

Appendix A

Policy Attitude Indices

For each index, the number of items is given in brackets beside the name. All are linearly translated to the [0, 1] interval.

Britain's Role in the EU (UK) (4)

- *Further integrating the EU* [2]
 - The EU countries should be more than just a trading bloc – their governments should make joint decisions on other things too. Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Agree strongly
 - Passport controls in EU should be removed: Passport controls within the EU should be removed altogether. Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neither Agree Not Disagree, Agree, Agree Strongly
- *Tightening/Loosening Britain's Relations with the EU* [3]
 - As a member state, would you say that Britain's relationship with the European Union should be . . . Much less close, A little less close, About right, A little closer, Much closer.
 - Which of the following do you think Britain's long-term policy should be?— Britain should leave the European Union (EU); Britain should stay in the EU and try to reduce the EU's powers; Things should be left as they are; Britain should stay in the EU and try to increase the EU's powers, Britain should stay in the EU and work towards the formation of a single European government
 - Britain should do all it can to unite fully with the European Union. Definitely not, Probably not, Not sure, Probably, Definitely
- *Expanding into Eastern European* [1]
 - The European Union should expand its membership to include some of the ex-Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neither Agree Not Disagree, Agree, Agree Strongly

- *Having a Referendum on Britain's links to the EU* [1]
 - Having a referendum where the British public would vote on whether or not Britain should strengthen its links with the European Union?— Strongly against, Against, CC/Neither in favour, In favour, Strongly in favour

National Health System (9)

- *Government Pay for Healthcare* [1]

Which of these three statements comes closest to your view? Gov. pay for everyone, Gov. pay for the poor, People pay own w/ insurance

- *Prioritizing the Poor* [1]

If the NHS had to choose, priority should be given to treating people who can't afford private medical treatment. Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know
- *Spending on the NHS* [1]

[Should the government] spend less on the NHS, Keep spending on same level, Spend more on the NHS?
- *Having the NHS charge more* [5]
 - One way of getting more money into the NHS is to charge people for certain things. How much would you be in favour of or against introducing charges for visiting your GP? Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
 - Introducing charges for your GP visiting you at home? Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
 - Introducing charges for the cost of your hospital meals when you are an inpatient? Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
 - Introducing charges for the cost of accommodation while you are in hospital? Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour

- Introducing charges for using a non-emergency ambulance? Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
- *Having the NHS Cut Expensive Treatments* [3]
 - Some people say the NHS should cut down on very expensive treatments or services and use the savings to provide less expensive treatments or services for more people. With this aim, how much would you be in favour of, or against, the NHS cutting down on heart transplants? — Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
 - The NHS cutting down on long term nursing care of the elderly? — Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
 - The NHS cutting down on intensive care for very premature babies whose survival is in doubt? — Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
- *Privatizing Some Treatments* [2]
 - Other people say the NHS should cut down on certain treatments or services that should be provided instead by private medicine or charities. With this aim, how much would you be in favour of, or against, the NHS cutting down on fertility treatment? — Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
 - The NHS cutting down on hospice care for the terminally ill. Strongly against, Against, Neither in favour nor against, In favour, Strongly in favour
- *Prioritizing by Severity* [2]
 - If the NHS had to choose, the seriousness of [a person's] condition should be the only basis for choosing between patients. Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Agree strongly
 - If the NHS had to choose, a person's place in the waiting list for a particular treatment should be the only basis for choosing between patients. — Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Agree strongly

- *Prioritizing Prevention* [1]
 - If the NHS had to choose, it should give higher priority to preventing illness than to treating the very ill— Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Agree strongly
- *Public and Government Discretion* [2]
 - How much say should the government have in [hypothetical] NHS choices about whom to treat, or the order in which they should be treated? None of the say, Some of the say, All or most of the say.
 - How much say should the public have? None of the say, Some of the say, All or most of the say.

British Monarchy (UK) (4)

- *Support for the Monarchy* [4]
 - Thinking about the monarchy or the royal family in Britain, which of the following do you think should happen? Remain as is, Reformed, Abolished
 - And how long do you personally want the British monarchy to survive in its present form? At least 100 years, 50 years, 20 years, 10 years, 5 years, less than 5 years.
 - What do you think would be best for Britain when the present Queen's reign ends? Continue to have a king/queen, Have an elected president?
 - Should there be a referendum on whether Britain should continue to have a monarchy? Definitely not, Probably, Probably Not, Definitely
- *Rules and limits for the Monarchy* [6]
 - Members of the royal family should mix more with ordinary people. Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly
 - Monarchs should retire at the same age as other working people. Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly

- A monarch should pay taxes on the same terms as everyone else. Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly
- There is no point having a royal family without all their glamour and glitter. Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly
- A king or queen who cannot win popular support should not continue in office. Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly
- The British public should in future have a say in who becomes the next king or queen. Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly
- *Powers of the Monarchy*
 - If after a General Election no party had a majority in the House of Commons, should the Queen should choose the PM, or should there be a different method of choosing?
 - It would be a good thing if Queen had more powers. Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly
- *Reforming the House Of Lords*
 - Now thinking about the House of Lords, which of the following do you think should happen? Remain as is, Reformed, Abolished
 - Which of the following two statements comes closer to your own view?
Hereditary peers should keep their right to vote in the House of Lords because they bring some independence into politics, or the fact that someone inherits a title should not give them a right to vote in the House of Lords.
 - And which of these two statements? We should continue to have appointed life peers in the House of Lords because they bring experience from outside Parliament into politics, or all members of the House of Lords should be democratically elected.

UK General Election (UK) (4)

- *Redistribution [1]*

- Government should redistribute income from the better-off to those who are less well off. Disagree Strongly, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree
- *Tax Rate* [1]
 - People earning around 50,000 pounds a year or more should pay higher income tax than now. Disagree Strongly, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree
- *Minimum Wage* [1]
 - Where do you stand on the minimum wage? 1. Government should definitely not introduce a minimum wage because too many low paid workers would then lose their jobs....7. Government should definitely introduce a minimum wage so that no employer can pay their workers too little. Or other integers in-between.
- *EU* [1]
 - Where do you stand on the European Union? 1. Britain should do much more to keep its distance from the European Union....7. Britain should do much more to unite fully with the European Union. [Or other integers in-between.]

