



**All Opinions at T1, Before Deliberations – Whole Sample**

**Document presents percentage breakdowns for the entire sample of 3,550 at T1. Please note that all table items are percentages of total valid responses.**

**Q1.** Some people think that your country's membership in the EU is an extremely bad thing. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think that your country's membership in the EU is an extremely good thing. Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	12.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	69.4

**Q2.** Some people think that governments should let employers hire and fire as they see fit. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think that governments should make it very difficult for employers to fire people. Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	22.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	49.5

**Q3a** Allowing employers more freedom in hiring and firing increases economic growth

Before Deliberation	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	19.8
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	23.7
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	16.9
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	25.6
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	13.9

**Q3b** Increasing job security allows workers to become more skilled

Before Deliberation	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	3.9
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	9.0
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	8.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	32.1
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	46.4

**Q4** Some people think the government should provide a pension for all retirees. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think that individuals should make their own decisions about investing in their pensions. Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, or do you have any opinion about that?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	36.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	39.8

**Q5a** Letting more immigrants enter the labour market

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	22.3
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	24.1
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	19.7
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	22.4
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	11.5

**Q5b** Making it more attractive to work longer before retiring

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	19.7
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	18.1
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	14.7
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	25.3
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	22.2

**Q5c** Raising the retirement age

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	42.5
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	25.4
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	10.5
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	13.1
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	8.4

**Q6a** Keeping the retirement rules the way they are will bankrupt the retirement system

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	17.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	19.3
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	15.8
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	24.3
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	22.9

**Q6b** People who have worked all their lives should have a comfortable retirement, even if that means larger contributions from those still working

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	5.4
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	10.8
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	13.9
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	32.9
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	37.1

**Q7a** Increasing taxes on imported products

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	20.7
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	25.3
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	15.2
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	22.9
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	16.0

**Q7b** Pressing for stricter international standards regarding child labour and environmental impacts

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	8.3
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	3.9
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	3.8
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	14.1
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	69.9

**Q7c** Making it easier for workers to move between EU countries

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	5.3
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	7.7
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	12.3
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	31.5
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	43.1

**Q8.** Some people think that [R'S COUNTRY]'s industries should be protected against foreign competition. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think that [R'S COUNTRY]'s industries should be left to compete freely in the global economy. Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, or do you have any opinion about that?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	21.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	53.8

**Q9a** Freer trade expands the markets for our products

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	2.8
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	6.6
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	11.9
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	40.1
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	38.7

**Q9b** Freer trade costs more jobs than it creates at home

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	12.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	23.0
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	22.4
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	26.6
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	15.4

**Q10a** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is none at all, 10 is complete, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much can the *UN* be relied on to protect your country's peace and security, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	22.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	53.1

**Q10b** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is none at all, 10 is complete, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much can the *US* be relied on to protect your country's peace and security, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	48.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	29.0

**Q10c** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is none at all, 10 is complete, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much can the *EU* be relied on to protect your country's peace and security, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	16.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	61.5

**Q10d** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is none at all, 10 is complete, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much can *NATO* be relied on to protect your country's peace and security, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	18.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	56.5

**Q10e** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is none at all, 10 is complete, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much can *your country* be relied on to protect your country's peace and security, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	18.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	61.0

**Q11a** My country should strengthen its military power

Before Deliberation	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	22.9
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	22.4
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	13.5
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	19.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	21.8

**Q11b** Military action by EU countries is never justifiable

Before Deliberation	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	20.0
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	29.6
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	18.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	17.7
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	14.5

**Q11c** EU countries may sometimes have to use force without a UN mandate

Before Deliberation	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	30.8
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	22.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	12.3
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	21.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	12.5

**Q12a** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unjustifiable, 10 is completely justifiable, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how justifiable would you say military intervention by EU countries for preventing genocide in other countries is, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	12.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	75.7

**Q12b** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unjustifiable, 10 is completely justifiable, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how justifiable would you say military intervention by EU countries for removing the threat of weapons of mass destruction is, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	19.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	66.6

**Q12c** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unjustifiable, 10 is completely justifiable, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how justifiable would you say military intervention by EU countries for defending economic interests is, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	46.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	32.7

**Q12d** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unjustifiable, 10 is completely justifiable, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how justifiable would you say military intervention by EU countries for defending another EU country against military attack is, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	12.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	69.7

\*From this point forward, the question numbers in parentheses correspond to the T2 and T3 questionnaires. Question numbers do not match because of additional questions at T2 and T3.

