

Research Project  
**The Europeanization of Trade Unions in the Countries of the Eastern Enlargement.**

**Perspectives for Interest Representation by Trade Unions  
and for Trade Union Solidarity within the EU**

Duration: September 2012 until August 2014

Funded by the Hans Böckler Foundation

# Research Design

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## 1. Project Outline

The research project examines the integration of trade unions from Central East European countries into EU governance as a follow-up to a similar study conducted in 2007. It analyses integration at the EU level, in EU works councils and in interregional trade union councils. The main objective is to assess to what extent trade unions from the member states of the Eastern enlargement are integrated into EU governance structures and how related cooperation is assessed. Based on this assessment the research project also analyses which strategies the trade unions follow in their EU-related activities and how they develop and discuss these strategies internally.

Regarding the research objectives, the project team worked out three working hypotheses:

- (1) The trade unions from the member states of the Eastern enlargement are not active participants in decision-making processes at the EU level. The major aim of their presence at the EU level is to utilize the information and experiences which they gather to improve their political representation at the national level.
- (2) Accordingly, the trade unions from the member states of the Eastern enlargement do not provide much input to EU level umbrella organisations and in turn only have a marginal impact on decisions made in these umbrella organisations.
- (3) The trade unions from the member states of the Eastern enlargement do not hold substantial internal debates on EU-related positions and strategies. Concerning their organisation, different EU-related activities are not brought together in a systematic way. Accordingly, these trade unions do not act as collective actors. Instead their work in relation to the EU is determined by individual representatives.

The research project is coordinated by the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, Germany and funded by the Hans Böckler Foundation. The project team includes Monika Čambáliková (Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences), Klaus Henning (Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen), Vassil Kirov (Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), Christin Landgraf (Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen), Aleksandra Lis (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), Zdenka Mansfeldová (Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), Heiko Pleines (Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen), Leyla Safta-Zecheria (Central European University, Budapest).

## 2. Research Design - Overview

As the project cannot cover all trade unions in all nine Central East European countries which joined the EU during its Eastern enlargement in 2004/7, the project team has opted for a focused comparison. Focused comparisons “have proved to be the success story of comparative politics in recent decades,” because they are seen as a good compromise between individual case studies and macro-statistical analysis.<sup>1</sup>

As trade unions in Central Eastern Europe are generally perceived to be weak in terms of resources, membership support and political representation,<sup>2</sup> and as smaller trade unions are not even formally represented at the EU level, the project team has decided to include the strongest trade unions in the analysis. Accordingly, the analysis is not meant to give a representative view of trade unions from Central East European countries in general, but is explicitly designed as a best case scenario for trade unions from the member states of the Eastern enlargement.

Accordingly, small countries (with a population of less than 4 million) have been excluded. In the bigger countries all general national trade union associations have been selected plus especially strong and influential national branch associations, namely mining and metals. In order to cover the service sector, branch unions for trade and the financial sector have also been included, although they tend to be weaker.

As a result, the project covers the most important trade unions from the six largest member states which joined during the Eastern enlargement (namely Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia). It includes all general national trade union associations plus national branch associations for metals, mining, retail trade/commerce and banking/finance. Small trade unions of only local relevance are not included. Altogether 50 trade unions from the countries under study have been included in the analysis.

To enrich the analysis of the EU level integration of the trade unions under study, the project also covers the respective European umbrella organisations of trade unions (namely ETUC as general union, industriAll for metals/mining and UNI-EUROPA for retail trade/commerce and banking/finance) as well as representatives of EU institutions. Furthermore, German trade union representatives have been interviewed in order to capture their perception concerning the cooperation with the respective trade unions from the countries under study, e.g. in interregional trade union councils.

Data collection within the project consists of three major elements:

- Desktop research to assemble background data;
- Interviews to document the activities and views of trade union representatives in the countries under study and at the EU level;
- Case studies to examine in detail the debates and decision-making processes in national trade unions and European umbrella organisations.

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<sup>1</sup> Hague, Rod / Harrop, Martin: Comparative government and politics, New York 2001, S. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The project bibliography documents a huge body of literature confirming this assessment.

### 3. Desktop Research

Based on access to databases and publications, the research team has collected data on the following topics:

#### National labour relations

- collective bargaining coverage rates and bargaining centralisation in the EU;
- trade union density in the EU;
- types of employee representation in the EU;
- industrial actions and strikes in Europe;
- assessment of employee representation by managers in Europe;
- number of European works councils (EWC) plus complete list of companies with EWCs.

