



Lifelong learning: citizens' views

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A great deal of additional information on the European Union is available on the Internet. It can be accessed through the Europa server (<http://europa.eu.int>).

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

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Preface

Making lifelong learning a reality for all lies at the heart of the Lisbon strategy for making Europe a prosperous and rewarding place to live and work in the 21st century world. Everyone should have equal and open access to high quality learning opportunities throughout their lives. These opportunities should be provided in a variety of ways to suit their differing situations, needs and preferences. Our aim must be to provide lifelong learning for all, especially to those who most need it and who have least access to it.

We all know that this is easy to say and hard to achieve, but the European Commission is firmly committed to actively supporting the Member States in their efforts to turn policy consensus into effective education and training practice. Listening to what European citizens think, need and want is an essential part of the process.

This is the first Eurobarometer survey that asks citizens for their views in a detailed way. Its interesting findings confirm the political goals set at the European Council Summit in Lisbon and they reinforce the importance of the work that is being done at European level on lifelong learning and e-learning.

I hope that this initiative will pave the way for developing closer cooperation throughout Europe between everyone concerned with getting to work on lifelong learning, so that we can gradually build up a well-informed basis for policymaking in this field at all levels.

Viviane Reding
Commissioner
Education and Culture

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Foreword

We have come a long way since the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996. By 2010, the European Union wants to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economic area in the world. Making lifelong learning a reality for all citizens is at the driving edge of the strategy to meet this goal and is the guiding principle for education and training policy at European level.

To provide up-to-date information, the European Commission and Cedefop now present the results of a specially designed Eurobarometer (1), which directly asks citizens what they think about lifelong learning, including their participation in, experiences of and motivations for learning.

Eurobarometer opinion polls complement large-scale surveys on education, training and employment issues. They take rapid snapshots of the overall picture and are well suited to gauge people's 'views of the moment'.

This brochure includes the initial highlights of the survey findings and includes a brief country profile of Greece, the EU Presidency country at the time of publication. Later, Cedefop will publish a full analysis, enriched with comparable data from national surveys and qualitative studies on lifelong learning.

This Eurobarometer survey was prepared combining policymaking, specialist and technical expertise between DG Education and Culture, Cedefop and DG Press and Communication with the European Opinion Research Group. We think the outcome is a good example of European practice working together in citizens' interests.

This brochure is also a result of Cedefop teamwork. Frederic Company, Pascaline Descy, Sarah Elson-Rogers, Iver Jan Leren, Roland Loos, Julie Murray, Martina Ní Cheallaigh, Anders Nilsson, Eleonora Schmid and Dóra Stefansdóttir worked together on the conceptual design. Anne-France

(1) The DG EAC-Cedefop lifelong learning Eurobarometer questionnaire was integrated into wave 59.0 of the standard Eurobarometer survey, carried out between 15 January and 19 February 2003 in the 15 Member States by the European Opinion Research Group (EORG, a consortium of Market and Public Opinion Research agencies) on behalf of Directorate General Press and Communication, Opinion Polls of the European Commission. The same survey was also carried out between 6 February and 11 March in Norway and between 22 January and 28 February in Iceland. The annex provides technical details. In the text of this report, the term 'European citizens' represents the 15 Member States, Iceland and Norway.

Mossoux carried the work forward to a successful conclusion in cooperation with Lynne Chisholm, who coordinated the project as part of Cedefop's commitment supporting the implementation of lifelong learning in an enlarged European Union. We hope the results of this survey will contribute to effective policymaking at European level and in the Member States and that its interesting findings will lead to further surveys that include the countries soon to join the EU.

Johan van Rens
Director, Cedefop

CHAPTER 1

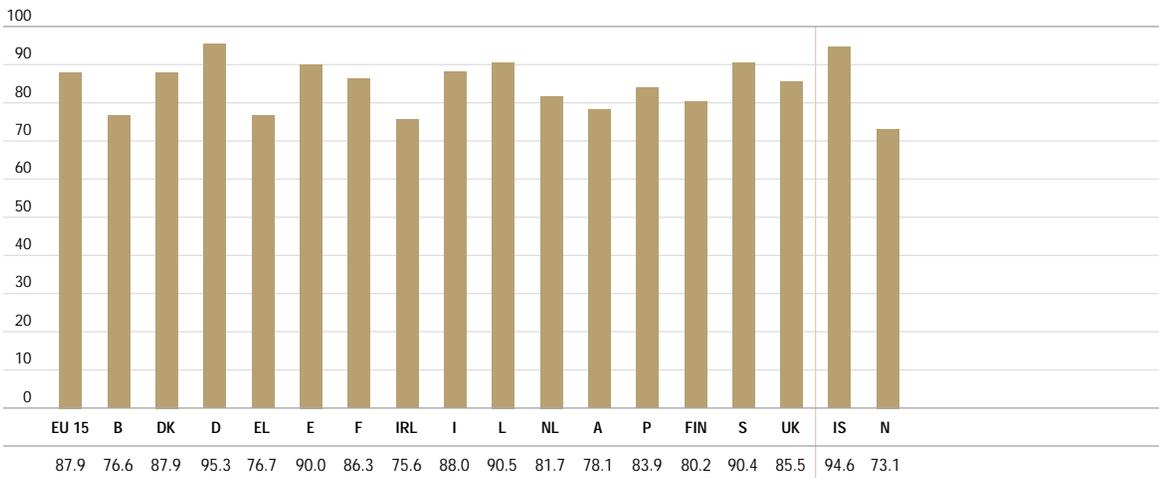
Creating one world of lifelong learning – an integrated approach for an inclusive society

1.1. What do citizens think about lifelong learning?

Nine in 10 European citizens think that lifelong learning is important, at least to some extent

Yet variations between countries still exist. The Germans and the Icelanders are almost unanimous about its importance but in Greece, more than one in five think lifelong learning is not important. Citizens in Belgium, Ireland and Norway are also more sceptical than average.

