making function in the most important legislative and executive organizations. Positions with a decision-making function constitute a selection criterion that is consistent across levels. By

³ We will not discuss the vertical delimitation in this section, since the vertical delimitation is constant across sectors: we sampled the 300 highest positions among the mentioned most influential organizations within each sector at each level.

contrast, the selection of elected representative positions for the political sample would not have been applicable at the global level. With regard to the cross-level delimitation, the national level is composed of national legislative and executives organizations. The European level is constituted by the legislative and executive EU apparatus with an EU scope. For instance, we excluded the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities because of its non-European scope. Lastly, such a centralized political and administrative regime is missing at the global level. We therefore selected the most influential International Organizations (IO) with the largest scope whose functions partly reflect the functions of centralized political regimes, namely the UN (including bodies and funds), IMF, WTO and the World Bank. We considered these IO as “global state regimes” with a legislative, executive and judiciary apparatus for the entire sample. With regard to the political sector, the global level encompasses legislative and executive branches of the UN, IMF, WTO and the World Bank. For both the European and global levels, we only selected primary positions and excluded positions that are subsidiary to a national position, in order to minimize the overlaps between levels. For instance, we included the president of the European Council but excluded the national heads of state for the European political sector.

Table 1: Political sector: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|---|--|-----|
| Global | UN, IMF, WTO, World Bank | Highest positions with decision-making function if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 298 |
| European | EU legislature and executive organizations e.g.,: EU Parliament, European Council, Council of the EU, European Commission, | Highest positions with decision-making function if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 295 |
| Germany | Federal government cabinet, Ältestenrat, Office of the President of the Bundestag, main political parties and political foundations | Ministers, members of boards of political parties, members | 317 |
| Poland | Sjem, Senat, government and | Deputies, senators, ministers, | 298 |

| | main political parties | members of boards of political parties | |
|--------|---|--|-----|
| Turkey | National Grand Assembly of Turkey | Deputies | 540 |
| USA | House of Representatives, Senate, cabinet, political parties, President, Vice President | Congressmen, congresswomen, senators, cabinet officers, President, Vice President, party leaders | 302 |
| Mexico | Federal congress | Senators and deputies | 214 |

2.1.4 The administrative sector

The administrative sector is delimited horizontally by sampling organizations that prepare and implement legislations. In contrast to the political elites, administrative elites do not hold decision-making functions. We considered officials without any decision-making function working in government and ministries in the administrative sample. The cross-level delimitation is straightforward: we included national ministries for the national level; the major administrative bodies of the EU with an EU scope for the EU level and the main administrative bodies of the UN, IMF, WTO and World Bank for the global level.

Table 2: Administrative sector: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|--|---|-----|
| Global | Main administrative bodies of the UN IMF, WTO and World Bank | Highest administrative positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 246 |
| European | Major administrative bodies of the EU with a EU scope e.g., Directorates-Generals of the European Commission, European Agencies, European External Action Service, European Economic and Social Committee, Council of the European Union | Highest administrative positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 300 |

| | | | |
|---------|---|--|-----|
| Germany | Federal ministries, Bundestag, Office of the Federal President, federal authorities | President, chairperson, operative and board directors | 257 |
| Poland | National ministries and central government agencies | Secretaries of the state, general directors and directors of official ministry departments | 150 |
| Turkey | National ministries | Highest administrative positions | 412 |
| USA | U.S. Departments (except Defense and Homeland Security), other agencies with status of cabinet-rank | Leading positions in the executive departments | 300 |
| Mexico | Federal ministries, office of the president | Sub secretaries, general directors and chief of units | 130 |

2.1.5 The sector of justice

The sample for the sector of justice is composed of organizations that interpret and apply the law in the name of the state, the EU or IO. Within these organizations, we sampled judges and prosecutors.

Table 3: Sector of justice: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|---|--------------------------------------|-----|
| Global | Courts with (quasi) global scope, (quasi) binding decisions and independent judges E.g., International Criminal Court, International Court of Justice, International Court for the Law of the Sea, ILO Tribunal, IMF Administrative Tribunal, World Bank Administrative Tribunal, UN Dispute Tribunal, UN Appeals Tribunal | President, vice president and judges | 140 |
| European | Courts with jurisdiction over the EU, i.e. the Court of Justice of the European Union which is divided composed of the Court of | President, vice president and judges | 75 |

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|-----|
| | Justice, the General Court and the Civil Service Tribunal. | | |
| European extended | European Court of Human Rights | President, vice president and judges | 49 |
| Germany | Main federal courts (Ordinary Jurisdiction, Labor Jurisdiction, Administrative Jurisdiction, Social Jurisdiction, Financial Jurisdiction and Constitutional Court) | Presidents, vice presidents and judges | 297 |
| Poland | Main courts with national scope | Presidents, deputy presidents and judges | 120 |
| Turkey | Federal courts (constitutional court, supreme court, court of jurisdictional dispute) | Presidents, vice presidents, heads of department | 131 |
| USA | Supreme Court, Appellate Courts, U.S. District Courts | Associate justices, chief justices, judges | 116 |
| Mexico | Federal courts (supreme court of justice, electoral tribunal, circuit collegiate tribunals) | Presidents and prosecutors | 82 |

With regard to the cross-level delimitation, we selected courts with a national jurisdiction for the national level. At the EU level, we only included courts with a jurisdiction over the EU. We therefore excluded the European Court of Human Rights from the EU sample, since its jurisdiction goes beyond the EU member states. Nevertheless, since the European Court of Human Rights is a very influential judicial institution, we included all judges from the ECHR in an extra sample. At the global level, we selected courts composed of independent judges with a jurisdiction at the global or quasi-global levels that issue (quasi) binding decisions.

2.1.6 The sector of military and police

The horizontal delimitation for the sector of military and police was done by sampling organizations authorized by the state, the EU or the UN to use force.

Table 4: Sector of military and police: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|--|--|-----------------|
| Global | none | none | - |
| European | EU agencies that coordinate the military and police forces, i.e. EUROPOL, FRONTEX, European Defence Agency, Political and Security Committee, European Union Military Committee, Crisis Management and Planning Directorate, European Union Military Staff, Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability | Highest positions | 165 |
| Germany | Army, air force, marine, police | Admirals and generals, positions in the police with the highest salary level | 171 |
| Poland | Police headquarters, border guard headquarters, armed forces | Directors, deputies, generals, navy admirals | 118 |
| Turkey | Army, navy, marines, air force, coast guard, police, gendarmerie | Highest ranking positions | 151 |
| USA | Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, coast guard, Police | Highest ranking positions | 203 |
| Mexico | Military educational institution | Future generals | 43 ¹ |

Note: ¹Convenience sample

At the national level, we sampled the military and police forces. At the European level, we considered EU agencies that coordinate the military and police forces. Since the member states of the European Union remain the main actors regarding the European foreign and security policy, the European agencies' main task is to coordinate and supervise cooperation in this policy field between the different member states. Nevertheless, these EU coordinating agencies have a significant impact on European military and police policies and measures and therefore possess crucial decision making influences. At the global level, we selected the Peacekeeping Department of the UN

2.1.7 The labor union sector

Following our institutional guideline to define the sectors horizontally at the three levels, we considered organizations representing the interests of workers and employees that are recognized as social partners by the national state, the European Union or by the UN (through either the International Labor Organization or the Economic and Social Council). Thus, at the national level, we selected the largest labor unions in terms of number of members. At the European and global levels, we sampled trade union organizations that can claim a high degree of either European or global representativeness in terms of their capacity to aggregate, articulate and advance employee interests vis-à-vis respectively the EU and the UN (Platzer & Müller, 2011, p. 20). For both the European and global levels, we only selected primary positions and excluded positions at the European or global level that are subsidiary to a national position, in order to minimize the overlaps between levels.

Table 5: Labor union sector: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|--|--|-----|
| Global | Labor union organizations that are recognized as social partners by the International Labor Organization or the Economic and Social Council, i.e. member organizations of the Council of Global Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions ² | Highest positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 258 |
| European | Labor union organizations that are recognized as social partners by the European Union, i.e. the cross-sectorial European Trade Union Confederation, its affiliated member organizations; the 5 sectorial trade union organizations that are considered as social partners by the European Commission ¹ | Highest positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 222 |
| Germany | Largest national umbrella organization of trade unions | Members of the federal executive boards | 209 |
| Poland | The three centralized labor unions (Solidarnosc, OPZZ, FZZ) | All governing positions | 118 |

| | | | |
|--------|---|---|-----|
| Turkey | Three confederations in the private sector (DİSK, TÜRK-İş, HAK-İş) and three confederations in the public sector (KESK, KAMU-Sen, TÜRKİYE KAMU-Sen) | Directive boards, control commissions, boards of discipline | 360 |
| USA | Two largest national umbrella organization and their members | President, vice president, deputy | 300 |
| Mexico | National labor unions with the largest number of members (National union of teachers, national union for social security workers, national university workers union, confederation of Mexican workers, federation of unions of state workers) | General secretary, heads of committees and sections | 62 |

¹ European Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, European Cockpit Association, European group of the International Federation of Actors, European group of the International Federation of Musicians and International Federation of Professional Footballers' Associations (see European Commission, 2013).

