Codebook

Variables used in models for Table 1 (determinants of deliberative quality)

Dataset used: DQI_IR_Idealpoints_Habermas.dta

For more information, see Do-File "Create variables from Europolis dataset" as well as the Codebook of the Europolis Dataset (see below).

See also Do-File "Replicate Models in Table 1 and 2".

Dependent variable (Based on Participants DQI Dataset and IR analysis)	
Deliberative Ability (mean_ideal)	Latent variable of deliberative ability estimated by item response analysis. For more information on the threshold values, see paper. For more information on IR, see replication data on IR. For background data, see DQI-dataset for Europolis Participants.
Individual level predictors (Based on Europolis Questionnaire Dataset)	
Gender	(2) female; (1) male
Age	Age in years
Education	Age in years when main education ended
Working class	(1) belonging to working class; (0) not belonging to working class
Region	Categorical variable: (0) Western Europeans; (1) Southern Europeans; (2) Central Eastern Europeans.
Salience	On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is "no problem at all", 10 is "the most serious problem we face", and 5 is exactly in the middle, how serious a problem or not would you say immigration is?
Knowledge (T2)	Amount of correct answers to three knowledge questions on immigration (see below for more information).
Interest (T2)	On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is "not at all", 10 is "passionately", and 5 is exactly in the middle, how interested or not would you say you generally are in politics?

Replication Material
Gerber, Marlène, André Bächtiger, Susumu Shikano, Simon Reber and Samuel Rohr (2016). Deliberative Abilities and Deliberative Influence in a Transnational Deliberative Poll (EuroPolis). *British Journal of Political Science*.

Variables used in models replicating Sanders (2012) (Table 2)

Dataset used: SANDERS_Replication.dta

For more information, see Do-File "Create variables from Europolis dataset" as well as the Codebook of the Europolis Dataset (see below).

See also Do-File "Replicate Models in Table 1 and 2".

Dependent variables (Based on Europolis Questionnaire Dataset)	
Immigration position (T3) [a] **(w3pro)**	Continuous pro-immigration score ranging from 0 to 10, constructed from a batch of 12 questions asking respondents about their attitudes toward immigrants in general and, more specific, about third country immigration to the EU (T3). Missing values were replaced by mean imputation.
Change in immigration position [a] **(change_w3w2_log)**	Absolute change in immigration position between wave 3 and wave 2. Since the absolute amount of opinion change is right-skewed, we operationalized the magnitude of change as the logarithm of absolute opinion change.
Individual level predictors (Based on Europolis Questionnaire Dataset)	
Immigration position (T2) [a] **(w3pro)**	Continuous pro-immigration score ranging from 0 to 10, constructed from a batch of 12 questions asking respondents about their attitudes toward immigrants in general and, more specific, about third country immigration to the EU (T2). Missing values were replaced by mean imputation.
Gender	(1) female; (0) male
Age	Age in years
Education	Age in years when main education ended
Working class	(1) belonging to working class; (0) not belonging to working class
Religion	Categorical variable: (0) other religion; (1) protestant; (2) catholic
Religiosity	Apart from weddings or funerals, about how often do you attend religious services? Scale ranging from (1) "more than once a week" to (8) "never".
Left-right ideology	In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". What is your position? Scale ranging from (0) "left" to (10) "right". In addition, the models included a square term of the variable.
Vote intention for elections to the European Parliament [a] **(leftparty2, rightparty2)**	Categorical variable: Intending to vote for a right (1), left (2) or (0) other/none party group at the 2009 elections to the European Parliament (T2). Left groups include PES, Far Left or Green, right groups EPP, Far Right or Libertas.
Knowledge change [a, b] **(know_change)**	Knowledge change between T3 and T2; based on three knowledge questions on immigration available in the questionnaire. The questions asked for the definition of Blue Card workers, the role of the EU in the current immigration policy and for a figure of the number of immigrants