Figure 1. 'Lifelong learning is not important': respondents who disagree ⁽²⁾, by country, %



⁽²⁾ The rest of the respondents either agree or do not know.

Lifelong learning is important for both social and economic reasons

Eight in 10 citizens support an integrated approach to lifelong learning that combines employability, personal development, active citizenship and social cohesion. This is especially so in Greece, Spain, Ireland and Sweden, where around nine in 10 support this approach.

Lifelong learning supports the economy and society at the same time. It benefits individuals and the community. It helps people to cope with social change and labour market demands. It also helps people to improve their job prospects, take their lives into their own hands and live full and satisfying lives.

Citizens in different countries and in different circumstances think differently about whether it helps to improve the quality of people's lives, especially for the disadvantaged. For example, people who are unemployed are less likely to think that lifelong learning helps to avoid unemployment – but managers are more likely to think this.

1.2. Do citizens think that lifelong learning is for everyone?

The majority of citizens think that lifelong learning is for people of all ages

This is especially the case for Danish, French, Dutch, Finnish, Swedish, British and Icelandic survey respondents. Figure 2 shows the proportions of respondents who do not think that lifelong learning is only for the young ⁽³⁾ or mainly for the middle-aged ⁽⁴⁾. Looking at it the other way round, this means that 14% ⁽⁵⁾ agree lifelong learning is only for the young. In Belgium, Greece, Ireland and Portugal, the proportions of respondents agreeing with this view is higher – most of all in Portugal, where 26% link lifelong learning with young people. In contrast, 23% ⁽⁶⁾ think it is mainly for the middle-aged – more in Germany and much more in Spain. The retired and the less well-qualified are more likely to agree with this view.

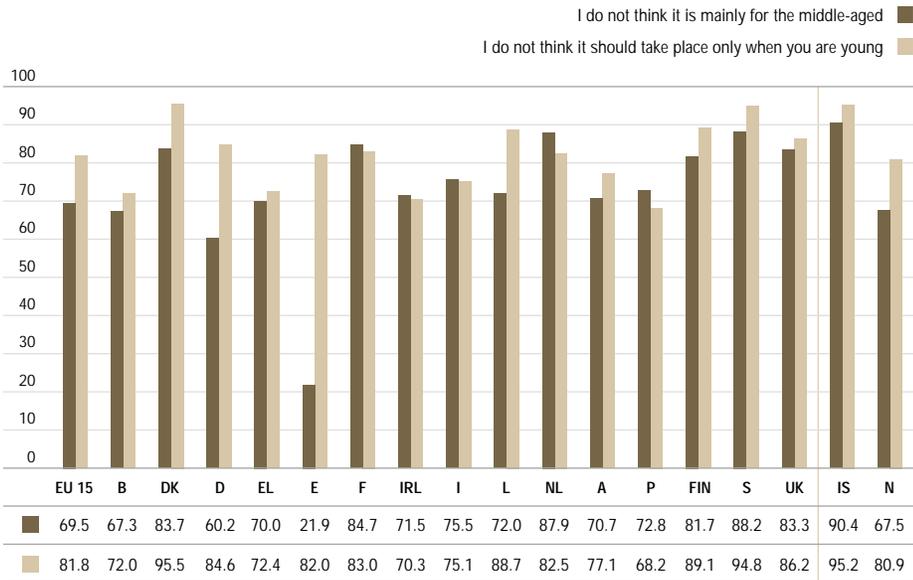
At the same time, 45% of European citizens think lifelong learning is mainly for those who did not do well at school. Greeks, Luxembourgers and above all Spanish citizens are most likely to take this view (respectively: 61%, 59% and 87%; not shown in a table in this report). People aged 55 or older, the less qualified and, to a smaller extent, unemployed people are more likely to agree with this idea as well.

⁽³⁾, ⁽⁴⁾ The rest do not know.

⁽⁵⁾ This is the average for all 17 countries included in the survey. Figure 2 shows the EU15 average.

⁽⁶⁾ As in the preceding footnote, this is the average for all 17 countries.

Figure 2. Respondents who disagree that lifelong learning is ‘only for the young’ or ‘mainly for the middle-aged’, by country, %



Implications for policymaking

These findings support the approach towards implementing lifelong learning adopted at European level. They suggest that:

- there is a solid foundation for implementing lifelong learning in an integrated way that balances personal, social and economic interests;
- European citizens are inclined to think that lifelong learning can contribute to social cohesion by bringing those at the margins of the knowledge economy and society into the mainstream through participation in learning;
- in some countries and for some groups, the idea that lifelong learning is relevant for everyone at all stages of their lives needs more reinforcement.

