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How Europeans see Europe: structure and dynamics of European legitimacy beliefs
Scheuer, A.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Appendix A documents the survey questions that the analysis of this book is based on. All questions included in the analysis are presented in Section A1 with respect to question wording, original codes and recodes. Section A2 gives an overview over the sequence of the questions in the questionnaire.

A1 Question wording and coding

The questions are presented in the order of attitude dimensions, first by indicators included in the measurement model (indicators) and by determinants included in the structural models (external factors).

Table A1-1: Indicators and determinants of Cognition

(1) Indicators included in the measurement model

Interest scale

Interest in politics (Q19)
To what extent would you say you are interested in politics?
Codes: 1 a great deal, 2 to some extent, 3 not much, 4 not at all, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 a great deal, to some extent – 0 not much, not at all, DK, NA

Interest in EU politics (Q.20)
To what extent would you say you are interested in European politics, that is to say matters related to the European Union?
Codes: 1 a great deal, 2 to some extent, 3 not much, 4 not at all, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 a great deal, to some extent – 0 not much, not at all, DK, NA

Subjective information (Q.23)
All things considered, how well informed do you feel you are about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?
Codes: 1 very well, 2 quite well, 3 not very well, 4 not at all well, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 very well, quite well – 0 not very well, not at all well, DK, NA

Exposure scale (Q.33_2 to 33_6)
In the last 3 months, have you heard or read about ... ?
a) The European Commission in Brussels, that is the Commission of the European Union
b) The Council of Ministers of the European Union, that is members of national governments deciding together
c) The European Parliament, that is the Parliament of the European Union
d) The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg, that is the Court of Justice of the European Union
e) The Single European Market, which started in January 1993
f) The Maastricht Treaty on European Monetary Union and European Political Union
   Codes: 1 yes, 2 no, 3 DK, 9 NA
   Recode: 1 yes – 0 no, DK, NA

**Knowledge scale (Q.39A-D)**
In fact, a referendum on joining the European Union took place in four countries: in Austria, in Finland, in Sweden, and in Norway. For each of these countries, do you happen to know if there was a majority in favour of or against joining the European Union?
   Codes: 1 majority in favour of, 2 majority against, 3 DK, 9 NA
   Recode:
   Austria, Finland, Sweden: 1 majority in favour of – 0 majority against, DK, NA
   Norway: 1 majority against – 0 majority in favour of, DK, NA

(2) **Determinants included in the structural model**

**Gender (D.10)**
   Codes: 1 male, 2 female
   Recode: 0 Male – 1 Female

**Education (D.8)**
   How old were you when you stopped full-time education?
   Recode: 1 20 years and older when left school – 0 Rest

**Subjective social class (D.23)**
If you were asked to choose one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong to?
   Codes: 1 middle class, 2 lower middle class, 3 working class, 4 upper class, 5 upper middle class, 6 refuses to be classified, 7 other, 8 DK, 9 NA
   Recode: 5 upper class, 4 upper middle class, 3 middle class, 2 lower middle class, 1 working class, DK, NA

**Party identification – Strength (D.2)**
Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? (IF YES) Do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close to this party or merely a sympathiser?
   Codes: 1 very close, 2 fairly close, 3 merely a sympathiser, 4 close to no particular party, 5 DK, 9 NA
   Recode: 3 very close, 2 fairly close, 1 merely a sympathiser, 0 close to no particular party, DK, NA

**Media use**
Index built by adding codes of three questions (Q.13A-C)
   About how often do you ...  
   a) watch the news on television?
   b) read the news in the daily papers?
   c) listen to the news on the radio?
   Codes: 1 everyday, 2 several times a week, 3 once or twice a week, 4 less often, 5 never, 6 DK, 9 NA
   Recode: 1 everyday, several times a week – 0 once or twice a week, less often, never, DK, NA
Appendix A: Questionnaire

**Turnout (Q.46)**
There was a European election on the (Thursday, 9th June or Sunday, 12th June 1994). For one reason or another, many people in (our country) did not vote in that election. Could you please think back to (Thursday, 9th June or Sunday, 12th June 1994): did you yourself vote in the European election?