	currently living in the EU. For each of the questions, the participants could choose out of four possible options and an additional "don't know" category.
Social conformity pressure (above) [a] **(pressure_above_w2_pro)**	Absolute extent to which respondents that were more immigrant friendly than the average group member scored above the immigration position of the group mean (T2).
Social conformity pressure (below) [a] **(pressure_above_w2_pro)**	Absolute extent to which respondents that were less immigrant friendly than the average group member scored below the immigration position of the group mean (T2).
Clarify thinking – experts (T3) **(v3q65_3)**	On a 0 to 10 scale, where (0) means "a complete waste of time", (10) means "extremely useful" and (5) is "exactly in the middle", how useful or not were each of the following elements in clarifying your thinking about these issues? *Participating in the plenary session with experts*
Clarify thinking – politicians (T3) **(v3q65_4)**	(…) *Participating in the plenary session with politicians*
Clarify thinking – other participants (T3) **(v3q65_2)**	(…) *Meeting and talking to other participants outside of the formal discussions*
Clarify thinking – briefing material (T3) **(v3q65_5)**	(…) *The briefing document*
Communicative influence (above) [c] **(w2pro_90diff_morepro)**	Absolute amount to which respondents that were more immigrant friendly than the (mean of) the deliberative highly skilled in the group scored above the immigration position of the latter (T2). We consider the 10 percent of all participants who scored highest on our latent variable of deliberative quality (i.e., participants above the 90th percentile on the ideal points scale) as high-skilled deliberators. [d]
Communicative influence (below) [c] **(w2pro_90diff_lesspro)**	Absolute amount to which respondents that were less immigrant friendly than the (mean of) the deliberative highly skilled in the group scored below the immigration position of the latter (T2). We consider the 10 percent of all participants who scored highest on our latent variable of deliberative quality (i.e., participants above the 90th percentile on the ideal points scale) as high-skilled deliberators. [d]
Group level predictor (based on Speechact Dataset)	
Deliberative quality – level of justification [c] **(DQ_jlev)**	Average level of justification rationality per speech that was provided in the respective small group discussion. See Dataset "Speechact_data" and Do-File "Create variable from DQI dataset".

Notes: [a] Unlike Sanders (2012), we took indicators measured at wave 2 and 3 instead of 1 and 4, respectively. [b] Given our focus on wave 2 and 3, we constructed our variable out of three knowledge question on immigration. Sander's index is composed out of change in knowledge based on two questions each on immigration, climate change and the European Union. [c] These variables have been added to Sander's model. All other variables were retrieved (and modified) from the Europolis data set. T2 indicate questionnaire responses right at the start of the three-day event in Brussels, T3 indicate questionnaire responses right at the end of the three-day event. Unless otherwise indicated, variables were taken from T1. Also note that our models were estimated only for a subsample while Sanders (2012) incorporates the whole Europolis test group. [d] This procedure leads to the exclusion of discussion group 20 with 14 participants since no high-skilled deliberators were present in this group.

Original variables extracted from Europolis Questionnaire Dataset

COUNTRY1		Country code EUROPOLIS (NOTE: all the following references to country code refer to this variable)	
		Austria	1
		Belgium	2
		Bulgaria	3
		Cyprus	4
		Czech Republic	5
		Denmark	6
		Estonia	7
		Finland	8
		France	9
		Germany	10
		Greece	11
		Hungary	12
		Ireland	13
		Italy	14
		Latvia	15
		Lithuania	16
		Luxembourg	17
		Malta	18
		Netherlands	19
		Poland	20
		Portugal	21
		Romania	22
		Slovakia	23
		Slovenia	24
		Spain	25
		Sweden	26
		United Kingdom	27
SEX1		Gender	
		Male	1
		Female	2
AGE1		Year of birth	
EDUC1.		At what age did you complete your full-time education?	
		Still studing	0
		No Education	1
		Years	
		Refusal	997
		Do not Know	999
CLASS1		To which of the following categories do you feel you belong	
		Upper class	1
		Upper middle class	2
		Lower middle class	3
		Working class	4
		None of these (Spontaneous)	5
		DK (Spontaneous)	999
		Refusal (Spontaneous)	997
RELI1		What is your religion if you have one?	