It would be helpful, though, to know more about exactly how people see and judge the relationships between these different purposes of lifelong learning.

CHAPTER 2

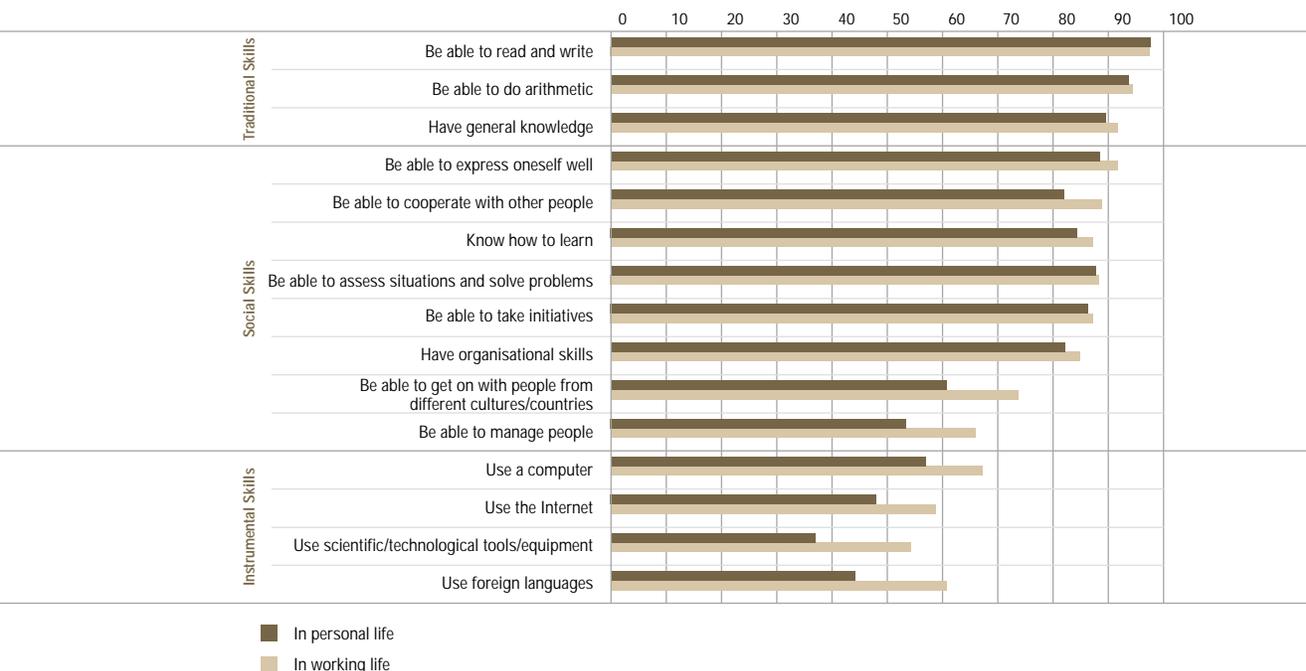
Skills for a Europe of knowledge

2.1. What knowledge and skills do citizens think they need?

Traditional basic skills, and then social skills, are most important

Everyone puts reading/writing, arithmetic and general knowledge at the top of the list of very useful skills (Figure 3). Over 90% think they are very useful both in personal life and in working life. More than 80% think that social skills are very useful in both areas of life.

Figure 3. 'Very useful' knowledge and skills: respondents' views by life sphere, EU15, %



At the same time, under half consider that using the Internet (48%), foreign languages (45%) ⁽⁷⁾ or scientific/technological tools and equipment (37%) are important skills in personal life.

People think they need a broader range of skills in working life than in personal life

Citizens judge most skills to be even more useful in working than in personal life (Figure 3). This is especially the case for using ICT skills, scientific/technological tools and equipment or foreign languages and for the ability to get on with people from different cultures/countries and to manage people.

This all suggests that citizens are aware of what a Europe of knowledge needs to flourish. For instance, they think social and communicative skills are important. There is no clear split between what people think they need in their everyday lives at home, at work and in the community. The skills they are most likely to see as very useful are judged to be important for both life spheres.

ICT and scientific/technological skills are not high on citizens' agendas. One reason seems to be that they judge the usefulness of skills first by what they think is very useful in personal life rather than in working life. Another reason could be that many people's jobs and community lives remain rather untouched in concrete terms by the knowledge economy.