**Q13a (16a)** Additional countries that meet all the political and economic conditions for membership should be admitted to the EU.

Before Deliberation	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	10.0
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	12.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	12.0
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	31.0
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	34.8

**Q13b (16b)** If it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Turkey should be admitted to the EU.

	Before Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	20.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	16.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	11.0
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	24.5
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	27.0

**Q13c (16c)** If it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Ukraine should be admitted to the EU.

	Before Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	12.2
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	13.2
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	12.9
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	31.5
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	30.2

**Q13d (16d)** Adding a Muslim country to the EU would improve the EU's relations with the Muslim world

	Before Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	25.2
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	19.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	16.4
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	24.9
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	14.3

**Q13e (16e)** Adding a Muslim country to the EU would make the EU too diverse

	Before Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	20.5
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	23.5
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	15.0
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	19.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	21.5

**Q14a (17a)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *immigration* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	39.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	43.8

**Q14b (17b)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *international trade* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	19.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	59.3

**Q14c (17c)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *employment* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	41.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	40.0

**Q14d (17d)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *pensions* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	51.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	32.5

**Q14e (17e)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *military action* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	24.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	56.6

**Q14f (17f)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *climate change* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	10.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	75.4

**Q14g (17g)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *foreign aid* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	18.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	62.0

**Q14h (17h)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *taxation* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	46.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	34.2

**Q14i (17i)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *energy supply* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	26.9
<b>6 to 10</b>	53.4

**Q14j (17j)** On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 means that the EU makes all the decisions and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much of the decision-making in *diplomatic relations* should be made by the individual member states versus the EU, or do you have any opinion about that?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	24.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	53.7

**Q15a (18a)** Some people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require only the agreement of a large majority of member states, representing a large majority of the EU's population. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require the unanimous agreement of all the member states. Suppose these people are the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in-between are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, when it comes to *taxation* decisions?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	35.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	43.1

**Q15b (18b)** Some people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require only the agreement of a large majority of member states, representing a large majority of the EU's population. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require the unanimous agreement of all the member states. Suppose these people are the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in-between are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, when it comes to *social policy* decisions?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	31.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	44.3

**Q15c (18c)** Some people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require only the agreement of a large majority of member states, representing a large majority of the EU's population. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require the unanimous agreement of all the member states. Suppose these people are the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in-between are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, when it comes to *foreign policy* decisions?

Before Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	26.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	54.4

**Q15d (18d)** Some people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require only the agreement of a large majority of member states, representing a large majority of the EU's population. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require the unanimous agreement of all the member states. Suppose these people are the other end of the scale, at point 10. People who are exactly in-between are at point 5, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 0 and 10. Where would you place your views on this scale, when it comes to *defence* decisions?

Before Deliberation	
0 to 4	24.6
6 to 10	58.9

Questions 16 (19) to 24 (27) are Knowledge Questions. (Correct answers in bold)

**Q16. (19)** Which of the following countries is an official candidate to join the EU? Answer options: Romania, Montenegro, **Croatia**, or Morocco

Before Deliberation	
% Correct	68.0

**Q17. (20)** Are the members of the European Parliament...? Answer options: **directly elected by the citizens of their country**, elected for three year terms, elected by the parliament of their country, or appointed by their national head of government

Before Deliberation	
% Correct	37.3

**Q18. (21)** Are new EU laws in the field of employment adopted by...? Answer options: the European Commission and in some cases with the European Parliament, **the Council of Ministers and in some cases with the European Parliament**, the European Parliament by itself or the European commission by itself