² See United Nations Economic and Social Council (2013)

2.1.8 The sector “Lobbyism”

Similarly to the labor union sector, we followed our institutional guideline to define horizontally the sector of trade and professional associations. Those are non-profit voluntary associations that represent the interests of occupational elites from various professions (Evan, 1974) and of different types of business and industry. For the national level, we included the largest trade and professional associations in terms of number of members. For the European level, we sampled the trade and professional associations with an EU scope that are registered in the European Union Encyclopedia and Directory 2011 (Europa Publications, 2010). At the global level, we selected the trade and professional associations that have a consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Here again we only considered non-subsidiary positions at the European and global levels in order to minimize the overlaps between levels.

Table 6: Sector “Lobbyism”: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|---|--|-----|
| Global | Trade and professional associations with consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council | Highest positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 130 |
| European | Trade and professional associations with a EU scope registered in the European Union Encyclopedia and Directory 2011 | Highest positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 300 |
| Germany | Members of the three largest national umbrella professional associations | Presidents and vice presidents | 300 |
| Poland | Main national professional and trade associations | Members of presiding body | 87 |
| Turkey | 18 professional organizations that are defined as public professional organizations by law | Executive staff, inspection councils, discipline committees and committees of honored members and other relevant councils | 357 |
| USA | Main professional organizations | (Vice) Presidents, senior vice presidents, (vice) chairmen, CEOs/CFOs/COOs, (Secretary) treasurers, executive directors, secretaries, co-presidents, | 298 |
| Mexico | Professional and trade associations with a nationwide scope and involved in lobbying efforts with federal authorities (e.g., bar of lawyers, national accountant association, national association on lobbying professionals) | Presidents, board members, general directors | 93 |

2.1.9 The finance and economy sector

The cross-level delimitation for the finance and economy sector is not straightforward. Indeed, corporations have their headquarters within a nation state. Therefore, the list of the largest world or European corporations entirely overlaps with the list of the largest national corporations. Moreover, with the exception of few corporations such as Airbus and Eurostar, very few companies have so far their headquarters in several European countries. Therefore, the delimitation of this sector across levels cannot be as clear-cut as for the other sectors. In order to avoid dropping out this sector from our sample, we decided to relax the rule of cross-level consistency in the delimitation of the sector. Indeed, the criterion we used for defining the most influential organizations at the European level differs from the criterion we used for identifying the most influential national and global organizations. For the global level, we used the 2012 list of the world's top 100 non-financial transnational corporations published by the UNCTAD (2013a). The transnationality index used by UNCTAD for its corporates ranking is calculated as the average of the following three ratios: foreign assets to total assets, foreign sales to total sales and foreign employment to total employment. This index measures the intensity of foreign activities in relation to domestic activities (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2007, p. 13). Moreover, we selected the top 50 financial transnational corporations published by the UNCTAD (2013b). This ranking of the largest financial transnational corporations is computed with the geographically spread index. This index is calculated as the square root of the Internationalization Index multiplied by the number of host countries. The Internationalization Index in turn is computed as the number of foreign affiliates divided by the number of all affiliates (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2009, p. 234). The ranking of the top 50 financial and top 100 non-financial transnational corporations published by the UNCTAD lists thus the most globalized (or “transnational”) world corporations and constitutes our finance and economic sample at the global level. At the national level, we selected the largest financial and non-financial corporations that are included in the national stock market indexes, as long as these corporations are not listed in the UNCTAD transnational corporation ranking. The use of the UNCTAD top transnational corporations list and the national stock market indexes for building the finance and economic sectors at the national and global level enabled us to delimit the national and global levels for these sectors in a meaningful way. However, we can't disentangle the European from the global levels by using corporations' transnationalization characteristics: the most Europeanized corporations also belong to the UNCTAD list of the top transnational corporations. Therefore, we decided to include the corporations' departments for EU public affairs that are registered in the European public affairs directory 2010 (Dod's European companion, 2010). Moreover, in

order to avoid any overlap across levels, we sampled the CEO's and Members of the Executive Committee for the national and global levels, and the heads of the departments for EU public affairs for the EU level.

Table 7: Finance and economy sector: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|---|--|-----|
| Global | top 50 financial and top 100 non-financial transnational corporations published by the UNCTAD | CEO's and Members of the Executive Committee | 386 |
| European | Departments for EU public affairs of the corporations that are registered in the European public affairs directory 2010 | Heads of the departments for EU public affairs | 302 |
| Germany | Companies listed in DAX and MDAX indexes if not sampled at global level | CEO, Members of the Executive Committee | 285 |
| Poland | Companies listed in the Polish stock market exchange if not sampled at global level | Members of boards | 295 |
| Turkey | Companies listed in the Turkish stock market exchange if not sampled at global level | Chairperson, Board Member, CEO/CFO, CEO Assistant | 476 |
| USA | Companies listed in the US stock market exchange if not sampled at global level | First and second highest ranked person within the company (mainly CEOs and CFOs) | 300 |
| Mexico | Companies listed in the Mexican stock market exchange if not sampled at global level | CEOs, CFOs, managers | 52 |

2.1.10 The research sector

Similarly to the finance and economy sector, drawing clear-cut boundaries between the three levels for the research sector turned out to be a challenging task. Indeed, the world leading

universities are embedded in nation states. For instance, the use of ranking such as the Shanghai ranking would enable us to determine the most influential research organizations at either the global or the European level. However, this strategy would lead to huge overlaps in the research elite samples across the three levels. Moreover, sampling the highest ranked journals at the national, European and global levels would also have led to such overlaps between sectors. In order to avoid cross-level overlaps, we deviated from the sampling design of the Potsdam elite survey for delimiting horizontally the research sector. Instead of selecting universities and research funding agencies (see Machatzke, 1997 for further details on the research sample of the Potsdam elite survey), we opted for sampling the only existing research organizations with clear-cut national, European and international boundaries: the research associations and the journals they publish. Indeed, national, European and international associations exist for each scientific discipline. A research association is an organization that aims at promoting research and scientific knowledge within its own discipline. Moreover most of these research associations publish their own journals. The presidents of these associations and editors of their journals tend to be established and recognized researchers in their discipline. These positions can thus be considered as prestigious and influential. We therefore sampled national, European and international research associations as well as the journals they publish. In order to avoid any discipline bias in the selection of the scientific subdisciplines, we sampled the research associations and their journals of all subdisciplines funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 2012). Moreover, we weighted the sample in order to select an equivalent number of associations and journals from humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences and engineering sciences.

Table 8: Research sector: Organizations and positions by levels

| Level | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|---|---|-----|
| Global | International research associations of subdisciplines in humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences and engineering sciences. The journals published by these research associations | Executive Committee Members of the international research associations, editors of the national scientific journals | 300 |
| European | European research associations of subdisciplines in humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences | Executive Committee Members of the European research associations, editors of the | 299 |

| | | | |
|---------|---|--|-----|
| | and engineering sciences. The journals published by these research associations | national scientific journals | |
| Germany | German research associations of subdisciplines in humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences and engineering sciences. The journals published by these research associations | Presidents and deputy of association and editors of journals | 301 |
| Poland | Polish research associations of subdisciplines in humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences and engineering sciences. The journals published by these research associations | Presidents of association and editors of journals | 85 |
| Turkey | Turkish research associations of subdisciplines in humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences and engineering sciences. The journals published by these research associations | Editors of the main scientific national magazines/journals that are listed in The Turkish Academic Network and Information Centre (ULAKBIM) of The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), presidents and vice-presidents of the research or professional associations that publish the magazines | 318 |
| USA | US research associations of subdisciplines in humanities, social sciences, life sciences, natural sciences and engineering sciences. The journals published by these research associations | Directors of association and editors of journals | 271 |
| Mexico | Scientific journals and research associations that publish the journals | Editors of journals, presidents, vice-president and general | 86 |

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| listed in the national council of science and technology index, weighted by discipline | secretary of associations |
|--|---------------------------|

2.1.11 The religious sector

At the national level, we sampled the religious denominations with the highest numbers of adherents. For each of these religious denominations, we selected the highest organizations that represent the adherents nationally. However, with the exception of the Catholic Church, most religions are not hierarchically structured beyond the national level. This means that we cannot apply the same sample criterion for the EU and global levels as the ones used at the national level. At the European level, national organizations from the same religious denominations have built European federations.

Table 9: Religious sector: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|--|--|-----|
| Global | Global organizations of religious denominations with the largest number of adherents around the world e.g., Muslim World League, World Fellowship of Buddhists, Commission of the Churches of International Affairs | Highest positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 127 |
| European | EU permanent missions of European religious federations | Highest positions if they are not subsidiary to a national position. | 103 |
| Germany | Catholic, Protestant Churches, Jewish and Muslim councils | Leading positions such as cardinals, bishops, presidents of council | 140 |
| Poland | Catholic and Christian orthodox churches | Head of Episcopate, bishops | 150 |
| Turkey | Ministry of Religious Affairs, Chambers attached to the ministry, Foundation for Religious Affairs in Turkey | Presidents and deputies, Muftis of the Turkish departments | 322 |

| | | | |
|--------|--|---|-----|
| USA | Religious bodies as they appear in the Religious Congregations & Membership Study (RCMS), Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches, additional groups from the study's advisory board and other experts in the field of US religious studies | Leading positions such as cardinals, bishops, presidents of council | 294 |
| Mexico | Catholic, Presbyterian and Pentecostal churches | Leading positions such as cardinals, bishops | 138 |

Some of these European religious federations are official dialogue partners of the European Commission and therefore have a permanent mission to the EU (European Commission, 2010). However, these religious federations are not restricted to EU member states, but also comprise other European countries outside of the EU (such as Switzerland). While these religious federations are not necessarily limited to EU countries, they have nevertheless a EU scope in representing their followers to the European Commission. For the European level, we sampled the EU permanent missions of these European religious federations if they are present in at least two EU member states.