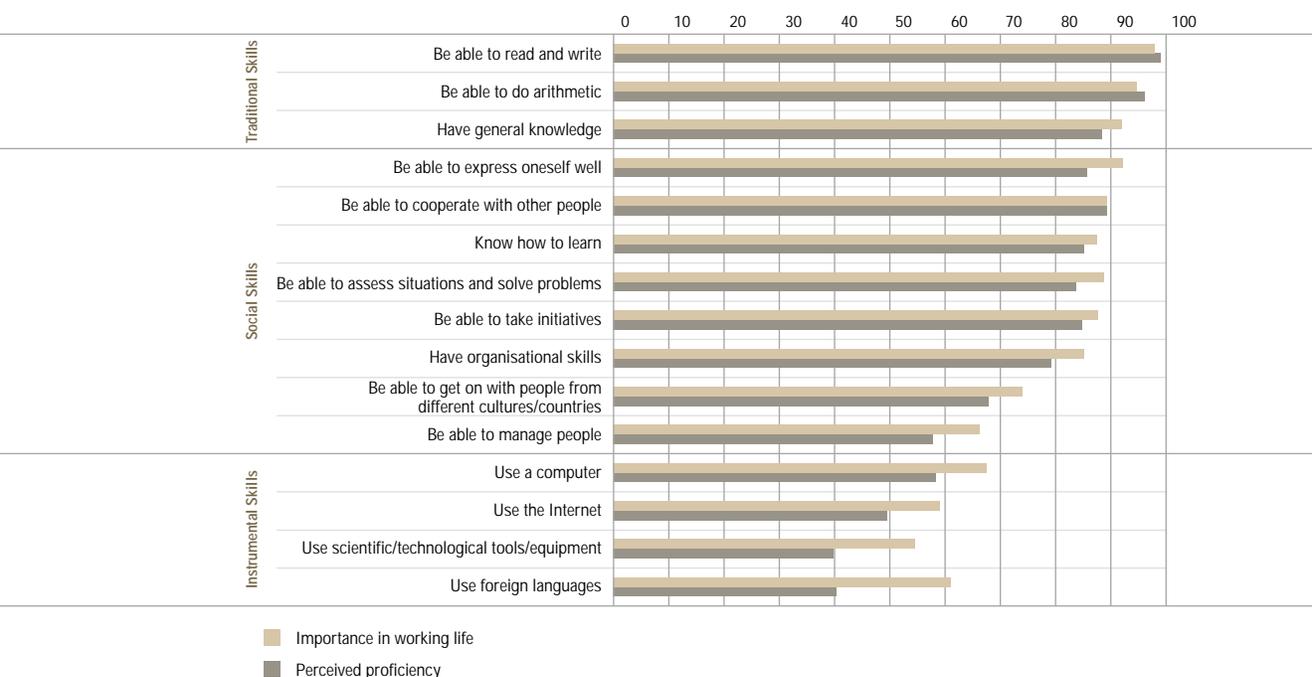
2.2. Do people think they have the knowledge and skills they think they need?

European citizens are aware of a 'skills gap'

Almost everyone in the EU thinks that they can read, write and do arithmetic (Figure 4). But fewer than three fifths say they can use a computer or have management skills, while under half can use the Internet, scientific/technological tools and equipment or foreign languages.

⁽⁷⁾ This is the average for all 17 countries included in the survey. The EU 15 average shown in Figure 3 is 44%.

Figure 4. The comparison between possessing knowledge and skills and whether they are 'very useful' for working life: respondents' views on each count, EU15, % ⁽⁸⁾



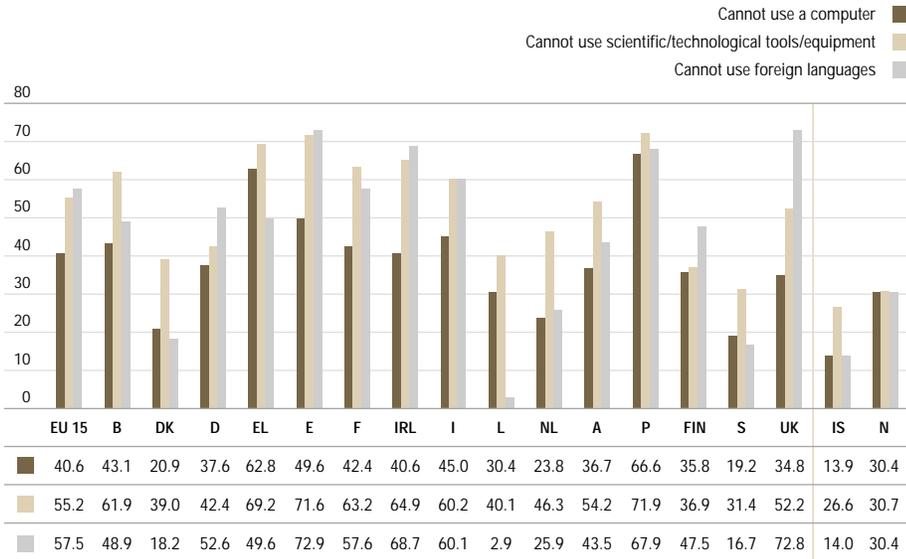
Apart from traditional basic skills, people are less likely to think that they possess the knowledge and skills they think are very useful in working life (as shown in Figure 4). The skills gap is particularly marked for using scientific/technological tools and equipment and foreign languages.

In the Nordic countries and Luxembourg, people are much more likely to think that they possess knowledge and skills across the full range. Citizens from southern Europe are least confident.

There are also noticeable differences between countries for felt competence in using computers or the Internet, scientific/technological equipment and especially foreign languages.

⁽⁸⁾ Individual responses to each of these two questions may or may not be closely associated with each other. This remains to be explored.

Figure 5. Respondents who think they cannot use computers, scientific/technological equipment and foreign languages, by category and by country, %



As shown in Figure 5, felt lack of ICT skills is especially marked in Greece (63% of respondents) and in Portugal (67%). Greek, Spanish and Portuguese citizens also see themselves as least proficient in using scientific/technological tools and equipment. Respondents from Spain, Ireland, Portugal and the United Kingdom are most likely to say that they cannot use foreign languages. Conversely, almost all Luxembourgers think they can use foreign languages.

