



## EU citizens accept need for pension reform, resist enlargement

First EU-wide Deliberative Poll<sup>®1</sup> reveals citizens' considered preferences

*Brussels, Thursday 18 October 2007*— "Tomorrow's Europe", the first-ever EU-wide Deliberative Poll<sup>®</sup> gathered a scientific random sample of 362 citizens from all 27 EU countries to Brussels, where they spent a weekend deliberating about key social and foreign policy issues affecting the future of the EU and its member states. The deliberations, in 22 languages, took place in the European Parliament building. No event quite like this—with a scientifically drawn sample from all 27 member states deliberating at this length and in their own languages—has ever previously occurred.

As a result of deliberating, the participants became dramatically more informed and changed their views about a number of important issues. Participants from the 12 newer and 15 older member states generally started with different opinions but tended to converge.

### **Economic and social reforms: Europeans ready to make sacrifices**

In social policy, the participants grew more willing to make sacrifices to secure their pensions. Support for "raising the retirement age" rose from 26% to 40%, and support for "making it attractive to work longer before retiring" rose from 57% to 70%. Part of the reason may have been the increasing realisation that something major needs to be done. The percentage agreeing that "keeping the retirement rules the way they are will bankrupt the retirement system" increased from 50% to 59%. Regarding economic reforms, the percentage who favoured encouraging foreign investment rose from 58.4% to 69.3%.

### **Caution on Enlargement**

Support for enlargement diminished The percentage agreeing that "additional countries that meet all the political and economic conditions for membership should be admitted to the EU" decreased from 65% to 60%. This does not seem to have been mainly because one of the countries most conspicuously in line for membership is Turkey. Support for admitting Turkey, if it met all the conditions for membership, fell from 55% to 45%, but support for admitting Ukraine, if it likewise met all the conditions for membership, fell by an even larger amount, from 69% to 55%. Nor did the decreasing support for enlargement appear to result from concerns about Muslims. The percentage agreeing that "adding a Muslim country to the EU would make the EU too diverse" scarcely budged (43% before, 41% after), the same was true of the percentage agreeing that "adding a Muslim country to the EU would improve the EU's relations with the Muslim world" (49% before, 47% after). What may have been involved, however, was the increases in the percentage agreeing that "adding more countries to the EU would make it more difficult for the EU to

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<sup>1</sup> Deliberative Polling<sup>®</sup> is a trade mark of James S. Fishkin. Any fees from the trade mark are used to support research at the Center for Deliberative Democracy at Stanford.

make decisions" (52% before, 62% after) and the percentage agreeing that the EU is "adding too many countries too fast" (46% before, 53% after).

### **EU Role in the World**

There was strong and steady support for the use of military force for certain purposes but not for others. The percentage supporting its use to "defend another EU country against military attack" started at 80% and ended at 83% (a small but statistically significant change), while the percentage supporting its use "to prevent genocide in other countries" started at 82% and stayed high at 81%. On the other hand, support for the use of military force "to remove the threat of weapons of mass destruction," while strong, diminished sharply, dropping from 70% to 59%. On a related issue, support for strengthening the military power of one's own country dropped from 39% to 31%.

In addition, there was an increased recognition of the problems currently posed by Russia. The importance of "Europe's dependency on Russian energy supplies" rose from 81% to 83% (another small but statistically significant increase), and the importance of "Russian interference in the affairs of eastern European and Central Asian countries" rose significantly from 65% to 74%.

### **An Increased EU Role, but Resistance to Qualified Majority Rule.**

Participants were asked whether the EU or the individual member states should play more of a role in decision making in several distinct policy areas. At the end of the process there was majority support for the EU rather than just the member states in most areas—international trade (52%), military action (65%), climate change (83%), foreign aid (71%), energy supply (59%), and diplomatic relations (63%).

In pension policy, where the role for the EU was initially low, the percentage wanting the EU to have more of a role increased from 32% to 41%, while the percentage wanting member states to decide independently from the EU about pensions decreased from 54% to 46%. There was also an increasing sense that the EU should take more of a role for certain other issues—support for an EU role increased from 52% to 59% for energy supply, from 56% to 63% for diplomatic relations and from 59% to 71% for foreign aid.

While there was general support for more of an EU role in many policy areas, there was also general opposition to its implementation through qualified majority rule. In most policy areas, there was more support for the unanimity rule than for qualified majority rule. Citizens after deliberation preferred deciding by unanimity rather than by qualified majority rule on taxation (45% to 38%), social policy (44% to 39%), foreign policy (59% to 28%) and defence (65% to 24%). Even if citizens wanted more of an EU role, they remained protective of national sovereignty and reluctant to impose decisions on states that disagreed.

### **Old and new member states—A convergence of views**

The differences between the participants from older versus newer member states shed light on their reactions to enlargement and other issues. The participants from the 12 new member states admitted since 2004 and those from the other 15 countries generally started with different attitudes. Those from the newer member states generally changed their attitudes more, however, and in a direction that generally narrowed the gap between their attitudes and those of the participants from the older member states. Thus the deliberations did more than bring the participants from older and newer members states physically together in the same room; they also brought them together in terms of their views.

Most of the move against further enlargement came from the participants from the new member states. They dropped 15 points (from 78% to 63%) in their support for the notion that “additional countries that meet all the political and economic conditions for membership should be admitted to the EU.” Participants from the old member states only dropped two points (from 61% to 59%). On the admission of Turkey, the new member state participants dropped also 15 points (from 57% to 42%) while those from the older member states dropped only seven (from 54% to 47%). The new member state participants were explicitly not motivated by opposition to a Muslim country joining. Before deliberation 40% agreed with the proposition that “adding a Muslim country to the EU would make the EU too diverse”. But after deliberation support for this view dropped ten points to 30%. Rather, the new member state participants increased the most in their view that “adding more countries to the EU would make it more difficult for the EU to make decisions. Before deliberation, 47% agreed with this view but after deliberation, agreement rose 15 points to 62%. Among the participants from the old member states, it rose only ten points (54% to 64%).

The new member state participants also increased dramatically more than the old, in their positive evaluation of the EU and in their identification as Europeans. When asked whether or not their country's membership in the EU was a good thing, the new member state participants increased almost 17 points (from 72.5% to 89.2%) while the old member states increased 9 points (from 82% to 91%). When asked about whether or not they thought of themselves as European, the new member state participants increased 18 points (from 69 to 87%) while the old member state participants increased only 3 points (from 81% to 84%).