At the global level, we selected the religious denominations present in at least two countries with the largest number of adherents around the world. We sampled the global organizations of these “world religions” that aim at promoting the religion’s interests in general. These global religious organizations have a consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (e.g., Muslim World League and World Muslim Congress) (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2013). For the European and global levels, we only selected non-subsidiary positions to avoid cross-level overlaps.

2.1.12 The sector of civil society

Civil society can be defined as the intermediate realm between the private sphere, the market and the state, where particular and universal non-economic interests organize publically and interact with each other and the other sectors. We delimited the sample horizontally by focusing on "organized" civil society in form of interest groups that are non-state organizations (although potentially obtaining funding from state sources), not-for-profit and not directly business- or industry-related. Since trade unions and professional associations are separate sectors in our

sample, they were excluded from the civil society sample. Regarding the cross-level delimitation, we sampled registered civil society associations with a national scope. For the European level, we followed our institution-oriented guideline and sampled the eight umbrella organizations that consult with the EU, namely those composing the EU Civil Society Contact Group (EU Civil Society Contact Group, 2013). Those umbrella organizations are large rights- and value-based NGO's in the following sectors: culture, environment, education, development, human rights, public health, social and women. In a second step, we included all NGOs with an EU or European Office that are members of these umbrella organizations. Excluding NGOs without an EU or European office enabled us to avoid overlaps between on one hand the national and the European levels and on the other one between the European and global levels. At the European level, the sampled organizations have thus an EU scope but might be also active in European non-EU member countries. Within the sampled NGO's, we selected the staff with the highest non-subsidary positions working in the EU office. At the global level, we selected the civil society organizations that have a consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2013). Similarly to the European level, we then sampled the staff with the highest non-subsidary positions working in the international offices of these organizations.

Table 10: Sector of civil society: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|---|--|-----|
| Global | Civil society organizations that have a consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council | Highest positions -if they are not subsidiary to a national position- in the international offices of the selected organizations | 255 |
| European | European civil society organizations member of the EU Civil Society Contact Group | Highest positions -if they are not subsidiary to a national position- in EU office of the selected organizations | 285 |
| Germany | National registered NGOs in the field of environment and animals, welfare, citizens and individual rights | Presidents and directors | 294 |
| Poland | NGOs with largest number of members | Members of head | 150 |

| | | | |
|--------|---|--------------------------------------|-----|
| Turkey | Registered NGOs in the field of civil rights, health, poverty, environment, education | Leaders of the executive staff | 351 |
| USA | Register by USAID (governmental development agency), which lists private voluntary organizations with headquarters in the US working on several issues including also learning, environment, sports | Highest position in the organization | 325 |
| Mexico | NGOs registered in the national directory of social organizations working in the fields of animal protection and environment, health, political action, education, poverty and social development. | Directors and presidents | 98 |

2.1.13 The cultural sector

For the horizontal delimitation, we considered visual arts, film, theatre, literature and music as part of the cultural sector. This restrictive definition of the cultural sector avoids overlaps with other sectors such as the civil society. In order to delimit the cultural sector across levels, we applied an institutionalized approach and selected the most important events and associations/organizations of each cultural field at each level. These events and associations include: a) national, European and international awards, b) national, European and international festivals, c) national, European and international fairs and exhibitions, d) national, European and international associations. For each of these events and associations, we selected the leading organizational and artistic positions (e.g. award winners, jury members, presidents, executive directors).

Table 11: Cultural sector: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| Global | Main international awards, | Leading organizational and | 283 |

| | | | |
|----------|--|---|-----|
| | festivals, fairs, exhibitions and associations in visual arts, film, theatre, literature and music | artistic positions, recipients of awards | |
| European | Main European awards, festivals, fairs, exhibitions and associations in visual arts, film, theatre, literature and music | Leading organizational and artistic positions, recipients of awards | 299 |
| Germany | Main organizations and awards in visual arts, cinema, literature, music, and theatre such as, festivals, publishing houses or German exhibitions. | Recipients of awards, heads and boards of organizations | 240 |
| Poland | Main organizations and awards in cinema, literature, music, theatre and graphic arts, such as main state museums, publishing houses, art galleries | Recipients of awards, heads and boards of organizations | 131 |
| Turkey | Main organizations and awards in visual arts, cinema, literature, music, and theatre as well as Alevi organizations (since they are considered not as religious but as cultural organization by the state) | Leading organizational and artistic positions, recipients of awards | 447 |
| USA | Most important events or organizations in the categories visual arts/general arts, film, literature, music and theatre | Award winners, jury members, presidents, executive directors | 321 |
| Mexico | Main organizations in cinema, literature, music, theatre and graphic arts, such as main museums, Mexico City Philharmonic or national actors guild | Highest positions such as directory boards, honorary members, | 60 |

2.1.14 The sector of media

We restricted this sector to news media, in order to avoid any overlaps with the cultural sector. We included print media (newspapers and newsmagazine), broadcast news (radio and television) as well as internet. At the national level, we sampled news media organizations (print, broadcast and internet) with the highest market share. For each news media organization, we selected the chief editor, editor and managing director. Moreover, we included laureates of national journalism awards. This sampling strategy cannot be applied at the European level, since with a few exceptions there are so far no European media (Koopmans & Statham, 2010). We therefore opted for an institutional approach and selected all European journalists with an EU accreditation. We also included the laureates of EU journalism awards. Similarly, we selected journalists with an UN accreditation for the global level. We also included the laureates of international journalism awards.

Table 12: Sector of media: Organizations and positions by case

| Case | Organizations | Positions | N |
|----------|---|--|-----|
| Global | News media with an UN accreditation. International journalism awards | Journalists with UN accreditation. Laureates of international journalism awards. | 208 |
| European | News media from a EU country with an EU accreditation. EU journalism awards | Journalists with EU accreditation. Laureates of EU journalism awards. | 307 |
| Germany | National print, broadcast and internet news media with highest market share. National journalism awards. | Editors-in-chief, directors, recipients of journalism awards | 250 |
| Poland | National newspapers, magazines, radio-stations, TV stations, news websites with national coverage and highest market share; journalism awards | Editors-in-chief, directors, recipients of journalism awards | 150 |
| Turkey | National print, broadcast and internet news media with highest market share. National | Editors-in-chief, deputies, directors, recipients of journalism awards | 341 |

| | | | |
|--------|---|--|-----|
| | journalism awards. | | |
| USA | Print, broadcast and internet news media with highest market share. National journalism awards. | Editors-in-chief, directors, recipients of journalism awards | 201 |
| Mexico | Newspapers, magazines, radio-stations, TV stations, news websites with national coverage and highest market share | Editors-in-chief, directors | 68 |

2.1.15 Summary

After the detailed description of the sampling per country and sector we can provide an overview. This is done in Table 13, which summarizes the sample sizes for each sector across each case.

Table 13: Sample size per sector and case

| Sector | DE | PO | TU | MX | US | EU | IN | TOTAL |
|----------------|------|------|------|-------------------|------|------|------|-------|
| | | | | | | | | L |
| Administration | 257 | 150 | 412 | 130 | 300 | 300 | 246 | 1795 |
| Church | 140 | 150 | 322 | 138 | 294 | 103 | 127 | 1274 |
| Civil Society | 294 | 150 | 351 | 98 | 325 | 285 | 255 | 1758 |
| Culture | 240 | 131 | 447 | 60 | 321 | 299 | 283 | 1781 |
| Business | 285 | 295 | 476 | 52 | 300 | 302 | 386 | 2096 |
| Justice | 297 | 120 | 131 | 82 | 116 | 124 | 140 | 1010 |
| Labor Unions | 209 | 118 | 360 | 62 | 300 | 222 | 258 | 1529 |
| Media | 250 | 150 | 341 | 68 | 201 | 307 | 208 | 1525 |
| Military | 171 | 118 | 151 | (43) ¹ | 203 | 165 | 0 | 851 |
| Politics | 317 | 298 | 540 | 214 | 302 | 295 | 298 | 2264 |
| Lobbyism | 300 | 87 | 357 | 93 | 298 | 300 | 130 | 1565 |
| Research | 301 | 85 | 318 | 86 | 271 | 299 | 300 | 1660 |
| Total | 3061 | 1852 | 4206 | 1126 | 3231 | 3001 | 2631 | 19108 |

Legend: DE=Germany, PO=Poland, TU=Turkey, MX=Mexico, US=United States,

EU=Europe, IN=International

Notes: ¹Convenience sample

3 Questionnaire design

One of the purposes of the elite survey is to enable elite-mass attitudinal comparison on the five denationalization issues across the five countries. Therefore, most of the items asked in the elite survey are items that were administered in cross-national mass surveys. Because the only mass survey with a coverage of the five countries (World Value Survey (WVS)) does not contain items for each of the five issue areas, we selected items of additional mass surveys that cover less countries in order to encompass all five denationalization issues in the elite questionnaire. We included questions asked in the Transatlantic Trend Survey (TTS) that contains population data for four countries (Poland, Germany, Turkey and US). Moreover, for the regional integration issue, we split the countries according to the regions they belong to (i.e. Germany, Poland and Turkey VS Mexico and the US) and ask separate questions on regional integration relevant for these two regions. The most fine-grained items on the European integration are to be found in the Eurobarometer survey waves. Moreover, our three selected European countries are part of the Eurobarometer sample. We therefore included items from the Eurobarometer waves for the European integration for the Turkish, German, and Polish samples. We then adapted these questions on the EU to the Mexican and U.S. cases by replacing the EU with NAFTA and Europe with North America.