Finally, gender differences are most marked for felt competence in using computers (65% of male and 52% of female respondents) and in using scientific/technological tools and equipment (53% and 28% respectively).

Implications for policymaking

The findings from this part of the survey are among the most interesting for further analysis. The initial results shown here suggest that many citizens are aware there is room for knowledge and skills development on their part, especially for working life. This comes out most clearly for high priorities in education and training policy in the EU: languages, ICT, science and technology. Differences between countries are marked, and there is a predictable gender gap. These basic trends:

- reinforce the importance of the priorities set in the Lisbon strategy and its follow-up in policymaking at European level for lifelong learning, e-learning and promoting science and technology;
- suggest that if people can learn to see the usefulness of certain kinds of knowledge and skills in their everyday personal and working lives (for example, through targeted information campaigns), then they may be more motivated to develop these further.

CHAPTER 3

Lifewide learning and the diversity of learning contexts

3.1. Where do people think they learn?

The majority of citizens think they learn best in informal settings

The data in Figure 6 show that:

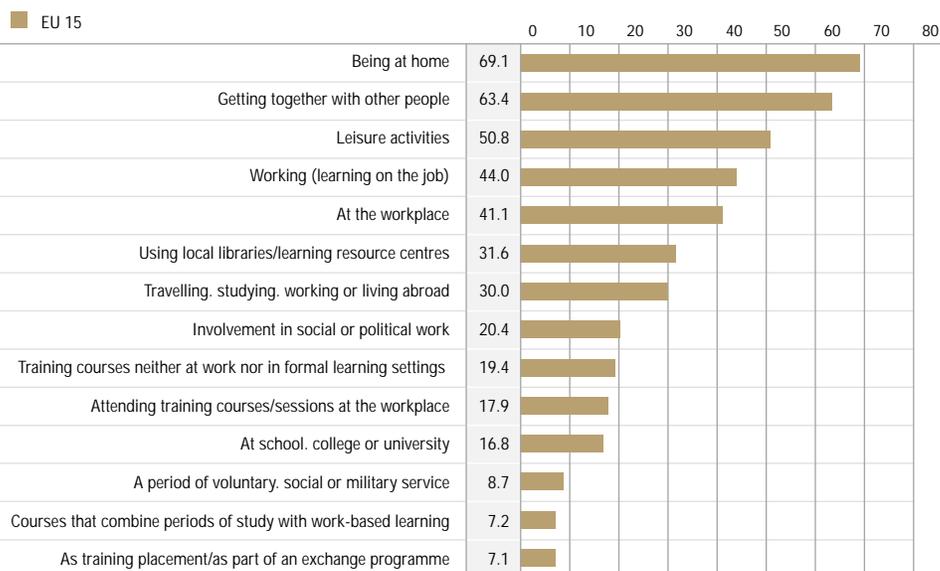
- involvement in all sorts of activities at home ⁽⁹⁾ (69%), getting together with other people (63%) and leisure activities (51%) are the most popular contexts in which most citizens think they have learned something;
- learning informally at work – either on the job (44%) or while doing other things ⁽¹⁰⁾ (41%) – follow on in popularity;
- other informal learning settings such as local resource centres/libraries (32%), working/living/travelling abroad (30%) and social and political work (21%) ⁽¹¹⁾ are less common but are next in the ranking order.

⁽⁹⁾ For example, watching TV, doing housework, hobbies, looking after the family.

⁽¹⁰⁾ For example, talking to colleagues during breaks, reading newspapers, etc.

⁽¹¹⁾ This is the average for all 17 countries included in the survey; it is somewhat different from the EU15 average shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. The contexts in which respondents think they have learned something in the past 12 months, EU 15, % ⁽¹²⁾



Formal learning settings (such as schools, universities and colleges) as a recent and relevant learning context were mentioned by only 17% of respondents, whereas 18% checked the category for training in the workplace (which could be offered formally or non-formally). The frequency with which non-formal settings ⁽¹³⁾ were chosen varies considerably, but, for example, a mere 7% selected company placements or exchange programmes.

This does not mean that people think they have learned only in informal settings, but that informal settings are an important component of the variety of learning contexts. The proportion of the adult population engaged in formal education and training is always a fairly small minority (except for young adults), so that in practical terms most will learn outside such environments.

⁽¹²⁾ The figure presents learning contexts from the most to the least frequent.

⁽¹³⁾ That is, structured learning taking place outside formal education and training institutions