Making Australia a Republic (Australia) (2)

- *Making Australia a Republic* [3]
 - Which of the following possibilities would be your first choice, and which would be your second choice? A President directly elected by the people, A President appointed by Parliament, or Retaining the Queen and the Governor-General. Scored 1 for those ranking “Retaining the Queen and the Governor-General” third, as .5 for those ranking that option second or saying DK, and as 0 for those ranking it first.
 - Australia should keep rather than cut its remaining constitutional ties with Britain. Strongly agree, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree.
 - Our head of state should be an Australian. Strongly agree, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree.
- *Popularly Elected vs. Parliamentarily Appointed President* [1]

Scored as 1 for those ranking “A President directly elected by the people” first and “A President appointed by Parliament” third; .75 for those ranking “A President directly elected by the people” first and “A President appointed by Parliament” second or “A President directly elected by the people” second and “A President appointed by Parliament” third; .5 for those not ranking either of those two options or saying DK; .25 for those ranking “A President appointed by Parliament” first and “A President directly elected by the people” second or “A President appointed by Parliament” second and “A President directly elected by the people” third; and 0 for those ranking “A President appointed by Parliament” first and “A President directly elected by the people” third.

Crime (UK) (5)

- *Stiffer Punishment*
 - If the government had to choose between reforming criminals and punishing them, should it definitely reform, probably reform, definitely punish, probably punish, or does it not matter either way?
 - Prisons should try harder to reform prisoners, rather than just punishing them— Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - Courts should give tougher sentences to criminals— Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - Stiffer sentences and more prisons. Most effective, second most effective, or third most effective way of reducing crime. .
 - Sending more offenders to prison: Most effective, second most effective, or third most effective way of cutting crime
 - Sending fewer people to prison. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - Sending only hardened criminals, or those who are a danger to society, to prison. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - Keeping more offenders who are not a big threat to society out of prison but making them report regularly to probation officers. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - Keeping more offenders who are not a big threat to society out of prison but making them spend a certain number of days helping people in the community. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree

- Keeping more offenders who are not a big threat to society out of prison but making them do military service for a period of time. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
- Keeping more offenders who are not a big threat to society out of prison but making them get training and counselling. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
- Making prison life tougher and more unpleasant. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
- Giving all murderers a life sentence. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
- Making sure that life sentences mean life— Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
- For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree.
- *Addressing Social Root Causes* [3]
 - Spending more time with children. How effective as a way of cutting crime. Not at all effective, Not very effective, Neither, Effective, Very effective
 - Reducing TV violence and crime: How effective as a way of cutting crime. Not at all effective, Not very effective, Neither, Effective, Very effective
 - Firmer school discipline. How effective as a way of cutting crime. Not at all effective, Not very effective, Neither, Effective, Very effective
- *Policing* [2]
 - Putting more police on the beat. How effective as a way of cutting crime. Not at all effective, Not very effective, Neither, Effective, Very effective
 - Letting on-duty police officers normally carry guns. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
- *Procedural Rights* [8]
 - Is it definitely worse to convict an innocent person, probably worse to convict an innocent person, definitely worse to let a guilty person go free, probably worse to let a guilty person go free, or does it not matter either way?

- Police should be allowed to bend the rules. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - Having fewer jury trials. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - The rules in court should be less on the side of the accused. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - The courts should no longer treat suspects as innocent until proven guilty. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - If a suspect remains silent under police questioning, this should count against them in court. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - Suspects should have the right to remain silent under police questioning— Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
 - A confession made during police questioning should not on its own be enough to convict someone. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree
- *Increasing Self-Protection* [3]
 - Making property more secure. How effective as a way of cutting crime. Not at all effective, Not very effective, Neither, Effective, Very effective
 - Having more Neighborhood Watch schemes. How effective as a way of cutting crime. Not at all effective, Not very effective, Neither, Effective, Very effective
 - Having the public take a more active role in preventing crime, such as by setting up local "street patrols," as opposed to leaving this to the police. Strongly disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree

EU Expansion, Pension Reform, Foreign Policy (EU) (7)

- *EU Membership Policy* [1]
 - 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?

- *Privatizing pensions* [1]
 - 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?
- *Paying for Pensions by increasing the working population vs. retiring late* [4]
Constructed as the mean of the second two items minus the mean of the first two.
 - How strongly would you favor or oppose making it more attractive to work longer before retiring as a way of paying for pensions? Oppose strongly, Oppose somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Favour somewhat, Favour strongly, No Opinion
 - Raising the retirement age? Oppose strongly, Oppose somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Favour somewhat, Favour strongly, No Opinion
 - Letting more immigrants enter the labor market? Oppose strongly, Oppose somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Favour somewhat, Favour strongly, No Opinion
 - Encouraging people to have more children? Oppose strongly, Oppose somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Favour somewhat, Favour strongly, No Opinion
- *Migration* [1]
 - How much would you favor or oppose “Making it easier for workers to move between EU countries” as ways of competing in today’s global economy? Oppose strongly, Oppose somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Favour somewhat, Favour strongly, No Opinion
- *Free Trade* [3]. Constructed as the mean of the first and third items minus the second.
 - How much would you favor or oppose lowering barriers to international trade as a way of competing in today’s global economy? Oppose strongly, Oppose

somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Favour somewhat, Favour strongly, No Opinion

- Increasing taxes on imported products? Oppose strongly, Oppose somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Favour somewhat, Favour strongly, No Opinion
- Some people think that [your country]'s industries should be protected against foreign competition. Other people think that [your country]'s industries should be left to compete freely in the global economy. 0 = protected against foreign competition, 10 = left to compete freely.
- *Support for military action* [6]. Constructed as the mean of the means of the first two and last three items, minus the third.
 - How strongly would you agree or disagree with that [your country] should strengthen its military power? Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree somewhat, Disagree strongly, No opinion
 - That EU countries may sometimes have to use force without a UN mandate? Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree somewhat, Disagree strongly, No opinion
 - That Military action by EU countries is never justifiable? Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree somewhat, Disagree strongly, No opinion
 - How justifiable would you say military intervention by EU countries is to prevent genocide in other countries? 0 = completely unjustifiable, 10 = completely justifiable, 5 is exactly in the middle. Or other integer in-between.
 - To remove the threat of weapons of mass destruction?
 - To defend economic interests?
- *EU Enlargement* [1]
 - How strongly would you agree or disagree that additional countries that meet all the political and economic conditions for membership should be admitted to the EU?
- *Admitting Turkey* [1]
 - How strongly would you agree or disagree that if it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Turkey should be admitted to the EU?