On many issues there was a pattern of convergence. For example, the percentage of the participants from the new member states agreeing that “keeping the retirement rules the way they are will bankrupt the retirement system” increased from 45% to 64% (an increase of 19 points), while the percentage of those from the old member states agreeing started higher but increased less (from 52% to 59%), closing the gap between new and old substantially. Those believing that investment in new technologies was a key element of global competitiveness rose from 72% to 93% among new participants (an increase of 21 points) while it rose from 88 to about 93% among old state participants. The new member states increased 21 points and the old only 4.3% but they ended up in exactly the same place. On average, across 119 questions including attitudes, general life issues, general politics questions, participants from the new members states showed 45% more change than those from the older ones. The average change for participants from the newer member states is 4.4% of what it could possibly have been. For participants from the older member states the same figure is only 3.0%.

### **International Trade: moderate support for free trade**

The participants became moderately but statistically significantly more receptive to arguments for freer trade. For example, support for lowering barriers to trade increased by 6% (from 54% to 60%). Similarly, the percentage *disagreeing* that that “freer trade puts our industry at a disadvantage” increased by 5% (from 37% to 42%).

### **Huge knowledge gains**

Based on their answers to nine questions gauging factual knowledge, the participants learned a great deal. Those from newer and older member states learned about equally, although those from older member states started (and thus finished) at a slightly higher level. Those from newer member states averaged answering 37% of the knowledge questions correctly before deliberating and 53% of them correctly after deliberating, a gain of 16%. The participants from the older member states averaged answering 40% of the knowledge questions correctly before deliberating and 56% of them correctly after deliberating, an identical gain of 16%. The knowledge question topics included the EU budget (a gain of 22%), how

members of the Parliament are elected (a gain of 23%), the role of the EU in unemployment benefits (a gain of 17%), and how EU foreign aid compares with US foreign aid (a gain of 22%).

## Identity and Mutual Respect

Participants increased in their identification as “Europeans,” in their mutual respect for those they disagreed with and even in the extent to which they liked those from other European states. The percentage who think of themselves as “being European” increased from 77% to 85% while the percentage who thought of themselves as “just from my own country” went down from 89% to 83%. Those agreeing that “people who disagree with me completely often have good reasons for their views” increased from 52% to 59%. Respondents were also asked to rate how much they liked or disliked people from other specific member countries as well as some non-EU countries. The index for the EU countries increased significantly but the non-EU countries did not.

## Representativeness

The sample of 362 was recruited from an initial random sample of 3,500 in fieldwork conducted by TNS-Sofres in 27 countries. Participants who took the initial survey were randomly selected by country in proportion to their representation in the EU parliament. Because all participants were invited only after they had completed a comprehensive initial questionnaire, it is possible to compare participants and non-participants (those in the original sample who did not attend). The substantive significance is generally small. The participants are somewhat disproportionately male and distinctly more educated, among other demographic differences, but on policy attitudes, the differences are substantively small, averaging only 4% of what they could possibly have been. In all, this was a reasonably good microcosm of Europe.

## Notes to Editors

- *Tomorrow's Europe* is an ambitious effort to use social science for public consultation across all of Europe. It was coordinated by *Notre Europe* and sponsored by the European Commission, Allianz and around 20 other partners: [www.tomorrowseurope.eu](http://www.tomorrowseurope.eu)
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### All Opinion Changes: Before and After Deliberations

Document presents percentage breakdowns for all questions “Before Deliberation” and “After Deliberation.”<sup>1</sup> Please note that all table items are percentages of total valid responses.

\* = statistically significant

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	9.4	2.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	79.0	89.9

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	24.6	26.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	50.6	51.7

**Q2.1.** Now think about people who disagree with you on the issue of employment. How strongly would you agree or disagree that they usually have good reasons, even if their conclusions are wrong?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	7.5	3.8
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	22.9	20.6
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	27.3	24.4
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	35.8	42.6
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	6.5	8.5

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	14.2	13.5
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	24.9	28.5
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	14.5	13.8
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	28.8	32.9
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	17.5	11.2

<sup>1</sup> There were three waves—T1, initial contact, T2, on arrival, and T3, at the end of the weekend. When a question was first asked at T1, that answer provides the “before deliberation” measurement. When it was first asked at T2 in the arrival questionnaire, then that answer provides the “before deliberation” measurement. “After deliberation” is, in all cases, at T3, the end of the weekend.

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	4.9	5.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	11.8	12.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	7.5	14.0
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	32.9	36.5
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	42.9	30.9

**Q3c** Allowing employers more freedom in hiring and firing increases the number of jobs.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	16.3	16.2
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	24.5	30.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	19.7	18.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	29.2	27.3
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	10.3	8.2

**Q3d** Employees have the right to job security

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	4.1	5.7
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	9.1	8.0
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	11.9	12.5
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	30.3	34.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	44.7	39.5

**Q3e** Employers have the right to fire people if that is what they see as best for the business

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	10.8	11.1
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	24.1	21.7
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	13.9	18.8
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	33.7	34.8
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	17.3	13.7

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	35.6	48.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	43.1	27.4

**Q4.1.** \*Now think about people who disagree with you on the issue of pension for all retirees. How strongly would you agree or disagree that they usually have good reasons, even if their conclusions are wrong?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	9.4	4.8
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	22.8	22.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	26.5	28.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	34.6	33.9
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	6.7	9.8

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	17.7	10.4
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	19.5	26.5
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	16.2	22.5
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	31.5	31.4
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	15.0	9.2

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	12.6	5.1
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	15.8	12.5
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	14.0	12.2
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	29.2	42.3
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	28.4	27.8

**Q5c\*** Raising the retirement age

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	37.5	16.2
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	28.5	25.8
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	8.4	18.3
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	16.0	30.1
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	9.6	9.6

**Q5d\*** Encouraging people to have more children

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	11.5	8.2
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	11.5	10.2
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	28.0	26.4
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	26.5	31.5
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	22.4	23.6

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	19.9	7.1
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	19.3	18.4
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	11.0	15.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	23.9	31.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	25.9	27.5

**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	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	6.6	3.1
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	12.9	16.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	12.9	14.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	34.5	44.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	33.0	21.1

**Q6c** Pensions should increase at the same rate as wages, even if that means larger contributions from those still working.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	3.4	3.1
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	22.7	17.8
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	17.5	21.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	35.6	41.5
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	20.9	16.4

**Q6d** It is unfair to change the retirement rules for people who have already been paying into the system for a long time.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	6.8	7.3
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	15.2	12.6
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	8.0	9.8
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	36.8	34.0
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	33.1	36.2

**Q7a** Increasing taxes on imported products

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	20.2	10.4
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	26.5	30.9
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	12.7	21.4
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	23.8	31.2
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	16.9	6.1

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	3.1	5.4
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	2.3	1.1
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	2.8	2.0
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	16.2	15.2
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	75.5	76.3

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	2.5	2.0
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	5.9	5.6
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	8.5	9.3
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	26.6	41.0
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	56.4	42.1

**Q7d\*** Lowering barriers to international trade

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	6.1	2.0
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	16.6	12.9
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	23.2	24.7
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	32.2	35.6
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	22.0	24.7