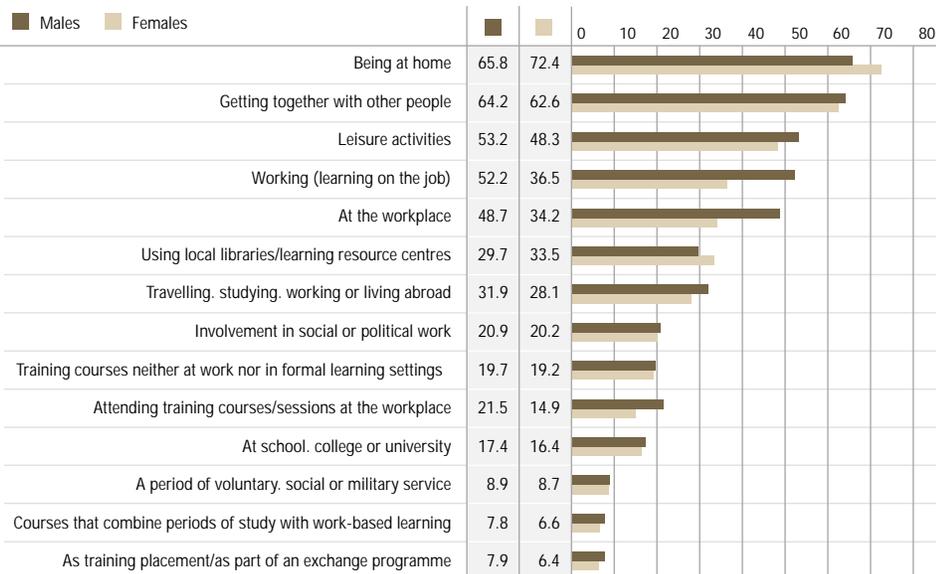
3.2. Which people learn in a wide variety of contexts?

Where citizens say they learn depends on their personal and social situations

The younger or the better-qualified people are, the more likely they are to say that they have learned in a wide variety of contexts. Those living in Finland, Sweden and Iceland are also much more likely to report having learned in diverse contexts than those in Greece or Portugal.

People in paid employment tend to say that they learn at the workplace, especially if they are male (59% vs. 42%). As Figure 7 shows, however, women are more likely to report that they have learned something at home and in local libraries or learning resource centres.

Figure 7. The contexts in which respondents think they have learned something in the past 12 months, EU 15, by gender, % ⁽¹⁴⁾



⁽¹⁴⁾ The figure presents learning contexts from the most to the least frequent.

Students are more likely to report that they learn in a wider range of contexts: at school (97%), getting together with other people (80%), at home (77%), during leisure activities (76%), using local resource centres and libraries (68%) and also through travel (53%). This supports the idea of 'learning close to home', where 'home' is a metaphor for the contexts in which one feels familiar and comfortable.

When people think about how to improve or update their professional skills (should they wish to do so), half say they would take part in an organised, formal course of some kind. Given that citizens say they learn best in informal settings, this shows how strongly learning is linked to formal contexts in people's minds and experience. Few (12% at most) think about open and distance learning and related channels, and a mere 5% choose secondment or exchange abroad.

On the one hand, people think they learn best in informal settings. On the other hand, they mention formal settings when thinking of learning in which they may take part in the future. What might account for this discrepancy? It must be related to longstanding ideas about where one is 'supposed' to learn, that is, in schools, colleges, training centres, universities, etc. In everyday life, however, people recognise they learn in a much wider range of contexts.

Implications for policymaking

It is encouraging so many people think they have indeed learned something in the past year, and it is especially significant that they recognise they do learn in ordinary everyday life. This, too, supports the emphasis that European-level policy is placing on open learning environments and on recognising non-formal and informal learning.

However, policymakers should reflect carefully on the fact that few respondents mention open and distance learning channels or secondment and exchange abroad, considering the importance placed on new forms of learning and on mobility as a learning opportunity.

CHAPTER 4

Incentives, obstacles, motivations and intentions

4.1. Who learns, why, and what are the benefits?

The majority of people have either taken part in some form of education or training in the past year, or would like to do so

This is so for more than two-thirds of respondents from Denmark and Sweden, but for less than one-third in Portugal. Overall, one in five did not participate in education and training during the preceding year, but would have liked to do so. Overall, 32% ⁽¹⁵⁾ of European citizens have engaged in structured learning during the preceding year, and 20% would have liked to do so.

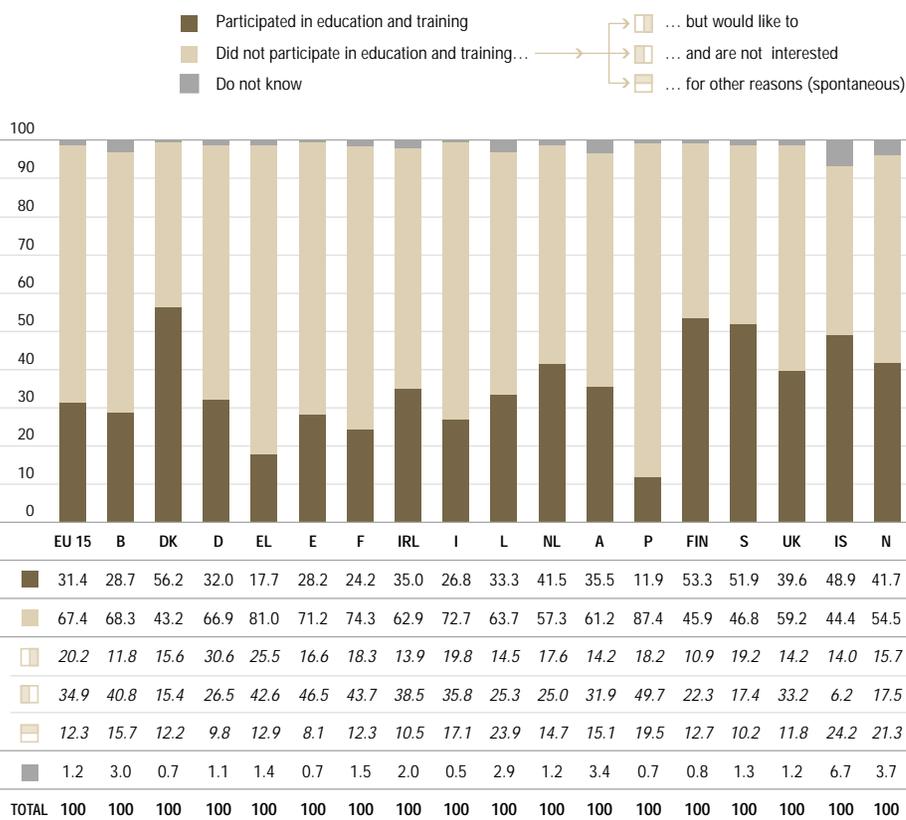
Nevertheless, as Figure 8 shows, 35% have not taken part in learning that they recognise as such in the past year and had no interest in doing so. This is an especially important but varied group for designing effective lifelong learning measures.