Moreover, for some questions such as the questions on transnational practices, we could not find any relevant items in existing cross-national mass surveys. Therefore, some of the questions of the elite survey cannot be matched to mass survey data.

With few exceptions, all selected items that are available in mass survey meet two criteria. First, they measure attitudes toward one of the five denationalization issues. Second, they are more or less normally distributed among both the general population of the sampled countries and among the highly educated respondents of the sampled countries. Items with a highly skewed distribution limit to a large extent in-depth statistical analysis. Indeed, if all respondents agree strongly on items (and thus if there is no variation in the answers of the respondents), it is not feasible to investigate determinants that affect attitudes on these non-varying items. We therefore strive to select items that are the most likely to be normally distributed among the elites.

A second purpose of the elite survey is to provide comparable attitudinal data for national, European and global elites. In order to fulfill this purpose, we strived to draw a questionnaire for the European and global samples that is as similar as possible to the questionnaire for the national elites. The questionnaire was translated from English into German, Polish, Spanish and Turkish for respectively the German, Polish, Mexican and Turkish samples by at least two

native speakers who cross-checked their translation. The questionnaire was administrated in English for the European and global cases and in the main national language for Germany, Poland, Mexico, the U.S. and Turkey. In the Codebook we list the baseline questionnaire items with remarks on their variations across the seven cases if applicable. Moreover, we mention the mass survey from which they are derived if applicable.

4 Questionnaire

General remarks:

- *For every question, a “no answer” category was included*
- *Remarks indicate if variables have been recoded or dropped after the data collection*
- *The different answer categories appear as different variables in the dataset (see “List of variables”)*
- *Questions with different options depending on filters appear as different variables and/or recoded single variables in the data set (see “List of variables”)*

Cntry (only for EU and INT): What is your nationality? (If you have more than one nationality, please select the nationality of the country in which you resided the longest)

Remarks:

- *Each of the following questionnaire items referring to a country was adapted to the country selected by the respondents of the European and international samples*
- *The variable has been recoded into “nationality”*

BLOCK 1: Democracy

a01 from World Value Survey 2006 v210-v213

To what extent do you personally feel you are... (to a great extent (1) – not at all (5))

1. A citizen of the town where you live
2. A citizen of the region where you live
3. A [national] citizen
4. A North American citizen (for MX, US + INT elites if they come from a North American country)
5. A Latin American citizen (for MX)
6. A European citizen (for PL, DE, TK, EU + INT elites if they come from a European country)

7. A citizen of the world

a02 from Eurobarometer 71.3 QE1

In your opinion, which of the following are the most important elements that make up a European identity (for DE, TK, PL, EU + INT elites if they come from Europe)/North American identity (for MX, US + INT elites if they come from North America)?

1. Common history
2. Geography
3. Democratic values
4. A high level of social protection
5. Common culture
6. Common religious heritage
7. Entrepreneurship

a03 from World Value Survey 2006 v148-v151

Here is a list of various types of political systems. We would like to know what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good (1), fairly good (2), neither/nor (3), fairly bad (4) or very bad (5) way of governing this country?

1. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with the legislature and elections
2. Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country
3. Having the army rule
4. Having a democratic political system
5. Having religious leaders rule

a04 from World Value Survey 2006 v131-v147

How much you personally trust each of the following institutions? (completely trust (1) – no trust at all (5))

1. Justice/the legal system
2. Political parties
3. The [national] parliament
4. The European Union (for PL, DE, TK, EU and INT)
5. NAFTA (for MX, US and INT)
6. The United Nations

a05 from European Social Survey round 5, question B27

And on the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in...(extremely dissatisfied (1) – extremely satisfied (10))

1. [country] ?
2. The European Union? (for PL, DE, TK, EU)
3. The United Nations?

a06 from European Social Survey round 5

How important do you think it is for democracy in general that citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums?

Not at all important for democracy in general (0) – Extremely important for democracy in general (10)

a07 from World Value Survey 2006 V71

People sometimes talk about what the goals of [country] should be for the next ten years. Some of the goals to which different people give top priority are listed below. From this list would you please rank the most important and second most important goal for you personally?

1. Maintaining order in the nation
2. Giving people more say in important government decisions
3. Fighting rising prices
4. Protecting freedom of speech

a08

If you would like to tell us more about your opinion on the way democracy works [CNTnat] , at the regional level or at the international level, please, use the box below:

BLOCK 2: Human rights, development and humanitarian aid

b01 from Transatlantic Trend Survey 2008 Q25a (question also available for Mexico in *global view*)

Do you think it should or should not be the role of [country] to help establish democracy in other countries?

1. It should be the role of [country]
2. It should not be the role of [country]

b01EU *Extension of original question from Transatlantic Trend Survey 2008 Q25a*

Do you think it should or should not be the role of the European Union to help establish democracy in other countries? (for DE, TK, PL, EU and INT)

1. It should be the role of the European Union
2. It should not be the role of the European Union

b02 *Extension of original question from Transatlantic Trend Survey 2008 Q25a*

Do you think it should or should not be the role of the United Nations to help establish democracy in other countries?

1. It should be the role of the UN
2. It should not be the role of the UN

b03 No mass survey with a comparable item

During the 2000 Millennium Summit of the United Nations, 189 nations made a promise to free people from extreme poverty and multiple deprivations (the so-called Millennium Development Goals).

Some people say that [country] should do as much as it can to accelerate progress toward reaching these goals, even if other countries do less. Others say that [country] should do only as much as other countries. Which view is closer to your own?

1. We should do as much as we can, even if other countries do less
2. We should only do as much as other countries

b04 from World Value Survey 2006 V178

Thinking at your own country's problems, should [country]'s leaders give top priority to help reducing poverty in the world or should they give top priority to solving your own country's problems? 1 "top priority to help reducing poverty in the world" - 10 "top priority to solving my own country's problems."

b05

If you would like to tell us more about your opinion on development and humanitarian aid, please, use the box below

BLOCK 3: Regional and international integration

c01 from World Value Survey v179-v183 + extension to other policies based on Eurobarometer wave 74.2, question QA22-23:

Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations rather than by each national government separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. For each of the following issues, would you please tell us whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the state governments (1), by the national governments (2), jointly within the European Union [for DE, PL, TK, EU + INT elites from EU and EU candidate countries] / NAFTA [for MX, US and INT elite from Canada, Mexico or USA] / Regional organizations [for INT elites from non-EU and non-NAFTA countries] (3), or jointly at the international level within the United Nations (4)?

1. Peacekeeping
2. Protection of the environment
3. Aid to developing countries
4. Refugees
5. Human rights
6. Fighting climate change
7. Fighting crime
8. Taxation
9. Health care
10. Fighting unemployment
11. Immigration
12. Economic growth
13. Reform and supervision of the financial sector

c02 from Survey “Public opinion and foreign policy in US, China, India, Australia and South Korea” 2006 (Q700) and Global View 2010 (Q55)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement: "When dealing with common problems, the U.S. and Mexico should be more willing to make decisions jointly, even if this means that the U.S. will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice." (strongly agree (1)- strongly disagree (5)) (for MX and US)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement: “When dealing with common problems, [country] and the other EU countries should be more willing to make decisions jointly, even if this means that [country] will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.” (strongly agree (1)- strongly disagree (5)) (for DE, PL and TK)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement: “When dealing with common problems, [country] and its neighboring countries should be more willing to make decisions jointly, even if this means that [country] will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.” (strongly agree (1)- strongly disagree (5)) (for INT and EU)

c03 from Eurobarometer 72.4

(for DE, PL, EU elites if they are from a EU country, INT elites if they are from a EU country)

Generally speaking, do you think that [country]’ s membership of the European Union is

1. A very good thing
2. A good thing
3. Neither good nor bad
4. A bad thing
5. A very bad thing

(for TK, EU elites if they are from a European non-EU country, INT elites if they are from a European non-EU country)

Generally speaking, do you think that [country]’ s membership of the European Union would be

1. A very good thing
2. A good thing
3. Neither good nor bad
4. A bad thing
5. A very bad thing

(for MX, US + INT elites from Canada, Mexico and US)

Generally speaking, do you think that [country]’ s membership of NAFTA is ...

1. A very good thing
2. A good thing
3. Neither good nor bad
4. A bad thing
5. A very bad thing

c04 from Eurobarometer 72.4

(for DE, PL, EU elites if they are from a EU country, INT elites if they are from a EU country)

Taking everything into account, would you say that [country] has, on balance, benefited or not benefited from being a member of the EU?