- *Admitting Ukraine* [1]
 - How strongly would you agree or disagree that if it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Ukraine should be admitted to the EU?
- *Admitting Croatia* [1]
 - How strongly would you agree or disagree that if it meets all the political and economic conditions for membership, Croatia should be admitted to the EU?
- *Level of Decision Making* [9]
 - How much of the decision-making about immigration should be made by the individual member states versus the EU? 0 = the individual member states make all the decisions, 10 = the EU makes all the decisions, 5 = exactly in the middle. Higher numbers mean more coordination between countries, while lower numbers mean more independent decision making by individual countries.
 - About international trade?
 - About employment?
 - About pensions?
 - About military action?
 - About climate change?
 - About foreign aid?
 - About taxation?
 - About energy supply?
- *EU Veto Support* [4]

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. Other people think all the decisions made at the EU level should require the unanimous agreement of all the member states. Where would you place your views on this, when it comes to taxation decisions? 0 = only the agreement of a large majority of member states, representing a large majority of the EU's population, 10 = the unanimous agreement of all the member states, 5 = exactly in-between.

- When it comes to social policy decisions?
- When it comes to foreign policy decisions?
- When it comes to defense decisions?

Meeting future electricity needs (CP&L Service Area, WTU Service Area, and SEP Service Area, Texas, USA) (6 each)

- *Research* [2]
 - How important do you think it is for electric utilities to carry out research to develop better ways of producing and delivering power to customers, even if that means paying higher electric bills? 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.
 - How important do you think it is for the federal government to fund research into a variety of new technologies to produce electricity? 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.
- *Conservation* [2]
 - How important do you think it is for utilities to reduce their use of natural gas and coal by helping their customers use energy more efficiently? 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.
 - How important do you think it is for CPL/WTU/SWP to include services and technologies which reduce the need for additional electric generation facilities in its plans to meet the area's need for electricity? 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.
- *Helping Low Income Customers* [1]
 - How important do you think it is for utilities to tailor rates and energy management programs to make sure that low income customers are treated fairly? 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.
- *Using Renewables* [2]
 - How important is it that your utility consider using renewable resources such as the wind or sun, in deciding how to meet the area's need for electricity. 0 = not at

all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.

- How important is it that CPL/WTU/SWP include generation by technologies such as wind and solar power in its plans for meeting the area's need for electricity. 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.
- *Using Fossil Fuels* [1]
 - How important is it that CPL/WTU/SWP include generation using fuels like natural gas or coal in its plans for meeting the area's need for electricity. 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.
- *Buying/Importing Power* [1]
 - How important is it that CPL include building transmission facilities and purchasing power from outside this area in its plans for meeting the area's need for electricity? 0 = not at all important, 10 = extremely important, and 5 = average importance. Or other integers in-between.

Prioritizing public works projects (Zeguo, China) (9)

The indices are all crafted from a series of questions with the following common stem:

The following 30 projects of Zeguo Township will be constructed one after another in the next few years. It requires funding of RMB 136,920,000.00 for the constructions. Due to the change in policy by the town government for the quota of land in 2005, an estimated RMB 40,000,000.00 may be raised for urban planning, environmental and infrastructure construction. According to investment size of RMB 40,000,000.00, please carefully examine the following projects. Please evaluate the importance of the projects on a 0 to 10 scale. (Where 0 is very unimportant, where 5 is median level, where 10 is the maximum possible importance. And where 98 is for do not know.)

- *Industrial Roads* [3]
 - Tengqiao Road
 - Air compressor industrial zone matching environmental constructions

- Auxiliary environmental construction for Muyu, Lianshu and Shuichang industrial zones
- *Village Roads* [3]
 - First stage of Muchang Main Road
 - Dongcheng Road (first gate)
 - Dongcheng Road (second stage)
- *Main Roads* [6]
 - Reconstruction for Donghe Road
 - Donghe Main Ave
 - Xicheng Road (first stage)
 - Zeguo Main Ave (second stage)
 - Zeguo Main Ave (third stage)
 - Chengqu subroad rebuild
- *Commercial Roads* [2]
 - Shuangchen Road (first gate)
 - Shuangchen Road (second stage)
- *Wenchang Main Avenue* [1]
 - Wenchang Main Ave
- *Other Parks* [3]
 - Wenchang Park (first stage)
 - Danyan hill park
 - Muyu hill park

- *Township Image* [4]
 - Bridge
 - Fuxin Road (east end)
 - Wenchang Park (second stage)
 - Urban environmental constructions
- *Cultural Heritage* [2]
 - Wenchang Park (second stage)
 - Old street reconstruction
- *Sewage Treatment* [4]
 - Urban & countryside environmental projects
 - Sewage Treatment Plan, Muyu
 - Sewage Treatment Plan, Danyan
 - Sewage treatment (earlier stage) entire town

Crime (Bulgaria) (12)

- *Tougher Punishment* [4]
 - How efficient will introducing tougher custody measures for defendants even for smaller crimes, be for combating crime? Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say.
 - Restoring the death penalty. Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say.
 - Tougher sentences for all offenders. Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say.
 - Tougher sentences for juvenile offenders. Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say.

- *Rehabilitation* [1]
 - How efficient will programs for re-socialization of prisoners who have served their terms in jail be for combating crime? Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say.
- *Addressing Economic Root Causes* [1]
 - How efficient will programs for reducing poverty and unemployment be for combating crime? Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say
- *Addressing Social Root Causes* [1]
 - How efficient will showing less violence in the media be for combating crime? Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say
- *Institutional Change* [1]
 - Which is closest to your opinion about law enforcement system in Bulgaria? - The system is good, the problem is with the individual people working in it and not performing their duties, People need not be changed. What is necessary is institutional changes in the powers of the different branches in the justice system.
- *Streamlining Trials* [1]
 - How efficient will speedier trials following a simplified procedure be for combating crime? Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say
- *Legalizing Drugs* [2]
 - The so called "soft" drugs like cannabis should be legalized and sold at special places. – Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say.
 - Hard drugs like heroin should be legalized and sold at special places. Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say