Under half the respondents in Nordic countries do not take part in education and training, but in Greece and Portugal only 2 citizens in 10 at most have taken part in the last year. The proportion of those reporting they are simply not interested in learning is especially high in Spain (47%) and Portugal (50%).

The survey also confirms, as expected, that those with higher educational and occupational levels are more likely to participate in education and training. The retired and those at home full-time participate less frequently than other groups.

⁽¹⁵⁾ This is the average for all 17 countries included in the survey. The EU15 average shown in Figure 8 is 31%.

Figure 8. Respondent participation rate in some form of education and training in the past 12 months, by country, %



Many citizens take up learning on their own initiative

This is the case for 44% of Europeans who took part in the survey. Still, half were advised or required to so, especially by employers (22% on average; and especially in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) but also by partners and families (13%; especially in Germany, Ireland and Italy). Employers paid for training for a further 20% (especially in Denmark, Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom).

People highlight the personal and social benefits of learning

In the past year, 81% report having gained at least one personal or social benefit from their learning, 54% at least one work-related benefit. And 37% note only personal or social benefits against 10% who record only work-

related advantages. A mere 1% of respondents think they have hardly benefited at all.

The five most popular benefits for EU citizens overall are: improved work efficiency, personal satisfaction, gain in general knowledge, new acquaintances and certification.

4.2. Why would people consider learning in future? And why not?

Social and personal reasons outweigh work-related motives

The main reasons for future learning are to achieve more personal satisfaction, increase general knowledge (31% each), do a job better (27%) and obtain a qualification (20%).

Again, a hard kernel of 14% spontaneously reply that they would never want to take up learning again – but not a single Danish respondent said this, as opposed to at least 20% in Belgium, Greece, France and Austria.

A significant minority of citizens are demotivated: 9% say they would not want to go back to anything like school, 8% think of themselves as not good at studying, 11% do not know what they could do that would be interesting or useful and 13% report that they are too old to learn. Finding out more about these groups is, once more, important for policy and practice.

Lack of time is an important obstacle, but...

Perhaps the most important point is that 29% do not see any obstacles, rising to 35% in Spain, the Netherlands and Austria, 38% in Sweden and 46% in Denmark.

Family commitments pose an obstacle for 21% of respondents, and job commitments for a further 19%. And 16% say it would mean having to give up free time or leisure activities. All of these can be seen as time-related obstacles. Job-related obstacles are striking in Iceland (26%, against 13% in Sweden) and family-related obstacles in Greece (31%, against 16% in Sweden).

...individualised and flexible learning options could be effective incentives

People mention diverse incentives, but most common are flexible working hours (21%), individualised programmes of study and personal choice of methods of study (20% each). This suggests that implementing lifelong learning effectively must find ways to enable people to combine activities in

ways that suit them practically and personally. Getting a certificate (18%) and having access to individualised guidance and counselling (14%) are also often mentioned.

4.3. When would citizens be prepared to pay from their own pockets?

Replying spontaneously, 7% said that it would be encouraging not to have to pay so much from their own pockets for education/training ⁽¹⁶⁾. This response was most marked in Iceland (14%) and least so in Luxembourg (under1%).

Figure 9. Respondents' willingness to pay for education and training, by purpose, EU15, %

TO...	keep present job	have a better private life	get a promotion	learn a new language	set up one's own business	get new knowledge for a hobby	open up job and career opportunities	get a recognised certificate	get a pay rise	prepare for retirement	get new knowledge in one's work field	get back into the labour market
Would contribute money	37.7	51.4	38.7	46.7	45.2	46.3	48.2	48.1	39.7	34.8	43.6	39.7
<i>would pay all of the cost</i>	12.9	21.8	11.7	18.6	23.0	21.5	16.4	18.1	14.8	11.7	12.9	14.8
<i>would pay some of the cost</i>	24.8	29.6	27.0	28.0	22.2	24.8	31.8	30.0	24.9	23.1	30.6	24.9
Would pay none of the cost	46.7	39.1	48.7	44.9	41.2	44.4	40.5	42.2	47.4	50.9	46.0	45.5
Do not know	2.7	9.5	12.6	8.4	13.6	9.3	11.3	9.7	12.9	14.3	10.4	14.8
Not applicable	12.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁽¹⁶⁾ Money was not explicitly included among the lists of obstacles and incentives to learning. This was a conscious questionnaire design decision, taken on the basis that many would check this response category if compelled to make only one choice from a series of categories. In other words, it was assumed that money is or is seen to be an obstacle for many people, so that the questions concerned seek to elicit additional reasons.

