



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	
0 to 4	12.3
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	22.5
6 to 10	49.5

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

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	19.8
Somewhat Disagree	23.7
Neither Agree or Disagree	16.9
Somewhat Agree	25.6
Strongly Agree	13.9

Q3b Increasing job security allows workers to become more skilled

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	3.9
Somewhat Disagree	9.0
Neither Agree or Disagree	8.6
Somewhat Agree	32.1
Strongly Agree	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?

	Before Deliberation
0 to 4	36.5
6 to 10	39.8

Q5a Letting more immigrants enter the labour market

	Before Deliberation
Oppose Strongly	22.3
Oppose Somewhat	24.1
Neither Favour nor Oppose	19.7
Somewhat Favour	22.4
Strongly Favour	11.5

Q5b Making it more attractive to work longer before retiring

	Before Deliberation
Oppose Strongly	19.7
Oppose Somewhat	18.1
Neither Favour nor Oppose	14.7
Somewhat Favour	25.3
Strongly Favour	22.2

Q5c Raising the retirement age

	Before Deliberation
Oppose Strongly	42.5
Oppose Somewhat	25.4
Neither Favour nor Oppose	10.5
Somewhat Favour	13.1
Strongly Favour	8.4

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

	Before Deliberation
Strongly Disagree	17.6
Somewhat Disagree	19.3
Neither Agree or Disagree	15.8
Somewhat Agree	24.3
Strongly Agree	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

	Before Deliberation
Strongly Disagree	5.4
Somewhat Disagree	10.8
Neither Agree or Disagree	13.9
Somewhat Agree	32.9
Strongly Agree	37.1

Q7a Increasing taxes on imported products

	Before Deliberation
Oppose Strongly	20.7
Oppose Somewhat	25.3
Neither Favour nor Oppose	15.2
Somewhat Favour	22.9
Strongly Favour	16.0

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

	Before Deliberation
Oppose Strongly	8.3
Oppose Somewhat	3.9
Neither Favour nor Oppose	3.8
Somewhat Favour	14.1
Strongly Favour	69.9

Q7c Making it easier for workers to move between EU countries

	Before Deliberation
Oppose Strongly	5.3
Oppose Somewhat	7.7
Neither Favour nor Oppose	12.3
Somewhat Favour	31.5
Strongly Favour	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?

	Before Deliberation
0 to 4	21.1
6 to 10	53.8

Q9a Freer trade expands the markets for our products

	Before Deliberation
Strongly Disagree	2.8
Somewhat Disagree	6.6
Neither Agree or Disagree	11.9
Somewhat Agree	40.1
Strongly Agree	38.7

Q9b Freer trade costs more jobs than it creates at home

	Before Deliberation
Strongly Disagree	12.6
Somewhat Disagree	23.0
Neither Agree or Disagree	22.4
Somewhat Agree	26.6
Strongly Agree	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	
0 to 4	22.2
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	48.4
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	16.0
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	18.6
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	18.6
6 to 10	61.0

Q11a My country should strengthen its military power

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	22.9
Somewhat Disagree	22.4
Neither Agree or Disagree	13.5
Somewhat Agree	19.4
Strongly Agree	21.8

Q11b Military action by EU countries is never justifiable

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	20.0
Somewhat Disagree	29.6
Neither Agree or Disagree	18.2
Somewhat Agree	17.7
Strongly Agree	14.5

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

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	30.8
Somewhat Disagree	22.9
Neither Agree or Disagree	12.3
Somewhat Agree	21.4
Strongly Agree	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	
0 to 4	12.0
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	19.4
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	46.6
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	12.5
6 to 10	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	
Strongly Disagree	10.0
Somewhat Disagree	12.1
Neither Agree or Disagree	12.0
Somewhat Agree	31.0
Strongly Agree	34.8

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

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	20.6
Somewhat Disagree	16.9
Neither Agree or Disagree	11.0
Somewhat Agree	24.5
Strongly Agree	27.0

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

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	12.2
Somewhat Disagree	13.2
Neither Agree or Disagree	12.9
Somewhat Agree	31.5
Strongly Agree	30.2

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

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	25.2
Somewhat Disagree	19.1
Neither Agree or Disagree	16.4
Somewhat Agree	24.9
Strongly Agree	14.3

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

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	20.5
Somewhat Disagree	23.5
Neither Agree or Disagree	15.0
Somewhat Agree	19.4
Strongly Agree	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	
0 to 4	39.5
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	19.6
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	41.2
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	51.6
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	24.3
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	10.6
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	18.8
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	46.4
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	26.9
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	24.6
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	35.0
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	31.5
6 to 10	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	
0 to 4	26.8
6 to 10	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

% Correct 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

% Correct 16.1

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

Before Deliberation

% Correct 36.4

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

Before Deliberation

None	17.2
Very Little	25.9
Some	25.5
Quiet a bit	20.9
A great deal	10.4

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

Before Deliberation

None	26.5
Very Little	25.2
Some	25.0
Quiet a bit	16.1
A great deal	7.2

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

Before Deliberation

Not at all	26.6
Just a few times	43.4
Fairly Often	20.4
Very Times	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

Not at all	48.6
Just a few times	39.7
Fairly Often	8.2
Very Times	3.4

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

Before Deliberation	
Strongly Disagree	6.6
Somewhat Disagree	14.1
Neither Agree or Disagree	28.0
Somewhat Agree	31.8
Strongly Agree	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?

Before Deliberation	
0 to 4	14.2
6 to 10	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?

Before Deliberation	
0 to 4	20.3
6 to 10	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?

Before Deliberation	
0 to 4	29.3
6 to 10	32.7

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

Before Deliberation	
0 to 4	13.7
6 to 10	68.4

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

Before Deliberation	
0 to 4	27.7
6 to 10	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?

Before Deliberation	
0 to 4	14.5
6 to 10	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?

	Before Deliberation
0 to 4	5.7
6 to 10	87.0