## Q7e\* Investing in new technologies

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	10.3	3.1
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	3.3	1.4
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	3.3	2.8
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	20.0	20.9
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	63.0	71.8

## Q7f\* Encouraging foreign investment

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	8.3	2.3
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	7.7	7.5
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	25.6	20.4
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	27.8	34.5
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	30.6	35.3

## Q7g Encouraging the formation of large, powerful European companies

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	7.6	4.6
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	13.8	15.7
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	26.0	24.9
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	27.8	27.7
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	24.8	27.1

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	18.6	21.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	60.9	55.2

**Q8.1.** \*Now think about people who disagree with you on the issue of foreign competition in the global economy. How strongly would you agree or disagree that they usually have good reasons, even if their conclusions are wrong?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	8.1	3.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	20.5	20.2
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	30.4	29.4
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	33.0	40.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	8.1	6.5

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	1.5	0.9
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	4.7	9.4
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	6.2	8.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	43.0	51.1
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	44.5	30.4

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	15.2	8.7
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	30.7	27.6
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	15.8	27.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	21.5	29.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	16.8	6.7

**Q9c** Freer trade leads to lower prices

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	4.6	3.4
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	6.2	11.4
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	16.0	13.4
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	46.8	47.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	26.5	24.4

**Q9d\*** Freer trade puts our industries at a disadvantage

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	7.9	11.8
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	28.9	29.8
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	26.1	24.9
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	28.9	28.9
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	8.2	4.6

**Q9e** Freer trade leads to more economic and social inequality

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	7.5	10.5
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	29.5	29.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	26.6	26.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	28.2	27.0
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	8.2	7.3

**Q9f** Freer trade makes all the countries involved more prosperous

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	4.0	4.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	19.6	18.3
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	22.7	20.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	38.9	37.7
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	14.6	18.8

**Q9g** Freer trade leads to lower quality jobs at home

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	13.3	13.0
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	32.1	34.5
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	31.4	23.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	18.1	22.1
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	5.1	6.8

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	25.4	22.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	56.9	63.9

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	51.3	54.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	29.5	31.2

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	14.6	14.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	70.4	70.6

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	21.2	20.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	62.6	66.1

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	18.9	17.9
<b>6 to 10</b>	62.7	66.6

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	21.8	26.0
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	23.9	25.7
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	15.5	17.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	20.4	22.0
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	18.4	8.7

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	26.6	19.6
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	30.4	37.8
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	14.0	15.9
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	17.0	17.3
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	11.9	9.5

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

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	27.5	25.2
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	24.8	22.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	10.3	12.8
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	25.7	27.5
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	11.8	11.6

**Q11d** Economic power is usually more effective than military power in getting other countries to do what we want

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	3.2	2.9
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	4.8	6.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	15.5	12.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	48.4	42.3
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	28.1	36.5

**Q11e** Stronger militaries in the member states will help the EU play a larger role in the world

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	10.7	12.9
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	22.7	21.4
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	22.0	19.4
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	30.1	33.1
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	14.6	13.1

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	11.3	12.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	81.8	81.1

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	21.1	26.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	69.7	58.5

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	54.0	58.9
<b>6 to 10</b>	30.7	29.1

**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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	10.6	9.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	79.9	83.0

**Q13a** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to *drive a smaller and less powerful car* to combat climate change?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	11.2	13.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	75.4	78.5

**Q13b\*** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to *pay more for electricity* to combat climate change?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	36.5	32.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	41.8	48.4

**Q13c** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to *get more energy from nuclear power* to combat climate change?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	29.6	32.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	50.5	52.9

**Q13d** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to *take trains instead of driving or flying* to combat climate change?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	12.5	16.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	68.9	69.3

**Q14a** Sanctions like trade embargos and visa restrictions

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	5.3	6.1
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	9.7	11.3
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	11.9	6.4
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	32.2	32.8
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	40.9	43.5

**Q14b** Incentives like reducing taxes on imports or increasing development aid

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	7.6	8.3
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	11.8	13.6
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	19.7	18.9
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	34.1	32.4
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	26.8	26.8

**Q14c** Military action

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Oppose Strongly</b>	38.5	40.9
<b>Oppose Somewhat</b>	29.0	28.8
<b>Neither Favour nor Oppose</b>	14.8	12.4
<b>Somewhat Favour</b>	10.4	10.4
<b>Strongly Favour</b>	7.3	7.5

**Q15a** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely unimportant, 10 is extremely important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important a problem is *Europe's dependency on Russian energy supplies*?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	4.8	4.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	80.6	83.4

**Q15b** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely unimportant, 10 is extremely important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important a problem is *Russian interference in the affairs of eastern European and central Asian countries*?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	11.0	8.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	64.9	73.6

**Q16a\*** Additional countries that meet all the political and economic conditions for membership should be admitted to the EU.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	12.0	9.3
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	12.0	22.4
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	10.6	9.3
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	27.9	37.1
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	37.5	21.8

**Q16b\*** If it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Turkey should be admitted to the EU.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	22.6	23.0
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	16.3	23.0
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	6.6	8.8
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	25.1	23.0
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	29.4	22.2

**Q16c\*** If it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Ukraine should be admitted to the EU.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	10.4	13.3
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	11.3	17.6
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	9.2	14.4
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	30.1	32.9
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	39.0	21.9

**Q16d** Adding a Muslim country to the EU would improve the EU's relations with the Muslim world

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	23.4	13.5
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	16.0	22.6
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	11.6	16.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	32.0	31.2
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	16.9	16.0

**Q16e** Adding a Muslim country to the EU would make the EU too diverse

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	21.1	17.0
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	26.1	22.7
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	10.1	19.0
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	19.3	24.1
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	23.4	17.2

**Q16f** If it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Croatia should be admitted to the EU.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	11.9	13.4
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	11.9	12.3
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	14.2	12.3
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	32.4	29.6
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	29.6	32.5

**Q16g** Adding more countries to the EU would help our economy

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	10.8	11.5
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	21.3	23.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	27.2	28.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	27.9	25.9
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	12.8	11.2

**Q16h** Adding more countries to the EU would help our security

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	10.9	12.4
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	19.2	24.1
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	31.7	28.7
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	26.3	24.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	11.9	10.3

**Q16i** \*Adding more countries to the EU would make it more difficult for the EU to make decisions

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	11.1	8.2
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	19.4	15.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	17.8	13.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	31.1	37.8
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	20.6	24.4

**Q16j** The EU is adding too many countries too fast

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	10.4	10.8
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	15.5	17.0
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	28.2	19.3
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	25.9	29.5
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	20.1	23.3

**Q17a** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	37.3	31.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	49.9	52.1

**Q17b** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	17.8	31.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	49.9	52.1

**Q17c** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	41.7	37.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	40.6	41.1