1. Strongly benefited
2. Benefited
3. neither nor
4. not benefited
5. not benefited at all

(for TK, EU elites if they are from a European non-EU country, INT elites if they are from a European non-EU country)

Taking everything into account, would you say that [country] would, on balance, benefit or would not benefit from being a member of the EU?

1. Would strongly benefit
2. Would benefit
3. neither nor
4. Would not benefit
5. Would not benefit at all

(for MX, US + INT elites from Canada, Mexico and US)

Taking everything into account, would you say that [country] has, on balance, benefited or not benefited from being a member of NAFTA

1. Strongly benefited
2. benefited
3. neither nor
4. not benefited
5. not benefited at all

c05 from Eurobarometer 72.4

(for DE, TK, PL, EU + INT elites if they are from a European country)

What does the EU mean to you personally? (multiple answers possible)

1. Peace
2. Economic prosperity
3. Democracy
4. Social protection
5. Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU

6. Cultural diversity
7. Stronger say in the world
8. Euro
9. Unemployment
10. Bureaucracy
11. Waste of money
12. Loss of our cultural identity
13. More crime
14. Not enough control at external borders
15. Other:

Remark: Answer on "Other" recoded into variable c05b

c05

If you would like to tell us more about your opinion on the process of regional and international integration, please, use the box below:

Remark: Recoded into variable c05b

BLOCK 4: Immigration

d01 from World Value Survey 2006 V124

Concerning people from other countries coming to [country] to work, how much do you strongly agree or disagree with the following statements? (1: strongly agree- 5: strongly disagree)

1. The government should let anyone come who wants to?
2. The government should let people come as long as there are jobs available?
3. The government should place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here?
4. The government should prohibit people coming here from other countries?

d02 from Transatlantic Trend Survey Immigration 2009 (Q9)

How important are the following in deciding whether or not immigrants should be admitted to [country] (1: very important- 5: not important at all)

1. Knowing the national language

2. Having a family member already in [country]
3. Having a job offer
4. Having a high level of education
5. Coming from a country with a similar religious heritage to [country] 's

d03 from World Value Survey 2006 v217-v220

How important should the following be as requirements for somebody seeking [national] citizenship? (1: very important- 5: not important at all)

1. Having ancestors from [country]
2. Being born on [country] 's soil
3. Adopting the customs of [country]
4. Abiding by [country] 's laws
5. Knowing the national language

d04 from World Value Survey v45

Please indicate your agreement with the following statement: „When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to [nationals] over immigrants” (1: strongly agree- 5: strongly disagree)

d05

If you would like to add something about your views on immigration to [country], please, use the box below:

BLOCK 5: Globalization and trade

e01 No corresponding mass survey item

Do you think globalization is good, bad, or somewhere in between for the following? (1: very good- 5: very bad)

1. The [national] economy
2. [national] companies
3. Consumers
4. Creating jobs in [country]
5. The environment
6. Job security for [national] workers
7. Your own standard of living
8. The next generation of [nationals]

e02 No corresponding mass survey item

How much do you agree with the following statements? [strongly agree (1)- strongly disagree (5)]

1. Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth
2. Globalization increases social inequalities

e03 No corresponding mass survey item

What do you think foreign trade means to [country]? Do you see foreign trade more as:
[strongly agree (1)- strongly disagree (5)]

1. An opportunity for economic growth through increased [national] exports
2. A threat to the economy because of foreign imports

e04a from Transnational Trend Survey 2009 (Q29_6)

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

“In times like these, it is important for [country] to remain open to international trade” (1: strongly agree- 5: strongly disagree)

e04b from Transnational Trend Survey 2009 (Q29_5)

“In times like these, we should buy more [national] goods and not worry about our economic partners” (1: agree strongly - 5: disagree strongly)

e04c from ISSP2003 (data available for PL, DE, US)

“[country] should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect our national economy” (1: strongly agree- 5: strongly disagree)

e05

If you would like to add something on globalization and/or international trade, please, use the box below:

BLOCK 6: Climate change

f01 from Transatlantic Trend Survey 2009 (Q26_1)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement:

“Climate change is an unstoppable process, we cannot do anything about it” (1: strongly agree – 5: strongly disagree)

f02 from Transatlantic Trend Survey 2009 (Q28) (only asked if f01>2)

Some people say that we should do everything possible to fight climate change, even if it slows economic growth. Others say that we should do everything possible to maximize economic growth, even if it hurts efforts to combat climate change. Which view is closer to your own?

1. We should fight climate change even if it slows economic growth
2. We should maximize economic growth even if it hurts efforts to combat climate change

f03 from Transatlantic Trend Survey 2009 (Q27) (only asked if f01<2)

Some people say that the European countries (for DE, PL, EU) / [country] [for TK, US, MX, INT] should do as much as it can to fight climate change, even if other countries do less. Others say that the European countries (for DE, PL, EU) / [country] [for TK, US, MX, INT] should only do as much as other countries. Which view is closer to your own?

1. We should do as much as we can, even if other countries do less
2. We should only do as much as other countries do

f04

If you would like to add something on climate change and possible responses to climate change, please, use the box below:

BLOCK 7: Personal characteristics

g01

“In political matters people talk of “left” and “right.” On the scale shown below, where 1 indicates furthest left and 10 indicates furthest right, please choose the number which best describes your position.

g02

(for DE, PL, TR. MX. US)

We would like to know what you think about [national] political parties. Could you please rate each of the following parties on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If you haven't heard of a party or you feel you do not know enough about, just answer with "no answer".

- List of National parties

(For EU and INT)

We would like to know what you think about different types of political parties, sometimes referred to as ‘party families’. Could you rate each of the following party families on a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 indicates that you strongly dislike this type of party and 10 indicates that you strongly like this type of party. If you haven’t heard of a party type or you feel you do not know enough about it, just answer with "no answer".

1. The Agrarians
2. The Christian Democrats
3. The Communists
4. The Conservatives
5. The Greens/Ecologists
6. The Liberals
7. The Nationalists/Populists
8. The Social Democrats
9. The Socialists

g03

Which of the following sectors best fits your current position?

1. politics
2. Bureaucracy/Civil Service
3. military/police
4. justice
5. media
6. culture
7. civil society
8. church
9. research
10. economy
11. professional lobbyist
12. labor union
13. other:

Remark: Answer to option “other” recoded into variable g03a

g04

What is the name or title of your current position? (open question)

Remark: Dropped due to potential issues of confidentiality

g05

Are you...

1. Male
2. Female

Remark: Recoded with sampling information for all cases (including non-response) to “gender”

g06

Which has been the highest education degree you received?

1. None
2. Primary education diploma
3. High school diploma
4. Occupationally specific vocational certificate
5. Associate of Arts / Science degree
6. Bachelor's degree
7. Master's degree
8. Other post-graduate certificate
9. Doctorate

Remark: Based on country information the years of education was estimated and recoded into a variable “edyrs”

g07

What was your main study field? (only asked if g06>3)

1. Humanities
2. Social sciences
3. Natural sciences
4. Engineering
5. Computer sciences
6. Military sciences
7. Law
8. Economics/business
9. Other applied sciences
10. Other:

Remark: Answer to option “Other” recoded into variable g07a

g08

What is your current place of residence?

Remark: Recoded into a grouped variable “residence”

g09

Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination?

g09a

Which religion do you belong to? (only asked if g09==yes)

1. Christianity: Catholic
2. Christianity: Protestant
3. Christianity: Orthodox
4. Christianity: other
5. Jewish
6. Islam: Sunni
7. Islam: Shi’a
8. Islam: Alevite (only for TK, EU and INT)
9. Islam: other
10. Hindu
11. Buddhist
12. Other

Remark: Answer on “Other” recoded into variable g09aa

g10

Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services nowadays?

(only asked if g09==yes)

1. More than once a week
2. Once a week
3. Once a month
4. Several times a year
5. Once a year
6. Less than once a year
7. Never, or practically never

g11

What is your year of birth?

Remark: Recoded into variable “age”

g12a

Were you born in [country of nationality]?

Remark: Recoded into variable “age”

g12a

In which country were you born?

g12b

When did you arrive in your current country of residence?

g13

How frequently do you have contact with friends living in a country outside of your current country of residence and of your country of birth? (By contact, we mean any kind of communication like phone, letter, email, social networking, or face to face):

1. At least once a day
2. At least once a week
3. At least once a month
4. Less than once a month

g14

In the context of your job, how frequently, do you have contact with organizations or people in countries other than your current country of residence? (By contact, we mean any kind of communication like phone, letter, email, social networking, or face to face):

1. At least once a day
2. At least once a week
3. At least once a month
4. Less than once a month

g15

Did you complete all or part of your schooling and/or studies in a country other than your current country of residence and/or than your country of birth? (if yes, in which country and for how long approximately)

Remark: Answer on “if yes, in which country and for how long approximately?” recoded into g15a

g16

Besides your schooling and studies, have you ever lived for at least 3 months in a country other than your current country of residence and/or than your country of birth? (yes-no) (if yes, in which countries did you spend the most time?)

Remark: Answer on “if yes, in which countries did you spend the most time?” recoded into g16a

g17

Approximately how much of your life has been spent living in a country that is not your current country of residence or your country of birth?