#### Trade unions in the countries under study (CEE – Central Eastern Europe)

- membership figures for individual national trade unions in CEE;
- representative national opinion polls on trust in trade unions in CEE;
- share of membership fees for national umbrella trade unions in CEE;
- full list of interregional trade union councils (IRTUC) plus profiles of IRTUCs in CEE.

#### National trade unions from CEE at the EU level

- ETUC member organisations;
- EESC members from trade unions in CEE;
- trade union representatives as rapporteurs to EESC plenary sessions 2004 - 2012 (share of CEE);
- ETUC Euro-demonstrations and action days since 1993 plus participation in EU-wide protest actions by trade unions from CEE.

Major sources are data on national labour relations from ETUI and the European Commission, representative polls from the Eurofound survey of European managers and employee representatives, the World Value Survey, EBRD Life in Transition Survey and Eurobarometer as well as information provided by ETUC.

## 4. Interviews

As outlined in the overview of the research design given above, the project team has decided to include the strongest trade unions in the analysis. Accordingly, the analysis is not meant to give a representative view of trade unions in general, but is explicitly designed as a best case scenario for trade unions from the EU member states of the Eastern enlargement.

Interviews have been conducted with representatives of national trade union confederations plus national branch associations for metals, mining, retail trade/commerce and banking/finance. Small trade unions of only local relevance are not included in the sample.

Altogether 56 trade unions have been identified which meet the selection criteria. 50 trade unions could be covered through standardized interviews with their representatives. Of the 6 missing trade unions, 3 are national confederations from Hungary, which are currently in negotiations about a merger, 2 trade unions are from the service sector. 1 trade union from the metal industry could also not be included.

As stated above, the service sector has been included as additional case. The fact that two trade unions from this sector could not be reached for interviews, is symptomatic of their lack of resources and visibility. That means, of the most influential trade unions to be included in the analysis (confederations plus branch unions for mining and metals) only 1 Romanian metal trade union is missing apart from the special situation of the merger of Hungarian trade unions.

In summary, excluding Hungarian trade unions soon to be merged, the standardized interviews cover 34 out of 35 confederations plus branch unions for mining and metals in the six countries under study. Additionally, the interviews cover 14 out of 16 branch unions for retail trade/commerce and banking/finance. That means, in the first group coverage is nearly complete, whereas in the group of trade/finance, trade unions from Bulgaria and the Czech Republic are not fully represented. The degree of coverage will be taken into consideration during the analysis.

Full coverage is not only important at the level of trade union organizations, but also at the level of representatives of individual trade unions. The respective selection criteria states: "For each trade union all representatives responsible for EU affairs, EU works councils and cross-border cooperation plus one member of the governing board with overall responsibilities are interviewed."

The full coverage of trade union representatives with responsibility for issues covered in the research project is especially important for an empirical test of hypothesis 3 of the research project, which states: „The trade unions from the member states of the Eastern enlargement do not hold substantial internal debates on EU-related positions and strategies. Concerning their organisation, different EU-related activities are not brought together in a systematic way. Accordingly, these trade unions do not act as collective actors. Instead their work in relation to the EU is determined by individual representatives.”

However, the organisational structure of most trade unions included in the analysis is not publicly available and in many cases the division of labour within the trade union leadership does not seem to be defined in a very precise way. Therefore, the project partners developed different strategies to identify all trade union representatives fulfilling the selection criteria.

At the same time most trade unions, especially branch federations, have only a very small number of professional staff. In Bulgaria, for example, most of the federations employ only one president and one administrative employee (among the six federations covered in

Bulgaria the only exception was the Metalizi federation with a total staff of 9 experts). Even in Poland, which has some of the biggest trade unions among the countries under study, branch unions are usually very small and they employ only the president, the vice-presidents and the secretaries. However, the three major confederations in Poland have a differentiated organisational structure with a special department responsible for international relations, in the case of NSZZ Solidarność with several employees, in the cases of OPZZ and FZZ only with one employee. In Slovakia there are only two trade unions which have an employee directly responsible for EU affairs.

As a result of the very small staff, the president, a vice-president or secretary general were usually also the representatives in most EU level organizations and institutions, both on the confederate and on the branch union level.

A total of 80 interviews have been conducted with representatives of the 36 confederations plus branch unions for mining and metals that are covered in the project. For 26 of the 36 trade unions full coverage of representatives according to the selection criteria can be assumed. For 10 trade unions only one interview could be conducted. The degree of coverage will be taken into consideration during the analysis.