Codes: 1 I am absolutely certain I did vote, 2 I am fairly certain I voted, 3 I am certain I didn't vote, 4 I don't remember whether I voted, 5 other answer, 6 refused, 9 NA

Rcode: 1 I am absolutely certain I did vote, I am fairly certain I voted, 0 I am certain I didn't vote, I don't remember whether I voted, other answer, refused, NA

**Table A1-2: Indicators and determinants of Affect for Integration**

(1) *Indicators included in the measurement model*

**European identity (Q.22)**
In the near future do you see yourself as ...?

Codes: 1 {nationality} only, 2 {nationality} and European, 3 European and {nationality}, 4 European only, 5 DK, 9 NA

Rcode: 1 {nationality} and European, European and {nationality}, European only, 0 {nationality} only, DK, NA

**Europeanness scale**

**Unification (Q.24)**
In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe? Are you ...?

Codes: 1 for - very much, 2 for - to some extent, 3 against - to some extent, 4 against - very much, 5 DK, 9 NA

Rcode: 1 for - very much, for - to some extent - 0 against - to some extent, against - very much, DK, NA

**Membership (Q.25)**
Generally speaking, do you think that {OUR COUNTRY'S} membership of the European Union is ...?

Codes: 1 a good thing, 2 a bad thing, 3 neither good nor bad, 4 DK, 9 NA

Rcode: 1 a good thing – 0 a bad thing, neither good nor bad, DK, NA

**Benefit (Q.26)**
Taking everything into consideration, would you say that {OUR COUNTRY} has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?

Codes: 1 benefited, 2 not benefited, 3 DK, 9 NA

Rcode: 1 benefited – 0 not benefited, DK, NA

**Regret (Q.27)**
If you were told tomorrow that the European Union had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent or very relieved?

Codes: 1 very sorry, 2 indifferent, 3 very relieved, 4 DK, 9 NA

Rcode: 1 very sorry – 0 indifferent, very relieved, DK, NA

**SEM hope/fear (Q.34)**
Personally, would you say that the Single European Market which came about at the beginning of 1993 makes you feel very hopeful, rather hopeful, rather fearful or very fearful?
Codes: 1 very hopeful, 2 rather hopeful, 3 rather fearful, 4 very fearful, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 very hopeful, rather hopeful – 0 rather fearful, very fearful, DK, NA

**Euro scale**

Support EMU, ECB (Q.44A-B)

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals? Please tell me for each proposal, whether you are for it or against it.

a) There should be a European Monetary Union with one single currency replacing by 1999 the {national currency} and all other national currencies of the Member States of the European Union.

b) There should be a European Monetary Union with a European Central Bank pursuing a policy of monetary stability that is fighting inflation.

Codes: 1 for, 2 against, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 for – 0 against, DK, NA

**Currency (Q.30C)**

Some people believe that certain areas of policy should be decided by the {national} government, while other areas of policy should be decided jointly within the European Community. Which of the following areas of policy do you think should be decided by the {national} government, and which should be decided jointly within the European Union?

c) Currency

Codes: 1 {national} government, 2 the European community, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 the European community – 0 {national} government, DK, NA

**Policies scale (Q.30C,E,H,K,L,P,Q)**

Some people believe that certain areas of policy should be decided by the {NATIONAL} government, while other areas of policy should be decided jointly within the European Union. Which of the following areas of policy do you think should be decided by the {NATIONAL} government, and which should be decided jointly within the European Union?

c) Currency
e) Health and social welfare
h) Scientific and technological research
k) Participation of workers’ representatives on company boards of Directors
l) Industrial policy
p) Health and safety of workers
q) The fight against unemployment

Codes: 1 {national} government, 2 the European community, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 the European community – 0 {national} government, DK, NA

(2) Determinants included in the structural model

**Age (Q.11)**

How old are you?