Remark: Recoded into variable “abroad”

5 Administration of the survey

We used a mixed-mode approach to contact elites for our survey. For the sampled persons whose emails were publicly available, we first contacted them with a personalized email containing a personalized link to the online questionnaire. The online version of the questionnaire has been set up with the free and open software Lime Survey. A pre-test was carried out with half of the Mexican and Polish samples in November 2013. The first wave of the online survey was conducted for all other samples simultaneously in March 2014.

We sent a personalized reminder per email a week after having sent the first email invitation. A few days after the reminder has been sent, we targeted the elites from the sectors showing the lowest response rates and contacted them by phone. We also tried to find alternative email addresses for those elites, whose addresses proved to be invalid. We concluded the email survey with a second reminder. In order to increase the response rate in this second reminder we

attached letters of recommendation from well-known scholars in the respective countries (see appendix).

Additionally to the email survey we conducted a postal survey. We collected postal addresses for targeted elites for which we were not able to find an email address, sectors and countries with many technical errors (e.g. "delivery failed" messages), and non-responding elites from countries and sectors with low response rates. In the invitation letter, we provided the elites with a link to access the online questionnaire, a print version of the questionnaire and a pre-paid envelope. The elites had thus the alternative to answer to the survey either by post or online. These invitation letters we are again accompanied by letters of support from well-known scholars. They were sent in late 2014 and early 2015.

6 Response rates and socio-demographics

6.1 Conceptualization and measurement of response rate

With regard to the conceptualization of our response/no response classification scheme we follow the Standard Definitions of The American Association for Public Opinion Research (2011).

For the responses and non-responses to our online (Internet) survey we created three main categories – returned questionnaires, eligible, no returned questionnaire, and unknown eligibility, no returned questionnaire:

1. Returned questionnaires (response): This category is subdivided into two groups: complete which means that a respondent has answered more than 80% of all applicable questions asked and partially complete which comprises all cases in which more than no and less than 80% of all questions asked were answered. This subgroup also includes break-offs.
2. Eligible, no returned questionnaire (non-response): This category refers to the recipients that were invited to participate in the Internet survey, whom we can assume are (still) eligible for inclusion in the survey and from whom no questionnaire was returned to us. Eligibility here means that only the named person is the appropriate respondent. It comprises the following subgroups:
 - Recipients from whom we received an automatic out of office reply
 - Recipients who logged in to the online survey and “opted out”, i.e. clicked on the button for final exclusion from the survey
 - Explicit refusals for recipients who sent us an e-mail stating that they do not want to participate in the survey

- Recipients whom we invited and for whom we were notified – mostly by another person working at the same institution – that this person has moved
 - Implicit refusals for recipients who logged in to the URL of the online survey with an ID, but did not answer any of the survey questions.
3. Unknown eligibility, no returned questionnaire (non-response): This group includes all cases in which no completed questionnaire was received and it is unknown whether the sampled respondent is (still) eligible for inclusion into the survey. It comprises the following subgroups:
- All cases in which it is unknown whether the e-mail invitation reached or could have reached the sampled respondent. This includes cases in which the invitation was never sent – e.g. because we were lacking an e-mail address for the sampled respondent – and cases in which no information about the outcome of the mailing ever reached us.
 - The second subgroup of this category includes all cases in which the invitation was not delivered, i.e. was returned undelivered. It comprises the cases in which we got automated replies stating that the e-mail address was not valid or non-existent or that the e-mail could not be delivered due to a temporary reason, e.g. when the mailbox of the recipient had exceeded its limit.

After the invitations to our Internet survey and two Email-reminders, we conducted a mail survey. In a first step this comprised all sampled respondents from the sectors politics and economy from all seven levels for whom we had a full postal address and from whom we had not received a reply to our Internet survey or whom we could not invite for the latter because we were lacking their e-mail address. In a second step the same logic was applied and we mailed invitations to sampled respondents from the sectors church, culture, justice, labor unions, media and professional lobbyists from the U.S.A., Turkey and Mexico. In all applicable cases the e-mail non-response codes were overwritten with the mail non-response codes. This applies to recipients of the relevant sectors and cases that were placed in the eligible, no returned questionnaire group after the finalization of the Internet survey and the coding of the non-responses, from whom we received an out of office reply and for whom we had a full postal address and who hence received an invitation to the mail survey. The same is true for everybody that we placed in the unknown eligibility, no returned questionnaire category.

The mail codes to responses and non-responses apply therefore to a) all cases in which a sampled respondent was invited by e-mail first, eventually placed in one of the above mentioned categories (eligible, no returned questionnaire or unknown eligibility, no returned questionnaire) and then invited by mail once more, given that we had obtained a full postal address for the person; and to b) all cases in which the sampled respondent could not be invited by e-mail,

because an e-mail address for that person could not be obtained and was thus solely invited by mail.

Parallel to the logic applied to the coding of responses to the Internet survey, we then coded as follows:

- Returned questionnaire (response): This category is subdivided into two groups: complete which means that a respondent has answered more than 80% of all applicable questions asked and partially complete which comprises all cases in which more than no and less than 80% of all questions asked were answered. This subgroup also includes break-offs.
- Eligible, no returned questionnaire (non-response): All sampled respondents to whom the non-response codes eligible, no returned questionnaire – out of office reply, unknown eligibility, no returned questionnaire (with all its subsets) for the Internet survey applied, who received a mail invitation to the survey; the following subgroups were formed:
 - cases in which the above-mentioned criteria apply and in which the letter/mailling was returned to us – opened or unopened – with a remark by the respective country's postal service stating that the sampled respondent has moved from or left the institution
 - explicit refusals for recipients to whom the above-mentioned criteria apply and who sent us a letter stating that they do not want to participate in the survey.
- Unknown eligibility, no returned questionnaire (non-response): All sampled respondents to whom the non-response codes eligible, no returned questionnaire – out of office reply, unknown eligibility, no returned questionnaire (with all its subsets) for the Internet survey applied, who received a mail invitation to the survey; the following subgroups were formed:
 - All cases to whom the above-mentioned criteria apply and in which it is unknown whether the mail invitation reached or could have reached the sampled respondent. This includes cases in which the invitation was never sent⁴ – e.g. because we were unable to obtain a full postal address for the sampled respondent – and cases in which no information about the outcome of the mailing ever reached us, i.e. nothing was ever returned to us.
 - All cases to whom the above-mentioned criteria apply and in which the invitation was not delivered, i.e. was returned – opened or unopened -

⁴ Except for the cases in which also the invitation to the Internet survey could not be sent due to a not-obtained e-mail address. These individuals have been excluded from the data set.

undelivered by the respective postal service with a remark stating, without further clarification, that the mailing could not be delivered to the recipient.

6.2 Response rate, bias, and weights

The following three tables describe the response rate. Table 14 describes the absolute number of responses by level and sector. Table 15 describes the relative response rates by level and sector. Table 16 describes types of responses and non-responses by levels.

The low response rates may have caused sample bias. Bias can also have resulted from lack of information on email and postal addresses. However, because there is no information on the demographics of the narrowly defined target group, no post-stratification weights could be developed. Given the narrowly defined target group and the lack of information of the target group on a national level to assess potential selection bias, the data should not be treated as representative. However, the inclusion of the non-respondents with basic information (e.g. sector, level, and gender) in the dataset allows applying techniques to correct for selection bias.

Table 14: Absolute number of responses by level and sector

| Sector | DE | PO | TU | MX | US | EU | IN | TOTAL |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Administration | 20 | 15 | 9 | 15 | 8 | 28 | 3 | 98 |
| Church | 15 | 26 | 23 | 4 | 39 | 11 | 16 | 134 |
| Civil Society | 45 | 38 | 31 | 8 | 16 | 31 | 16 | 185 |
| Culture | 31 | 21 | 14 | 3 | 18 | 40 | 17 | 144 |
| Business | 24 | 11 | 47 | 2 | 2 | 15 | 18 | 119 |
| Justice | 38 | 13 | 14 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 90 |
| Labor Unions | 22 | 14 | 44 | 6 | 19 | 25 | 31 | 161 |
| Media | 14 | 9 | 21 | 2 | 6 | 13 | 11 | 76 |
| Military | 10 | 11 | 3 | (43) ¹ | 0 | 3 | 0 | 70 |
| Politics | 48 | 19 | 26 | 3 | 1 | 19 | 20 | 136 |
| Lobbyism | 25 | 12 | 38 | 10 | 20 | 17 | 12 | 134 |
| Research | 56 | 23 | 47 | 21 | 17 | 45 | 48 | 257 |
| Total | 348 | 212 | 317 | 122 | 154 | 252 | 199 | 1604 |

Legend: DE=Germany, PO=Poland, TU=Turkey, MX=Mexico, US=United States, EU=Europe, IN=International