		Catholic	1
		Orthodox	2
		Protestant	3
		Other Christian	4
		Jewish	5
		Muslim	6
		Sikh	7
		Buddhist	8
		Hindu	9
		Atheist\ Non believer\ Agnostic	10
		Other	996
		DK	999
		Refusal	997
RELIGIOSITY1		Apart from weddings or funerals, about how often do you attend religious services?	
		More than once a week	1
		Once a week	2
		About once a month	3
		Once every 2 or 3 months	4
		Only on special holy days	5
		About once a year	6
		Less often	7
		Never	8
		DK(Spontaneous)	999
		Refusal (Spontaneous)	997
LEFTRIGHT14; V4_LEFTRIGHT14		In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". What is your position? Please indicate your views using any number on a scale where '0' means "left" and '10' means "right." Which number best describes your position?	
		DK (Spontaneous)	999
V3Q65_1	Q65.1	On a 0 to 10 scale, where '0' means "a complete waste of time", '10' means "extremely useful" and '5' is "exactly in the middle", how useful or not were each of the following elements in clarifying your thinking about these issues? Participating in the small group discussions	
V3Q65_2	Q65.2	Meeting and talking to other participants outside of the formal discussions	
V3Q65_3	Q65.3	Participating in the plenary session with experts	
V3Q65_4	Q65.4	Participating in the plenary session with politicians	
V3Q65_5	Q65.5	The briefing document	

D. IMMIGRATION			
V1Q7; V2Q7; V3Q7; V4Q7	Q7	On a scale from 0 to 10, where '0' is "no problem at all", '10' is "the most serious problem we face", and '5' is "exactly in the middle", how serious a problem or not would you say immigration is?	
		DK (Spontaneous)	999
V1Q8a; V4Q8a	Q8a	Some people think that [COUNTRY] should send all illegal immigrants back to the countries they came from. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think that [COUNTRY] should legalize all the illegal immigrants currently here. 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 haven't you thought much about that?	
		DK (Spontaneous)	999
V2Q8b; V3Q8b	Q8b	Some people think that [COUNTRY] should send all illegal immigrants back to the countries they came from. Suppose these people are at one end of a 0-to-10 scale, at point 0. Other people think that [COUNTRY] should legalize all the illegal immigrants currently there. 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 haven't you thought much about that?	
		DK (Spontaneous)	999
V1Q9_1; V2Q9_1; V3Q9_1; V4Q9_1	Q9.1	How strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? **Illegal immigrants should be eligible for national health care**	
		Agree Strongly Agree Somewhat Neither agree nor disagree Disagree somewhat Disagree Strongly DK(Spontaneous) Refusal (Spontaneous)	1 2 3 4 5 999 997
V1Q9_2; V2Q9_2; V3Q9_2; V4Q9_2	Q9.2	The children of illegal immigrants should be eligible to attend public school	
		For codes see VQ9_1	
V1Q9_3; V2Q9_3; V3Q9_3; V4Q9_3	Q9.3	Decisions about what immigrants to admit should take no account of what country they are from	
		For codes see VQ9_1	