Recode: Age1: 1 16-25 years, 0 rest; Age2: 1 26-35 years, 0 rest; Age3: 1 36-45 years, 0 rest; Age4: 1 46-55 years, 0 rest; Age5: 1 56-65 years, 0 rest; Age6: 1 66 years and older, 0 rest
Appendix A: Questionnaire

Postmaterialism (Q.3A-B)

a) There is a lot of talk these days about what {our country}'s goals should be for the next ten or fifteen years. On this card are listed some of the goals that different people say should be given top priority. Would you please say which one of them you yourself consider to be most important in the long run?
b) And what would be your second choice?

Codes: 1 maintaining order in the country, 2 giving the people more say in important government decisions, 3 fighting rising prices, 4 protecting freedom of speech, 5 DK, 9 NA

Postmaterialist:
1 'giving the people more say in important government decisions' and 'protecting freedom of speech' chosen – 0 Rest
Mixed values:
1 'giving the people more say in important government decisions' or 'protecting freedom of speech' chosen – 0 Rest

Tolerance (Q.84, 85A-C)

Index built by subtracting codes of four questions from a value of 4.

Generally speaking, how do you feel about foreigners living in {our country}: are there too many, a lot but not too many, or not many?

Codes: 1 too many, 2 a lot, but not too many, 3 not many, 4 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 too many – 0 a lot, but not too many, not many, DK, NA

Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs and way of life of people different from themselves.
a) Do you personally find the presence of people of another nationality, disturbing in your daily life?
b) And do you find the presence of people of another race disturbing?
c) And do you find the presence of people of another religion disturbing?

Codes: 1 disturbing, 2 not disturbing, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 disturbing – 0 not disturbing, DK, NA

Table A1-3: Indicators and determinants of Affect for Unification

(1) Indicators included in the measurement model

Federalism scale (Q44C,D)
What is your opinion on each of the following proposals? Please tell me for each proposal, whether you are for it or against it.
c) The Member States of the European Community should have one common foreign policy towards countries outside the European Union.
d) The EU Member States should work towards a common defence policy.

Codes: 1 for, 2 against, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 for – 0 against, DK, NA

Parliamentarism scale (Q.44E,F)
e) The President and the members of the European Commission should have the support of a majority in the European Parliament. Otherwise, they should resign.
f) In matters of EU legislation, taxation and expenditure, the European Parliament should have equal rights with the Council of Ministers, which represents the national governments.

Codes: 1 for, 2 against, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 for – 0 against, DK, NA

**EU government (Q44K)**


Codes: 1 for, 2 against, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 for – 0 against, DK, NA

**Citizenship scale (Q44G-J)**

g) Any citizen of another EU country who resides in {our country} should have the right to vote in local

h) Any citizen of another EU country who resides in {our country} should have the right to vote in European elections.

i) Any citizen of another EU country who resides in {our country} should have the right to be a candidate in local elections.

j) Any citizen of another EU country who resides in {our country} should have the right to be a candidate in European elections.

Codes: 1 for, 2 against, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 for – 0 against, DK, NA

**(2) Determinants included in the structural model**

**Subsidiarity (Q.44L)**

What is your opinion on each of the following proposals? Please tell me for each proposal, whether you are for it or against it.

l) The European Union should be responsible only for matters that cannot be effectively handled by national, regional, and local Governments.

Codes: 1 for, 2 against, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 against – 0 rest (Chapter 3); +1 for – -1 against – 0 DK, NA (Chapter 4)

**Future role EP (Q.75)**

Would you personally prefer that the European Parliament played a more important or a less important part than it does now?

Codes: 1 more important, 2 less important, 3 about the same, 4 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 more important – 0 less important, about the same, DK, NA

**Table A1-4:** Indicators and determinants of Evaluation

**(1) Indicators included in the measurement model**

**Federal representation scale**

*Rely on Commission, Council, EP (Q.77A,C,E)*

Many important decisions are made by the European Union. They might be in the interest of people like yourself, or they might not. To what extent do you feel you can rely on each of the following institutions to make sure that these decisions are in the interest of people like yourself?

a) The European Commission
Appendix A: Questionnaire

c) The European Parliament
e) The Council of Ministers of the European Union representing the national governments
Codes: 1 can rely on it, 2 cannot rely on it, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 can rely on it – 0 cannot rely on it, DK, NA