Before Deliberation	
% Correct	8.0

**Q19. (22)** Is the EU's role regarding unemployment benefits to...? Answer options: Finance the member states' unemployment benefit systems, decide the level and length of unemployment benefits in the member states, require that the member states merge their unemployment benefit systems by 2010 or **guarantee that all EU citizens have access to unemployment benefits where they live**

Before Deliberation	
% Correct	24.3

**Q20. (23)** Roughly a third of the EU's budget is devoted to one of the following. Is it ...? Answer options: **Helping the EU's less prosperous regions**, subsidizing the EU's fishing industry, financing diplomatic missions abroad or maintaining the EU's administration and bureaucracy

Before Deliberation	
% Correct	36.7

**Q21. (24)** By 2050, is the percentage of the adult EU population that is 65 or older projected to be...? Answer options: About one quarter of what it is now, about half of what it is now, about the same as what it is now, **about twice what it is now** or about four times what it is now

Before Deliberation	
% Correct	42.4

**Q22. (25)** Which of the following is true of the amount of foreign aid given by the EU and its member states, combined, versus the amount given by the US? Answer options: The EU and its member states give roughly four times as much, **the EU and its member states give roughly twice as much**, the EU and its member states and the US give about the same amount, the US gives roughly twice as much, or the US gives roughly four times as much

	Before Deliberation
<b>% Correct</b>	18.2

**Q23. (26)** On average, what percentage of the total spending by the governments of the EU member states for foreign aid? Answer options: About **1%**, 5%, 9%, 13%, or 17%

	Before Deliberation
<b>% Correct</b>	16.1

**Q24. (27)** Which of the following countries does NOT possess nuclear weapons? Answer options: Pakistan, India, North Korea or **Japan**

	Before Deliberation
<b>% Correct</b>	36.4

**Q25 (28)** How much attention have you paid to news about political issues on TV?

	Before Deliberation
<b>None</b>	17.2
<b>Very Little</b>	25.9
<b>Some</b>	25.5
<b>Quiet a bit</b>	20.9
<b>A great deal</b>	10.4

**Q26 (29)** How much attention have you paid to news about political issues in the newspaper?

	Before Deliberation
<b>None</b>	26.5
<b>Very Little</b>	25.2
<b>Some</b>	25.0
<b>Quiet a bit</b>	16.1
<b>A great deal</b>	7.2

**Q27 (30)** And how often would you say you talked about political issues with friends, family, or co-workers?

	Before Deliberation
<b>Not at all</b>	26.6
<b>Just a few times</b>	43.4
<b>Fairly Often</b>	20.4
<b>Very Times</b>	9.6

**Q28 (31)** And in your lifetime, how often have you discussed political issues concerning the EU with citizens from other EU countries?

	Before Deliberation
<b>Not at all</b>	48.6
<b>Just a few times</b>	39.7
<b>Fairly Often</b>	8.2
<b>Very Times</b>	3.4

**Q29 (32)** People who disagree with me completely often have good reason for their views.

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	6.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	14.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	28.0
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	31.8
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	19.6

**Q30. (33)** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means that you're certain not to vote, 10 means that you're certain to vote, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how likely would you say you are to vote in the next election for the European Parliament?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	14.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	70.6

**Q31(34)** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely uninterested, 10 is extremely interested, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how interested would you say you are in politics and foreign affairs?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	20.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	54.9

**Q32. (35)** In politics, people often talk of "left" and "right". On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means as far left as possible, 10 means as far right as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you place your views, or couldn't you say about that?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	29.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	32.7

**Q33a. (36a)** And where would you place *Nicolas Sarkozy's* views on the same scale, or couldn't you say about that?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	13.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	68.4

**Q33b. (36b)** And where would you place *Gordon Brown's* views on the same scale, or couldn't you say about that?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	27.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	40.8

**Q34a (37a)** On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all, 10 is completely, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you think of yourself as being European?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	14.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	66.8

**Q34b (37b)** And on the same 0 to 10 scale, how much would you say you think of yourself as just being from your own country?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<b>0 to 4</b>	5.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	87.0