21 interviews have been conducted with representatives of the 14 branch unions for retail trade/commerce and banking/finance that are included in the project. As these branch unions only have one or two professional representatives, full coverage of relevant representatives can be assumed for all of them. (However, 2 trade unions which meet the selection criteria are not covered at all, as explained above.)

Concerning the reliability of the individual answers by the respondents, it is important to take into consideration that they are all professionals. During the interviews they talked about their major professional tasks (in most cases in their normal office environment). That means they answered questions on issues they have been dealing with for long. The high number of “don’t know”-answers (more than 50% in the case of several very specific questions) also indicates that the respondents were not willing to give spontaneous views on issues they were not familiar with. It should also be kept in mind that most respondents have experience with interview situations, first of all through contacts with journalists. Accordingly, we assume that the interviews present the established professional view of the respondents as they would also express it in any public statement.

The interviews consisted of closed questions with predefined answers and open questions. (The original questionnaire is included as appendix). All interviews (with 8 exceptions in the case of Poland) were conducted face-to-face by the responsible project partners or by trained interviewers working for them. In nearly all cases, interviews were conducted at the headquarters of the respective trade union. The average length of an interview was about 60 minutes. All interviews, with only 3 exceptions, were recorded electronically with the explicit consent of the respective respondent.

The answers of all 101 respondents to the 48 closed questions have been entered into one Excel data sheet. The answers to questions that had also been asked in the preceding survey of 2007 (which is the case for 17 questions) have been added in a separate data sheet in the same file. The answers to the 17 open questions (plus elaborations added to the closed questions) from all 101 respondents comprise a total of about 250 000 words. To allow for systematic analysis, the free answers have been imported into a MAXQDA file.

The conducted interviews (audio files and scanned questionnaires) are archived at the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen. All original questionnaires remain with the responsible project partner.

## 5. Case Studies

For selected national trade unions – one in each country under study - detailed case studies have been conducted. While the interviews capture the position of the respective trade unions as such, the case studies are intended to examine the internal decision-making processes and related ideational positions within the trade unions. Accordingly, the guiding question of the case study is: How does the respective trade union debate EU related issues, how are decisions concerning EU related issues being reached and how are they being implemented?

The case studies are conducted as explorative studies and are informed first of all by the empirical data and not by our external analytical framework or structure. However, the focus is kept on interaction with the EU level, cross-border activities and Euro Works Councils.

In addition, case studies of the respective European umbrella organisations of trade unions are conducted within the project in order to assess the integration of trade unions from the countries under study into European umbrella organisations.

The case studies are based on all available evidence, including additional interviews with trade union representatives and experts, minutes of trade union meetings, information material from trade unions and EU institutions, mass media reports and all other relevant sources including expert analyses, opinion polls and statistical data.

## 6. Appendix: Questionnaire

### Instructions for the interviewer

The interviews are to be conducted exclusively with the agreed upon interview partners (respondents) from January 2013 to June 2013. Each interview will take around 60 minutes.

The research project should be briefly presented to every respondent. To that end, the brief project description and an overview of the interview topics should be sent (preferably by email) to the respondent before the interview takes place. The interviewer will also bring a copy of the project description to the interview to provide it to the respondent if requested. It is not (!) possible to send the actual questionnaire to the respondents before the interview is conducted.

The interviews will be conducted face-to-face; the questionnaire is to be filled in *by the interviewer*. The interviewer reads the questions and all possible answers to the respondent. The entire questionnaire has to be read to every respondent. Only one answer per question is possible, except in cases where multiple answers are explicitly allowed. For questions with complex options for answers, the respondent will be presented with a printed list of all possible options.

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer should thank the respondent for agreeing to participate and has to ensure the respondent's anonymity. The interviewer should briefly mention that there are no right or wrong answers; the purpose of the interview is to obtain his or her opinion or organisation's position as indicated in the respective question. Additionally, it should be mentioned that a summary of the research project's findings will be presented to the respondents after conclusion of the project.

An audio file (preferably in mp3 format) will be recorded of the full interview. Permission for these recordings should be obtained at the beginning of the interview. If the respondent consents, the recording apparatus should be turned on right at the beginning of the interview. If the respondent does not consent, all remarks have to be documented in written form.