As shown in Figure 9, European citizens divide into two more or less equal groups: about half (between 36% and 53% according to purpose) ⁽¹⁷⁾ would pay some or all the costs under some circumstances, the other half (between 39% and 51%) would pay nothing under any circumstances.

Learning for retirement is something people are least inclined to contribute to, presumably because it is not a priority expenditure bringing a perceived benefit. Respondents are also rather reluctant to pay to keep their present job, get a promotion or get a pay rise. Conversely, 51% of citizens would be ready to pay for a better life. In general, people are readier to make a financial contribution if they judge the benefit to be an exclusively personal one, whether in personal or working life. They do not see work-related learning in its more direct sense as only their responsibility.

Implications for policymaking

On average, over two-thirds of European citizens do not currently take part in education and training, whereas at least 1 in 10 is demotivated. This raises two questions:

- In a Europe of knowledge, should these figures be lower?
- What would be effective incentives, for whom and for what purposes?

The results give a clear message that focusing first on the social and personal benefits of learning is likely to motivate people to take part.

For large sectors of the population, and for many learning purposes, education and training, at whatever stage of life, is regarded as a collective responsibility, however funded. This message is important for policymakers, especially because of the current search for more resources to implement lifelong learning.

⁽¹⁷⁾ These are the values for all 17 countries included in the survey. They are somewhat different from the EU15 shown in Figure 9.

CHAPTER 5

Citizens' views on lifelong learning in Greece

Greek respondents stand out in several ways in comparison with the European Union average.

- They are most likely to think that lifelong learning is not important (21%), yet they are most likely to see lifelong learning as serving a wide range of objectives (around 90% each) – and they are also much more likely to see lifelong learning as a compensatory measure for those not having done well at school (61%).
- They rate all kinds of knowledge and skills as very useful. This is especially so for management skills, getting on with people from different cultures/countries, using scientific/technological tools and equipment (around 15 percentage points above average) and using foreign languages (22 percentage points above average).
- They see themselves as much less proficient in using computers, the Internet and scientific/technological tools (see Figure 5, p. 11). Over three-fifths of Greek respondents say they do not have ICT skills.
- Fewer Greek respondents report that they think they have learned in the past year, but they are no different to all other Europeans in saying they learn best in informal settings. On the other hand, they are more likely than average to say they learn in social or political work and in formal settings – whereas local resource centres and libraries are less often mentioned.
- Four out of five Greek survey respondents had not been involved in education/training in the past year and half of them say they are not particularly interested either. On the other hand, they are more likely to take up structured learning on their own initiative (54%).
- One in five Greek citizens does not want to take up education and training in the future. Family commitments are the main obstacle – for 29%, the highest percentage of all countries surveyed. Certificates and social recognition of learning outcomes are particularly effective incentives for Greeks.
- At least half the respondents from Greece are ready to consider contributing some money from their own pockets to learning that helps them have a better life, set up a business, get new knowledge in their field of work, obtain a certificate and learn a new language.

Methodological annex

Abbreviations, country codes and technical notes on the figures

EU	European Union
ICT	Information and communication technologies
EU15	European Union average
B	Belgium
DK	Denmark
D	Germany
EL	Greece
E	Spain
F	France
IRL	Ireland
I	Italy
L	Luxembourg
NL	Netherlands
A	Austria
P	Portugal
FIN	Finland
S	Sweden
UK	United Kingdom
IS	Iceland
N	Norway

Unless specified otherwise, the data shown in the text refer to all respondents (100%). In the case of multiple-choice questions, respondents could check more than one category; in this case, the figures do not add up to 100%. Not all data used in the text are illustrated by a chart or table.

All percentages have been rounded to one decimal after the point in all tables and to the unit in texts. This means that distributions may not add up to exactly 100%. The symbol ‘–’ is used in tables for nil while ‘0’ means negligible.

Description of the survey

The survey covers residents of all Member States as well as Iceland and Norway, with the relevant country nationality and aged 15 years and over.

A new sample is drawn for each Eurobarometer survey. It is representative of the population aged 15+ in terms of gender, age, NUTS2 region and urbanisation size.

The average number of people interviewed in each country was 1 000, except in Germany (2 144 interviews), the United Kingdom (1 439), Luxembourg (615) and Iceland (628). Altogether, 18 227 interviews were conducted, including 16 567 in the European Union.

All interviews were carried out face to face ⁽¹⁸⁾ in people's homes and in the appropriate national language. Up to four recalls were made.

The 15 main questions were worded in a format specific to Eurobarometer surveys. Two types of questions were used: multiple-choice questions, where the respondent is asked to give one or up to three answers depending on the question; and a list of items for which interviewees are asked to respond to each. In all cases, respondents can reply that they have no idea (coded as 'don't know').

⁽¹⁸⁾ Iceland is the only exception. For practical as well as financial reasons, the survey was conducted over the phone. This should be considered when interpreting the data, which do show some patterns that diverge significantly from neighbouring countries. These deserve closer attention in the full analysis to come.

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