- *Penalties for Drug Taking* [1]
 - How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following ideas to reduce some crimes? There should be penalties not only for drug dealing, but also for drug taking – Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say
- *Allowing vigilantism* [1]
 - Which of the following two positions do you support? If people are allowed to take the law in their hands that would make the legal system more efficient. Or If people start administering justice themselves, there will be chaos in the country and no one could feel safe.
- *Independence of Investigative Service* [1]
 - In your opinion, is it better if the Investigation service is within the Ministry of Interior so that there is better coordination between the police and the investigation? Or is it better if the Investigation service remains independent to create guarantees for unbiased operation taking into account the interest of both the defendants and the public?
- *Place of Prosecution* [1]
 - Which of the following is closest to your opinion? The Prosecution should be accountable to Parliament, The Prosecution should be part of the executive branch or The Prosecution should remain as it is now – part of the judicial branch
- *Restricting Civil Liberties*
 - In your opinion how efficient will restricting the rights of certain groups exhibiting criminal behavior be for combating crime?– Very Efficient, Somewhat Efficient, Somewhat Inefficient, Very Inefficient, Can't Say
 - To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following ideas for reducing crime? Keep defendants in detention even when they are not proven guilty. – Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say

- The laws and courts should be less on the side of the defendants. Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say
- Defendants should not be treated as innocent until proven guilty. Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say
- How much do you agree or disagree that the police should sometimes be able to resort to violence to get a conviction and punish the suspected criminal. -Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say
- The police should sometimes be able to resort to violence to get a conviction and punish the suspected criminal. -Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say
- Violence is acceptable only if it results in a confession by the offenders. - Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say
- Every citizen, including the offender, has rights and the police has to observe those rights. -Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say
- If someone has broken the law, the police does not have to observe his/her rights. -Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree, Can't say

Climate Change, Immigration (EU) (2)

- *Combatting Climate Change* [1]
 - On a scale from 0 to 10, where '0' means that we should do everything possible to combat climate change, even if that hurts the economy, '10' means that we should do everything possible to maximize economic growth, even if that hurts efforts to combat climate change and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you position yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about that?
- *Stricter Immigration Control* [1]
 - Reinforcing border controls. Favour strongly, Favour somewhat, Neither favour nor oppose, Oppose somewhat, Oppose strongly, Don't know

Future of Airport, Revenue-Sharing (New Haven, CT, USA) (2)

- *Mandatory vs. Voluntary Revenue Sharing* [4]
 - My town should maintain local control over all of its tax revenues from new businesses and industries—Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know
 - My town should try for a voluntary agreement with other towns in the region to share some of the tax revenues from new businesses and industries—Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know
 - The state should provide incentives for towns in the region to share some tax revenues from new businesses and industries—Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know
 - The state should require towns in the region to share some tax revenues from new businesses and industries—Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know
- *Expanding vs. Ending Airport Service* [3]
 - Commercial passenger service to nearby cities should be maintained but not expanded to serve a larger market—Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know
 - Commercial passenger service should be expanded to provide more flights to more places—Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know
 - Commercial passenger service should be ended, leaving only service for private airplanes—Agree strongly, Agree somewhat, Neither agree nor Disagree, somewhat Disagree, Disagree strongly, Don't know

National Issues Convention II (9)

- *Protecting the Environment* [4]

- How much would you support or oppose requiring higher mileage from automobiles even if that means less powerful automobile engines, as a way of reducing greenhouse gases?
- “Requiring cleaner production of electricity, even if that means higher electricity rates, as a way of reducing greenhouse gases?”
- What priority should be given to “protecting the global environment” as a long range foreign policy goal? 0 = No Priority at all, 10 = Top Priority, 5 = Average Priority
- To what extent “global warming is not really a problem so there is no need to do anything about it” versus “a serious problem [about which] we need to act now? 0 = Doing Nothing, 10 = Acting Now, 5 = Midway Between
- *Fighting Terrorism* [8]
 - How much importance should the U.S. place on encouraging more democracy in Middle East countries like Egypt and Saudi Arabia as a way of reducing future terrorism directed against the U.S.? 0 = No importance at all, 10 = Most Importance, 5 = Average Importance
 - Increased foreign aid to countries that may be breeding grounds for terrorism?
 - Working with other countries to identify and combat terrorism?
 - Building up our intelligence capabilities?
 - What priority should be given to preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction as a reason for providing foreign aid to other countries? 0 = No Priority at All, 10 = Top Priority, 5 = Average Priority
 - To fighting terrorism?
 - To protecting the U.S. from attack?
 - To discouraging countries from trying to develop nuclear weapons?
- *Increasing Foreign Aid* [1]

Should the amount of money the U.S. is now devoting to foreign aid should be increased, reduced, or kept about the same? 1 = Increased, 3 = Reduced, 5 = Kept about the same

- *Internationalism* [1]

- How much do you agree or disagree that “this country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other areas of the world.” 1 = Agree Strongly, 2 = Agree Somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree Somewhat, 5 = Disagree Strongly

- *Multilateralism* [7]

- How strongly do you support or oppose American military action with United Nations support versus acting alone to prevent mass killings in foreign countries?
- prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction to countries that might use them.
- How strongly do you agree or disagree that the only way to solve environmental problems like global warming is through international agreements, requiring countries to work together?
- How important it is to work with other countries to identify and combat terrorism?
- Is it best to work with groups of countries through international institutions like the World Trade Organization, to work with other countries one by one to establish agreements, or to leave things as they are in dealing with international trade?
- Who should take the lead in trying to resolve international conflicts? 1 = the U.S. acting by itself, 2 = the U.S. acting with close allies like NATO, 3 = the U.S. & its close allies acting through the United Nations, 4 = the United Nations, 5 = nobody.
- In providing foreign assistance to other countries? 1 = the U.S. acting by itself, 2 = the U.S. acting with close allies like NATO, 3 = the U.S. & its close allies acting through the United Nations, 4 = the United Nations, 5 = nobody.