Notes: ¹Convenience sample

Table 15: Response rate by level and sector in percentage

| Sector | DE | PO | TU | MX | US | EU | IN | TOTAL |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Administration | 7.78 | 10 | 2.18 | 11.54 | 2.67 | 9.33 | 1.22 | 5.46 |
| Church | 10.71 | 17.33 | 7.14 | 2.9 | 13.27 | 10.68 | 12.6 | 10.52 |
| Civil Society | 15.31 | 25.33 | 8.83 | 8.16 | 4.92 | 10.88 | 6.27 | 10.52 |
| Culture | 12.92 | 16.03 | 3.13 | 5 | 5.61 | 13.38 | 6.01 | 8.09 |
| Business | 8.42 | 3.73 | 9.87 | 3.85 | 0.67 | 4.97 | 4.66 | 5.68 |
| Justice | 12.79 | 10.83 | 10.69 | 6.1 | 6.9 | 4.03 | 5 | 8.91 |
| Labor Unions | 10.53 | 11.86 | 12.22 | 9.68 | 6.33 | 11.26 | 12.02 | 10.53 |
| Media | 5.6 | 6 | 6.16 | 2.94 | 2.99 | 4.23 | 5.29 | 4.98 |
| Military | 5.85 | 9.32 | 1.99 | (100) ¹ | 0 | 1.82 | - | 8.23 |
| Politics | 15.14 | 6.38 | 4.81 | 1.4 | 0.33 | 6.44 | 6.71 | 6.01 |
| Lobbyism | 8.33 | 13.79 | 10.64 | 10.75 | 6.71 | 5.67 | 9.23 | 8.56 |
| Research | 18.6 | 27.06 | 14.78 | 24.42 | 6.27 | 15.05 | 16 | 15.48 |
| Total | 11.37 | 11.45 | 7.54 | 10.83 | 4.77 | 8.4 | 7.56 | 8.39 |

Legend: DE=Germany, PO=Poland, TU=Turkey, MX=Mexico, US=United States, EU=Europe, IN=International

Notes: ¹Convenience sample

Table 16: Response rate by type and level in percentage

| Type | DE | PO | TU | MX | US | EU | IN | TOTAL |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| complete | 9.77 | 9.61 | 5.85 | 9.68 | 3.99 | 7.4 | 6.35 | 7.07 |
| partially | 1.6 | 1.84 | 1.69 | 1.15 | 0.77 | 1 | 1.22 | 1.33 |
| complete | | | | | | | | |
| non-response, | 5.49 | 2.48 | 1.45 | 1.15 | 2.29 | 5.24 | 2.32 | 3.04 |
| eligible | | | | | | | | |
| non-response, | 83.13 | 86.07 | 91.01 | 88.01 | 92.94 | 86.36 | 90.11 | 88.57 |
| unknown | | | | | | | | |
| eligibility | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Legend: DE=Germany, PO=Poland, TU=Turkey, MX=Mexico, US=United States, EU=Europe, IN=International

6.3 Socio-demographics

The following three tables describe the respondents in terms of socio-demographics. Table 17 describes the sample and the respondents in terms of gender. This allows to assess whether the sample is biased in this respect. As the table shows there is no noteworthy gender bias in the data. Additionally, Table 18 describes the respondents in terms of age and Table 19 in terms of education.

Table 17: Distribution of gender in full sample and among respondents

| Statistics | DE | PO | TU | MX | US | EU | IN | TOTAL |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Sample | 78% | 73% | 85% | 79% | 75% | 69% | 72% | 76% |
| Respondents | 77% | 74% | 86% | 80% | 75% | 68% | 76% | 77% |
| N sample | 3059 | 1442 | 4084 | 1024 | 3206 | 2954 | 2592 | 18361 |
| N respondents | 348 | 209 | 317 | 122 | 154 | 252 | 199 | 1601 |

Legend: DE=Germany, PO=Poland, TU=Turkey, MX=Mexico, US=United States, EU=Europe, IN=International

Table 18: Age

| Statistics | DE | PO | TU | MX | US | EU | IN | TOTAL |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Mean | 53.7 | 51.7 | 51.8 | 50.9 | 57.0 | 51.8 | 55.6 | 53.1 |
| Std. Dev. | 9.4 | 12.5 | 9.8 | 10.4 | 11.1 | 10.0 | 10.5 | 10.5 |
| Min | 29 | 22 | 26 | 24 | 28 | 23 | 24 | 22 |
| Max | 80 | 78 | 75 | 80 | 91 | 78 | 80 | 91 |
| N | 284 | 173 | 262 | 109 | 118 | 205 | 165 | 1316 |

Legend: DE=Germany, PO=Poland, TU=Turkey, MX=Mexico, US=United States, EU=Europe, IN=International

Table 19: Highest educational degree in percentage

| Highest educational degree | DE | PO | TU | MX | US | EU | IN | TOTAL |
|--|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Elementary education | 0.99 | 0 | 0.73 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.42 |
| High School diploma | 1.97 | 2.15 | 2.92 | 1.79 | 2.31 | 0.43 | 1.71 | 2.48 |
| Occupationally specific vocational certificate | 1.97 | 1.08 | 1.82 | - | 2.31 | 3.9 | 1.14 | 1.27 |
| Associate of Arts / Science degree | 5.92 | 2.69 | 5.47 | - | 2.31 | 0.43 | 0.57 | 3.05 |
| Bachelor's degree | 2.3 | 5.91 | 4.38 | 26.79 | 16.92 | 6.49 | 13.71 | 8.57 |
| Master's degree | 7.24 | 28.49 | 37.23 | 49.11 | 36.92 | 41.99 | 30.29 | 30.45 |
| Other post-graduate certificate | 39.8 | 27.42 | 20.44 | 0.89 | 7.69 | 13.85 | 13.14 | 20.82 |
| Doctorate | 39.8 | 32.26 | 27.01 | 21.43 | 31.54 | 32.9 | 39.43 | 32.93 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 304 | 186 | 274 | 112 | 130 | 231 | 175 | 1412 |

7 Data processing

7.1 Data entry, data cleaning, and recoding

The data processing consisted of several steps. Firstly, data from postal surveys was entered into the online mask. Second, wrong data entries were corrected if possible or recoded to missing if not enough information was available for correction. In the postal survey respondents could overview filters for some items. In cases that respondents answered questions they were not supposed to we deleted their answers. Secondly, system variables were recoded into meaningful categories and new variables were created on its basis (e.g. language variable). Third, additional variables were created for questions with identical questions and non-identical but comparable response categories. Fourth, the variables on the place of residence and time lived abroad were recoded into meaningful categories. In order to avoid problems of anonymity the more detailed original questions to these answers were removed from the dataset. Finally, we generated a standardized variable for levels of education.

7.2 Data collection problems

A number of problems arose during data collection. Some were due to problems of translation while others were result of the reproduction of the online survey in the postal form.

List of errors:

- Question g12 was asked in the European and global postal survey while it was intentionally left out in the European and global online survey.
- The paper questionnaire included a question for international elites with Latin American nationality, which did not exist in the online survey.
- In question g01 of the paper survey in the Mexican sample the value 1 is referred to as "extreme left" instead of "left" and the value 10 for "extreme right" instead of "right"
- A few completed postal surveys could not be used because the respondents ripped the first page with the token off.
- Paper questionnaire includes as response categories for a01_4 both North American and Latin American and European. For all respondents who did not provide information on their nationality, the answers to these response categories need to be ignored. (Some people replied to all three options.)
- a03 for Mexico: It was asked about "dictatorship" instead of "military rule".

8 List of variables

| Variable name | Variable label |
|---------------|---|
| LEVEL | Sampled country or suprnational level |
| SECTOR | Sampled sector |
| completed | Share of the survey questions completed |
| id | Identification number |
| language | Language of questionnaire |
| reminder_f | Frequency of reminders sent |
| response | Type of (non)response |
| response_2 | Response dummy |
| wave | Wave |
| a01_a | A citizen of the town where you live |
| a01_b | A citizen of the region where you live |
| a01_c | A [national] citizen |
| a01_d_all | A [regional] citizen |
| a01_d_eu | An European citizen |
| a01_d_la | A Latin American citizen |
| a01_d_na | A North American citizen |
| a01_e | A citizen of the world |
| a02_1_eu | Common history [European identity] |
| a02_1_la | Common history [Latin American identity] |
| a02_1_na | Common history [North American identity] |
| a02_1_re | Common history [regional identity] |
| a02_2_eu | Geography [European identity] |
| a02_2_la | Geography [Latin American identity] |
| a02_2_na | Geography [North American identity] |
| a02_2_re | Geography [regional identity] |
| a02_3_eu | Democratic values [European identity] |
| a02_3_la | Democratic values [Latin American identity] |
| a02_3_na | Democratic values [North American identity] |
| a02_3_re | Democratic values [regional identity] |
| a02_4_eu | A high level of social protection [European identity] |
| a02_4_la | A high level of social protection [Latin American identity] |

| | |
|-------------|---|
| a02_4_na | A high level of social protection [North American identity] |
| a02_4_re | A high level of social protection [regional identity] |
| a02_5_eu | Common culture [European identity] |
| a02_5_la | Common culture [Latin American identity] |
| a02_5_na | Common culture [North American identity] |
| a02_5_re | Common culture [regional identity] |
| a02_6_eu | Common religious heritage [European identity] |
| a02_6_la | Common religious heritage [Latin American identity] |
| a02_6_na | Common religious heritage [North American identity] |
| a02_6_re | Common religious heritage [regional identity] |
| a02_7_eu | Entrepreneurship [European identity] |
| a02_7_la | Entrepreneurship [Latin American identity] |
| a02_7_na | Entrepreneurship [North American identity] |
| a02_7_re | Entrepreneurship [regional identity] |
| a03_a | Evaluation policial system: Strong leader |
| a03_b | Evaluation policial system: Experts |
| a03_c | Evaluation policial system: Army rule |
| a03_d | Evaluation policial system: Deomcratic system |
| a03_e | Evaluation policial system: Religious leaders |
| a04_a | Trust: Justice/the legal system |
| a04_b | Trust: Political parties |
| a04_c | Trust: The [national] partliament |
| a04_d_eu | Trust: The European Union |
| a04_d_nafta | Trust: NAFTA |
| a04_e | Trust: The United Nations |
| a05_a | Satisfaction: [country] |
| a05_b | Satisfaction: The European Union |
| a05_c | Satisfaction: The United Nations |
| a06 | Citizens final say in referendum |
| a07_1 | [Rank 1] Most important goal |
| a07_2 | [Rank 2] Most important goal |
| a07_3 | [Rank 3] Most important goal |