**Q17d \*** 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? (Significant at .104)

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	53.8	46.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	31.9	40.5

**Q17e** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	19.9	21.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	65.3	64.7



**Q17f** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	7.9	6.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	80.1	83.4

**Q17g\*** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	22.7	14.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	59.1	71.1

**Q17h** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	46.1	45.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	37.2	34.3

**Q17i\*** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	27.9	21.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	51.7	58.6

**Q17j\*** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	25.1	16.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	56.0	62.9

**Q18a** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	40.1	38.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	45.0	45.2

**Q18b** \* 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	34.5	38.9
<b>6 to 10</b>	46.7	43.5

**Q18c** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	29.5	28.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	56.2	58.9

**Q18d**\* 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	25.5	24.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	62.0	64.5

**Questions 19 to 27 are Knowledge Questions. The results for these questions can be found in the document labelled "TsE Knowledge Gains..."**

**Q 28\*** How much attention have you paid to news about political issues on TV?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>None</b>	15.4	3.4
<b>Very Little</b>	20.1	15.2
<b>Some</b>	25.7	28.2
<b>Quiet a bit</b>	24.6	36.9
<b>A great deal</b>	14.2	16.3

**Q 29 \*** How much attention have you paid to news about political issues in the newspaper?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>None</b>	19.2	9.0
<b>Very Little</b>	20.9	17.1
<b>Some</b>	27.9	30.9
<b>Quiet a bit</b>	20.1	31.5
<b>A great deal</b>	12.0	11.5

**Q30\*** And how often would you say you talked about political issues with friends, family, or co-workers?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Not at all</b>	16.5	3.4
<b>Just a few times</b>	46.6	35.7
<b>Fairly Often</b>	24.3	41.9
<b>Very Times</b>	12.6	19.1

**Q31\*** And in your lifetime, how often have you discussed political issues concerning the EU with citizens from other EU countries?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Not at all</b>	32.4	15.1
<b>Just a few times</b>	48.3	55.3
<b>Fairly Often</b>	14.0	20.5
<b>Very Times</b>	5.3	9.1

**Q32\*** People who disagree with me completely often have good reason for their views.

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	7.4	2.1
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	16.5	13.5
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	24.2	25.2
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	33.9	47.8
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	17.9	11.4

**Q33.** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	7.6	13.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	83.1	81.7

**Q33.1** And how about the last one? Did you vote in the last election for the European Parliament in 2004?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>Yes</b>	21.1	18.6
<b>No</b>	78.9	81.4

**Q34\*** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	10.6	9.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	74.7	77.0

**Q35.** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	30.8	32.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	39.8	42.6

**Q36a\*** And where would you place *Nicolas Sarkozy's* views on the same scale, or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	14.2	11.9
<b>6 to 10</b>	74.3	79.2

**Q36b\*** And where would you place *Gordon Brown's* views on the same scale, or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	32.1	46.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	44.5	29.2

**Q37a\*** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	10.9	5.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	77.3	84.8

**Q37b\*** 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	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	4.5	7.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	89.4	82.5

**Q38a** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *ensuring equal opportunity* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	2.9	2.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	87.1	91.1

**Q38b** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *making sure nobody goes hungry or lacks medical care* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	1.6	0.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	93.2	95.0

**Q38c** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *preserving traditional industries* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	27.7	26.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	52.1	56.3

**Q38d** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *minimizing the gap between rich and poor* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	6.5	7.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	80.0	79.7

**Q38e** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *keeping prices down* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	15.9	19.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	51.6	56.6

**Q38f** \*On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *leaving people and companies free to compete economically* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	10.5	9.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	64.3	74.1

**Q38g** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *making one's own choices* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	2.3	1.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	90.5	90.9

**Q38h**\* On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *preserving traditions and customs* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	10.0	11.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	80.1	74.8

**Q38i** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *promoting economic growth* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	2.9	3.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	90.1	89.0

**Q38j** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *not having to worry about being fired* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	14.7	14.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	68.3	69.7

**Q38k** \*On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *making our economy competitive in the global arena* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	3.6	3.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	85.4	89.3

**Q38l** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *earning as much money as possible* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	18.4	19.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	55.7	57.7

**Q38m** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *helping people in other parts of the world* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	7.4	7.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	80.4	82.7

**Q38n** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *having Europe play a larger role in the world* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	4.2	4.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	83.9	87.3

**Q38o** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say *being able to retire comfortably* is to you?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	1.6	3.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	92.3	92.1

**Q39a** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Germans* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	5.8	5.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	66.8	69.6

**Q39b** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *French* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	8.6	8.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	69.6	73.1

**Q39c** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *British* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	10.8	11.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	70.3	68.2

**Q39d** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Italians* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	6.1	4.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	72.7	76.3

**Q39e\*** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Polish* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	13.2	11.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	60.2	66.9

**Q39f\*** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Spanish* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	6.6	4.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	72.5	78.6

**Q39g** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Turkish* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	35.0	37.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	35.0	34.5

**Q39h** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Americans* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	27.6	30.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	48.4	49.7

**Q39i** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Chinese* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	29.8	31.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	34.7	39.6

**Q39j** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike *Russians* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	28.1	28.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	40.4	43.8

**Q39k\*** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike the *EU* or couldn't you say about that?

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	1.7	2.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	84.0	86.4

**Q391\*** If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike the *UN* or couldn't you say about that?

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>0 to 4</b>	6.5	9.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	74.7	71.8

[Revised Oct 21, 2007]





### Before and After Deliberations: Knowledge Gains

<b>Knowledge Gains</b>				<b>T3-T1</b>	<b>T3-T2</b>	<b>T2-T1</b>
<b>N=359</b>	<b>T1 (%)</b>	<b>T2 (%)</b>	<b>T3 (%)</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>(%)</b>
1. Official candidate of the EU	62.7	59.1	77.2	+14.5	+18.1	-4.0
2. Members of EU Parliament	54.0	66.9	77.2	+23.1	+10.3	+12.8
3. New Employment laws in EU	8.6	14.8	19.2	+10.6	+4.5	+6.1
4. Role of EU in employment benefits	32.0	34.3	49.9	+17.8	+15.6	+2.2
5. 1/3 of EU Budget	51.0	61.3	73.5	+22.6	+12.3	+10.3
6. 2050 Population > 65	51.0	53.5	61.0	+10.0	+7.5	+2.5
7. EU vs. US Foreign Aid	22.3	30.1	44.0	+21.7	+13.9	+7.8
8. % of foreign aid spending	20.6	30.9	35.1	+14.5	+4.2	+10.3
9. Country without nuclear weapons	51.3	48.7	61.0	+9.7	+12.3	-2.5
<b>Knowledge Index</b>	39.3	44.4	55.3	+16.1	+10.90	+5.1