- *Promoting Democracy* [8]. The average of the first two items and the pre-average of the ensuing six.
 - Whether the respondent agrees more that the U.S. should be promoting democracy in other countries or that how other countries are governed is not our concern. Do you agree with this position strongly or somewhat? 1 Strongly U.S. should be promoting democracy, 2 = Somewhat U.S. should be promoting democracy, 3 = Agree with both about equally, 4 = Somewhat 'not our concern', 5 = Strongly 'not our concern'
 - How much priority should be given to helping newly democratic countries develop their democratic institutions as a reason for providing foreign aid to other countries?
 - How much importance should be placed on help[ing] with building democratic institutions as a way the U.S. might promote democracy outside of the U.S.?
 - On increasing trade?
 - On trade penalties for human rights violations?
 - On foreign aid?
 - On providing U.S. troops to help keep the peace?
 - On increased support for organizations like the Peace Corps that send Americans abroad to help other countries?
- *Fighting Poverty and Suffering* [6]. Constructed as the average of the first two items, the pre-average of the third and fourth, and the pre-average of the fifth and sixth.
 - Priority to providing food and medical help to poor countries as a long range foreign policy goal?
 - To reducing world poverty?
 - The priorities to reducing hunger and disease in poor countries as a reason for providing foreign aid to other countries?
 - To helping poor countries develop their economies?

- Whether the U.S., as a global leader, should spend more money to help fight world hunger in developing countries versus concentrating on dealing with problems at home first?
- To help fight the AIDS epidemic in developing countries versus concentrating on dealing with problems at home first?
- *Human Rights* [1]
 - What priority should be given to “protecting human rights in other countries?”
- *Liberalizing Trade* [1]
 - Whether the U.S. should repeal the North American Free Trade Agreement, called NAFTA, leave NAFTA the way it is, adopt agreements like NAFTA but with more Latin American countries?

US General Election 2004 (6)

- *More services vs. Higher taxes* [1]
 - Some people think the federal government should lower taxes, even if that means providing fewer services like health care and education. Other people think the federal government should provide more services like health care and education, even if even that means raising taxes. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 = lower taxes, 7 = more services, 4 =
- *Multilateralism* [1]
 - Some people feel the United States should intervene militarily when its interests are threatened without working through international organizations such as the U.N and NATO. Other people feel that we should not intervene without first obtaining international approval and cooperation. 1 = intervene militarily without working through international organizations, 7 = not intervene without first obtaining international approval and cooperation.
- *Free trade vs. Protectionism* [1]

- Some people feel that we should pursue free trade even if that means some current American jobs are lost to companies abroad. Other people feel that we should protect American industries even if that means we lose markets for our goods abroad. 1 = pursue free trade, 7 = protect American industries.
- *Ensuring Constitutional rights vs. finding every potential terrorist [1]*
 - Some people say it is important to ensure people's constitutional rights, even if it means that some suspected terrorists aren't found. Others say it's important to find every potential terrorist, even if some innocent people are falsely accused, interrogated, or imprisoned. 1 = ensure people's constitutional rights, 7 = find every potential terrorist.
- *Govt. vs. Private Health insurance [1]*
 - Some people feel that the federal government should make sure that everyone has adequate health insurance. Other people feel that health insurance should be left up to individuals and their employers. 1 = make sure everyone has adequate health insurance, 7 = leave health insurance up to individuals and their employers
- *Allow gay marriage vs. Constitutional amendment to ban it [1]*
 - Some people believe that two people of the same sex should be able to marry just like anyone else. Other people think there should be a constitutional amendment to prohibit gay marriage. 1 = gays should be able to marry just like anyone else, 7 = constitutional amendment to prohibit gay marriage.

Health Care, Education (US, 2005) (11)

- *Reforming education [1]*
 - To improve public education, some people think the focus should be on reforming the existing public school system. Others believe the focus should be on finding an alternative to it. 0 = Finding an alternative system; 1 = Reforming the existing system.
- *Charter Schools vs. Vouchers [2]*

Do you support or oppose the following proposals for reforming the school system in your community? Please indicate 0 if you strongly oppose, 5 if you neither oppose nor support and 10 if you strongly support.

- Fund more charter schools with money from the public school system (1=Strongly support).
- Provide vouchers to pay some or all of the cost of private schools with money from the public school system (1=Strongly oppose)
- *Increasing Tax Money for the Public Schools* [5]
 - Provide more money for the most troubled public schools even if this means raising taxes (1=Strongly support)
 - Provide more money for public schools to pay for smaller class sizes even if this means raising taxes (1=Strongly support)
 - Provide more money for public schools to pay for new technology even if this means raising taxes (1=Strongly support)
 - Provide more money for public schools to pay teachers even if this means raising taxes (1=Strongly support)
 - How important would you say it is that the nation's schools focus on improving funding (1=Extremely important)
- *Standardized Testing* [2]
 - In your opinion is there too much emphasis on standardized testing in the public schools in your community, about the right amount, or not enough emphasis? (0 = Too much, .5 = About the right amount, 1 = Not enough)
 - Some people think increased use of standardized tests in the public schools is good because it helps evaluate the performance of students and schools. Some people think it is bad because it forces teachers to emphasize only what is measured in the tests. Indicate whether you think it would be bad or good to increase the use of standardized tests in the public schools.
- *Control of Educational Testing: Local Boards vs. States* [1]

- Some people think that tests for student achievement should be set at the state level and applied in the same way to all students in the state. Others think that local school boards should make these decisions in each community. Which do you think? 0 = Decisions about testing should be made at the state level; 1 = Decisions should be made by local school boards in each community.
- *No Child Left Behind* [1]
 - From what you know or have heard about the No Child Left Behind Act, do you approve or disapprove of it or couldn't you say? (5-pt scale; 0 = strongly approve, 1 = strongly disapprove)
- *Paying More for Better Health Coverage* [4]
 - The cost of health insurance (0=completely unimportant; 1=extremely important)
 - The number of Americans without health insurance (0=completely unimportant; 1=extremely important)
 - The cost of prescription drugs (0=completely unimportant; 1=extremely important)
 - Would you be willing to pay more than you do now for health care if this meant that many more Americans would have health insurance coverage? (0 = No; .5 = Yes, at least slightly more; 1 = Yes, significantly more)"
- *Government's Role in Healthcare* [2]
 - The US should adopt a single-payer system, where a government entity accepts all healthcare fees and pays out all healthcare costs for everyone. 1 = strongly agree, 0 = strongly disagree.
 - The US should increase funding for Medicare and Medicaid even if this means increases in taxes. (5-pt scale; 1 = strongly agree, 0 = strongly disagree)
- *Requiring Employers to Provide Health Insurance* [1]
 - The US should require employer coverage of health care, where every employer must provide insurance for all workers. (5-pt scale; 1 = strongly agree, 0 = strongly

- *Individuals Must Buy Health Insurance* [1]

- The US should require individual coverage, where individuals must buy minimal coverage, perhaps funded by a tax credit. (5-pt scale; 1 = strongly agree, 0 = strongly disagree)

Housing Policy (San Mateo, CA, USA) (4)

- *Create more housing* [1] Reflected

- Some people think we should create more housing in the county. Other people think we should restrict housing growth in the county. 1 = create more housing, 7 = restrict housing growth.