V1Q10_1; V2Q10_1; V3Q10_1; V4Q10_1	Q10.1	On a 0-10 scale, where '0' is "extremely unimportant", '10' is "extremely important", and '5' is "exactly in the middle", how important or not would you say each of the following criteria should be in deciding what immigrants from non-EU countries should be admitted to [COUNTRY]? **Having job skills that employers need**	
V1Q10_2; V2Q10_2; V3Q10_2; V4Q10_2	Q10.2	Having close family in [COUNTRY]	
		DK(Spontaneous)	*999*
V1Q10_3; V2Q10_3; V3Q10_3; V4Q10_3	Q10.3	Being able to speak [NATIONAL LANGUAGE]	
		DK(Spontaneous)	*999*
V1Q10_4; V2Q10_4; V3Q10_4; V4Q10_4	Q10.4	Being Christian	
		DK(Spontaneous)	*999*
V1Q10_5; V2Q10_5; V3Q10_5; V4Q10_5	Q10.5	Being White	
V1Q10_6; V2Q10_6; V3Q10_6; V4Q10_6	Q10.6	Being able to support oneself financially	
		DK(Spontaneous)	*999*
V1Q10_7; V2Q10_7; V3Q10_7; V4Q10_7	Q10.7	Commitment to the [NATIONALITY] way of life	
		DK(Spontaneous)	999
V1Q10_8; V2Q10_8; V3Q10_8; V4Q10_8	Q10.8	Coming from a similar culture	
		DK(Spontaneous)	*999*
V1Q11_1; V2Q11_1; V3Q11_1; V4Q11_1	Q11.1	And how strongly would you favour or oppose each of the following? **Reinforcing border controls**	
		Favour strongly Favour somewhat Neither favour nor oppose Oppose somewhat Oppose strongly DK (Spontaneous) Refusal (Spontaneous)	1 2 3 4 5 999 997
V1Q11_2; V2Q11_2; V3Q11_2; V4Q11_2	Q11.2	Imposing penalties on employers who hire illegal immigrants	
		For codes see VQ11_1	

V1Q12; V2Q12; V3Q12; V4Q12	Q12	Generally speaking, what is your opinion on the number of people living in [COUNTRY] who are not citizens of European Union countries? Are there...?	
		Far too many	1
		Somewhat too many	2
		About the right number	3
		Somewhat too few	4
		Far too few	5
		DK (Spontaneous)	999
		Refusal (Spontaneous)	997
V1Q13_1; V2Q13_1; V3Q13_1; V4Q13_1	Q13.1	How strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? **The contributions from working immigrants will help maintain the pension system.**	
		Agree Strongly	1
		Agree Somewhat	2
		Neither agree nor disagree	3
		Disagree somewhat	4
		Disagree Strongly	5
		DK(Spontaneous)	999
		Refusal (Spontaneous)	997
V1Q13_2; V2Q13_2; V3Q13_2; V4Q13_2	Q13.2	Immigration increases crime in our society	
		For codes see VQ13_1	
V1Q13_3; V2Q13_3; V3Q13_3; V4Q13_3	Q13.3	Amnesty given to illegal immigrants will increase illegal immigration	
		For codes see VQ13_1	
V2Q14; V3Q14	Q14	On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that immigrants have a lot to offer to [COUNTRY]'s cultural life, 10 means that immigrants threaten the [NATIONALITY] culture and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you position yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about that?	
		DK(Spontaneous)	999
V1Q15; V2Q15; V3Q15; V4Q15	Q15	On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means that Muslim immigrants have a lot to offer to [COUNTRY]'s cultural life, 10 means that Muslim immigrants threaten [NATIONALITY] culture. and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you position yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about that?	
		DK(Spontaneous)	999
V1Q16; V2Q16; V3Q16; V4Q16	Q16	On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that immigrants take jobs from native-born [NATIONALITY], 10 means that immigrants take the sorts of jobs that [NATIONALITY] don't want and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you position yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about that?	
		DK(Spontaneous)	999
V2Q17; V3Q17	Q17	Of all the immigrants in [COUNTRY], what percentage do you think are there illegally? Please answer with a number between 0 and 100.	

		DK(Spontaneous) Refusal (Spontaneous)	999 997
V2Q18; V3Q18	Q18	On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that immigrants contribute more in taxes than they benefit from health and welfare services, 10 means that immigrants benefit more from health and welfare services than they contribute in taxes and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you position yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about that?	
		DK(Spontaneous)	999
V2Q19_1; V3Q19_1	Q19.1	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 each of the following describes immigrants living here? **Honest**	
V2Q19_2; V3Q19_2	Q19.2	Hardworking	
V2Q19_3; V3Q19_3	Q19.3	Law-abiding	
V2Q19_4; V3Q19_4	Q19.4	Respectful of women	
V2Q19_5; V3Q19_5	Q19.5	Tolerant	
		DK(Spontaneous)-all the variables	999