#### **Knowledge Gains: Index for New vs. Old Member States**

	<b>T1 (%)</b>	<b>T2 (%)</b>	<b>T3 (%)</b>	<b>T3-T1 (%)</b>	<b>T3-T2 (%)</b>	<b>T2-T1 (%)</b>
New Member States	36.6	41.8	52.9	+16.3	+11.1	+52.0
Old Member States	40.4	45.5	56.3	+16.0	+10.8	+51.0

#### **Knowledge Questions (correct answers in bold)**

- Which of the following countries is an official candidate to join the EU? Answer options: Romania, Montenegro, **Croatia**, or Morocco
- 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
- 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
- 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**
- 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
- 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
- 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
- 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%
- Which of the following countries does NOT possess nuclear weapons? Answer options: Pakistan, India, North Korea or **Japan**



**Opinion Changes: Before and After Deliberations split by 'old' and 'new'**

**Document presents percentage breakdowns for statistically significant questions when comparing “Before Deliberation” attitudes and “After Deliberation” attitudes. 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	72.5	89.2
<b>Old*</b>	81.8	91.1

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	44.6	54.5
<b>Old</b>	52.8	50.4

**Q2.1.** Now think about people who disagree with you on this issue. How strongly would you agree or disagree that they usually have good reasons, even if their conclusions are wrong?

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	37.2	50.0
<b>Old</b>	45.2	53.3

**Q3.** And how strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	51.6	41.9
<b>Old</b>	45.3	45.8

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	80.2	73.3
<b>Old*</b>	74.1	65.4

**3c.** Allowing employers more freedom in hiring and firing increases the number of jobs.

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	35.9	35.9
<b>Old</b>	42.1	37.1

**3d.** Employees have the right to job security

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	81.3	76.9
<b>Old</b>	72.4	73.8

**3e.** Employers have the right to fire people if that is what they see as best for the business

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	58.1	62.4
<b>Old</b>	48.0	45.7

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	52.0	32.0
<b>Old*</b>	39.0	25.3

**Q4.1.** Now think about people who disagree with you on this issue. How strongly would you agree or disagree that they usually have good reasons, even if their conclusions are wrong?

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	40.4	37.1
<b>Old*</b>	43.7	48.2

**Q5.** And how strongly would you favour or oppose each of the following as ways of paying for pensions?

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	35.5	38.7
<b>Old</b>	51.3	42.6

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	51.1	64.9
<b>Old*</b>	61.2	71.9

**Q5c** Raising the retirement age

**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	13.5	30.2
<b>Old*</b>	30.6	43.8

5d. Encouraging people to have more children

**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	58.1	67.7
<b>Old*</b>	46.2	51.6

Q6. How strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	45.2	64.3
<b>Old*</b>	52.3	58.9

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	70.6	78.4
<b>Old*</b>	66.3	60.1

6d. It is unfair to change the retirement rules for people who have already been paying into the system for a long time.

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	69.1	75.5
<b>Old</b>	70.5	65.2

Q7. How much would you favour or oppose each of the following as ways of competing in today's global economy?

**Q7a** Increasing taxes on imported products**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	45.7	39.4
<b>Old</b>	38.8	36.6

**Q7b** Pressing for stricter international standards regarding child labour and environmental impacts**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	89.2	90.2
<b>Old</b>	93.5	92.7

**Q7c** Making it easier for workers to move between EU countries**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	88.1	86.1
<b>Old</b>	80.6	82.6

**7d.** Lowering barriers to international trade**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	59.8	79.3
<b>Old</b>	50.9	54.2

**7e.** Investing in new technologies**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	71.6	92.6
<b>Old*</b>	88.3	92.6

**7f.** Encouraging foreign investment**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	54.8	83.9
<b>Old</b>	60.3	63.4

**7g. Encouraging the formation of large, powerful European companies****Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	56.4	68.1
<b>Old</b>	51.3	49.6

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	52.0	56.0
<b>Old*</b>	64.7	56.0

**Q8.1.** Now think about people who disagree with you on this issue. How strongly would you agree or disagree that they usually have good reasons, even if their conclusions are wrong?

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	38.8	41.8
<b>Old*</b>	42.2	51.3

**Q9.** And how strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	86.0	89.0
<b>Old*</b>	88.7	79.7

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	42.9	45.1
<b>Old</b>	37.3	35.3

**Q9c.** Freer trade leads to lower prices

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	74.5	71.3
<b>Old</b>	73.1	73.6

**Q9d.** Freer trade puts our industries at a disadvantage

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	38.0	39.1
<b>Old*</b>	36.9	30.0

**9e.** Freer trade leads to more economic and social inequality

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	31.9	35.2
<b>Old*</b>	38.9	32.9

**9f.** Freer trade makes all the countries involved more prosperous

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	57.6	63.0
<b>Old</b>	52.5	55.3

**9g.** Freer trade leads to lower quality jobs at home

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	23.6	32.6
<b>Old</b>	23.7	28.9

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	58.2	55.1
<b>Old*</b>	56.2	69.0



**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	38.0	34.0
<b>Old</b>	26.1	30.7

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	67.6	72.5
<b>Old</b>	71.0	70.2

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	62.6	68.7
<b>Old</b>	63.6	65.7

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	44.9	51.0
<b>Old</b>	70.3	73.2

**Q11.** How strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	61.6	52.5
<b>Old*</b>	29.4	21.8

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	45.9	34.1
<b>Old</b>	23.0	25.1

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	37.2	37.2
<b>Old</b>	37.4	40.0

**11d.** Economic power is usually more effective than military power in getting other countries to do what we want

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	83.0	84.1
<b>Old</b>	74.3	78.0

**11e.** Stronger militaries in the member states will help the EU play a larger role in the world

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	61.1	61.1
<b>Old</b>	37.6	41.3

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	75.5	83.0
<b>Old</b>	85.7	82.0

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	75.8	70.5
<b>Old*</b>	67.3	53.9

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	39.4	40.4
<b>Old</b>	27.6	24.0

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	79.4	94.8
<b>Old</b>	81.5	79.4

**Q13a.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to Drive a smaller and less powerful car to combat climate change.

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	67.4	71.6
<b>Old</b>	78.6	81.3

**Q13b.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to Pay more for electricity to combat climate change.

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	29.2	36.5
<b>Old</b>	48.0	53.8

**Q13c.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to Get more energy from nuclear power to combat climate change.

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	54.9	64.8
<b>Old</b>	49.5	50.5

**Q13d.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is completely unwilling, 10 is completely willing, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how willing would you be to Take trains instead of driving or flying to combat climate change.

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	61.5	62.5
<b>Old</b>	72.9	72.9

**Q14.** How strongly would you favour or oppose each of the following as ways of keeping Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons?