- *Require some homes to be sold below market rate* [1] Reflected.

- Some people think developers should be required to provide a certain portion of their homes at prices below the market rate. Other people think developers should be allowed to sell homes at whatever price the market will support. 1 = requiring developers to provide a certain portion of their homes at prices below the market rate, 7 = letting developers sell homes at whatever price the market will support

- *Rezoning open space areas to allow housing* [1]

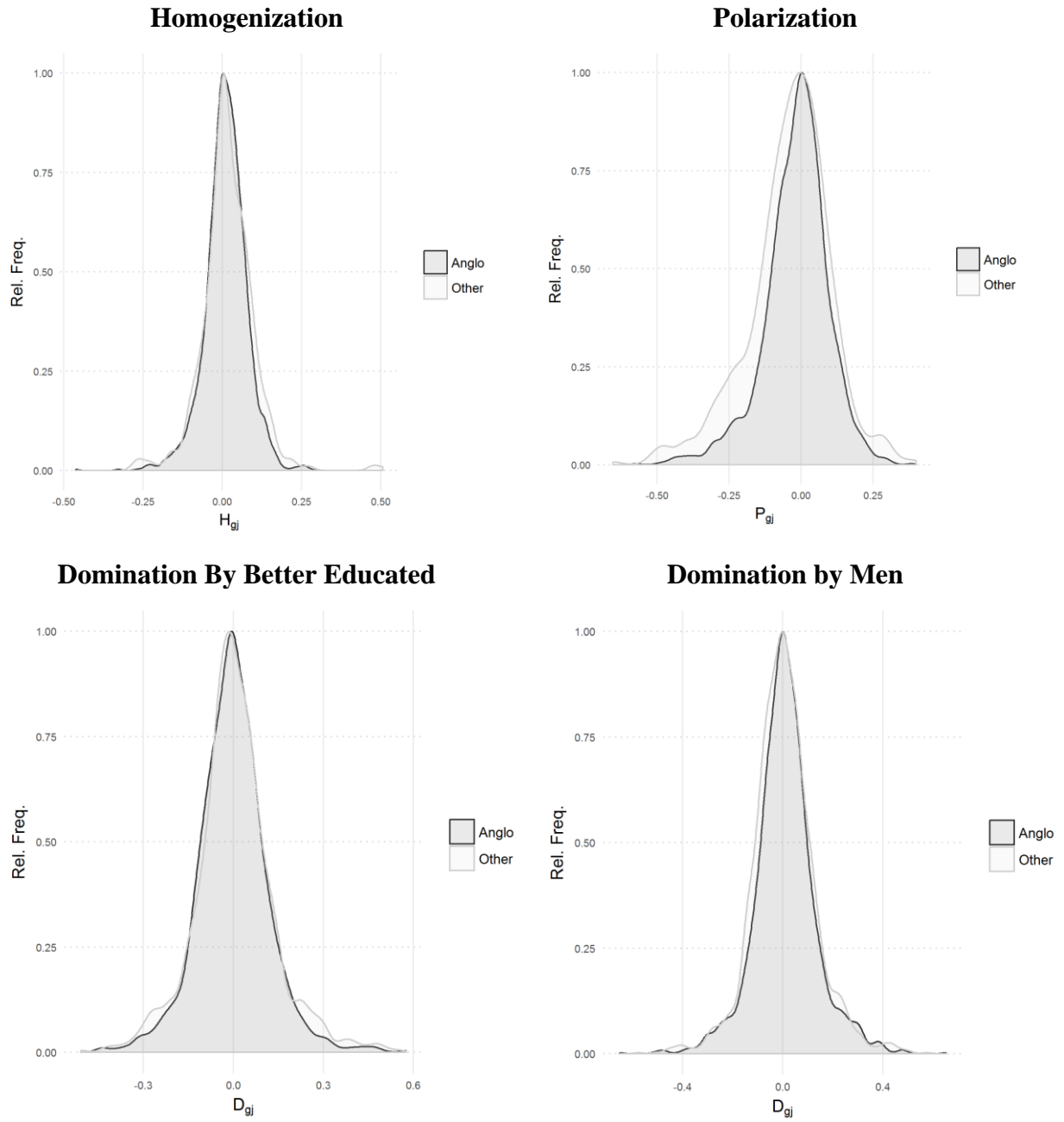
- Some people think that any new housing should be located in already developed areas. Other people think that any new housing should be located in currently protected open space areas rezoned to allow housing developments. 1 = already developed area, 7 = currently protected open space areas.

- *Land use: Local control v. regional coordination within county* [1]

- Some people think local communities should retain control over land use. Other people think land use policies should be coordinated countywide. 1 = local communities, 7 = countywide coordination.

Appendix B: Distributions of Group-Issue Pairs on H, P, and D by Mode and Country

The face-to-face and online distributions are remarkably similar. So are the distributions for DPs in Anglo democracies versus other countries. Two of the six panels in Figures B1—for D_{gj} for income and three-fold advantage, which includes income)—do show a slightly higher variance in Anglo democracies. The same two of six panels show a slightly higher variance for face-to-face DPs in Figure B2. We suspect this may have something to do with missing data on income, which is not asked about in every DP, and is not disclosed by every respondent when asked about. But those differences are slight; our argument revolves around the means, not the variances; and, in *every* panel in Figures B1 and B2, the means are all but identical.