The final privacy policy question has to be asked in every case even if the interview is terminated prematurely. Respondents who have made comprehensive elaborations should be asked especially persistently for agreement to the first question. The second option (explicit consent to each quote) should only be offered as exception as it involves additional communication and potential delays. Please provide the interview partner with a separate form, where he can sign that he agrees to anonymous / personalized quotations.

At the end of the interview please ask, whether the respondent could give you any information materials about the trade union, its organisational structure or its policies.

### Interview topics

*I Importance of the EU (7 questions)*

*II Channels of influence at the EU-level (13 questions)*

*III Cooperation with and participation in European umbrella organisations of trade unions (13 questions)*

*IV Connections between the EU and the national level (7 questions)*

*V Cooperation with trade unions from the old EU member states (8 questions)*

*VI Cooperation with neighbouring countries in IRTUCs (6 questions)*

*VII European Works Councils (7 questions)*

*VIII Statistical information (9 questions)*

*IX Data protection (2 questions)*



**Interviewer's Notes**

**!!! must be filled in for every interview !!!**

Name of interviewer:

Name of respondent:

Position of respondent:

Workplace address of respondent (including telephone number and email address):

Date of interview:

Location of interview:

Length of interview (in minutes):

## Interview

*Note: Questions which have been copied from the survey in 2007 are highlighted in yellow.*

### *I Importance of the EU (7 questions)*

**Q1. What is your personal assessment of the importance of the EU for your trade union in comparison to national politics?**

1. significantly more important
2. slightly more important
3. equally important
4. slightly less important
5. significantly less important

-----

6. do not know

**Q2. What general role of the EU do you think is desirable? The impact of the EU on national policy**

1. should grow.
2. should stay the same.
3. should decrease.

-----

4. do not know

**Q3. How does the EU impact the work of your union? The EU overall**

1. has a positive effect.
2. has no effect.
3. has a negative effect.

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4. do not know

**Q4. Can you give an example for positive or negative EU impacts? (free answer)**

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Q5. There are some policy areas where the EU seems to be more important than the nation state. Concerning your trade union: In which policy areas do you believe that interest representation at the EU-level is more important than at the national level? (free answer)

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Q6. And the other way round: In which policy areas do you believe that interest representation at the national level is more important than at the EU level for your trade union? (free answer)

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Q7. What do you believe is the major purpose why your trade union should be present at the EU-level? (open question)

---

***II Channels of influence at the EU-level (13 questions)***

*Now, we would like to ask you questions about the participation of your trade union at the EU-level.*

**Q8. In which ways do you try to exert influence at the EU-level as a representative of your trade union? (multiple answers possible)**

1. direct consultations with the European Commission    yes    /no
2. direct consultations with the European Parliament    yes    /no
3. consultations with national representatives in the Council of Ministers    yes    /no
4. via the EU Social Dialogue (including branch dialogues)    yes    /no
5. via the European Economic and Social Committee    yes    /no
6. via membership in an European umbrella organisation like the ETUC    yes    /no
7. others (please specify)

-----

8. do not know

[INT: If one of the options 1, 2 or 3 were marked as *yes*, continue with Q9, if not with Q10.]

Q9. How often do you have contact with the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers at the administrative level as a representative of your trade union to gather information and/or at the political level to exert influence?

[INT: Please ask only for those institutions that were not negated in Q8. option 1, 2 or 3.]

	annually	semi-annually	quarterly	monthly	weekly	do not know
Q9a/b. European Commission Political level  Administrative level						
Q9c/d. European Parliament Political level  Administrative level						
Q9e/f. Council of Ministers Political level  Administrative level						

Q10. With which EU institutions do you as a representative of your trade union collaborate best? (open question; multiple answers possible)

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Q11. To which EU-level organisations and institutions does your trade union belong? (open question; multiple answers possible)

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Q12. Concerning debates about EU issues within your trade union, do they regularly involve

1. just those responsible for EU issues
2. the broader leadership
3. many interested members of your union.

-----

4. do not know

Q13. Do debates about EU issues within your trade union mainly focus

1. on specific and rather narrow issues
2. on broader topics and general principles
3. on both in equal terms
4. on something else (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

-----

5. do not know

Q14. How do you, within your trade union, decide in general on the policy positions to be represented in EU-level organisations and institutions? (free answer)

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Q15. Who is responsible for implementing these decisions? (free answer)

---

Q16. Are you in general satisfied with the role your union plays at the EU-level?

very satisfied      very unsatisfied

Q17. Please elaborate on your answer. (open question)

---

Q18. Who finances the activities of your trade union at the EU-level? (multiple answers possible)

1. my trade union itself
2. European umbrella organisations
3. others (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
4. do not know

Q19. Does your union represent interests at the EU-level mostly alone or in cooperation?