**14a.** Sanctions like trade embargos and visa restrictions

**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	72.0	77.4
<b>Old</b>	75.1	76.5

**14b.** Incentives like reducing taxes on imports or increasing development aid

**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	56.2	55.1
<b>Old</b>	63.2	59.0

**14c.** Military action

**Percent who strongly or somewhat favor**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	20.4	23.7
<b>Old</b>	16.6	16.1

**Q15a.** And on a scale from 0 to 10, where now 0 is extremely unimportant, 10 is extremely important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important a problem is Europe's dependency on Russian energy supplies

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	74.2	82.8
<b>Old</b>	83.6	86.8

**15b.** And on a scale from 0 to 10, where now 0 is extremely unimportant, 10 is extremely important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important a problem is Russian interference in the affairs of eastern European and central Asian countries

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	67.8	71.3
<b>Old*</b>	65.2	78.1

**Q16.** How strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	78.0	63.0
<b>Old</b>	60.6	58.5

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	57.4	41.6
<b>Old</b>	54.1	46.7

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	78.0	50.0
<b>Old*</b>	66.1	57.7

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	43.3	43.3
<b>Old</b>	51.7	50.9

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

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	52.2	32.2
<b>Old</b>	39.7	46.4

**16f.** If it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Croatia should be admitted to the EU.

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	66.0	64.9
<b>Old</b>	60.8	63.6

**16g.** Adding more countries to the EU would help our economy

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	46.7	47.8
<b>Old</b>	38.2	33.8

**16h.** Adding more countries to the EU would help our security

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	45.1	34.1
<b>Old</b>	35.4	35.8

**16i.** Adding more countries to the EU would make it more difficult for the EU to make decisions

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	46.7	62.0
<b>Old*</b>	53.8	63.8

**16j.** The EU is adding too many countries too fast

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	38.9	53.3
<b>Old</b>	49.1	53.7

**Q17a** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	40.2	48.0
<b>Old</b>	54.3	53.5

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	60.2	60.2
<b>Old</b>	67.8	68.2

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	46.2	39.4
<b>Old</b>	38.8	41.2

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	36.5	42.3
<b>Old*</b>	30.7	39.0

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	63.7	61.8
<b>Old</b>	66.4	66.0

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	72.5	76.9
<b>Old</b>	84.6	86.7

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	60.4	72.5
<b>Old</b>	67.6	69.9

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	29.7	38.5
<b>Old</b>	35.9	31.8

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	44.4	51.1
<b>Old</b>	55.3	61.3

**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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	47.1	56.3
<b>Old</b>	57.9	65.3



**Q18a** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	48.5	45.4
<b>Old</b>	44.8	45.2

**Q18b** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	45.8	44.8
<b>Old</b>	47.3	43.2

**Q18c** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	52.7	51.6
<b>Old</b>	58.1	61.8

**Q18d** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	57.3	54.2
<b>Old</b>	65.1	68.9

**Q28** How much attention have you paid to news about political issues on TV?

**Percent marking a great deal or quiet a bit**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	44.8	49.5
<b>Old*</b>	36.5	54.6

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

**Percent marking a great deal or quiet a bit**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	34.3	31.4
<b>Old*</b>	31.5	47.8

**Q30** And how often would you say you talked about political issues with friends, family, or co-workers?

**Percent marking very often or fairly often**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	25.0	64.4
<b>Old*</b>	41.8	59.8

**Q31** And in your lifetime, how often have you discussed political issues concerning the EU with citizens from other EU countries?

**Percent marking very often or fairly often**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	20.0	25.7
<b>Old*</b>	19.6	31.0

**Q32** How strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statement: People who disagree with me completely often have good reason for their views.

**Percent who strongly or somewhat agree**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	48.0	59.2
<b>Old</b>	53.8	59.7

**Q33.** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	72.8	86.4
<b>Old*</b>	88.0	79.9

**Q 33.1.** And how about the last one? Did you vote in the last election for the European Parliament in 2004?

**Percent marking yes**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	75.8	71.2
<b>Old</b>	80.9	85.3

**Q34** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	57.1	65.7
<b>Old*</b>	82.1	81.7

**Q35.** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	50.5	52.7
<b>Old</b>	37.2	39.0

**Q36a.** 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 Nicolas Sarkozy's views, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	64.4	69.5
<b>Old</b>	78.5	86.4

**Q36b.** 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 Gordon Brown's views, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	32.5	32.5
<b>Old*</b>	47.6	29.7

**Q37a** 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?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	68.9	87.4
<b>Old*</b>	81.2	84.0

**Q37b** And on the same 0 to 10 scale, how much would you say you think of yourself as just being from your own country?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	93.1	93.1
<b>Old*</b>	87.6	87.6

**38a.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Ensuring equal opportunity is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New*</b>	78.7	91.0
<b>Old</b>	90.5	91.9

**38b.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Making sure nobody goes hungry or lacks medical care is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	89.9	91.0
<b>Old</b>	94.5	97.2

**38c.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Preserving traditional industries is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	56.3	63.2
<b>Old</b>	50.7	53.5

**38d.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Minimizing the gap between rich and poor is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	77.0	82.8
<b>Old</b>	81.3	79.0

**38e.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Keeping prices down is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	52.9	54.0
<b>Old</b>	51.4	57.3

**38f.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Leaving people and companies free to compete economically is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	79.1	84.9
<b>Old</b>	60.5	68.1

**38g.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Making one's own choices is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	90.7	91.9
<b>Old</b>	91.5	93.4

**38h.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Preserving traditions and customs is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	89.8	87.5
<b>Old</b>	76.5	71.0

**38i.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Promoting economic growth is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	92.0	94.3
<b>Old</b>	89.1	88.2

**38j.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Not having to worry about being fired is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	74.2	69.7
<b>Old</b>	66.8	73.0

**38k.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Making our economy competitive in the global arena is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	86.4	90.9
<b>Old</b>	84.9	89.4

**38l.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Earning as much money as possible is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	71.9	74.2
<b>Old</b>	48.8	51.2

**38m.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Helping people in other parts of the world is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	78.7	80.9
<b>Old</b>	81.1	81.5

**38n.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Having Europe play a larger role in the world is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	87.5	87.5
<b>Old</b>	82.4	86.9

**38o.** Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important, 10 is very important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important would you say Being able to retire comfortably is to you?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	89.7	86.2
<b>Old</b>	93.2	94.1

**Q39a.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Germans, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	53.6	70.2
<b>Old</b>	73.6	70.9

**39b.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike French, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	64.3	78.6
<b>Old</b>	71.9	70.3

**39c.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike British, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	68.3	73.2
<b>Old</b>	71.6	69.9

**39d.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Italians, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	63.1	75.0
<b>Old</b>	77.3	77.8

**39e.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Polish, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New*</b>	62.7	73.5
<b>Old</b>	59.1	66.1

**39f.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Spanish, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	64.6	75.6
<b>Old</b>	76.5	81.6

**39g.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Turkish, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	33.3	28.4
<b>Old</b>	35.1	34.5

**39h.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Americans, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	Before Deliberation	After Deliberation
<b>New</b>	50.0	46.4
<b>Old</b>	48.4	50.5



**39i.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Chinese, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	28.0	31.7
<b>Old</b>	39.0	44.2

**39j.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike Russians, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	42.9	48.8
<b>Old</b>	41.3	43.0

**39k.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike The EU, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	84.7	85.9
<b>Old</b>	83.9	87.0

**39l.** One last 0 to 10 scale. If 0 means disliking as much as possible, 10 means liking as much as possible, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much would you say you like or dislike The UN, or couldn't you say about that?