| | |
|--------|--|
| a07_4 | [Rank 4] Most important goal |
| a08 | Opinion on the way democracy works |
| abroad | Time spent abroad? |
| age | Age |
| b01 | Role of your country to help establish democracy |
| b01EU | Role of EU to help establish democracy |
| b02 | Role of United Nations to help establish democracy |
| b03 | Millennium Development Goals: Country should do... |
| b04 | Country's leaders give top priority to help reduce poverty in... |
| b05 | Opinion on development and humanitarian aid |
| c01_a | Level of decision making: Peacekeeping |
| c01_b | Level of decision making: Protection of the environment |
| c01_c | Level of decision making: Aid to developing countries |
| c01_d | Level of decision making: Refugees |
| c01_e | Level of decision making: Human rights |
| c01_f | Level of decision making: Fighting climate change |
| c01_g | Level of decision making: Fighting crime |
| c01_h | Level of decision making: Taxation |
| c01_i | Level of decision making: Health care |
| c01_j | Level of decision making: Fighting unemployment |
| c01_k | Level of decision making: Immigration |
| c01_l | Level of decision making: Economic growth |
| c01_m | Level of decision making: Reform and supervision of the financial sector |
| c02 | My country and its neighbouring countries should be more willing to make decisions jointly |
| c03 | [Country]'s membership of the EU/NAFTA is/would be... |
| c04 | [Country] has/would, on balance, benefit(ed) or not |

| | |
|----------|--|
| | benefit(ed) from being a mem |
| c05_a | EU meaning: Peace |
| c05_b | EU meaning: Economic prosperity |
| c05_c | EU meaning: Democracy |
| c05_d | EU meaning: Social protection |
| c05_e | EU meaning: Freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU |
| c05_f | EU meaning: Cultural diversity |
| c05_g | EU meaning: Stronger say in the world |
| c05_h | EU meaning: Euro |
| c05_i | EU meaning: Unemployment |
| c05_j | EU meaning: Bureaucracy |
| c05_k | EU meaning: Waste of money |
| c05_l | EU meaning: Loss of our cultural identity |
| c05_m | EU meaning: More crime |
| c05_n | EU meaning: Not enough control at external borders |
| c05_o | EU meaning: Other |
| c05b_new | Which? [c05_o] |
| c06 | Immigration: Opinion on the process of regional and international integration |
| d01_a | Immigration: The government should let anyone come who wants to |
| d01_b | Immigration: The government should let people come as long as there are jobs available |
| d01_c | Immigration: The government should place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can co |
| d01_d | Immigration: The government should prohibit people coming here from other countries |
| d02_a | Admission: Knowing the national language |
| d02_b | Admission: Having family members already in your country |
| d02_c | Admission: Having a job offer |
| d02_d | Admission: Having a high level of education |
| d02_e | Admission: Coming from a country with a Christian |

| | |
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| | heritage |
| d03_a | Citizenship: Having ancestors from your country |
| d03_b | Citizenship: Being born on the soil of your country |
| d03_c | Citizenship: Adopting the customs of your country |
| d03_d | Citizenship: Abiding by the laws of your country |
| d03_e | Citizenship: Knowing the national language |
| d04 | When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to nationals over immigrant |
| d05 | Opion on immigration to your country |
| e01_a | Globalization: [Country's] economy |
| e01_b | Globalization: [Country's] companies |
| e01_c | Globalization: Consumers |
| e01_d | Globalization: Creating jobs in [country] |
| e01_e | Globalization: The environment |
| e01_f | Globalization: Job security of [country's] workers |
| e01_g | Globalization: Your own standard of living |
| e01_h | Globalization: The next generation of nationals |
| e02_a | Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth |
| e02_b | Globalization increases social inequalities |
| e03_a | Trade: An opportunity for economic growth through increased [country's] exports |
| e03_b | Trade: A threat to the [country's] economy because of foreign imports |
| e04_a | Open to international trade |
| e04_b | Should buy more [country's] goods and not worry about our economic partners |
| e04_c | Should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect our national economy |
| e05 | Opinion about globalization and/or international trade |
| edyrs | Years of education |
| f01 | Climate change is an unstoppable process and we |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| | cannot do anything about it |
| f02 | Climate change vs. economic growth |
| f03 | Fight climate as much as we can vs. as much as other countries |
| f04 | Opinion on climate change and possible responses to it |
| g01 | Left-right self-placement |
| g02DE_a | Sympathy AFD |
| g02DE_b | Sympathy B90/Die Grünen |
| g02DE_c | Sympathy CDU |
| g02DE_d | Sympathy CSU |
| g02DE_e | Sympathy Die Linke |
| g02DE_f | Sympathy Die Piraten |
| g02DE_g | Sympathy FDP |
| g02DE_h | Sympathy NPD |
| g02DE_i | Sympathy SPD |
| g02INT_EU_a | Sympathy Agrarians |
| g02INT_EU_b | Sympathy Christian Democrats |
| g02INT_EU_c | Sympathy Communists |
| g02INT_EU_d | Sympathy Conservatives |
| g02INT_EU_e | Sympathy Greens/Ecologists |
| g02INT_EU_f | Sympathy Liberals |
| g02INT_EU_g | Sympathy Nationalists/Populists |
| g02INT_EU_h | Sympathy Social Democrats |
| g02INT_EU_i | Sympathy Socialists |
| g02MX_a | Sympathy PANAL (Partido Nueva Alianza) |
| g02MX_b | Sympathy PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) |
| g02MX_c | Sympathy PVEM (Partido Verde Ecologista de México) |
| g02MX_d | Sympathy PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática) |
| g02MX_e | Sympathy PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) |
| g02MX_f | Sympathy PT (Partido del Trabajo) |
| g02PL_a | Sympathy Kongres Nowej Prawicy (KNP) |

| | |
|---------|---|
| g02PL_b | Sympathy Platforma Obywatelska RP (PO) |
| g02PL_c | Sympathy Polska Jest Najważniejsza (PiN) |
| g02PL_d | Sympathy Polska Partia Pracy - Sierpień 80 (PPP) |
| g02PL_e | Sympathy Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL) |
| g02PL_f | Sympathy Prawica RP |
| g02PL_g | Sympathy Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS) |
| g02PL_h | Sympathy Ruch Palikota (RP) |
| g02PL_i | Sympathy Samoobrona |
| g02PL_j | Sympathy Demokratycznej (SLD) |
| g02TK_a | Sympathy Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) |
| g02TK_b | Sympathy Büyük Birlik Partisi (BBP) |
| g02TK_c | Sympathy Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (BDP) |
| g02TK_d | Sympathy Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) |
| g02TK_e | Sympathy Demokrat Parti (DP) |
| g02TK_f | Sympathy Demokratik Sol Parti (DSP) |
| g02TK_g | Sympathy Doğru Yol Partisi (DYP) |
| g02TK_h | Sympathy Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP) |
| g02TK_j | Sympathy Hak ve Eşitlik Partisi (HEPAR) |
| g02TK_k | Sympathy İşçi Partisi (İP) |
| g02TK_l | Sympathy Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP) |
| g02TK_m | Sympathy Saadet Partisi (SP) |
| g02TK_n | Sympathy Türkiye Komünist Partisi (TKP) |
| g02US_a | Sympathy Democratic Party |
| g02US_b | Sympathy Republican Party |
| g03 | Which of the following sectors best fits your current position? |
| g03a | Which? [g03] |
| g06 | Highest educational degree |
| g07 | What was your main field of study? |
| g07a | Which? [g07] |
| g09 | Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? |
| g09a | Which religion do you belong to? |
| g09aa | Specify other religion [g09a] |

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|-------------|--|
| g10 | Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services |
| g12 | Were you born in [country of citizenship]? |
| g12a | In which country were you born? |
| g12b | When did you arrive in [country of citizenship] |
| g13 | Contact abroad: Friends |
| g14 | Contact abroad: Work |
| g15 | Schooling/studies abroad |
| g15a | Which countries and for how long, approximately? [g15] |
| g16 | Besides schooling/studies abroad |
| g16a | In which countries did you spend the most time? |
| gender | Gender |
| nationality | Nationality |
| region | Continental region |
| religion | Religion |
| residence | Place of residence |

9 Public use conditions

Ownership of the data lies with the WZB Berlin Social Science Center (WZB), department Migration, Integration, Transnationalization.

In the course of 2019 the data will be made available for public use. Users have to agree to the terms of use. These include that they cannot forward the data to anyone. When using the International Elite Survey data for presentations, papers, thesis and publications, this Discussion Paper should always be cited.

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