**EP represents voters (Q.78)**
As a European citizen, do you think that the European Parliament protects your interests ...?
Codes: 1 very well, 2 fairly well, 3 not very well, 4 not at all well, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 very well, fairly well – 0 not very well, not at all well, DK, NA

**Confederal representation scale**
*Rely on national government, national parliament (Q77B,D)*
Many important decisions are made by the European Union. They might be in the interest of people like yourself, or they might not. To what extent do you feel you can rely on each of the following institutions to make sure that these decisions are in the interest of people like yourself?
b) The {nationality} government
d) The National Parliament (use proper name for lower house)
Codes: 1 can rely on it, 2 cannot rely on it, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 can rely on it – 0 cannot rely on it, DK, NA

**Parliamentary control scale**
*Present role EP (Q.74)*
How important a part would you say the European Parliament plays in the life of the European Union nowadays ...?
Codes: 1 very important, 2 important, 3 not very important, 4 not at all important, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 very important, important – 0 not very important, not at all important, DK, NA

**EP controls Commission, Council, Bureaucrats (Q76A-C)**
Do you think that the European Parliament has sufficient control, or not, over ...?
a) The European Commission, i.e. the seventeen European Commissioners
b) The Council of Ministers, representing each Member State’s government
c) European officials, who work for the Commission or the Council
Codes: 1 yes, sufficient, 2 no, not sufficient, 3 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 yes, sufficient – 0 no, not sufficient, DK, NA

**Satisfaction with EU democracy (Q.21B)**
On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union? Would you say you are ...?
Codes: 1 very satisfied, 2 fairly satisfied, 3 not very satisfied, 4 not at all satisfied, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 very satisfied, fairly satisfied – 0 not very satisfied, not at all satisfied, DK, NA

(2) **Determinants included in the structural model**

**Satisfaction with life (Q.2)**
On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead? Would you say you are ...?
How Europeans see Europe

Codes: 1 very satisfied, 2 fairly satisfied, 3 not very satisfied, 4 not at all satisfied, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: +2 very satisfied, +1 fairly satisfied, -1 not very satisfied, -2 not at all satisfied, 0 DK, NA

National economic situation

Index built by adding codes of four questions (Q5A,C and Q.6A,C)
(1) Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is ... ?
(2) And over the next 12 months, how do you think the general economic situation in this country will be?
(3) Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the employment situation in this country now is ... ?
(4) And over the next 12 months, do you expect that the employment situation in this country will be ... ?
Codes: 1 a lot better, 2 a little better, 3 stay(ed) the same, 4 a little worse, 5 a lot worse, 6 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 a lot better, a little better - 0 stay(ed) the same, a little worse, a lot worse, DK, NA

Personal economic situation

Index built by adding codes of three questions (Q.4, Q5.B and Q.6B)
(1) As far as you are concerned, do you think that next year - 1995 - will be better or worse than 1994?
(2) Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the financial situation of your household, now is ... ?
(3) And over the next 12 months, do you expect that the financial situation of your household will be ... ?
Codes: 1 a lot better, 2 a little better, 3 stay(ed) the same, 4 a little worse, 5 a lot worse, 6 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 a lot better, a little better - 0 stay(ed) the same, a little worse, a lot worse, DK, NA

Satisfaction with national democracy (Q.21A)
On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in {our country}? Would you say you are ... ?
Codes: 1 very satisfied, 2 fairly satisfied, 3 not very satisfied, 4 not at all satisfied, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 very satisfied, fairly satisfied - 0 not very satisfied, not at all satisfied, DK, NA (Chapter 3); +2 very satisfied, +1 fairly satisfied, -1 not very satisfied, -2 not at all satisfied, 0 DK, NA (Chapter 4)

Satisfaction with local democracy (Q.21C)
And how about the way democracy works in this (town/city/village)?
Codes: 1 very satisfied, 2 fairly satisfied, 3 not very satisfied, 4 not at all satisfied, 5 DK, 9 NA
Recode: 1 very satisfied, fairly satisfied - 0 not very satisfied, not at all satisfied, DK, NA (Chapter 3); +2 very satisfied, +1 fairly satisfied, -1 not very satisfied, -2 not at all satisfied, 0 DK, NA (Chapter 4)
The sequence of the survey items in the questionnaire is relevant for the question whether items form unidimensional scales because they relate to the same latent trait or because the items have been asked consecutively in the questionnaire (see Chapter 3 Section 2).