H. KNOWLEDGE			
NOTE: an asterisk indicates the right answers.			
V1Q46; V2Q46; V3Q46; V4Q46	Q46	Which of the following is true of Blue card workers?	
		They can work anywhere in the EU	1
		They must have a university education*	2
		They cannot bring family members to join them any faster than other immigrants	3
		They are subject to the Returns Directive	4
		You couldn't say	999
V1Q47; V2Q47; V3Q47; V4Q47	Q47	Which of the following is true about the ways in which immigration policy is currently made?	
		The EU sets the basic rules about entry and residency requirements*	1
		The EU decides how many immigrants can be admitted to each country	2
		Work permits for immigrants must be approved by the EU	3
		The EU plays no role in immigration policy.	4
		You couldn't say	999
V2Q48; V3Q48	Q48	Which of the following is true of the EU's immigrants...?	
		Most illegal immigrants enter the EU legally but outstay their visas*	1
		Roughly 9% of the EU's total population was born outside the EU	2
		Because of immigration, the EU's total population will increase by about 30 million by 2050	3
		There are more illegal than legal immigrants in the EU	4
		You couldn't say	999

Speech act DQI Dataset

UniqueID	Unique ID of participant. (1) moderator.
small_gr	ID of small group discussion
sequence	Discussion sequence. (1) problem oriented; (2) solution oriented.
nr	Consecutive speech act number.
jlev	(0) The speaker does not present any argument or only says that X should or should not be done, but no reason is given. (1) *Inferior Justification:* Here a reason Y is given why X should or should not be done, but no linkage is made between X and Y—the inference is incomplete or the argument is merely supported with illustrations. (2) *Qualified Justification:* A linkage is made why one should expect that X contributes to or detracts from Y. A single complete inference already qualifies for code 2. (3) *Sophisticated Justification (broad):* At least two complete justifications are given, either two complete justifications for the same demand or complete justifications for two different demands. (4) *Sophisticated Justification (in depth):* At least two complete justifications are given, either two complete justifications for the same demand or complete justifications for two different demands and discussed in depth.
jcon	(0) Explicit statement concerning constituency or group interests *(own country)* (1) No reference: The speaker does not refer to benefits and costs at all. (1.5) Explicit statement in terms of both, Europe and own country. (2) Explicit statement in terms of a conception of the common good in utilitarian or collective terms *(EU, Europe)*. (3) Explicit statement in terms of the difference principle *(solidarity, quality of life, global justice, etc.)*.
int1 – int3	(0) No reference to other participants' arguments. (1) Negative (disrespectful) reference to other participants' arguments. (2) Neutral reference to other participants' arguments. (3) Positive (explicitly respectful) reference to other participants' arguments. (up to three references were coded per statement).
resp_gr	(0) *No Respect*: This code is reserved for speeches in which there are only or predominantly negative statements about the groups. (1) Implicit Respect: No explicitly negative statements can be identified, but neither are there explicit positive statements. (2) *Respect (balanced)*: Both, positive and negative respect is equally expressed. (3) *Explicit Respect*: This code is assigned if there is at least one explicitly positive statement about the groups and either are negative statements completely absent or positive statements are clearly dominating the negative statements.
question	(0) No (or only rhetorical) question posed. (1) Question asked.
story_d	(0) No story-telling. (1) Story-telling.

Participant DQI Dataset (Participants_Europolis_27122011_IR_1.dta)

UniqueID	Unique ID of participant. (1) moderator.
small_gr	ID of small group discussion
jlev_max	Maximum value on level of justification reached (jlev) by participant (see above).
cgood_max	Did participant at least made one reference to the common good (values of jcon 1.5 or higher, see above)?
resp_gr_max	Maximum value on respect towards groups (resp_gr) reached by participant (see above).
int1_max	Maximum value on interactivity reached by participants: (1) no interactivity (2) neutral reference to other participants arguments. (3) positive reference to other participants arguments.
story_d_max	Did participant tell at least one story?
question_max	Did participant at least ask one question?