**Percent marking 6-10**

	<b>Before Deliberation</b>	<b>After Deliberation</b>
<b>New</b>	75.0	71.3
<b>Old</b>	76.6	71.7



**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?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<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?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<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?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<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?

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<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?

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

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

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<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

<b>Before Deliberation</b>	
<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	
<b>0 to 4</b>	24.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	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	
<b>% Correct</b>	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	
<b>% Correct</b>	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	
<b>% Correct</b>	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	
<b>% Correct</b>	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	
<b>% Correct</b>	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	
<b>% Correct</b>	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**

<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.

Before Deliberation	
<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?

Before Deliberation	
<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?

Before Deliberation	
<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?

Before Deliberation	
<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?

Before Deliberation	
<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?

Before Deliberation	
<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?

Before Deliberation	
<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



### Post Deliberation Evaluation Questions

Please note that all table items are percentages of total valid responses.

**Q40a.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “a waste of time”, 10 is “extremely valuable” and 5 is exactly in the middle, how valuable *participating in the small group discussions* was in helping you clarify your positions on the issues?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	0.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	95.4

**Q40b.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “a waste of time”, 10 is “extremely valuable” and 5 is exactly in the middle, how valuable *meeting and talking to other participants outside of the formal discussions* was in helping you clarify your positions on the issues?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	1.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	93.7

**Q40c.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “a waste of time”, 10 is “extremely valuable” and 5 is exactly in the middle, how valuable *participating in the plenary sessions with experts* was in helping you clarify your positions on the issues?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	8.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	83.9

**Q40d.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “a waste of time”, 10 is “extremely valuable” and 5 is exactly in the middle, how valuable *participating in the plenary session with politicians* was in helping you clarify your positions on the issues?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	7.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	85.3

**Q40e.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “a waste of time”, 10 is “extremely valuable” and 5 is exactly in the middle, how valuable *the event as a whole* was in helping you clarify your positions on the issues?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	0.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	97.0

**Q41a.** My small group moderator provided the opportunity for everyone to participate in the discussion

After Deliberation	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	1.7
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	0.8
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	0.6
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	8.5
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	88.5

**Q41b.** The members of my small group participated relatively equally in the discussions

<b>After Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	3.4
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	16.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	7.3
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	39.3
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	33.1

**Q41c.** My small group moderator sometimes tried to influence the group with his or her own views

<b>After Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	76.5
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	15.0
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	4.5
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	1.7
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	2.3

**Q41d.** My small group moderator tried to make sure that opposing arguments were considered

<b>After Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	5.9
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	2.8
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	10.7
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	24.6
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	55.9

**Q41e.** The important aspects of the issues were covered in the group discussions

<b>After Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	3.1
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	3.9
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	5.1
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	33.4
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	54.5

**Q41f.** I learned a lot about people very different from me—about what they and their lives are like

<b>After Deliberation</b>	
<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	4.0
<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	3.4
<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	4.8
<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	28.0
<b>Strongly Agree</b>	59.9

**Q42.** Before the deliberation started, how much of the briefing material you were sent would you say you had read?

<b>After Deliberation</b>	
Hadn't read or had just glanced at it	8.7
Had read less than half of it	10.1
Had read about half of it	10.1
Had read more than half of it	13.0
Had read all or nearly all of it	58.0

**Q43.** And by the end of the deliberations, how much of the briefing material you were sent would you say you had read?

After Deliberation	
Hadn't read or had just glanced at it	5.9
Had read less than half of it	7.6
Had read about half of it	9.8
Had read more than half of it	12.9
Had read all or nearly all of it	63.8

**Q44.** Would you say that the briefing material was mostly balanced, or that it clearly favoured some positions over others?

After Deliberation	
Mostly balanced	92.1
Favoured some positions over others	7.9

**Q45.** Would you say that the briefing material was mostly clear, or unclear?

After Deliberation	
Clear	97.4
Unclear	2.6

**Q46.** Would you say that the length of the small group sessions was too short, sufficient, or too long?

After Deliberation	
Too short	31.4
Sufficient	66.0
Too long	2.5

**Q47.** Would you say that the length of the plenary sessions was too short, sufficient, or too long?

After Deliberation	
Too short	13.6
Sufficient	72.0
Too long	14.4

**Q48a.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all, 10 is very much, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much did you improve your knowledge/skills on *factual knowledge on the EU* during the deliberation?

After Deliberation	
0 to 4	7.9
6 to 10	78.2

**Q48b.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all, 10 is very much, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much did you improve your knowledge/skills on *understanding of attitudes and behavior of people from other countries / cultures* during the deliberation?

After Deliberation	
0 to 4	4.2
6 to 10	87.4



**Q48c.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all, 10 is very much, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much did you improve your knowledge/skills on *ability to understand the public debate at the EU level* during the deliberation?

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	4.8
<b>6 to 10</b>	85.1

**Q48d.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all, 10 is very much, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much did you improve your knowledge/skills on *motivation to participate actively in the public debate* during the deliberation?

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	5.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	82.9

**Q48e.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all, 10 is very much, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how much did you improve your knowledge/skills on *ability to communicate with people coming from other countries / cultures* during the deliberation?

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	6.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	80.6

**Q49a.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not motivating at all, and 10 is extremely motivating, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how motivating was *meeting people from other countries* to attend the deliberation?

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	0.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	96.3

**Q49b.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not motivating at all, and 10 is extremely motivating, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how motivating was *learning about EU issues* to attend the deliberation?

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	1.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	94.7

**Q49c.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not motivating at all, and 10 is extremely motivating, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how motivating was *meeting high level personalities* to attend the deliberation?

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	21.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	65.5

**Q49d.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not motivating at all, and 10 is extremely motivating, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how motivating was *defending my ideas* to attend the deliberation?