**Table A2-1:** Sequence of questions in the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question name</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>Satisfaction with life</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>Materialism/Postmaterialism</td>
<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>Next year in general</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5</td>
<td>Economic situation last year</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6</td>
<td>Economic situation next year</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q13</td>
<td>Media use</td>
<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q19</td>
<td>Interest in politics</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>Indicator: Interest scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q20</td>
<td>Interest in EU politics</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>Indicator: Interest scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q21</td>
<td>Satisfaction with national democracy</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q22</td>
<td>Satisfaction with EU democracy</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Indicator: Single item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q23</td>
<td>Satisfaction with local democracy</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q24</td>
<td>Unification</td>
<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>Indicator: Europeanness scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q25</td>
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<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>Indicator: Europeanness scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q26</td>
<td>Benefit</td>
<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>Indicator: Europeanness scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q27</td>
<td>Regret</td>
<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>Indicator: Europeanness scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q30</td>
<td>Policies: National or EU government</td>
<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>Indicator: Policies scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q31</td>
<td>Desire for more information</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q34</td>
<td>Single European Market: hope or fear</td>
<td>Affect-Integration</td>
<td>Indicator: Single item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q39</td>
<td>Knowledge outcome membership</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>Indicator: Knowledge scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Austria</td>
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<td>b) Finland</td>
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<td>c) Sweden</td>
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<td>d) Norway</td>
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<td>Q#</td>
<td>Question name</td>
<td>Dimension</td>
<td>Function</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q44</td>
<td>Proposals for further integration (rotated)</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: EMU scale</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: EMU scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) European Monetary Union</td>
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<td></td>
<td>b) European Central bank</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c) Common Foreign Policy</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Federalism scale</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Federalism scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Common Defence Policy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e) EP votes Commission</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Parliamentarism</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Parliamentarism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f) EP equal legislative rights</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Citizenship scale</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Citizenship scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g) Right to vote in local elections</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Citizenship scale</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Citizenship scale</td>
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<td></td>
<td>h) Right to candidate in local elections</td>
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<td></td>
<td>i) Right to vote in European elections</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Citizenship scale</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Citizenship scale</td>
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<td></td>
<td>j) Right to candidate in European elections</td>
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<td></td>
<td>k) EU should have European government</td>
<td>Affect-Unification Indicator: Single item</td>
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<td></td>
<td>l) Subsidiarity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q46</td>
<td>Recall turnout</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>External factor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q74</td>
<td>Present role EP</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Indicator: Parl. Control scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q75</td>
<td>Future role EP</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Affect-Unification External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q76</td>
<td>Does EP have enough control over</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Indicator: Parl. Control scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) European Commission</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>b) Council of ministers</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c) European officials</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Q77</td>
<td>Do institutions make decisions for people</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Indicator: Fed. repres. scale</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) European Commission</td>
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<td></td>
<td>b) National government</td>
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<td>c) European Parliament</td>
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<td>d) National Parliament</td>
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<td>e) Council of ministers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q84</td>
<td>Too many foreigners</td>
<td>Affect-Unification External factor: Tolerance scale</td>
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<td>Q85</td>
<td>Disturbed by</td>
<td>Affect-Unification External factor: Tolerance scale</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) people of another nationality</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) people of another race</td>
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<td>c) people of another religion</td>
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<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Left-right self-placement</td>
<td>Affect-Unification External factor (Denmark)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>Strength of party identification</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>External factor</td>
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<tr>
<td>D8</td>
<td>Age when finished education</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>External factor</td>
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<tr>
<td>D10</td>
<td>Sex of respondent</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>External factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D11</td>
<td>Age of respondent</td>
<td>Affect-Unification External factor</td>
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