Figure B1: Anglo-American Countries vs. Other Countries

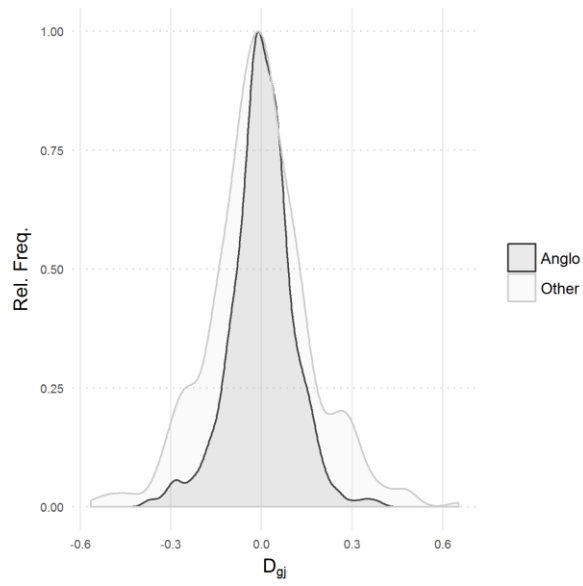
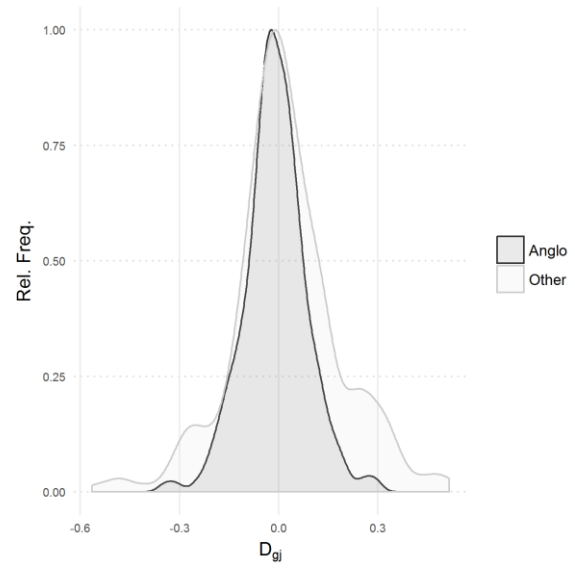
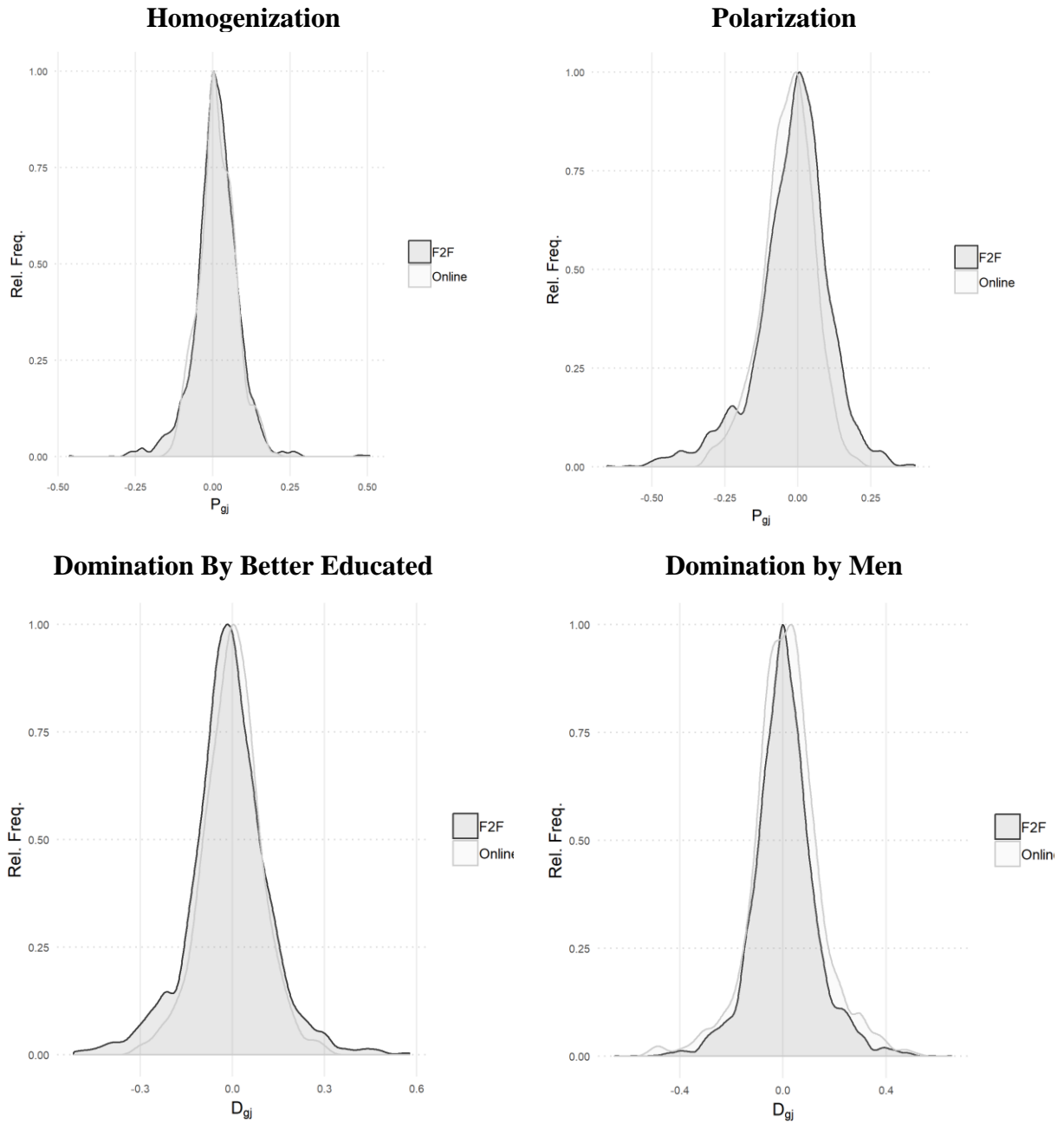
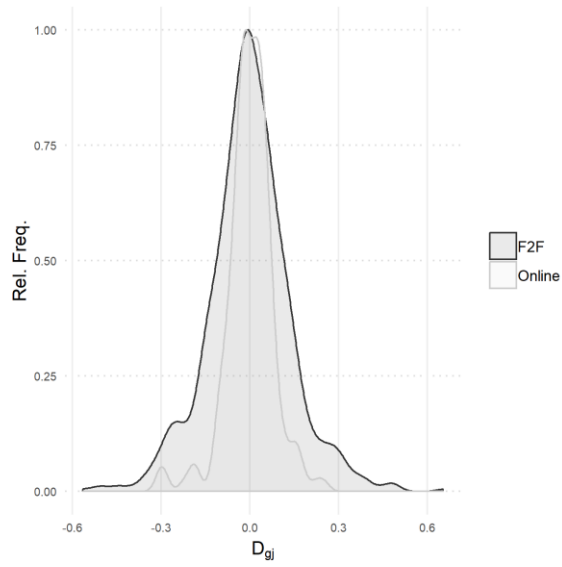
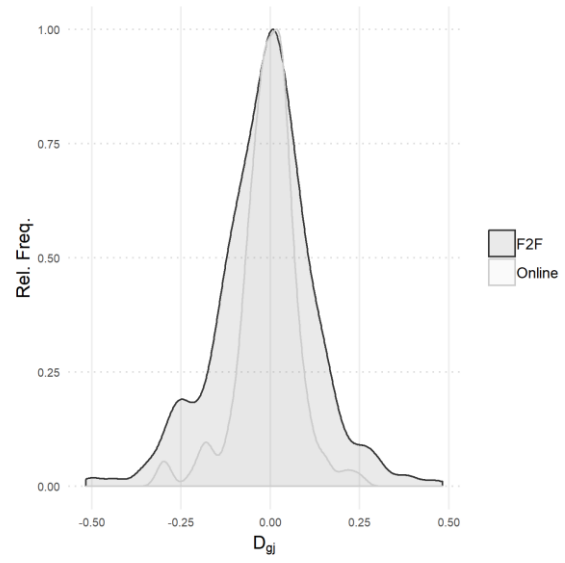
Domination by Higher Income**Domination by Better Educated,
Higher Income, Men**