1. mostly alone
2. in cooperation with other unions  
if so, with which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_
3. via a European umbrella organisation  
if so, which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_
4. in cooperation with other partners  
if so, which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

Q20. How do you assess your union's influence at the EU- level in comparison to the national level?

1. bigger
2. the same
3. smaller  
-----
4. do not know

**III Cooperation with and participation in European umbrella organisations of trade unions (13 questions)**

*We still stay at the EU-level and we would like to ask you more specific questions about your trade union`s cooperation with and participation in European umbrella organisations of trade unions like ETUC, industriAll or Uni-Europa.*

**Q21. What is the general assessment of your union regarding collaboration with European umbrella organisations of trade unions?**

1. positive
2. negative
3. sometimes positive, sometimes negative  
-----
4. do not know

**Q22. Are you satisfied with the work of your union in European umbrella organisation of trade unions?**

very satisfied      very unsatisfied  
+2                      0                      -2

**Q23. How often do you attend meetings of European umbrella organisations of trade unions?**

1. annually
2. semi-annually
3. quarterly
4. monthly
5. weekly
6. never  
-----
7. do not know

**Q24a). In which ways of communication do you have contact with European umbrella organisations? (free answer)**

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b) Please rank them according to frequency.

---

c) Please also rank them according to importance.

---

Q25. Do you believe that the position and interests of your trade union coincide with those of the European umbrella organisations to which you belong?

1. always
2. often
3. occasionally
4. never
- 
5. do not know

Q26. Has your trade union supported European-wide protest actions organised by European umbrella organisations?

1. yes
2. no
- 
3. do not know

Q27. If yes, which ones? (free answer)

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Q28. What kind of advantages do you see for the collaboration with European umbrella organisations of trade unions? (open question)

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Q29. What kind of disadvantages do you see for the collaboration with European umbrella organisations of trade unions? (open question)

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Q30. Do you think that your union provides an important contribution to the overall interest representation of trade unions at the EU-level?

1. yes
2. no
- 
3. do not know



Q31. At its congress in 2012, ETUC supported again the implementation of a social progress clause in the Treaty of the European Union. This clause is meant to underline the importance of social rights and social progress in the EU besides the single market. Do you participate in the debate about a social progress clause?

1. yes
2. no

-----

3. do not know

Q32. Do you support the claim of ETUC to implement a social clause?

1. yes
2. no

-----

3. do not know

[Q33. Please elaborate on your answer. (open question)]

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Q33+. Do you believe that differences between labour costs in relation to the old EU member states are a legitimate way to protect working places in [country]?

1. yes
2. no

-----

3. do not know

***IV Connections between the EU and the national level (7 questions)***

*We will turn to the national level and we would like to ask you more specific questions about the effect of the EU on your trade union's work in [country].*

**Q34. Do you believe that the activities of your union at the EU-level influence its work at the national level?**

1. always
2. often
3. occasionally
4. never
- 
5. do not know

[If “never” were chosen, go to Q36.]

**Q35. In what way do the activities of your union at the EU-level influence its work at the national level? (open question)**

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**Q36. Does your trade union support the implementation of specific EU regulations in [country]?**

1. always
2. often
3. occasionally
4. never
- 
5. do not know

**Q37. Do you use the EU as an argument to justify or support the position or activities of your trade union at the national level?**

1. always
2. often
3. occasionally
4. never
- 
5. do not know

[If “never” was chosen, go to Q39.]

**Q38. If yes, please provide as many examples as possible. (open question)**

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Q39. Regarding which policy areas do you believe the EU has a positive impact in [country]? (free answer)

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Q40. Regarding which policy areas do you believe the EU has a negative impact in [country]? (free answer)

---

***V Cooperation with trade unions from the old EU member states (8 questions)***

*As part of your trade union`s work, you may collaborate with trade unions from the old EU member states at the EU-level. We will ask you specific questions about the cooperation with trade unions from the old EU member states.*

Q41. With which trade unions from the old EU member states does your trade union cooperate? (free answer, multiple answers possible)

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Q42. Regarding its duration, is this collaboration in general  
(multiple answers possible)

- 1) a long-term cooperation
- 2) a short-term cooperation.