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	8.5
<b>6 to 10</b>	76.9

**Q49e.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not motivating at all, and 10 is extremely motivating, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how motivating was *visiting Brussels* to attend the deliberation?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	19.7
<b>6 to 10</b>	63.7

**Q49f.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not motivating at all, and 10 is extremely motivating, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how motivating was *financial incentive* to attend the deliberation?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	66.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	17.7

**Q50a.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely bored, and 10 is extremely interested, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the small group discussions*?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	1.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	95.5

**Q50b.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely bored, and 10 is extremely interested, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the plenary discussions*?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	8.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	81.1

**Q50c.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely bored, and 10 is extremely interested, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the informal / social parts of the weekend*?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	5.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	88.9

**Q51a.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely passive, and 10 is extremely active, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the small group discussions*?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	9.0
<b>6 to 10</b>	75.4

**Q51b.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely passive, and 10 is extremely active, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the plenary discussions*?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	34.1
<b>6 to 10</b>	41.3

**Q51c.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely passive, and 10 is extremely active, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the informal / social parts of the weekend*?

After Deliberation	
<b>0 to 4</b>	8.3
<b>6 to 10</b>	77.4

**Q52a.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely stressed, and 10 is extremely relaxed, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the small group discussions?*

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	9.6
<b>6 to 10</b>	80.3

**Q52b.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely stressed, and 10 is extremely relaxed, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the plenary discussions?*

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	6.2
<b>6 to 10</b>	79.1

**Q52c.** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is extremely stressed, and 10 is extremely relaxed, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how did you feel *during the informal / social parts of the weekend?*

	After Deliberation
<b>0 to 4</b>	5.4
<b>6 to 10</b>	85.5



## Representativeness

### Participant Representativeness

On each of the 59 attitude questions on economic and foreign policy, the difference on average between participants and non participants is **only 4.0 percent** of what it could possibly have been. So, the difference in attitudes between participants and non-participants is statistically significant but practically small.

Participants were less euro-skeptic than non-participants were. Euro-skepticism was measured with a battery of 10 questions scored on a 11-point scale, where 0 indicated that decisions should be made by individual member states and 10 indicated decisions should be made by the EU. 4 out of the 10 questions were statistically significant, but that is because the sample size is large. The average difference between participants and non participants is **only 3.5 percent** of what it could possibly have been. Similar to other attitude questions, the difference in euro-skepticism between participants and non-participants is statistically significant but practically small.

**Table 1: Countries**

	<b>Participants N=362 Number (%)</b>	<b>Non-Participants N=3188 Number (%)</b>	<b>Whole Sample N= 3550 Number (%)</b>
<b>AT-Austria</b>	11 (3.0)	69 (2.2)	80 (2.3)
<b>BE –Belgium</b>	11 (3.0)	81 (2.5)	92 (2.6)
<b>BG – Bulgaria</b>	9 (2.5)	74 (2.3)	83 (2.3)
<b>CY – Cyprus*</b>	3 (0.8)	81 (2.5)	84 (2.4)
<b>CZ – Czech</b>	12 (3.3)	78 (2.4)	90 (2.5)
<b>DK - Denmark</b>	9 (2.5)	73 (2.3)	82 (2.3)
<b>EE –Estonia*</b>	3 (0.8)	77 (2.4)	80 (2.3)
<b>EG/WG -Germany</b>	47 (13.0)	333 (10.4)	380 (10.7)
<b>EL -Greece</b>	11 (3.0)	79 (2.5)	90 (2.5)
<b>ES - Spain</b>	20 (5.5)	182 (5.7)	202 (5.7)
<b>FI- Finland</b>	8 (2.2)	72 (2.3)	80 (2.3)
<b>FR – France*</b>	41 (11.3)	259 (8.1)	300 (8.5)
<b>GB – Great Britain</b>	28 (7.7)	274 (8.6)	302 (8.5)
<b>HU - Hungary</b>	11 (3.0)	79 (2.5)	90 (2.5)
<b>IE - Ireland</b>	6 (1.7)	74 (2.3)	80 (2.3)
<b>IT - Italy</b>	28 (7.7)	273 (8.6)	301 (8.5)
<b>LT - Lithuania</b>	4 (1.1)	76 (2.4)	80 (2.3)
<b>LU – Luxembourg*</b>	2 (0.6)	78 (2.4)	80 (2.3)
<b>LV -Latvia</b>	7 (1.9)	75(2.4)	82 (2.3)
<b>MT –Malta*</b>	3 (0.8)	77 (2.4)	80 (2.3)
<b>NL - Netherlands</b>	15 (4.1)	91 (2.9)	106 (3.0)
<b>PL -Poland</b>	26 (7.2)	174 (5.5)	200 (5.6)
<b>PT - Portugal</b>	11 (3.0)	79 (2.5)	90 (2.5)
<b>RO - Romania</b>	16 (4.4)	130 (4.1)	146 (4.1)
<b>SE- Sweden</b>	9 (2.5)	71 (2.2)	80 (2.3)
<b>SI – Slovenia</b>	4 (1.1)	83 (2.6)	87 (2.5)
<b>SK - Slovakia</b>	7 (1.9)	96 (3.0)	103 (2.9)

Note: \*statistically significant difference between participants and non participants

**Table 2: Demographics**

	<b>Participants (%)</b> N=362	<b>Non-Participants (%)</b> N=3188	<b>Whole Sample (%)</b> N= 3550
<b>Gender*</b>			
Male	54.4	48.3	48.9
Female	45.6	51.7	51.1
<b>Age</b>			
18 - 24 years old	9.9	10.3	10.2
25 - 39 years old	30.7	25.1	25.6
40 - 54 years old	32.9	28.5	29.0
55 - 69 years old	19.9	24.4	23.9
70 years old or more	6.6	11.3	10.8
<b>Marital Status</b>			
Single*	26.8	22.1	22.6
Married	49.4	53.9	53.5
Unmarried but living with a partner	7.2	7.2	7.2
Separated or Divorced	11.6	8.6	8.9
Widowed*	4.7	8.0	7.6
<b>Occupation</b>			
Working full-time*	58.3	47.1	48.2
Working part-time	8.8	8.2	8.3
Not working (seeking work)*	1.7	3.9	3.7
On a government training scheme	0.8	0.4	0.5
Retired*	15.5	24.4	23.5
In full-time education*	9.1	5.9	6.2
Looking after the home*	2.2	5.9	5.5
Permanently sick or disabled	1.1	1.5	1.4
Not working (and not seeking work)	0.8	1.4	1.3
Caring for an elderly or disabled person full-time	0.0	0.2	0.2
Other	1.7	1.0	0.1
<b>Education</b>			
Did not finish* secondary school	8.6	19.0	17.9
Finished secondary* school	33.4	45.3	44.1

Some university*	11.9	8.3	8.7
University degree*	31.2	19.3	20.5
Some postgraduate*	4.7	1.9	2.2
Postgraduate degree*	9.9	5.6	6.0

Note: \*statistically significant difference between participants and non participants; Percentages may not add up to 100 as some participants did not respond

Fieldwork was coordinated by the polling firm TNS Sofres and conducted by TNS Group affiliates and partners amongst a sample of 3550 European citizens in all 27 countries of the European Union.