Figure B2: Online vs. Face-to-Face DPs

Domination by Higher Income**Domination by Better Educated,
Higher Income, Men**

Appendix C: D''_{gj}

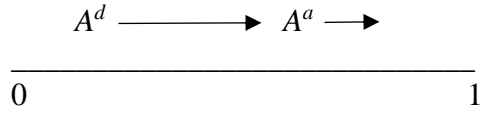
Figure C1 illustrates the scenarios under which $D''_{gj} > 0$ versus < 0 . We do so with an eye to distinguishing D''_{gj} , an interesting definition for other purposes, from our definition, D_{gj} .

In Figure C1's somewhat simplified notation, A^d represents the mean attitude of the disadvantaged, A^a represents the mean attitude of the advantaged, and the arrows the directions and magnitudes of their pre- to post-discussion changes. $D''_{gj} > 0$ (in the left-hand column scenarios) when A^d moves: (1) more toward A^a than A^a moves in the same direction ($M^d_{gj} > M^a_{gj} > 0$); (2) less away from A^a than A^a moves in the same direction, toward A^d ($M^a_{gj} < M^d_{gj} < 0$); (3) more toward A^a than A^a moves in the opposite direction, toward A^d ($M^d_{gj} > 0$, $M^a_{gj} < 0$, $|M^d_{gj}| > |M^a_{gj}|$), or (4) less away from A^a than A^a moves in the opposite direction, away from A^d ($M^d_{gj} < 0$, $M^a_{gj} > 0$, $|M^d_{gj}| < |M^a_{gj}|$). $D''_{gj} < 0$ (in the right-hand column scenarios,) when A^d moves: (5) less toward A^a than A^a moves in the same direction ($M^a_{gj} > M^d_{gj} > 0$); (6) more away from A^a than A^a moves in the same direction, toward A^d ($M^d_{gj} < M^a_{gj} < 0$); (7) less toward A^a than A^a moves in the opposite direction, toward A^d ($M^d_{gj} > 0$, $M^a_{gj} < 0$, $|M^d_{gj}| < |M^a_{gj}|$); or (8) more away from A^a than A^a moves in the opposite direction, away from A^d ($M^d_{gj} < 0$, $M^a_{gj} > 0$, and $|M^d_{gj}| > |M^a_{gj}|$).

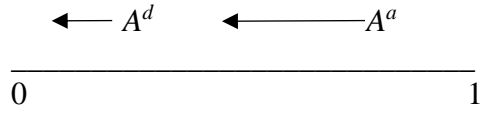
Figure C1:
What Does $D''_{gj} > 0$ versus < 0 Say?

$$D''_{gj} > 0$$

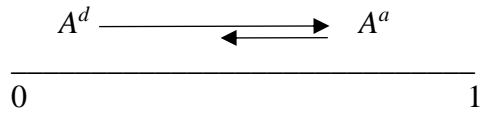
$$(1) \ M_{gj}^d, M_{gj}^a > 0, |M_{gj}^d| > |M_{gj}^a|$$



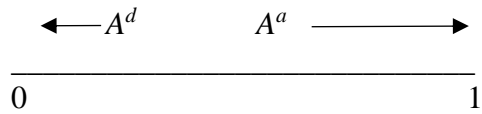
$$(2) \ M_{gj}^d, M_{gj}^a < 0, |M_{gj}^d| > |M_{gj}^a|$$



$$(3) \ M_{gj}^d > 0, M_{gj}^a < 0, |M_{gj}^d| > |M_{gj}^a|$$

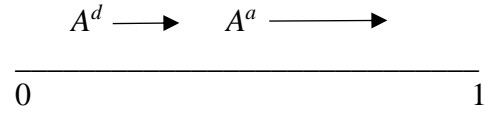


$$(4) \ M_{gj}^d < 0, M_{gj}^a > 0, |M_{gj}^a| > |M_{gj}^d|$$

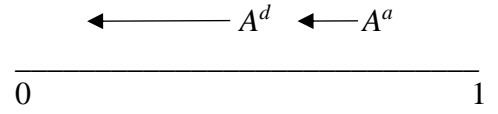


$$D''_{gj} < 0$$

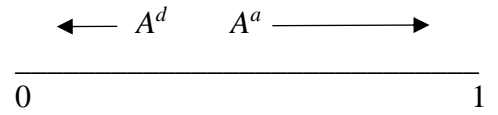
$$(5) \ M_{gj}^a, M_{gj}^d > 0, |M_{gj}^a| > |M_{gj}^d|$$



$$(6) \ M_{gj}^a, M_{gj}^d < 0, |M_{gj}^d| > |M_{gj}^a|$$



$$(7) \ M_{gj}^d < 0, M_{gj}^a > 0, |M_{gj}^a| > |M_{gj}^d|$$



$$(8) \ M_{gj}^d < 0, M_{gj}^a > 0, |M_{gj}^d| > |M_{gj}^a|$$