-----  
3) do not know

[If option “1” **and** “2” were marked, please go to Q.42+]

Q42+. Please elaborate on you answer. (open question)

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Q43. Regarding its purpose, is this collaboration in general  
(multiple answers possible)

- a) about the exchange of information
- b) about specific projects
- c) about the broader coordination of activities
- d) about something else (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

-----  
e) do not know

[If more than one option was marked, please go to Q.43+]

Q43+. Please elaborate on you answer. (open question)

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Q44. Do you see any differences between the cooperation with trade unions from the old member states and from the new member states? (open question)

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Q45. Regarding which policy areas does your trade union collaborate with trade unions from the old EU member states? (Multiple answers possible)

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Q46. Regarding which policy areas do you believe collaboration should be intensified? (open question)

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Q47. What kind of advantages do you see for the collaboration with trade unions from the old EU member states? (open question)

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Q48. What kind of disadvantages do you see regarding the collaboration with trade unions from the old EU member states? (open question)

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***VI Cooperation with neighbouring countries in Interregional Trade Union Councils (IRTUCs) (6 questions)***

Q49. Is your trade union involved in IRTUCs with trade unions in neighbouring countries?

1. yes
2. no

[If Q49. is *no*, continue with Q55.]

Q50. How do you, within your trade union, decide in general on the positions to be represented in IRTUCs? (free answer)

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Q51. Who is responsible for implementing these decisions? (free answer)

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Q52. Would you say that participation in IRTUCs has an impact on internal debates in your trade union?

1. always
2. often
3. occasionally
4. never
- 
5. do not know

[If “never” was chosen, go to Q54.]

Q53. If yes, please elaborate on your answer by giving examples. (free answer)

---

Q54. How do you assess the impact of IRTUCs on the representation of workers' interests in [country]?

1. important
2. helpful under certain circumstances
3. obstructive under certain circumstances
4. unimportant
- 
5. do not know

**VII European Works Councils (7 questions)**

Q55. Is your trade union represented in a European Works Council?

1. yes [please name the respective companies: \_\_\_\_\_]
2. no

Q56. Does your trade union cooperate with European Works Councils?

1. yes [please name the respective companies: \_\_\_\_\_]
2. no

[If Q55+56 are **both no**, continue with Q62.]

Q57. How do you, within your trade union, decide in general on the positions to be represented in European Works Councils? (free answer)

---

Q58. Who is responsible for implementing these decisions? (free answer)

---

Q59. Would you personally say that your work with European Works Councils has an impact on internal debates in your trade union?

1. always
2. often
3. occasionally
4. never
- 
5. do not know

[If “never” was chosen, go to Q61.]

Q60. If yes, please elaborate on your answer by giving examples. (free answer)

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Q61. How do you assess the impact of European Works Councils on the representation of workers' interests in [country]?

1. important
2. helpful under certain circumstances
3. obstructive under certain circumstances
4. unimportant
- 
5. do not know

*VIII Statistical information (9 questions)*

Q62. We would like to ask you to provide some information about yourself.

For how many years are you a union member? \_\_\_\_\_

Q62+. Since when do you have your present responsibilities related to international cooperation?

Q63. How often is your personal opinion in line with the majority within your union?

1. My personal opinion often corresponds with the majority.
2. I am often isolated with my personal opinion.

-----  
3. do not know

Q64. How would you describe your political orientation?

1. communist/socialist
2. social democrat
3. conservative/Christian democrat
4. nationalist
5. liberal
6. green/ecological
7. other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

-----  
8. do not know

Q65. How old are you? ... years

Q66. What is your educational level? (free answer)

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Q67. Which foreign languages do you speak fluently? (open question; multiple answers possible)

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*Finally, we would like to ask you to provide some information about your trade union in general.*

Q68. Please describe briefly the decision-making structures in your trade union. (open answer)

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Q69. How is your trade union funded? Please estimate the share in your overall budget of 2011 (in %).

1. contributions from members
2. European funding
3. national funding
4. other funding
- 
5. do not know

Q70. Was that budget in its composition of the funding sources exceptional? If yes, please elaborate. (free answer)

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***IX Data protection (2 questions)***

DP1. Finally, an important privacy question: May we quote your answers with your name and the name of your union?

1. yes
2. no

DP2. If not, would it be possible at a later date to ask for your permission to quote specific answers of yours with your name?

1. yes
2. no